A Reference Grammar of

Russian

Alan Timberlake

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A Reference Grammar of Russian

A Reference Grammar of Russian describes and systematizes all aspects of the grammar of Russian: the patterns of orthography, sounds, inflection, syntax, tense-aspect-mood, word order, and intonation. It is especially concerned with the meaning of combinations of words (constructions). The core concept is that of the predicate history: a record of the states of entities through time and across possibilities. Using predicate histories, the book presents an integrated account of the semantics of verbs, nouns, case, and aspect. More attention is paid to syntax than in any other grammars of Russian written in English or in other languages of Western Europe. Alan Timberlake refers to the literature on variation and trends in development, and makes use of contemporary data from the internet. This book will appeal to students, scholars, and language professionals interested in Russian.

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A Reference Grammar of Russian

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Contents

1

Russian

1.1 The Russian language

1.1.1 Russian then and now

The present study is a comprehensive description of all aspects (except word derivation) of modern standard Russian: its sounds, spelling, grammar, and syntax.

Russian has resulted from a long evolution that can be traced back to the first millennium of our era. From the fifth century on, speakers of Slavic established settlements over a vast area of Central and Eastern Europe, from the Danube in the south to the Elbe in the northwest. In the east, they moved north from the Dnepr valley to the Gulf of Finland and the Upper Volga, gradually displacing or assimilating the previous Baltic and Finnic inhabitants.[1] Russian developed from the dialects of Slavic spoken in the north of this East Slavic territory. In the ninth century, the East Slavic area came under control of Scandinavian merchant-warriors. The Christianization of this land in 988 was followed by subjugation to "the Mongol yoke" from the thirteenth century into the fifteenth century. As the favored agent of the Golden Horde, the once small principality of Moscow brought ever more land under its control. By the end of the fifteenth century, when the Mongol yoke was definitively removed, Moscow had become the political and ecclesiastical center of the East Slavic lands, and the center of the Russian language area.

Russian is not only a spoken language, but a written language used for all cultural purposes. The modern form of Russian took shape over the course of the eighteenth century. The morphology and phonology is based on the dialect of Moscow. In its vocabulary, syntax, and rhetoric, Russian, while relying on native Slavic elements, has a long history of adapting and internalizing foreign – Byzantine, French, and most recently English – models.

Parenthetically, it could be noted that the modern word *рýсский* 'Russian' is an adjective deriving from the noun *Рýсь* 'Rus'. According to a venerable etymology,

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[1] See Sedov 1982 on the complex archeological record of the East Slavic area.

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Рýсь was a descriptive name for Scandinavians that is based on the Germanic etymon 'to row', the Scandinavians being above all oarsmen.[2] In East Slavic lands, *Рýсь* was used initially for the Scandinavian overlords and their principality of Kiev. Over time it was extended to all East Slavic lands. Muscovy appropriated the name for its political identity, culture, and language as it consolidated power.

Russian is the first language of approximately 150 million people. According to an estimate for 2002 the Russian Federation had a total population of 145 million people, among whom 81.5 percent, or 118 million, were ethnic Russians.[3] In the mid-nineties, there were an additional 25 million Russians in the newly independent countries that emerged from the breakup of the Soviet Union (*Novaia Rossiia* 1994). Together that would make 143 million ethnic Russians. To that figure could be added a substantial though indeterminate percentage of the remaining 27 million members of other nationalities residing in the Russian Federation. According to recent statistics, the rate of population growth in the Russian Federation is negative (−0.33%), from which it would follow that the number of speakers of Russian will not increase in the foreseeable future.

1.1.2 Levels of language

Russian is a spoken language and a written language. In its written form Russian has long been highly codified: grammars, dictionaries, and manuals define standards for usage that are enforced in the educational system and through editorial practices in publication. Although the Russian tradition is quite clear about what usage counts as standard, it does acknowledge the existence of a range of varieties, or REGISTERS, from archaic to bookish to standard (normative) to colloquial (*разговорная речь*) to substandard and uncultured (*просторечие*). The grammar recorded here is the normative grammar of standard, written Russian, which is the culturally privileged, and also the most accessible, form of Russian. Occasionally, there are asides on usage in less-than-standard or oral language, but this study cannot treat colloquial Russian with the same attention as the works of E. A. Zemskaia and colleagues,[4] which have documented the significant differences between spontaneous spoken Russian and formal, written Russian.

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[2] Possible candidates are *Roþer*, *Roþin*, former names for Sweden's Uppland region, and *rops-* 'oar', the genitive form used in compounding (Thomsen 1879:99–104, also Vasmer 1986–87:s.v. *Русь*, de Vries 1962: s.v. *róðr*, Schenker 1995:57–60). A form of this etymon was adopted into West Finnic languages (Finnish *ruotsi* 'Sweden') and into Slavic, and then found its way into Greek (ῥῶς) and Arabic (*rūs*) sources from the ninth and tenth centuries.

[3] At: http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/rs.html#People.

[4] Zemskaia 1973, 1978, 1983; Zemskaia and Shmelev 1984; see also Timroth 1986.

Russian has undergone some change since the political and economic turmoil of the late eighties and early nineties, but it is difficult to assess how much. Most tangibly, there have been changes in vocabulary.[5] Borrowing and native derivational processes have produced many new words and word combinations, leading to macaronic texts: *нейл-арт* 'nail-art', *WEB-дизайн* 'WEB-design', *Некий бирмингемский ди-джей по имени Graham Mack ди-джеил себе, ди-джеил, да так и додиджеился, что с радио ушел* 'A certain Birmingham DJ, named Graham Mack, DJ-ed, DJ-ed, and so DJ-ed out, that he had to leave the radio station'. This internationalized vocabulary now dominates the linguistic landscape, just as Soviet-speak used to dominate language a half century ago. Along with these changes in vocabulary has come a less quantifiable but still palpable change in the mores of language. Unedited, informal texts of written Russian of a type that would never have become public during the days of active Soviet censorship are now available in print and especially electronic form. And yet, despite political changes and a loosening of speech manners, contemporary Russian in its grammatical structure remains Russian.

1.2 Describing Russian grammar

1.2.1 Conventions of notation
The notational conventions employed here are those of Table 1.1.

In the body of the text, Cyrillic words and phrases will be given in italics, and English translations in single quotation marks. Stress is marked in citation forms of words or short phrases; stress is not marked on vowels in fragments of text cited in the text or in set-off numbered examples. In numbered examples, italics and quotations are not used.

1.2.2 Abbreviations
The abbreviations used in this study are listed in Table 1.2.

1.2.3 Dictionaries and grammars
The definitive dictionary of Russian in Russian is the *Slovarʹ sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo iazyka*, a seventeen-volume dictionary published over 1950–65. Self-evidently it does not include the numerous new words from the last several decades. Shorter Russian-language dictionaries are fully useful, notably Ozhegov's one-volume classic, which conveniently lists grammatical forms with stress. More than adequate bilingual dictionaries are the Oxford dictionary (both directions) and now the *Novyi Slovarʹ* (Russian to English), the most up-to-date

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[5] Zemskaia 2000.

Table 1.1 *Conventions used*

notation	interpretation
NOM SG *тетра́дь*	grammatical gloss and Russian word
*тетра́дь*_{<NOM SG>}	alternative grammatical gloss of Russian word
*go*_{<\GEN>}	grammatical form conditioned by another word (preposition or verb)
«ё»	spelling of letter (or word) in Cyrillic, when spelling is at issue
[á]	sound (from narrow phonetic through broad phonetic to phonemic)
{á} or {á : ʌ : ə}	vowel SERIES, or set of stressed and unstressed vowels related by etymology and/or synchronic alternation
{-ej} or *-ей*	morphological unit
{X : Y}	any relation of elements, notably two stems of verbs, {CVC-a-_{<PST/INF>} : CVC-aj-|e|-}_{<PRS>}}
X ∼ Y	two forms potentially available in the same context
оста́ться/оставаться	aspect pair: perfective and secondary (derived) imperfective
маха́ть\махну́ть	aspect pair: simplex imperfective and semelfactive perfective
(по)проси́ть or *проси́ть\попроси́ть*	aspect pair: simplex imperfective and prefixed perfective
√| ± | ? | *	hierarchy of acceptability judgments: neutral, acceptable, frequent | less preferred option | restricted, marginal | dubious, ungrammatical

dictionary available. A selection of dictionaries – Russian only and bilingual – is available on the web.

Russian dictionaries, unlike many dictionaries of English, do not give information about etymology, for which one should consult the dictionary of Max Vasmer (in its original German edition of 1953 or the Russian edition of 1986–87 revised by O. N. Trubachev), nor about earlier usage, for which one should use Srevnevskii's "materials" for a dictionary of Old Russian from 1893–1912 (and later reprints), *Slovarʹ russkogo iazyka XI–XVII vv.*, or *Slovarʹ russkogo iazyka XVIII veka*. Lubensky (1995) should be consulted for Russian idioms.

For grammatical information, the "grammatical dictionary" of A. A. Zalizniak (1977[a]), with 100,000 entries arranged in reverse alphabetical order, is definitive. Entries of the dictionary are indexed with paradigm numbers; exceptions are marked. The 142 introductory pages list paradigms with accentual contours.

A variety of grammars is available, including two compact grammars in English (Unbegaun 1957, Wade 1992), which, however, do not treat syntax extensively, as well as the multiple generations of "academy grammars" (for example,

Table 1.2 *Abbreviations used*

abbreviation	interpretation
C / $\mathcal{C}$ / R / W	set of consonants / obstruents / sonorants / $\{[v\ \gamma]\}$
$\mathcal{C}$ / C^0	set of palatalized consonants / set of non-palatalized consonants
V / $\acute{V}$ / $\check{V}$	set of vowels / stressed vowels / unstressed vowels
P / T / K / $\check{S}$	consonant articulations: labial / dental / velar / alveo-palatal
C^0 / C^J / C^I / $C^{I\alpha}$ / $C^{I\alpha'}$ / $C^{I\beta}$	consonant grades (§2.5.2)
[ʐ] / [r̥] / [r̬]	palatalized [z] / voiceless [r] / voiced [r]
[á] / [á] / [á]	[a] fronted in initial transition / final transition / both transitions
$\widehat{r̥}$	articulation in which one feature changes over duration of segment
NOM / ACC / GEN / DAT / LOC / INS	nominative / accusative / genitive / dative / locative / instrumental
GEN1 / GEN2 ‖ LOC1 / LOC2	primary / secondary genitive ‖ primary / secondary locative
NOM=ACC / ACC=GEN	syncretism of nominative and accusative ("inanimate accusative") / syncretism of accusative and genitive ("animate accusative")
SG / PL / DU	singular / plural / dual
MSC / FEM / NT	masculine / feminine / neuter
AN / IN	animate / inanimate
PV	predicative (= "short") adjective
NN / QU / ADJ / PSS	noun / quantifier / adjective / possessive
Declension_{<I>}	first declension: Declension_{<IA>} and Declension_{<IB>}
Declension_{<IA>}	first declension (masculine type with NOM SG {-∅}: *боб*)
Declension_{<IB>}	first declension (neuter type with NOM SG -о -е: *ста́до*)
Declension_{<II>}	second declension
Declension_{<III>}	third declension
Declension_{<IIIA>}	third declension (feminine with NOM SG {-∅}: *пло́щадь*)
Declension_{<IIIB>}	third declension (neuter with NOM SG -я: *вре́мя*)
Declension_{<IIIC>}	third declension (masculine with NOM SG {-∅}: *пу́ть*)
$\mathcal{R}$ / $\mathcal{E}$ / $\mathcal{A}$ / $\mathcal{F}$ / $\mathcal{T}$ / $\mathcal{M}$	stress paradigms – stress on: root / ending / classificatory suffix (verbs) / antethematic syllable / thematic syllable / mobile stress
PRS / PST / FUT / INF / IMV / IRR / RLS / PCL / DEE / PSV	present / past / future / infinitive / imperative / irrealis / realis / participle / adverbial participle (*деепричастие*) / passive participle
IF / PF ‖ DT / ID	imperfective / perfective ‖ determinate (imperfective) / indeterminate
1SG / 1PL / 2SG / 2PL / 3SG / 3PL	first-person singular / first-person plural / second-person singular / second-person plural / third-person singular / third-person plural
DIM	diminutive
INTG	interrogative
$\mathcal{T}$ / $\mathcal{B}$ / $\mathcal{T} \leftrightarrow \mathcal{T}$ / $\mathcal{B} \leftrightarrow \mathcal{B}$ / $\mathcal{T} \leftrightarrow \mathcal{B}$	address by *ты* / address by *вы* / mutual address by *ты* / mutual address by *вы* / asymmetric address, one speaker using *ты*, the other *вы* /
$\mathcal{Y}$ / $\mathcal{H}$ / O / $\mathcal{O}$	diminutive name / first name / patronymic / surname
^Sона ^Vвзяла ^Oменя ^Dна базар ^Mблагополучно	word order: subject verb object domain manner

RG 1980). The four-volume "functional grammar" is superb (Bondarko 1991–96). Good grammars exist in other European languages (for example, Garde 1980 in French, Isačenko 1975 in German). The discussion below, though it is informed by this tradition of grammatical analysis, does not cite them in the interests of avoiding a clutter of references.

1.2.4 Statistics and corpora

To characterize how likely some construction is, it is often useful to cite statistics of usage. At the same time, it is important to acknowledge the limitations on statistical statements. The likelihood of using some or another morphological form or syntactic construction is really the likelihood of using the context in which the form or construction is appropriate; statistics ultimately measure how likely people are to say a whole context. For example, if we find that the combination *у ней* is less frequent than *у нее*, what we have really found is that the contexts in which *у ней* is appropriate occur less frequently than those in which *у нее* is appropriate. Any statistical statement, even one that appears to deal with morphological variants, is a measure of the frequency of the contexts in which these variants are appropriate. When the discussion below cites statistical observations, it is usually to say, informally and without pretense of scientific rigor, that a certain construction occurs surprisingly often or not particularly often, relative to what one might expect. The limitations on what statistical statements mean should always be kept in mind.

As a corpus for making statistical observations, I initially used the "Uppsala Corpus." The corpus, assembled by the Slavic Institute of Uppsala University and mounted on the web by the University of Tübingen,[6] offers a balanced selection of styles of texts through the 1980s; it has its own search. As time went on, I made use of the broader resources of the web. The address "http://www.lib.ru/" has a vastly larger number of (belletristic) texts. By using a powerful search engine (such as Google, Яndex, or Rambler), it is possible to search this site or the whole web for words or phrases, and produce quantities of Russian larger by orders of magnitude than the Uppsala Corpus. For example, in the Uppsala Corpus, the target INS SG *тысячей* produced no tokens, the target *у ней* five tokens. In contrast, a search of http://www.lib.ru/ (with Google, <20.X.02>) produced 233 hits for *тысячей* and 796 for *у ней*; and on the whole web (with Google, <20.X.02>), there were 8,790 hits for *тысячей* and 25,900 for *у ней*. The new electronic resources, then, offer the possibility of vast quantities of Russian, most of it very contemporary.

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[6] At: http://www.sfb441.uni-tuebingen.de/b1/korpora.html. The description (<http://www.slaviska.uu. se/korpdesc.htm>) states that the corpus is based on 600 Russian texts, one million running words, of informative (late 1980s) and literary texts (1960–88).

There are, however, some negatives, which grow in proportion to the size of the corpus and the frequency of the target word or phrase. Unlike the Uppsala Corpus, which was designed to serve as a corpus and has a balanced selection of genres of texts, the web was not designed to serve as a corpus for linguistic investigation. The web has properties that make it less than ideal as a corpus: (a) the relative weight of genres – www.libr.ru is heavy on literary texts and translations (if one has hesitations about translations), while the web as a whole has a random mix of commercial writing, personal travelogues, detailed histories of the repair records of automobiles, journalism, and religious texts; (b) the quality of Russian, which includes translations, sites from outside Russia, and informal personal writing and commercial writing that is no longer subjected to the same editing as was Russian printed in the Soviet era; (c) the fact that many of the texts show up on more than one site, undercutting the value of statistical observations; (d) instability – the sites are not stable over time, impeding replication and verifiability; (e) the number of positive hits, which can be so large that the finite amount of time it takes to evaluate any token makes it difficult to examine all the data. The enormous volume of Russian available now is a mixed blessing.[7]

Allow me to cite cautionary tales. With respect to repetition: the phrase *уже открывал*$_{<\text{PST.IF}>}$ *окно* '[he] already opened the window' – a familiar phrase in aspectology – gave a modest forty hits on the whole web (<20.XII.01>). But every one of them was the same sentence from a text by A. Tolstoy. With respect to stability, I searched the web for the expressions *раньше него* 'earlier than him' and *в отношении него* 'in relation to it', and came up with 1,590 and 5,490 tokens, respectively (<20.XII.01>). The same search nine months later (<15.IX.02>) yielded 2,080 and 7,190 tokens – an increase of 17 percent. With respect to quantity: I searched the web (<20.X.02>) for tokens of *тысячей* – 8,790 hits – and *тысячью* – 10,800 hits – with the goal of finding out in crude terms the relative frequency of these two forms of the instrumental case of *тысяча*. It would take perhaps eighty hours to evaluate all that data, if a modest fifteen seconds were devoted to each token. In short, the investigator has no control over the web and no way of determining what its properties as a corpus really are. The Uppsala Corpus, though smaller, offers a more balanced corpus.

In light of such difficulties, it is important to emphasize the limitations on citations from the web. All statistical statements made on the basis of the web should be taken for what they are: informal characterizations of frequency over unstable, often repetitive, collections of Russian assembled for other (commercial, etc.) purposes than to serve as a corpus for linguistic investigation. The corpus is not stable and one cannot control for repetition.

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[7] Browne 2001 explores the problems of using the web as a corpus.

In the same vein, it is also important to register the disclaimer that there is no guarantee that specific websites, referred to occasionally below, will remain valid.

1.2.5 Strategies of describing Russian grammar

The discussion of Russian below follows an unsurprising sequence: after these preliminaries, ending with the writing of Russian, the discussion goes from sound to morphology (grammar in the traditional sense) to syntax – first arguments, then predicates, then predicates in context (tense, aspect, modality) – and finally, selected discourse operations that apply to the presentation of information. Obviously there are many topics that belong in two places – tense in participles is a question of morphology and of predicate semantics in context; the second genitive is a question of morphology, of arguments, and of predicates (since the use of the second genitive depends on the syntactic context) – and it was necessary to make decisions about where to put discussion. Cross-references are provided.

A word about the philosophy of grammar invoked here. Modern linguistics has prided itself on identifying basic, primitive elements (phonemes, morphemes, constituents of sentences) and their rules of combination. For some researchers, the ultimate goal is to characterize which sentences are possible, which impossible, and to state the rules of combination. My experience in assembling this grammar has led in a different direction. Repeatedly I found that what was significant was the construction – the pattern, the configuration, the template (*трафарет*[8]). Patterns include all manner of linguistic knowledge: constituent elements; typical lexical items that participate; strategies of interpreting the meaning, or value, of the pattern in discourse; stylistic value – in short, patterns include all kinds of linguistic knowledge. The semantic, pragmatic, and stylistic values of a construction are not entirely predictable from its primitive elements and rules of combination, and though any construction certainly contains smaller entities, it is not always possible (or important) to identify the primitive elements. It becomes more important to say in what contexts, and with what meaning, a construction can be used. The whole is often greater than its parts. For example, the free (dative) infinitive construction (*нам*_{<DAT>} *не миновать*_{<INF>} *гибели* 'it is not for us to avoid disaster', *без революции нам*_{<DAT>} *не добиться*_{<INF>} *совершенства* 'without a revolution it is not for us to achieve perfection') has recognizable parts: an infinitive, a dative that would be the subject if the infinitive were a finite verb, and the other argument phrases governed by the verb. There is no overt finite verb; no form of *быть* 'be' is used in the

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[8] Zhivov and Timberlake 1997.

present tense. The meaning of this construction – it makes a prediction about the possibility of an imagined event – cannot be computed just from its constituent parts, the dative and the infinitive. Moreover, the construction has different variants, each of which has a specific stylistic value. The variant just illustrated is folksy, apodictic. Another variant of the construction used in content questions is neutral and productive, as in, *Как попасть в начало списка найденных сайтов на поисковых машинах*? 'How [is it possible] to get to the beginning of the list of sites in search engines?' Indeed, the initial portion of this question, *Как попасть* . . . 'how [is it possible] to reach . . .', produced 18,900 hits on the whole web (<20.X.02>). In general, then, the presentation of Russian grammar below emphasizes whole combinations and their value (including stylistic), downplaying the task of identifying primitive elements or articulating notations for encoding rules of combination.

When there are two closely related constructions that differ by one linguistic form – for example, relatives made with *ктó* vs. *котóрый*, genitive vs. accusative with negated verbs, etc. – it is an interesting question how speakers choose between the variants. In a notational approach to grammar, one can always create different structures that will produce different cases (for example). But because the structures will be distinct, there is no way of comparing the properties that distinguish them – the properties of the noun phrases, the discourse import – and such an approach says nothing about how speakers make choices. As an alternative, one can look for as many tangible variables as possible – variables such as the number of a noun, its position relative to the verb, the aspect of the verb – and measure their statistical contribution. But the result of a variable rule is only a probability, which does not explain how a speaker works with a half dozen to a dozen factors and makes a choice that is binary – to use one construction or another. In the following, I assume that speakers operate with templates (constructions) that have multiple properties – lexical to syntactic to discourse. In any instance, speakers ask which template a given utterance better matches. This is a holistic decision: in the genitive of negation, perhaps, speakers evaluate a context as being concerned with absence of a situation (genitive) as opposed to reporting an entity's properties (accusative). To get to this holistic judgment, speakers ask which template better fits the context. And to answer that question, speakers probably have to select one feature to pay attention to, while others are ignored. In practical terms, this means it is difficult, for many constructions, to give watertight rules about usage (there are too many variables; speakers have some freedom in how they rank and evaluate variables). What can be done is to point out the general, holistic value of a construction, and, often, some tangible linguistic features that are consistent with that holistic value that will influence choices.

1.2.6 Two fundamental concepts of (Russian) grammar

While each construction, each problem of grammar, requires its own description, some general, recurrent ideas emerged. Two can be mentioned.

One is modality and the related concept of quantification. Every statement is understood against alternatives. Sometimes there is just a contrast of the mere fact that some *x* having one salient property exists at all, in contrast to the possibility that *x* might not hold, or that a certain situation ϕ holds in contrast to the possibility that ϕ might not exist (existential or essential quantification). Sometimes a specific individual *x* or property ϕ is contrasted with other possible *x*'s or ϕ's (individuated quantification). Modality – consideration of alternatives by an authority – pervades grammar.

The other is directionality, dialogicity. An utterance does not exist or have meaning in isolation, but is manipulated by speakers and addressees in a three-step process. The speaker invites the addressee to construct a background of information, taken as given and known (first step). Against this background the speaker formulates, and the addressee evaluates, the current assertion (second step). On the basis of that comparison, the speaker and addressee then project further conclusions or anticipate further events (third step). Thus the speaker invites the addressee to engage in a directional process of manipulating information.

These concepts – modality (and quantification) and directionality – pervade the grammar of Russian and, no doubt, other languages.

1.3 Writing Russian

1.3.1 The Russian Cyrillic alphabet

Russian is written not in the Latin letters used for English and Western European languages but in an alphabet called Cyrillic (Russian *кириллица*). Cyrillic, with small differences, is also used for other languages – Ukrainian, Serbian, Bulgarian. Cyrillic will be used to write Russian throughout the discussion below, with certain obvious exceptions: in the discussion of sounds and the internal structure of words, in glosses of Russian words or phrases, and in citations of scholarly literature. For reference, the version of the Cyrillic alphabet used for modern Russian is given in Table 1.3. In Column 1 the alphabet is presented in the lower- and uppercase forms used in printing. Column 2 gives the italic variants. Column 3 gives longhand forms of lowercase and then uppercase letters as used in connected, cursive writing (unusual uppercase letters are omitted); the subsequent discussion, however, will not treat handwriting.[9] The contemporary

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[9] With thanks to Victoria Somoff for the handwriting sample.

name of the letter is given in Column 4. These names are mostly transparent. The names of consonant letters have a vowel added to the sound of the consonant. Four unusual letters are referred to by descriptive phrases. For reference, Column 5 gives the older names of the letters. Column 6 states approximate sound values of individual Cyrillic letters in English, although there are obvious difficulties in attempting to state the sound of Cyrillic letters in terms of English sounds: the closest English sound is not always particularly close; individual Cyrillic letters do not represent just a single sound (consonants can be palatalized or not; vowel letters have different value depending on whether or not they follow consonant letters). The statements of sound value are quite approximate.

Because Cyrillic is an alphabet, by establishing correspondences between each individual Cyrillic letter and one or more Latin letters, it is possible to rewrite, or TRANSLITERATE, Cyrillic into Latin letters. Column 7 is the table of equivalences established by the Library of Congress as used in slightly simplified form in this study. (Other systems are discussed later: §1.3.7.) The final column gives sources of the Cyrillic letters. The alphabet given in Table 1.3 is the contemporary alphabet. The civil alphabet used until the reform of the October Revolution included two additional letters: «i» "и десятеричное" (alphabetized between «и» and «к») and «ѣ» "ять" (between «ь» and «э»). Additional letters are found in Russian Church Slavic.[10]

From various people, one often hears that Russian must be a difficult language because its alphabet is so difficult. Nothing could be further from the truth. Whatever the difficulties of Russian, they cannot be blamed on the alphabet, which anyone with a modicum of ability in language systems and a vague acquaintance with the Greek alphabet can learn in half an hour, as will be demonstrated after a brief introduction to the history of the alphabet.

1.3.2 A brief history of the Cyrillic alphabet

The beginning of writing in Slavic is a fascinating tale that deserves to be told in brief.[11] The story can be picked up at the end of the eighth century, around 796, when tribes of Slavs from the region of Moravia (in the south of the contemporary Czech Republic, along the Morava River) helped Charlemagne rid Central Europe of the last remnants of the Avars, a confederation of Eastern marauders. This venture marked the beginning of more active relations between Moravian Slavs and the West, both with secular political authorities (Charlemagne until his death in 917, his descendants thereafter) and with ecclesiastical

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[10] Library of Congress Romanization: «i» > «ī», «ѣ» > «i͡e». Russian Church Slavic used also «ѳ» > «ḟ», «ѵ» > «ẏ»
[11] Dvornik 1970, Vlasto 1970.

Table 1.3 *The Russian Cyrillic alphabet*

Cyrillic (print)	Cyrillic (italic)	Cyrillic (longhand)		contemporary letter name	archaic letter name	English equivalent (very approximate)	Library of Congress Romanization	etymology of letter
а/А	*а/А*	*(longhand)*		а	аз	*Masha | all*	a	Gk A
б/Б	*б/Б*			бэ	буки	*bother*	b	Gk B
в/В	*в/В*			вэ	веди	*Volga*	v	Gk B
г/Г	*г/Г*			гэ	глагол	*guard*	g	Gk Γ
д/Д	*д/Д*			дэ	добро	*do*	d	Gk Δ
е/Е	*е/Е*			е [je]	есть	*Pierre | yell*	e	Gk E
ё/Ё	*ё/Ё*			ё [jo]	–	*Fyodor | yoyo*	e	Cyr e/E
ж/Ж	*ж/Ж*			жэ	живите	*azure, French je*	zh	Gl ж
з/З	*з/З*			зэ	земля	*zoo*	z	Gk Z
и/И	*и/И*			и	и	*beat | eat*	i	Gk H
й/є	*й/Й*			и краткое	–	*boy*	i	Cyr и/И
к/К	*к/К*			ка	како	*car*	k	Gk K
л/Л	*л/Л*			эль	люди	*Leeds*	l	Gk Λ
м/М	*м/М*			эм	мыслите	*Masha*	m	Gk M
н/Н	*н/Н*			эн	наш	*no*	n	Gk N
о/О	*о/О*			о	он	*go | only*	o	Gk O
п/П	*п/П*			пэ	покой	*pot*	p	Gk Π
р/Р	*р/Р*			эр	рцы	*rot*	r	Gk P
с/С	*с/С*			эс	слово	*sew*	s	Gk Σ

Table 1.3 (cont.)

Cyrillic (print)	Cyrillic (italic)	Cyrillic (longhand)	contemporary letter name	archaic letter name	English equivalent (very approximate)	Library of Congress Romanization	etymology of letter
т/Т	*т/Т*		тэ	твердо	*toe*	t	Gk T
у/У	*у/У*		у	ук	*do* | *oops*	u	Gk Y
ф/Ф	*ф/Ф*		эф	ферт	*far*	f	Gk Φ
х/Х	*х/Х*		ха	хер	German *ach*	kh	Gk X
ц/Ц	*ц/Ц*		цэ	цы	*tsetse, prints*	ts	Gl Ⱌ
ч/Ч	*ч/Ч*		че	червь	*church*	ch	Gl Ⱍ
ш/Ш	*ш/Ш*		ша	ша	*shallow, fish*	sh	Gl Ⱎ
щ/Щ	*щ/Щ*		ща	шта	*Josh should, fish shop*	shch	Gl Ⱋ
ъ	*ъ*		твердый знак (ер∞)	ер	[boundary marker]	″	Gl Ⱏ
ы/Ы	*ы/Ы*		ы, еры∞	еры	*pituitary*	y	Gl Ⱏ Ⰹ
ь	*ь*		мягкий знак (ерь∞)	ерь	[consonant palatalized]	′	Gl Ⱐ
э/Э	*э/Э*		э оборотное	–	*best* | *Evan*	e	Cyr e/E
ю/Ю	*ю/Ю*		ю	ю	*cute* | *yule*	iu	Gl Ⱓ
я/Я	*я/Я*		я	я	*Diaghilev* | *Yalta*	ia	Cyr ꙗ

x | y = pronunciation after consonant letter | pronunciation not after consonant letter

Gk = Greek

Gl = Glagolitic

Cyr = (earlier) Cyrillic

x∞ = older name still used (*SRIa* 1.152)

authorities. As part of this interaction, missionaries were sent to the Moravians from the Franks (from the relatively new bishoprics of Regensburg, Passau, Salzburg) and from the Italians (from the bishopric of Aquileia). The conversion of Prince Mojmír of Moravia (r. 818–46) in 822 was followed by a general baptism in 831. In this period of missionary activity, churches – some in stone – were constructed at sites in Moravia such as Mikulčice.

In 846, Mojmír's nephew Rostislav took control and began to act with greater autonomy. After the bishopric of Salzburg had its charter renewed in 860, Rostislav took steps to avoid further ecclesiastical interference from the Franks. In 862, after having been put off by the Pope, he approached the Byzantine Emperor Michael III with a famous request:

> Though our people have rejected paganism and observe Christian law, we have not a teacher who would explain to us in our language the true Christian faith, so that other countries which look to us might emulate us. Therefore, O lord, send us such a bishop and teacher.   (Kantor and White 1976:45)

Emperor Michael and Patriarch Photius responded by sending Constantine (canonized as St. Cyril) and Methodius, two brothers educated in Greek who spoke a Slavic language, to Moravia to train disciples and translate the liturgy and the Bible into Slavic. In order to write in Slavic, they devised an alphabet which is now called Glagolitic. The letters of Glagolitic are stylized combinations of strokes and loops; for example, the chapter title for Luke 11 (Marianus) reads in Glagolitic, ꙁ Ꙁ (= о ловитвѣрыбъ 'on the catching of fish').[12] It is still an open question what sources Constantine and Methodius used for this new alphabet. It has long been assumed that the model was Greek minuscule,[13] but it may have been cursive of a Latin (specifically Carolingian) type.[14] Whatever the source of the alphabet, writing in Slavic has its origins in the "Moravian mission" of Constantine (St. Cyril) and Methodius.

The Moravian mission began auspiciously. It was given papal approval when the brothers traveled with their disciples to Rome (867). After Constantine died in Rome (869), Methodius was appointed bishop of a large missionary area including Moravia and Pannonia. In the long run, however, the mission proved vulnerable. It was resented by the Frankish bishops, who went so far as to imprison

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[12] Jagić 1883 (interleaf 110–11, 186).

[13] Beginning with Taylor (1880, 1883), who exhibited apparent similarities between individual Glagolitic letters and Greek minuscule letters.

[14] Lettenbauer 1953 (summarizing an inaccessible study, Hocij 1940) cites intriguing pairs of Glagolitic and Carolingian letters. For example, the Carolingian «o» is a vertical arc open on the left, with loops both on the top and at the bottom, hence very similar to the double loop of Glagolitic «ꙁ»; Taylor's Greek cursive omicron has no loops. Taylor's Greek cursive «l» looks like a modern English cursive «l», with an internal loop (that is, «ℓ»), very unlike the Glagolitic double-looped «Ꙇ», which looks like the Carolingian.

Methodius until the Pope secured his release. Rostislav, the Moravian prince who originally sponsored the mission, was blinded and exiled. When Methodius died in 885, a hostile bishop (Wiching of Nitra) chased out the troublemakers and reinstalled the Latin rite. Disciples of Constantine and Methodius were fortunate to make it to Ohrid and Bulgaria.

In Bulgaria, Tsar Boris, who had initially converted to Christianity in 863, held a council in Preslav in 893, at which he abdicated, turned over power to his pro-Christian son Symeon, and appointed Clement, one of the original Moravian disciples, as bishop. Around this time, conceivably at this council,[15] the practice was established of writing religious texts in Slavic in letters that were modeled to the extent possible on Greek majuscule letters.[16] (For Slavic sounds that had no equivalents in Greek, letters were adapted from Glagolitic.) This neophyte Christian culture, with sacred texts written in Slavic in this Greek-like alphabet, flourished in Bulgaria in the first half of the tenth century, until the time (in 971) when Byzantium defeated Boris II and absorbed the Bulgarian patriarchate. This tradition of writing was brought to Rus as a consequence of the conversion to Christianity in 988. The alphabet that was imported was the direct ancestor of the alphabet in which modern Russian is written, the alphabet we call "Cyrillic." As this brief sketch shows, Cyril himself did not invent the *Cyrillic* alphabet. But he and his brother did invent the alphabet in which Slavic was written systematically for the first time, and the alphabet they constructed did provide the model for Cyrillic.

After having been brought into East Slavic territory, this alphabet was used in the oldest principalities of Kiev, Novgorod, and Vladimir-Rostov-Suzdal from the eleventh century on, and then subsequently in Moscow, the principality that emerged as dominant as the "Mongol yoke" was loosened. This alphabet has continued to be used with only modest changes until the present day. Peter the Great attempted to reform the orthography in 1708–10. His new civil alphabet (*гражданка*) had letters of a cleaner, less ornate (more Western) shape. Peter also proposed that, in instances where more than one letter had the same sound value, only one letter be preserved, the first of the sets ‹‹ı/н/ѵ›› for the sound [i], «ѕ/з» for [z], «о/ѡ» for [o], «ү/ѹ» for [u], «ф/ѳ» for [f]; some other letters with quite specific functions (‹‹ѿ ѱ ѯ››) were also to be eliminated.[17] Although all of Peter's proposals did not catch on, his initiatives led to modernizing the graphic shape of the alphabet and set in motion the process of rationalizing the inventory of letters. While the general trend has been to simplify the

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[15] Dvornik 1970:250–52; Vlasto 1970:168–76.

[16] The similarity is quite striking between early Cyrillic writing and contemporary Greek Gospels, for example Lord Zouche's gospel text from 980 (Plate IV, Gardtgauzen 1911).

[17] Zhivov 1996:73–77.

inventory of letters, «й э ё» were introduced in the course of the eighteenth century.

Russian Cyrillic took its contemporary form in a reform of October 1918, which built on the results of earlier commissions (most immediately, the commission of 1917). The notable changes were that remaining duplicate letters were eliminated («и» in place of «i», «е» for «ѣ», «ф» for «ѳ») and the "hard sign" «ъ» was eliminated from the ends of words after consonant letters, where it had previously been required. For example, nineteenth-century «бѣсъ» 'demon' became «бес». Other changes concerned the spelling of specific morphemes (for example, adjectival MSC SG «ого» in place of «аго»).

The principles established in 1918 were canonized by the publication of *Rules of Russian Orthography* (= *Pravila*) in 1956. The principles and detailed rules have largely been stable, despite occasional discussions of possible further reforms of some annoying – but in the larger scheme of things, insignificant – inconsistencies (for example, in 1964).[18] There was uncertainty, and continues to be uncertainty, with respect to the vexed question of how much to use «ё». Other unresolved questions include: use of the hard sign «ъ» as mark of separation; spelling of «и» or «ы» after «ц»; spelling of «е(ё)» or «о» after «ж ш ч щ»; spelling of «ьо» and «йо» in borrowings; use of «э» after consonants; use of double letters in borrowings. At this moment, there is a renewed impetus to address certain details of writing, notably those involving compounds.[19]

1.3.3 Etymology of letters

As noted, most Cyrillic letters were based on Greek upper case (majuscule) letters. Many of the contemporary Cyrillic letters look like Greek letters, and as a first approximation they can be read as one might expect on that basis. Among Cyrillic letters for consonants, we observe the following similarities (Greek majuscule prototypes are written in parentheses; the approximate sound value is recorded in Table 1.3): «г/Г» (Greek Γ); «д/Д» (Δ); «з/З» (Z); «к/К» (K); «л/Л» (Λ); «м/М» (M); «н/Н» (N); «п/П» (Π); «р/Р» (P); «с/С» (σ/Σ); «т/Т» (T); «ф/Ф» (Φ); «х/Х» (X). From the single Greek β/B, Cyrillic has «б/Б» (a bilabial stop [b]) and «в/В» (a labio-dental fricative [v]).

The consonant sounds of Slavic that did not have obvious correspondences have unique symbols without any obvious source in the Greek or Latin alphabets; they apparently derive from Glagolitic, which did have distinct letters for these sounds: «ж/Ж», «ц/Ц», «ч/Ч», «ш/Ш», «щ/Щ». Though these letters are unfamiliar, sounds somewhat similar to those represented by these letters occur

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[18] Comrie, Stone, and Polinsky 1996 (ch. 8) gives a comprehensive survey from 1917 forward (see also Chernyshev 1947). For the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Grot 1873.

[19] Proposals and rejected changes were accessible on www.gramota.ru/ <01.XII.01>.

in European languages. The most exotic is the sound spelled as «щ/Щ», a consonant of double length; it can be approximated by combining two tokens of the sound written in English as «**sh**» in two words: *Jo**sh sh**ould*, *fi**sh sh**op*.

Vowel letters are largely based on Greek prototypes. As discussed below, there are two parallel sets of vowel letters. In the first set (HARD-VOWEL LETTERS) we find: «а/А» (Greek α/Α), «э/Э» (an innovation, based on older Cyrillic «є»), «о/О» (Greek ο/Ο), «у/У» (Greek υ/Υ), «ы» (derived from a combination of two letters, the uniquely Slavic letter «ъ» and the Slavic adaptation of Greek ι/Ι). The sound corresponding to «ы» is perhaps the single most difficult for non-natives to pronounce. Some Russians use this sound as a substitute for the vowel of *pit* or *hip* in speaking English. A closer approximation would be a vowel that changes from an [u]-like vowel to an [i]-like vowel, something like *pit**ui**tary* or *ph**ooey***, but pronounced as one syllable, not two. In the other set of vowel letters (SOFT-VOWEL LETTERS), two derive from Greek: «е/Е» (from Greek ε), pronounced as [e], and «и/И» (Greek η/Η), pronounced as [i]. One has a source in Glagolitic («ю/Ю» = the sound [u]) and two others arose in the history of Russian Cyrillic writing («я/Я» = the sound [a]; «ё/Ё», derived from Cyrillic «е/Е» = the sound [o]).

Identifying the etymology of letters does not, of course, explain how the Cyrillic alphabet works. But it should make it clear that the majority of the letters, in their graphic shape and (approximate) sound value, are familiar from a cursory acquaintance with the Greek alphabet.

1.3.4 How the Cyrillic alphabet works (basics)

The Cyrillic alphabet is a good guide to pronunciation. It is generally clear how a sequence of letters should be pronounced. One complication is that in every word in Russian one vowel is strongly stressed, and the remaining unstressed vowels are pronounced less clearly than the one stressed vowel (unstressed vowels are "reduced"). Once one knows which syllable is stressed, phonetic reduction is not difficult for speakers of English. Unstressed vowels are commonly the indistinct "schwa" vowel; Russian *Máшa* is pronounced with [ə] in the second syllable, thus [máʃə], much as the final vowel of the English version of this name, *Masha*, is spoken. However, most writing does not indicate which vowel is stressed. In this respect, spelling does not give complete information about pronunciation.

To understand how the Russian Cyrillic alphabet works, it is necessary to mention one fact about consonant sounds. Most consonants can be pronounced in two significantly different ways: not palatalized, when they are somewhat similar to consonants in English, or palatalized, when the tongue is raised towards the front and top of the mouth, towards the area behind the teeth. The effect of palatalization is similar to the beginning of English *few*, *pew*, or, in one

pronunciation, *tutor*, *duke*, with the difference that in English, there is a distinct segment between the consonant and the vowel, while in Russian, this raising of the tongue extends over the duration of the consonant. In Western sources, there are many ways of representing palatalization in consonants. It is common to write a superscripted letter («**i y j**») after the consonant to indicate that there is a brief transition to the following vowel similar to a vowel [i]; thus the familiar word *нет* 'no', in which the "n" sound is palatalized, might be written as [nⁱet] or [nʸet] or [nʲet]. An alternative is to write an apostrophe or acute accent above or after the consonant letter, [n'et] or [ńet] or [nʹet] In this study, palatalization will be written as a cedilla, [ņet], for the reason that palatalization is generally pronounced throughout the duration of the consonant; it is not just a transition to the following vowel. (When it is important to emphasize that a consonant or group of consonants is not palatalized, the degree sign is placed after the consonant letter: "*C*°".) The MUTABLE consonants – those that can be either palatalized or not – are the consonants spelled by the letters «**п б в ф м т д с з н к г х р л**». The remaining consonants, those spelled by the letters «**ч щ ш ж ц**», are immutable: they are either intrinsically palatalized (the sounds [č š:] spelled by «**ч щ**») or intrinsically not palatalized (the sounds [š ž c] spelled by «**ш ж ц**», respectively). Informally in the Russian tradition, consonants that are not palatalized are called "hard," palatalized consonants "soft." This convenient informal characterization is often used in the following.

The most important fact about Russian orthography is that it is organized around the question of how to spell palatalization in consonants. As noted above, there are two sets of vowel letters. Vowel letters indicate not only what vowel is to be pronounced (as might be expected), but they also indicate what sounds come before the vowel. In particular, letters of the soft set «**и е я ё ю**» indicate that the preceding consonant is palatalized when they follow a consonant letter from the set of mutable consonants «**п б в ф м т д с з н к г х р л**». Thus: «**я**» = the sound [a] plus palatalization of the consonant, as in «**Дягилев**» 'Diaghilev', pronounced [ḍá]; «**ю**» = the vowel [u] plus palatalization in the preceding consonant, as in «**рюмка**» 'wineglass' pronounced [ṛúmkə]; «**е**» = the sound [e] plus palatalization, as in «**нет**», pronounced [ņét]; «**ё**» = the sound [o] plus palatalization, as in the name «**Фёдор**», pronounced [f̣ódər]; and «**и**», as in the name «**Дима**», pronounced [ḍímə]. If no consonant letter precedes – at the beginning of a word, after another vowel, or after the boundary signs «**ь ъ**» (discussed separately below) – a soft-vowel letter as a rule indicates that the glide sound [j] precedes the vowel. Thus, at the beginning of the word, the soft-vowel letter «**я**» is pronounced with [j] before the [a] sound, as in «**Ялта**» – that is, [jaltə], whence the common English form *Yalta* (in Library of Congress transliteration, *Ialta*); the soft-vowel letter «**ю**» begins with [ju], as in «**Юрий**»,

whence English *Yuri* (Library of Congress *Iurii*); after a vowel, the soft-vowel letter «е» is automatically pronounced with [je], as in «**Достоевский**», as is indicated by one of the possible English spellings, *Dostoyevsky*.

Letters from the set of "hard-" vowel letters «**ы э а о у**» indicate which vowel is pronounced and, when they follow a consonant letter from the set of mutable consonants «**п б в ф м т д с з н к г х р л**», they indicate that the preceding consonant is not palatalized: «**Маша**» 'Masha' indicates that [m] is followed by [a], and the [m] is not palatalized; «**Путин**» 'Putin' indicates that unpalatalized [p] is followed by [u]. When no consonant letter precedes – at the beginning of a word or after another vowel letter – a vowel from this set indicates that there is *no* [j] before the vowel: «**альт**» 'viola' [al̩t] begins with [a], not [ja]; «**утка**» 'duck' [útkə] begins with [u], not [ju].

After the consonant sounds spelled by the letters «**ч щ ш ж ц**», which are pronounced the same regardless of the following vowel, a mixed set of vowels is used (§1.3.5).

When no vowel letter follows directly after the consonant letter, palatalization is marked by a special symbol «**ь**», called the "soft sign" (*мягкий знак*). For example, the «**ь**» at the end of «**мать**» 'mother' tells us that the sound of «**т**» is palatalized [t̡], and «**ь**» tells us that the initial consonant sound of «**тьма**» 'darkness' is palatalized [t̡].

The principles of Russian orthography can be presented as a set of branching decisions involving combinations of vowel letters and contexts, as in [1].

[1]   *Algorithms of Russian spelling*
       if a consonant is spelled by «**ч щ ш ж ц**», it is pronounced the same in all contexts;
             it can be spelled *at the end of words* or *before another consonant letter*; *a following vowel letter is one of the set* «*и е а о у*»
       if a consonant is spelled by «**п б в ф м т д с з н к г х р л**», it is pronounced as palatalized (soft) if
             it is followed by «**ь**» *at the end of a word* or *before another consonant letter*; or, *a following vowel letter is one of the set* «*и е я ё ю*»;
       if a consonant is spelled by «**п б в ф м т д с з н к г х р л**», it is pronounced as non-palatalized (hard) if
             it occurs *at the end of a word* or *before another consonant letter*; or, *a following vowel letter is one of the set* «*ы э а о у*».

1.3.5 How the Cyrillic alphabet works (refinements)

In each of the two sets – hard-vowel letters «**ы э а о у**» and soft-vowel letters «**и е я ё ю**» – the letters behave in a similar fashion up to a point, but there are some idiosyncrasies. The basic properties of vowel graphemes and the operational

Table 1.4 *Distribution and values of vowel letters*

context	«а»	«у»	«ы»	«о»	«э»	«я»	«ю»	«и»	«ё»	«е»
/«C»__	Cᵒ	Cᵒ	Cᵒ	Cᵒ	Cᵒ	Ç	Ç	Ç	Ç	Ç (Cᵒ)
/#__	V	V	*	V	V	jV	jV	V	jV	jV
/«V»__	V	V	*	V	V	jV	jV	V	jV	jV
/«ь ъ»__	*	*	*	*	*	jV	jV	jV	jV	jV
/«ч ш ж щ»__ (lexical)	√	√	*	√	*	*	*	√	√	√
/«ч ш ж щ»__ (grammatical)	√	√	*	√	*	*	*	√	*	√
/«ц»__ (lexical)	√	√	√	√	*	*	*	√	*	*
/«ц»__ (grammatical)	√	√	√	√	*	*	*	*	*	*

\# = beginning of word
√ = combination occurs
* = combination never (rarely) occurs
Ç = palatalized consonant
Cᵒ = consonant not palatalized

graphemes «ь ъ» are given in Table 1.4. Shading indicates a cell that differs from nearby cells.

Asymmetries and irregularities include the following. The pair «ы» vs. «и» is similar to other pairs at least to the extent that «и», as a soft-vowel letter, marks a mutable consonant as palatalized (thus «ти» implies [ţi]), while «ы» marks a consonant as not palatalized (thus «ты» implies [tɨ]). In this respect the pair «ы/и» is parallel to the pairs «а/я», «у/ю». However, there is one important respect in which «и» does not behave the same as other soft-vowel letters. When «и» is used in initial position or after a vowel, it does not imply a preceding [j]. Thus no [j] occurs initially in «Игорь», English *Igor*, which is pronounced [ígər], *not* *[jígər]; and no [j] occurs between the vowels of «Раиса», English *Raisa* (pronounced [rʌísa], not *[rʌjísa]) or in «мой» NOM PL 'my' (pronounced [mʌí], not *[mʌjí]).

Cyrillic «э», until recently, was used sparingly, for historical reasons. Any original *e in initial position or after a vowel acquired a prothetic [j], the only exceptions being native demonstrative stems («этот» 'this', «этакий» 'such a') and borrowings («этаж» 'floor', «эхо» 'echo', «поэт» 'poet'). Further, consonants were palatalized before original *e. Thus «э» is spelled only in acronymic formations like «НЭП» (from *новая экономическая политика* 'New Economic Policy, NEP'). It used to be standard practice to spell any foreign "e" vowel with Cyrillic «е», even when the preceding consonant was pronounced as hard; in a borrowing, a spelling of «де», in certain words, might be pronounced not as soft ([ḑe]) but as hard [dᵒ]: «деталь» [dᵒ] 'detail, part', «бензин» [bᵒ] 'fuel'. Recently, however, «э» is being used more often, after hard consonants («сэйл» 'sale', «Дэнни де Вито» but «бест-селлер») and even after vowels («криэтор» 'creator').

Cyrillic «ё» is more of a diacritic modification of «e» than a separate letter. It is not given a distinct position in alphabetical ordering in dictionaries; thus, «ежели» 'if' is alphabetized between «ёж» 'hedgehog' and its diminutive «ёжик». «Ё» indicates that the vowel is stressed [ó]. In addition, after a consonant letter, it indicates that a preceding mutable consonant is palatalized: «Фёдор» [f�ódər]. When there is no preceding consonant letter, the vowel is preceded by [j]: «ёжик» [jóžłk]. Thus when it is used, then, «ё» has a function parallel to that of «я» or «ю». But in fact «ё» is not used in all texts or styles of writing. If stress is marked generally – it usually is not, but it can be, for example, in dictionaries or pedagogical texts for foreigners – then «ё» is certainly used. Apart from such aids, the more explicit «ё» may be used in certain genres of texts intended for mass audiences: encyclopedias, schoolbooks, publicistic texts. In many other genres of text – fiction, journalism – «ё» is generally not used, and ordinary «e» is used instead. This letter is used in some of the recent postings on the web (for example, in the catalogue of the Russian State Library[20]), but not in the majority; no pattern is yet clear.

Individual borrowings that might be expected to have «ё» do not necessarily use that letter. Neither «ё» nor «e» is used to indicate the sequence of palatalized consonant followed by [o] in such borrowings as «синьор» 'señor' or «бульон» 'bouillon'. The sequence «йо» is used internally after vowels («район» 'region') and is generally used in borrowings to represent [jo] initially: «йод» 'iodine', «йога» 'yoga', «Йорк» 'York' (though Japanese names do use «ё»: «Ёсано» 'Yosano'). The grapheme «ё» is also used, lexically and locally, as an aid to the pronunciation or identification of individual words, notably to distinguish the neuter singular pronoun «всё» from the plural «все» 'everyone, all things': – *А ты всё это опиши* 'you just describe all that'; *Валерий и я всё шли* 'Valery and I kept on walking'. In discussions of spelling below, «ё» is characterized as EXPLICIT WRITING style, «e» as NEUTRAL style.

In compounds, soft-vowel letters indicate that [j] precedes the vowel, even after a previous consonant letter: «военюрист» 'military lawyer' [nᵒj], «детясли» 'children's daycare' [tᵒj]. Remarkably, in borrowings «й» can be followed by soft-vowel letters: «фойе» 'foyer', «папайя» 'papaya', «паранойя» 'paranoia', «Айя-София» 'Hagia Sophia', «(растут) секвойи» 'sequoias (grow)'.

Consonant letters designating immutable sounds («ч щ ш ж ц») have unusual properties, and are followed by a mixed set of vowel letters, normally «a», «у» (very exceptionally «ю» in borrowings: «брошюра» 'brochure', «жюри» 'jury'), «e», and «и». Spelling of stressed [ó] after these letters is complicated. Native roots use «ё» in explicit style, or, in neutral orthographic style, «e»: explicit «щёки» 'cheeks', «жёлтый» 'yellow', NOM PL «жёны» 'wives', «молодожёны»

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[20] Российская Государвственная Библиотека http://www.rsl.ru/ <10.X.02>. The site does not use «ё» on its home page.

'newlyweds', neutral **«щеки»**, **«желтый»**, **«жены»**, **«молодожены»**. **«О»** is used in derivation when the vowel is stressed, as in diminutives: **«ножок»** 'knife', **«борщок»** 'soup', **«табачок»** 'tobacco', **«мешок»** 'bag'. In grammatical endings **«о»** is used when the vowel is stressed, as in: INS SG_{<IA>} **«ножом»** 'knife', **«купцом»** 'merchant', **«богачом»** 'rich man', INS SG_{<II>} **«душой»** 'soul', **«овцой»** 'sheep', **«свечой»** 'candle'. Not under stress, derivatives and grammatical endings are spelled with **«е»**: GEN PL DIM **«книжек»** 'books', **«ручек»** 'handles', INS SG_{<IA>} **«плачем»** 'cry', **«немцем»** 'German', **«пляжем»** 'beach', INS SG_{<II>} **«удачей»** 'good fortune', **«грушей»** 'pear'. While **«е»** (explicit **«ё»**) is usual in roots, **«о»** is used under stress in certain lexical items: **«шорох»** 'rustling', **«шов»** 'seam', **«прожор»** 'glutton', **«ожог»** 'burn', **«жолоб»** 'chute', now usually **«жёлоб»** (**«желоб»**). Until the orthographic reform in 1918, **«о»** was used in other native roots (**«жолтый»**, PL **«щоки»**). In borrowings **«о»** is normal: **«Шопен»** 'Chopin', **«шок»** 'shock', **«жокей»** 'jockey'. The principle, simplified somewhat, is that after **«ч щ ш ж ц»**, **«о»** is used for a stressed vowel in morphological environments and internally in borrowings, **«е»** is used elsewhere (lexical environments, unstressed vowel).

Another complication is that both **«ци»** and **«цы»** are used; **«цы»** occurs in old lexemes (**«цыгане»** 'Gypsies', **«цыплёнок»** 'chick'), **«ци»** in modern borrowings (**«цикл»** 'cycle', **«цивилизация»** 'civilization'). In grammatical endings **«ы»** is used (NOM PL **«отцы»** 'fathers').

The "hard sign" **«ъ»** and the "soft sign" **«ь»** do not represent any sound directly. Rather, they are operational graphemes that indicate how adjacent graphemes are to be understood. The "hard sign" **«ъ»**, after being eliminated from the end of words in the orthographic reform of 1918, has limited functions. It is used after prefixes before a soft-vowel letter (**«объяснял»** 'explained', **«съесть»** 'eat up') and in some borrowings (**«объект»** 'object', **«конъюнктура»** 'configuration'). It is a boundary grapheme, indicating that the following soft-vowel letter is to be read as if it began a word – that is, first comes the consonant (which may or may not be pronounced as palatalized), then [j], then the vowel: **«отъезд»** [ʌtjést] ~ [ʌtᵒjést].

The "soft sign" **«ь»** has greater utility. When no vowel letter follows, **«ь»** indicates that a preceding mutable consonant is palatalized. When a vowel letter follows, **«ь»** (like **«ъ»**) indicates that the vowel letter is to be interpreted as if it were in initial position, hence preceded by [j]; the preceding consonant is palatalized if it is mutable: compare palatalized **«бью»** 'I beat' [bʲju], but unpalatalized **«шью»** 'I sew' [šju]. When the symbol **«ь»** is not followed by a vowel letter, it indicates that the preceding consonant is palatalized. Thus the **«ь»** indicates that the lateral consonant is palatalized in GEN SG **«льда»** 'ice', **«только»** 'just', **«столь»** 'so much'. After **«ч ш ж щ»**, which designate immutable consonants,

«ь» cannot mark palatalization, yet it still occurs in specific morphological environments: in nouns of Declension_{＜III＞} («**ночь**» 'night', «**вошь**» 'louse', «**рожь**» 'rye', «**помощь**» 'aid, help'), in infinitives of velar-stems («**печь**» 'to bake'), in the imperative («**плачь**» 'cry!', «**слышь**» 'listen!', «**режь**» 'cut!'),[21] and in the second singular of the present tense («**читаешь**» 'you read').

1.3.6 How the Cyrillic alphabet works (lexical idiosyncrasies)

In general, Russian writing can be converted automatically to a phonological representation when it is supplemented by information about stress. There is only a limited number of idiosyncratic instances in which spelling and phonology do not match.

Orthographic «**г**» is pronounced as [v] in the genitive singular of masculine and neuter adjectives – for example, in «**того**» [tʌvó] 'that', «**постороннего**» [. . . n̩ivə] 'outsider'. The same pronunciation occurs in the lexicalized genitives «**сегодня**»'today' and «**итого**» 'thus'. Historically this pronunciation goes back to a sound change in which *g became [γ] in the southern half of the Russian language area, and was then reinterpreted as [v] in these words in central dialects. Despite the spelling «**ся**», palatalization is now rare in the reflexive particle in the present tense and the masculine past (*рвётся* [rʊ́ftsə], *брался* 'undertook' [brálsə]).

Some other peculiarities derive from the tension between [g] and [γ] as the pronunciation of «**г**». In individual lexical items with a sacral connotation, the pronunciation of «**г**» as [γ] was maintained. The fricative is still possible in interjections «**господи**» 'Lord', «**ей Богу**» 'oh God', «**ага**» 'aha', and was earlier possible in the declension of the nouns «**Бог**» 'God' and in «**благый**» 'honorable' and «**богатый**» 'rich'. A fricative pronunciation is recommended in «**бухгальтер**» 'bookkeeper', where it has a different source.

The fact that «**г**» was once widely pronounced as [γ] is indirectly responsible for another peculiarity of spelling. Foreign [h] was for a long time spelled with Russian «**г**», because these foreign sounds were perceived to be similar to [γ]. This convention was maintained long after «**г**» ceased to be pronounced as [γ], and has carried over into modern borrowings, when it is pronounced as [g], not [γ]: «**гуманист**» 'humanist', «**готтентоты**» 'Hottentots', «**гонорар**» 'honorarium', «**Гитлер**» 'Hitler'. In recent years there is a tendency to use «**х**», unless the spelling with «**г**» is already established: one discussion of Shakespeare refers to «**Гамлет**» 'Hamlet' and «**Хотспур**» 'Hotspur'. Note also «**Хельга**» 'Helga', «**Хельсинки**» 'Helsinki', «**телескоп имени Хаббла**» 'the Hubbell telescope', «**Уорхолл**»'Warhol', «**Харлей-Давидсон**» 'Harley-Davidson'.

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[21] The imperatives of verb stems ending in «**щ**» take a vowel – *рыскать*, *рыщи* – suggesting «**щ**» counts as a cluster.

1.3.7 Transliteration

It is possible to convert words or whole texts written in Cyrillic into a Latin script by transliterating: each Cyrillic letter is assigned to one or more Latin letters, and the rules of conversion are applied blindly.[22] For example, each time «г» occurs in a Cyrillic text, the letter «g» is used in the Latin text; thus «Волгоград» is transliterated as «**Volgograd**», «Гамлет» as «**Gamlet**» (though we know him by another name), «того» as «**togo**» (though the «г» is pronounced as [v]). When possible, the Latin equivalent is chosen so that its sound value corresponds to the sound value of the Cyrillic letter.

A number of systems for transliteration are in use. They are quite similar, and they are more or less equally adequate. There are also more informal, less rigorous, strategies of Anglicizing isolated Russian words, used, for example, in journalism.

The linguistic system uses diacritics in preference to diagraphs for unusual consonant letters, for example «ч» is transliterated as «**č**», using the Czech háček. The soft-vowel letters «**я**» and «**ю**» are rendered as «**ja**» and «**ju**» in all positions, whether they serve to mark a previous consonant as palatalized or to indicate the presence of [j]. Cyrillic «**й**» is «**j**». In this system, Latin «**j**» has multiple values: it occurs after a consonant in «**djadja Vanja**» («**дядя Ваня**»), implying [ḏ], before a vowel in «**Jalta**» («**Ялта**»), implying [j], and after vowels in «**geroj**» («**герой**»). Thus in order to know what Latin «**j**» means, one has to know the principles of Cyrillic writing. Cyrillic «**э**» is distinguished from Cyrillic «**е**» by a diacritic, as «**è**» or «**ė**» (continental). The linguistic system of transliteration is rigorous in representing «**ë**» when it is used in the source, and rigorous in transliterating «**ь**» and «**ъ**». The linguistic system is commonly adapted to serve as a phonetic alphabet, a practice adopted here, though other sources prefer the International Phonetic Alphabet.

All other systems avoid diacritics and use digraphs instead: «**ч**» is «**ch**», «**щ**» is «**shch**», and «**ц**» is «**ts**». Differences concern how vowels and «**й**» are transliterated. One widely used system is that of the Library of Congress. The soft-vowel letters «**я**» and «**ю**» are rendered as «**ia**» and «**iu**», and Cyrillic «**й**» is also «**i**». Thus the Latin transliterated letter «**i**» derives from multiple sources – from Cyrillic «**и**», obviously, but also from «**й**» and the soft-vowel letters «**я**» and «**ю**». As a consequence, sequences such as «**ii**», «**oi**», «**ei**» are ambiguous. A further difficulty is that spellings such as «**Ialta**» or «**diadia Vania**» or «**Svetloiar**» («**Светлояр**») seem not to be enlightening guides to English pronunciation.

The Library of Congress system, in its most rigorous formulation sanctioned by the Library,[23] uses ligatures («**ю**» > «**i͡u**») and some diacritics («**э**» > «**ė**»),

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[22] Neisweinder 1962, Shaw 1967/79, Hart 1983.   [23] Barry 1991.

Table 1.5 *Romanizations of Russian Cyrillic*

Cyrillic	linguistic	British System	Library of Congress	American Geographic Society	popular	Uppsala Corpus
а	a	a	a	a	a	a
б	b	b	b	b	b	b
в	v	v	v	v	v	v
г	g	g	g	g	g	g
д	d	d	d	d	d	d
е	e	e	e	e | ye[†]	e (ye)	e
ё	ë	e	ë (e[‡])	yo	e (yo)	oh
ж	ž	zh	zh	zh	zh	zh
з	z	z	z	z	z	z
и	i	i	i	i	i	i
й	j	i	ĭ (i[‡])	y	y	j
к	k	k	k	k	k	k
л	l	l	l	l	l	l
м	m	m	m	m	m	m
н	n	n	n	n	n	n
о	o	o	o	o	o	o
п	p	p	p	p	p	p
р	r	r	r	r	r	r
с	s	s	s	s	s	s
т	t	t	t	t	t	t
у	u	u	u	u	u	u
ф	f	f	f	f	f	f
х	x ∼ ch[o]	kh	kh	kh	kh	x
ц	c	ts	t͡s (ts[‡])	ts	ts	c
ч	č	ch	ch	ch	ch	ch
ш	š	sh	sh	sh	sh	sh
щ	šč	shch	shch	shch	shch	w
ъ	”	″	″ (”[‡])	”		qh
ы	y	ȳ (y[‡]) / ui[§]	y	y	y	y
ь	’	′	′ ([‡])	’		q
э	è / ė[o]	é	ė (e[‡])	e	e	eh
ю	ju	yu	i͡u (iu[‡])	yu	yu	ju
я	ja	ya	ıa (ia[‡])	ya	ya	ja

[†]«e» after consonant letter, «ye» elsewhere
[‡]less rigorous variant often used in practice
[o]Continental variant
[§]British Library in particular

but these diacritics usually disappear in informal practice outside of the Library itself. Similarly, prime and double prime, defined as the Romanization of the soft sign and the hard sign, are often replaced by a single or double closed quotation mark, or omitted altogether. (Here they are maintained in transliterating names of scholars, but not in Russian names in glosses.) Moreover, search programs in electronic library catalogues ignore them.

The British System (British Standard 2979, 1958) renders consonant letters in the same way, but has different equivalents for vowel letters: «я» =«ya», «ю» = «yu»; «i» is used consistently for «й». The results in this system – «Yalta», «dyadya Vanya», and «geroi» – seem a more congenial guide to pronunciation for English speakers. But there is a problem with «ы», rendered in other systems as «y». *Hart's Rules for Compositors* (various editions, e.g., 1983) recommends «ȳ» for «ы», but the diacritic disappears in practice, with the result that Roman «y» is used for two very different purposes. The British Library, whose practice is reflected, for example, in the catalogues of books acquired (for example, British Library 1974, 1979–87, 1986), uses «ui» for «ы».

In the British System, the ending of proper names is simplified to «y», as in «Evgeny», «Klimenty», «Zlatopolsky». This sensible practice of simplifying and domesticating proper names is becoming widespread.

In brief, each system has an advantage and a correlated disadvantage. The British System has a more congenial way of rendering «я» and «ю» than the Library of Congress system, but does not have a good solution to «ы». The Library of Congress handles «ы», but creates off-putting sequences such as «Ialta».

The US Board on Geographic Names of The American Geographic Society of the Smithsonian Institute, like the British System, uses «y» in rendering «я» and «ю». It even uses «ye» to render Cyrillic «e» in the position not after consonants – in absolute initial position, after vowels, and after «ь» and «ъ»: «Dostoyevsky», «Yeltsin». This is roughly the strategy used in journalism to render Russian words or names, though popular practice is less consistent than the transliteration algorithms. Popular practice sometimes also transliterates Cyrillic «e» as «ye» even after consonants, leading to a profusion of «y»: «Nye byt voynye»[24] (for *не быть войне*! 'there'll be war no more').

Computerization pulls in opposite directions. It has become easy to manipulate Cyrillic on computers. The letters of the Cyrillic alphabet are assigned to a designated range of characters. These are not the ordinary characters, but ones belonging to an enriched character table, and, with software, keystrokes are reassigned to that range. A mapping commonly used on the web is "KIO8," for "код

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[24] Josef Skvorecky, *The Engineer of Human Souls* (New York, 1985), 357.

обмена информацией, 8 бит" (Code for Information Exchange, 8-bit), or now the specifically Russian version "KIO8-R," which assigns ASCII 192 through 255 (plus 179) to the Russian Cyrillic alphabet, which can then be typed, read, and printed with the appropriate software.[25] Microsoft devotes the interval from 0410 through 0451 of Unicode to Russian Cyrillic. Thus, on the one hand, because of practical developments in computers, it has become increasingly natural simply to use Cyrillic without any transliteration, in discourse where acquaintance with Russian can be presumed. On the other hand, there are many Cyrillic fonts and mapping systems in use, and so far there is no standard for manipulating Cyrillic. Accordingly, there is a pressure to simplify.[26]

The Library of Congress system and the British Standard have one prominent ambiguity: transliterated «ii» can represent either GEN SG «истории» 'history' or GEN PL «историй»; «oi» can represent either «ои» or «ой». Computerized corpora develop strategies to avoid such ambiguities. The system of the Uppsala Corpus, for example, is representative of the new mode of unambiguous Romanization. The Uppsala Corpus uses digraphs with «h» for the unusual Cyrillic consonant letters – for example, «ж» becomes «zh»; it uses «j» for «й» and as the operational graph in vowel letters – for example, «я» becomes «ja». By using «j» consistently, «ой» and «ои» are distinguished in transliteration (as «oj» and «oi», respectively). This strategy may gain ground.

In e-mail communication with Russians (in the format of plain text in a Latin alphabet), there is no standardized procedure. Not uncommon is a strategy like that of computerized corpora, in which the unusual Cyrillic consonant letters are spelled with digraphs with «h» as in most transliteration systems, while «j» is used for «й» and as the operational graph in vowel letters, for example «я» becomes «ja». Some Russians use «je» for «e» after vowels.

The various systems for Romanizing Cyrillic are similar and about equally adequate. They face conflicting demands. On the one hand, any transliteration is supposed to be automatic and rigorous, and retain all the information contained in the original, so that it is possible to reconstruct the original Cyrillic from the Romanization. On the other, a transliteration is more congenial if it indicates how Russian words might be pronounced and does not overwhelm the reader with its foreignness. The two expectations inevitably conflict at certain points: in the transliteration of «й», «ы», and the soft-vowel letters, which have a dual function in Russian, and also in the transliteration of «э», «ё», «ь», and «ъ».

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[25] Discussed on various sites, for example, http://koi8.pp.ru/.

[26] One could note, for example, that of library catalogues accessible by the internet, Cambridge University's maintains «'», while Oxford's has dispensed with it.

2

Sounds

2.1 Sounds

Sounds are pronounced in different ways – in one context as opposed to another, from one occasion to the next, from one speaker to another. From these different pronunciations in the flow of speech, over the occasions of speech, and across speakers, regular gestures and regular acoustic patterns can be abstracted. The units derived by idealizing in this way will be written here in square brackets.[1] In Russian as in other languages, sounds can be classified into VOWELS (stressed [á], unstressed [ə], etc.) and CONSONANTS, which include OBSTRUENTS – sounds made with a significant obstruction of the air flow (such as [t], [ʐ]) – and SONORANTS (such as the nasal [n], the liquid [ļ], the glide [j]).

Russian phonology revolves primarily around two concerns: stress in vowels and palatalization in consonants.[2]

Palatalization is an articulation of a consonant in which the blade of the tongue moves toward the hard palate. For example, when the non-palatalized "l" sound of *цел* (*це́лый*) 'whole' is pronounced, the tip of the tongue touches near the teeth, while the middle of the tongue lies low in the mouth. In contrast, when the palatalized "l" sound of *цель* 'goal' is pronounced, the tip of the tongue touches behind the upper teeth, and the blade and the middle of the tongue are raised towards the hard palate. Most consonant articulations in Russian come

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[1] The discussion here, which is oriented around the level of phonology sometimes termed "broad phonetic," downplays questions of phonemics: non-linguists find the concept of phoneme unenlightening; variable rules respond to phonetic conditions; problematic cases of phonemic analysis (in Russian, unstressed vowels; palatalized velars; [ɨ]; [ʂː], the sound corresponding to the letter «щ») cannot be resolved without extensive discussion about the actual properties of the sounds, rendering binary decisions about what is or is not phonemic uninformative.

Relationships among related sounds are viewed here as sets. Variants of stressed vowels are grouped together as a set, with the most basic variant standing for the set. For example, [ó] stands for the set including the sound [ó] that occurs between hard consonants and other variants, such as the [ǫ] that occurs between soft consonants, as in *тётя* 'aunt'. To discuss unstressed vowels in relation to stressed vowels, the concept of a SERIES of vowels is introduced.

[2] Avanesov's manual (1972) is informative about variation in phonology, if one corrects for its conservative standard. Panov 1990 is enriched by a valuable historical perspective. Matusevich 1976 and Bondarko 1977 have proven useful. Halle 1959 and Jones and Ward 1969 are good descriptions in English. The research on variation (Panov 1968, Krysin 1974) is summarized and interpreted in Comrie and Stone 1978 and Comrie, Stone, and Polinsky 1996.

in two forms, with or without palatalization, like "l" sounds. It is convenient, following the Russian tradition, to refer informally to non-palatalized consonants as HARD and palatalized consonants as SOFT. Non-palatalized consonants are written by a symbol with no additional mark; [z] is the non-palatalized voiced dental fricative that is the first consonant in, for example, *зáл* 'hall'. The set of non-palatalized consonants can be written as $\{C^\circ\}$, or just C°, with a degree sign to emphasize absence of palatalization. Palatalization is indicated by adding a diacritic to the symbol used to represent the consonant. Various diacritics are used: an acute accent ([z′] or [ź]), an apostrophe or single quote ([z′]), or – and this is the practice adopted here – a cedilla; thus [z̦] represents the palatalized "z" in *взял* 'he took'. The set of palatalized consonants can be represented $\{Ç\}$, or, more simply, as $Ç$. Palatalization, though a property of consonants, affects how vowels are pronounced. Palatalization is also relevant to morphology.

Stress functions on many levels. Phonetically, stressed vowels differ from unstressed vowels first and foremost by being longer. As a consequence, stressed vowels are more distinct in their pronunciation than unstressed vowels. Stress is relevant to the lexicon and to morphology. Each lexical word – noun, verb, adjective, adverb – has one syllable that is stressed. Accordingly, the number of stresses in an utterance is the number of major words in the utterance. (This excludes prepositions and particles such as *же*, which are written with spaces as separate orthographic words, but do not have a stressed vowel.) Stress is not assigned automatically to the same syllable in all words, such as the first syllable in Czech. Rather, different words can have stress on different syllables: *мýка* 'torment' but *мукá* 'flour'. Further, the place of stress can fall on different syllables in different inflectional and derivational forms of a word or word nest: thus, GEN SG *стороны́* 'side', NOM=ACC PL *стóроны*; 1SG *смотрю́* 'I see', 2SG *смóтришь*; 1SG *оторвý* 'I will rip off', PST PL *оторвáли*, PST FEM *оторвалá*, PSV MSC SG *отóрван*; or NOM SG *головá,* ACC SG *гóлову*, DIM *голóвка*. Stress is then an ancillary marker of morphology (in verbs: §3.2, in nouns: §3.6).

Stress plays a crucial role in the prosody of phrases. Shifts in intonation contours occur on or around the stressed syllable (§7.2). To emphasize one word as opposed to others, the stressed syllable is made louder, more prominent (sometimes termed SENTENCE STRESS). Thus operations that deal with the prosody of phrases are focused on stressed syllables.

2.2 Vowels

2.2.1 Stressed vowels

A word is organized in its phonetics around the one vowel that is stressed. That stressed vowel is normally longer than other vowels. Vowels far away from

the stressed vowel are very short. Vowels of the syllable immediately before the stressed syllable are intermediate in duration; they are shorter than stressed vowels, longer than other unstressed vowels. By virtue of being longer, stressed vowels have more extreme articulations; the tongue has the time to reach further to the perimeters of the vocal tract – to be pronounced higher and further front, or higher and further back, or lower down. Unstressed vowels, in contrast, spend most of their modest duration in the transition away from a preceding consonant and the transition to the following consonant; they do not reach the same extremes of articulation (high or low, front or back) as stressed vowels. If stressed vowels can be located on the perimeters of the vowel space shaped like an inverted trapezoid, unstressed vowels form a smaller figure inside the space of stressed vowels. There are, evidently, five stressed vowel units in Russian capable of distinguishing meanings of words, and a smaller number of distinct unstressed vowels.

Vowels (and other sounds) can be classified both in terms of the articulatory gestures used to produce them and the acoustic signals produced by these gestures. To review the essentials of articulatory phonetics, vowels are produced by allowing the air to flow relatively freely through the oral cavity. The oral passage can be given different shapes primarily by changing the position of the tongue (and also by different positions of the lips and of the mandible), and different vowel sounds result, which can be classified as front vs. back, high vs. mid vs. low, and rounded (labialized) vs. unrounded (non-labialized). To review the essentials of acoustic phonetics, the irregular shape of the vocal tract leads to a myriad of harmonics of the fundamental frequency, F_0. The harmonics tend to cluster within recognizable bands, or FORMANTS, measured at their centers in cycles per second, or Hertz (= Hz). The first formant (clustering of harmonics), or F_1, is proportional to aperture. Thus [á], the vowel produced with the widest aperture and lowest position of the tongue, has the *highest* value of F_1, as high as 800 or 900 Hz, while [í ɨ́ ú], produced with the tongue close to the roof of the mouth, have the narrowest aperture and the *lowest* values of F_1, around 250–400 Hz; mid vowels [é] and [ó] are intermediate. The second clustering of harmonics, F_2, can be taken as a measure of the position of articulation on the horizontal axis, as front (high F_2) or back (low F_2).[3] Thus [ú], the furthest back and most strongly labialized vowel, has the lowest F_2 (around 600 Hz); the value increases as one goes around the vowel space to [ó] (700–900 Hz), [á] (1000–1400 Hz), [é] (1600–1800 Hz), and [í], with a value of 2000 Hz or more. [Ó] tends to slight diphthongization: [ᵘó] (or [ᵚó] after soft consonants). F_2, incidentally, is what people respond to when they perceive vowels with synaesthesia and characterize, for

[3] A more refined view is that the perception of frontness depends also on F_1 and F_3, according to the formula $F_2 + 0.5 (F_3 − F_2)(F_2 − F_1)/(F_3 − F_1)$ (Carlson et al. 1970).

Table 2.1 *Properties of stressed vowels*

		C°VC°		C°VÇ		ÇVC°		ÇVÇ	
		F₁	F₂	F₁	F₂	F₁	F₂	F₁	F₂
[í]	10 ms.					312	2017	317	2020
	30%					316	2065	346	2114
	50%					*313*	*2121*	*339*	*2355*
	70%					293	2175	273	2324
	−10 ms.					261	1994	210	2061
[ɨ]	10 ms.	404	1242	380	1136				
	30%	393	1563	364	1787				
	50%	*392*	*1925*	*352*	*2094*				
	70%	383	1950	346	2144				
	−10 ms.	337	1650	260	2050				
[é]	10 ms.	599	1361	570	1386	332	2197	348	2133
	30%	723	1718	567	1824	401	2216	384	2334
	50%	*702*	*1770*	*548*	*1947*	*506*	*2000*	*417*	*2307*
	70%	704	1644	488	1955	569	1744	440	2258
	−10 ms.	577	1547	442	1916	468	1564	304	2102
[á]	10 ms.	815	982	801	1154	432	2011	485	1979
	30%	922	1285	895	1306	770	1871	833	1887
	50%	*941*	*1346*	*886*	*1415*	*979*	*1662*	*912*	*1768*
	70%	896	1443	850	1560	924	1560	881	1792
	−10 ms.	551	1622	494	1839	602	1579	521	1931
[ó]	10 ms.	560	694	402	1430	354	1985	338	1876
	30%	535	738	493	1319	426	1678	437	1847
	50%	*595*	*809*	*518*	*1213*	*571*	*1219*	*482*	*1474*
	70%	534	905	510	1066	566	1054	451	1418
	−10 ms.	458	1297	347	1745	465	1334	323	1734
[ú]	10 ms.	425	795	435	854	360	2024	208	1871
	30%	410	626	437	856	346	1696	283	1833
	50%	*401*	*555*	*433*	*914*	*383*	*1295*	*309*	*1662*
	70%	386	881	446	1147	386	1100	307	1439
	−10 ms.	374	1164	490	1730	392	1483	256	1789

10 ms. = measurement 10 ms. after beginning of vowel

−10 ms. = measurement 10 ms. from end of vowel

30% (50%, 70%) = measurement at a point 30% (50%, 70%) of the duration of the vowel

example, [ó ú] as dark or gloomy vowels – they have a low F_2 – and [é í] as bright or red or cheery vowels – they have a high F_2. Specifying the values of F_1 and F_2 goes a long way towards defining a vowel.

It takes a little time for each vowel to reach its target position, and some of the duration of vowels is spent in transition from the preceding to the following consonant. Different places of articulation (labial, dental, alveo-palatal, velar) have characteristic effects on vowels, specifically on F_2. Labial consonants ([p] or [m]) depress the value of F_2 in the transition to the vowel; dentals ([t s]) raise F_2, and velars ([k g x]) are intermediate in their effect on F_2. These effects are similar across languages. What sets Russian apart is the way in which vowels interact with palatalization in consonants. It is customary to define four contexts depending on the adjacent consonants: after a hard consonant before a hard consonant (= C^oVC^o), after a hard consonant before a soft consonant (= $C^oVÇ$), after a soft consonant before a hard consonant (= $ÇVC^o$), and position between soft consonants (= $ÇVÇ$). One could in principle distinguish additional contexts in which there is no consonant either before or after the vowel. A context with no consonant is usually equivalent to a consonant with an initial hard consonant: $VC^o ≈ C^oVC^o$, $VÇ ≈ C^oVÇ$. (The exception is [í] – see below.) And a context with no following consonant is similar to a context in which the vowel is followed by a hard consonant: $C^oV ≈ C^oVC^o$, $ÇV ≈ ÇVC^o$.

The vowels [á ó ú] respond to adjacent consonants in a similar way. Measurements of F_1 and F_2 at different points in the duration of the vowel are recorded in Table 2.1 (one token of the speech of one speaker, reading list style).[4] The behavior of [á], illustrated in Fig. 2.1, can be taken as representative of [á ó ú]. While [á ó ú] differ in absolute values of F_1 and F_2 (see the numbers in bold italics in Table 2.1), their contours are similar.

CONTEXT 1: ***C^oVC^o*** (***#VC^o***): The basic allophone is a central vowel, written without diacritics as [á], which occurs between hard consonants, C^oVC^o (and in initial position, VC^o). As in *мáт* 'checkmate' [mát] (Table 2.1 and Fig. 2.1), F_2 starts low (1100 Hz) after the hard labial [m^o] and gradually rises throughout the vowel, in anticipation of the final hard dental [t^o]. Vowels [ó] and [ú] are similar (*мóда* 'fashion' [módə], *пýсто* 'empty' [pústə]).

CONTEXT 2: ***C^oVÇ***: After a hard consonant, before a soft consonant, as in *мáть* 'mother' [mát̡], [á] begins with a similarly low F_2. In anticipation of the final palatalized consonant, F_2 is higher than with *мáт* already at the midpoint (1490 Hz) and then rises sharply to a much higher value in the final transition

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[4] Pictures from Kay's Computerized Speech Laboratory; measurements prepared with Praat, the phonetics program developed by Paul Boersma. Polina Barskova was kind enough to serve as native speaker. Bondarko 1977 and Matusevich 1976 have comparable though less specific data.
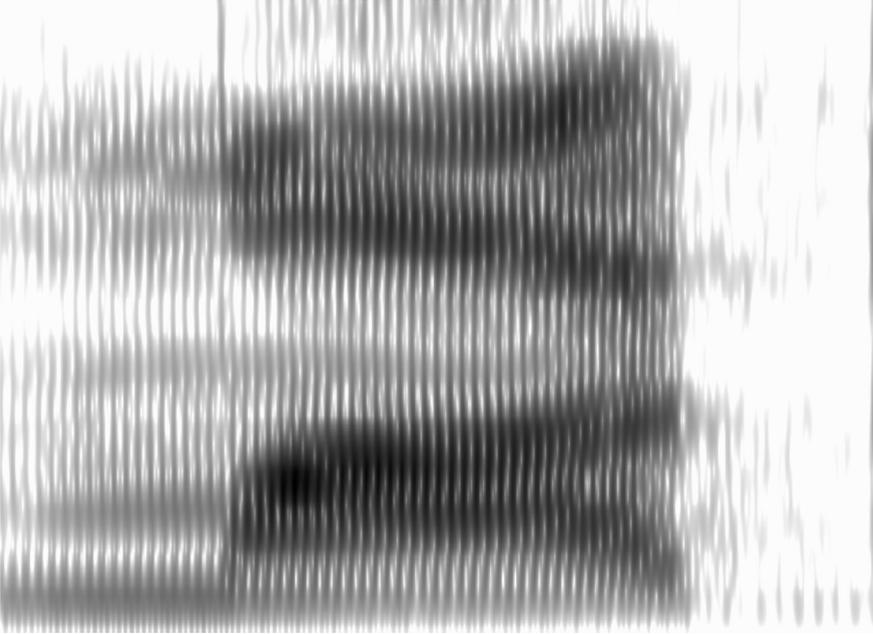
Fig. 2.1 *мат* 'checkmate' [mát]

(1850 Hz) (Fig. 2.2). This rise in F_2 is written here with a directional subscript indicating fronting: [á̟]. Because [ó] and [ú] have lower values of F_2, the rise of F_2 is quite precipitous in anticipation of the palatalized consonant of *о мо́де* 'about fashion' [ʌmó̟dɪ], *бу́ря* 'storm' [bú̟rə].

CONTEXT 3: *ÇVC°*: In the third context – after a soft consonant before hard, as in *мят* 'crumpled' [m̦át] (Fig. 2.3) – F_2 in the initial transition rises very quickly from the previous labial to an early peak of more than 2000 Hz, and then dips to a minimum after the vowel's midpoint, rising slightly at the end in anticipation of the final hard dental. With [ó] (*мёg* 'honey') and [ú] (*бюст* 'bust'), whose F_2 values are lower, the dip and the corresponding rise at the end are more extreme.

CONTEXT 4: *ÇVÇ*: In the context ÇVÇ, illustrated here by *мять* 'crumple' [m̦áț] (Fig. 2.4), F_2 has a similar contour to the context ÇVC°, but F_2 rises to 2000 Hz or more at the end. With [ó] and [ú], as in *о мёge* 'about honey' [ʌm̦ó̟dɪ], *о бюсте* 'about the bust' [ʌb̦ú̟șțɪ], the dip and subsequent rise are quite significant.

The vowel [é] has a generally similar behavior, except that its natural value for F_2 is higher than with [á ó ú]. *C°VC°*: After a hard consonant before a hard consonant, as in *мэр* 'mayor' [mér], *жест* 'gesture' [žést], [é] is a relatively open mid front vowel, with F_1 on the order of 600–700 Hz and F_2 approximately 1600–1800
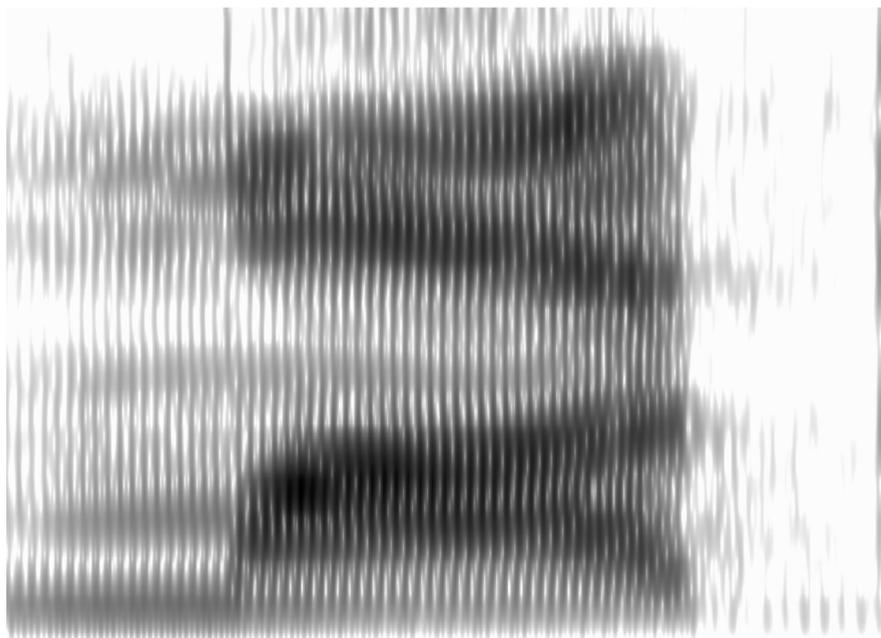
**Fig. 2.2** *мáть* 'mother' [mátʲ]
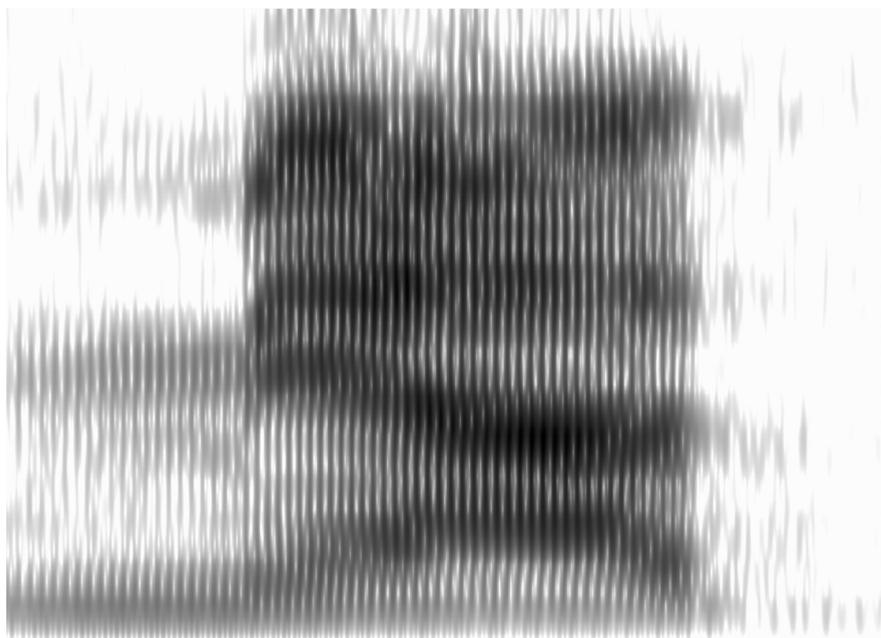
Fig. 2.3 *мя́т* 'crumpled' [m̥át]
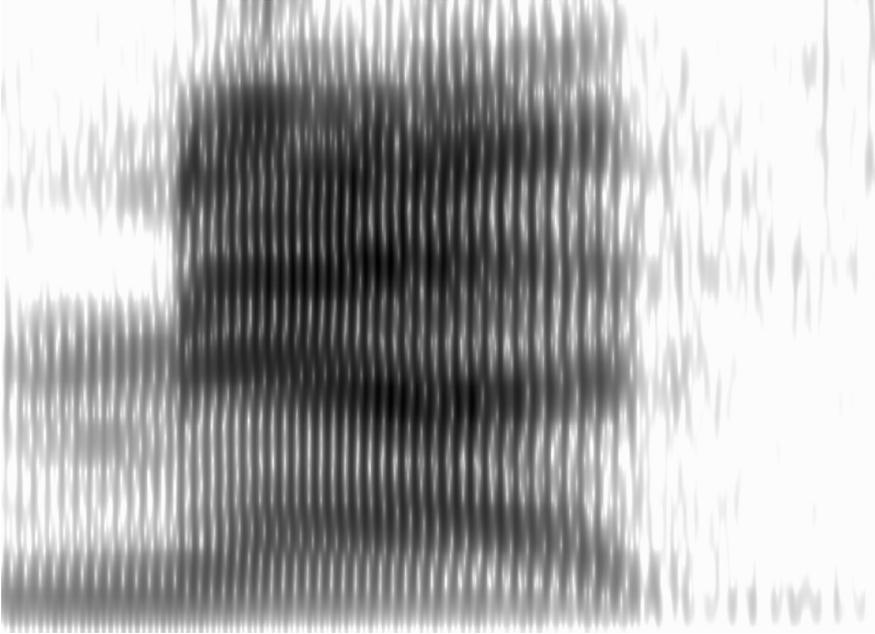
Fig. 2.4 *мять* 'crumple' [m̥ʲátʲ]

(Table 2.1).[5] [É] in initial position, as in *э́то* 'this' [étə], is similarly open. $C^oVC̦$: After a hard consonant but before a soft consonant, [é] is raised and fronted, especially in its final transition, as can be seen from the lower F_1 and higher F_2 in *о мэ́ре* 'about the mayor' [mér̦ı]. The effect of a palatalized consonant on [é] can be written as [é̦], with the same diacritic as with [á̦], although with [é] the effect involves raising (lowering of F_1) as well as fronting (raising of F_2). $C̦VC^o$: After a soft consonant, [é] has a front, high transition (with an F_2 in the vicinity of 1800–2000 Hz): *те́ло* 'body' [țə́lə], *ме́тка* 'mark' [m̦étkə]. $C̦VC̦$: Between soft consonants, [é] remains fronted and high throughout: *ме́тить* 'aim' [m̦ə́țıț], with a low F_1, around 350–450 Hz, and a high F_2, around 2100–2300 Hz.

Among high non-rounded vowels, the variant that occurs in initial position is [í] (*и́ва* 'willow' [ívə]) – about the same vowel that occurs in the context $C̦VC^o$, after a soft consonant before a hard consonant ($C̦VC^o$: *ми́тра* 'mitre' [m̦ítrə]). In this context, F_2 begins and remains high throughout, but tails off a little in the final transition to a hard consonant (Fig. 2.5). $C̦VC^o$: Before a following soft

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[5] [É] occurs after a hard consonant only if the consonant is unpaired or the word is a borrowing. For this reason, Avanesov takes the position after soft consonant as basic. But the measurement recorded in Table 2.9 shows that there is a distinct, overt transition from 2000 Hz after a soft consonant to a target 400 or 500 Hz lower, and that transition is similar to the transition that occurs from a palatalized consonant to other vowels such as [á].
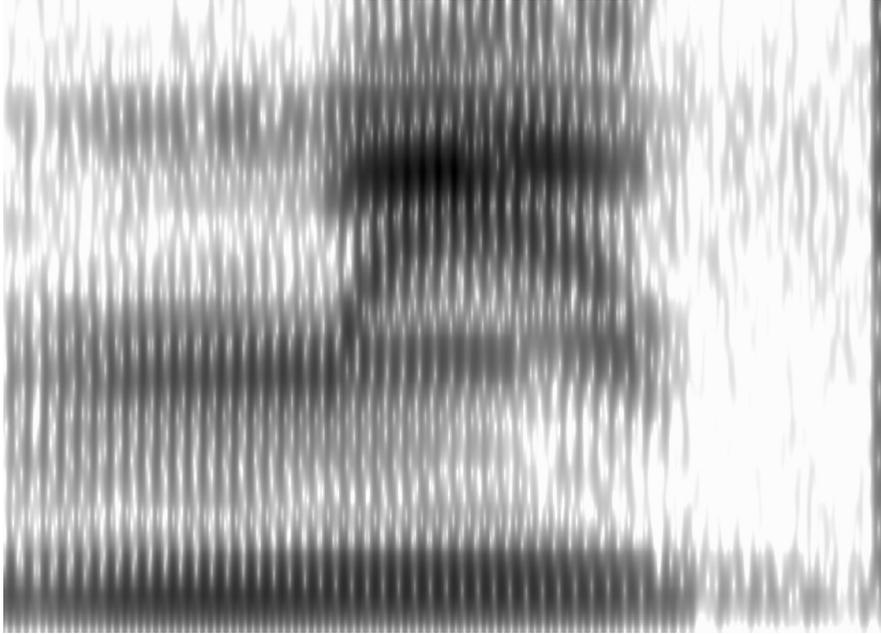
Fig. 2.5 *ми́тра* 'mitre' [m̥ítrə]

consonant, as in *ми́тинг* 'meeting' [m̥íṭɪnk], the vowel has a higher value of F_2 throughout its duration (Table 2.1, Fig. 2.7).

C^oVC^o: After a hard consonant, the vowel that appears is [ɨ] instead of the unadulterated front vowel [í]. When the consonant following [ɨ] is hard, the F_2 of [ɨ] starts in the vicinity of 1100–1200 Hz, a value like that of the central vowel [á], while its F_1 is similar to that of [u]. F_2 then rises rapidly to a peak higher than 2000 Hz two-thirds of the way through the vowel before falling again (see Fig. 2.6, *мыт* 'washed' [mɨ́t]). The peak value of F_2 of [ɨ] is nearly as high as that of [í]. Accordingly, the increment of change in F_2 over the life of the vowel is greater than for any other stressed vowel. In this rapid and extreme change in F_2, there is some justification for the longstanding claim that [ɨ] is diphthongal. $C^oVC̦$: Before a soft consonant, as in *мыть* 'wash' [mɨ́ṭ], F_2, after its initial rise, remains high (Fig 2.8).

The stressed vowels of Russian can be graphed as in Fig. 2.9, where the vertical axis is the inverse of F_1 and the horizontal axis is the inverse of F_2. The vowels [í ɨ] are represented by two contextual variants each, the other vowels by four. Fig. 2.9 reflects static, single measurements from Table 2.1 for each vowel and context at the midpoint. Accordingly, Fig. 2.9 cannot do justice to changes over the life of the vowel, which are especially significant for [ɨ]. Despite limitations, from Fig. 2.9 it is possible to see how the acoustic properties of values correlate

**Fig. 2.6** *мы́т* 'washed' [mít]
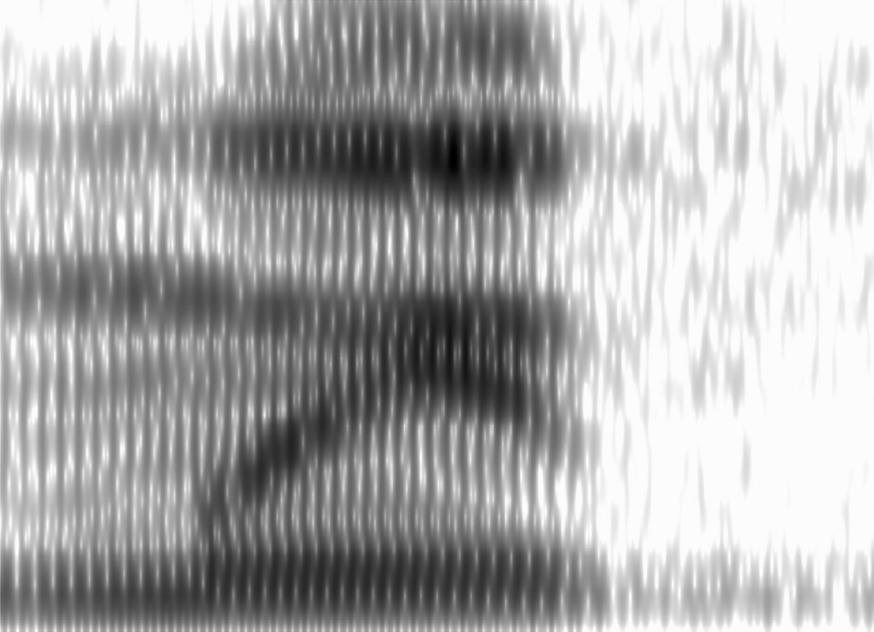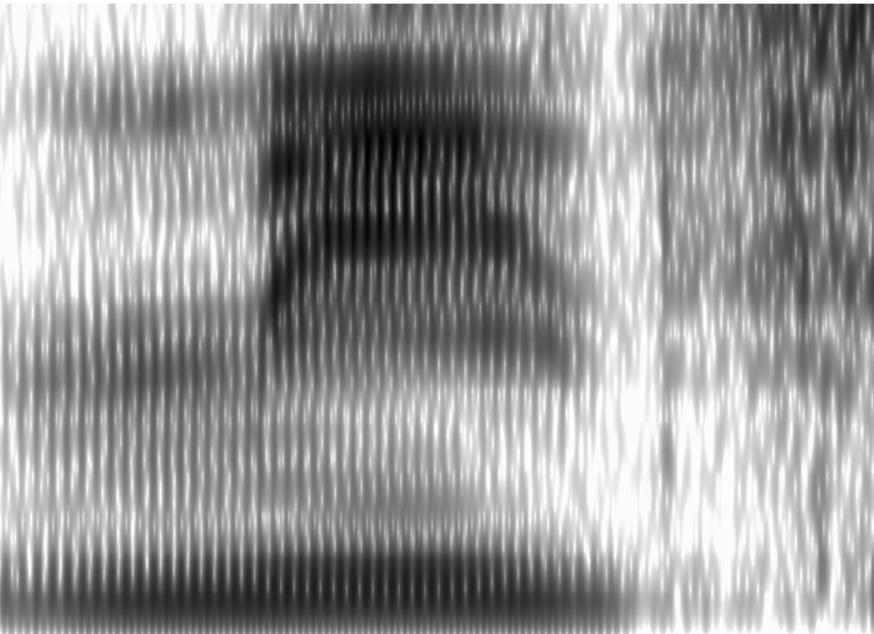
Fig. 2.7 *ми́тинг* 'meeting' [m̥íʈːɪnk]
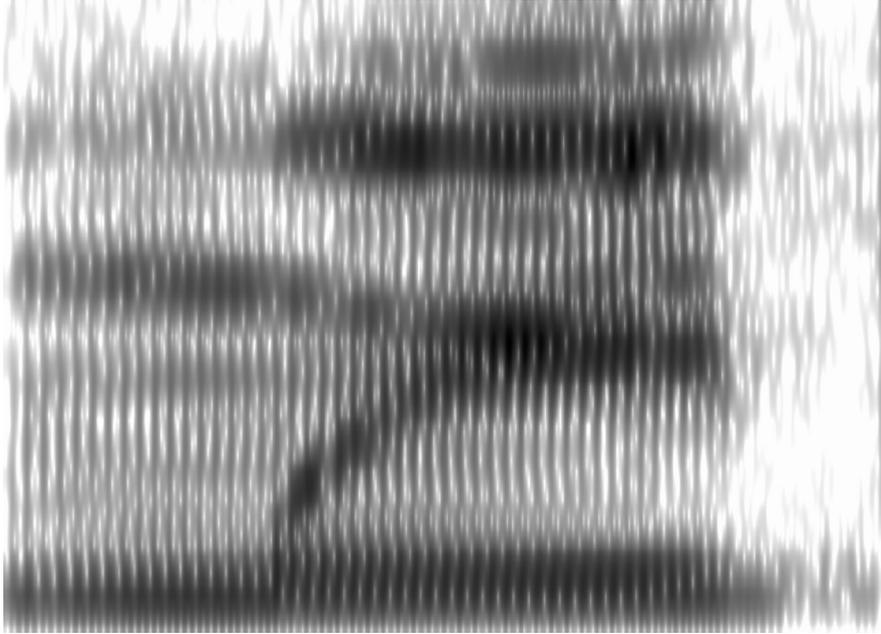
Fig. 2.8 *мы́ть* 'wash' [mɨ̞t̪]
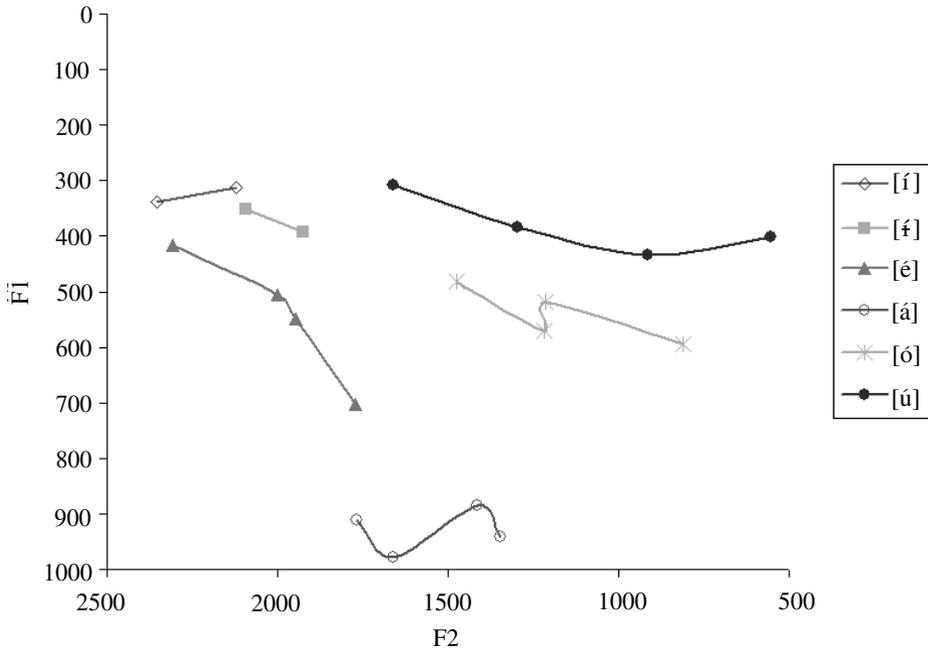
Fig. 2.9 Midpoints of stressed vowels, contexts *ÇVÇ / ÇVCᵒ / CᵒVÇ / CᵒVCᵒ*

Table 2.2 *Transcriptions of stressed vowels*

Context	Avanesov	Panov	Jones & Ward	Current explicit	Current simplified
CᵒaCᵒ	a	a	a	á	á
CᵒeCᵒ	э	э	ɛ	é	é
CᵒɨCᵒ	ы	ы	ɨ	ɨ́	ɨ́
CᵒaÇ	ȧ	ȧ	a	á̦	á
CᵒeÇ	э̂	э̇	e	é̦	é
CᵒɨÇ	ы̂	ы	ɨ	ɨ̦́	ɨ́
ÇaCᵒ	ȧ	ȧ	a	á̧	á
ÇeCᵒ	e	э̇	ɛ∼ (ɛ.)	ȩ́	é
ÇiCᵒ	и	и	i	í	í
ÇaÇ	ä	ä	æ/ö/ü	á̧̦	á
ÇeÇ	ê	ӭ	e	ȩ̦́	é
ÇiÇ	и̂	и	i	í̧̦	í

with articulatory definitions; for example, [í], a high front vowel, has a low F_1 and high F_2, and so on. As the lines connecting related sounds in Fig. 2.9 make clear, the four contexts form a generally linear progression in the value of F_2 from low to high: $CᵒVCᵒ < CᵒVÇ ≤ ÇVCᵒ < ÇVÇ$. The distribution of the points and lines suggests how it is possible for vowels to vary quite significantly depending on the consonantal context and yet remain distinct from each other.

Stressed vowels, then, are affected by adjacent consonants in a consistent fashion. Before a following palatalized consonant, all vowels are fronted and/or raised, in the last third of the vowel and especially in the final transition. After a soft consonant, vowels are fronted and/or raised in the first third. Between soft consonants, vowels are fronted and raised in both transitions and, in an additive fashion, in the middle of the vowel as well. The vowels [í ɨ́] are in one sense an exception, but a motivated exception. Inasmuch as [í] is already front (for example, in word-initial position when no consonant precedes), it is not appreciably fronted by a preceding soft consonant; instead, the central [ɨ́] vowel appears after a preceding hard consonant. The generalization that covers all vowels is that, in relative terms, transitions to adjacent soft consonants are further front (higher F_2) and/or raised (lower F_1) than are transitions to adjacent hard consonants.

Different systems are in use for transcribing stressed vowels in context (Table 2.2). In the system of Avanesov 1972, for [á ó ú], the effect of an adjacent palatalized consonant on the vowel is indicated by a dot (a half-umlaut) above the vowel positioned on the side of the palatalized consonant; position between soft consonants merits a full umlaut. For [é í], the raising effect of a following

soft consonant is marked by a circumflex; the effect of a preceding hard consonant is indicated by using the hard-vowel letter of Cyrillic («э» and «ы»). Avanesov's system can be easily Romanized, by using «ɨ» for Cyrillic «ы» and some distinction for Cyrillic «е» vs. «э», such as «e» vs. «ɛ». The Cyrillic transcription of Panov 1967, which treats [é] together with [á ó ú], transcribes the position between two soft consonants with an umlaut and does not distinguish ÇVCº and CºVÇ, the two environments in which a vowel is adjacent to a single palatalized consonant on one or the other side; both are marked with a centered dot. Jones and Ward 1969 recognizes the position between soft consonants as different in kind from the other three positions for [á ó ú]; this position of extreme fronting is marked with an umlaut for [ó ú] and the digraph [æ] in the case of [á]. The basic symbol without diacritic is used for the other three positions. In the system used here, in its most explicit form, the effect of palatalized consonants is marked by a symbol subscripted to the vowel letter for [é á ó ú], to the left side after a palatalized consonant, to the right side before a palatalized consonant, and with double symbols between palatalized consonants. As is conventional, the vowel corresponding to [í] after a hard consonant is transcribed as a distinct symbol [ɨ́]. There is an obvious redundancy in these transcriptions; the diacritics reflect the contexts in which vowels can occur. Unless there is some reason for pointing out the character of the transition to an adjacent consonant, it is often sufficient to omit the diacritics and transcribe with the simplified system of [á ó ú é í], with, additionally, [ɨ́] used after hard consonants.

2.2.2 Phonemic status of [ɨ]

The exposition above has in effect followed the "Moscow" approach in positing five stressed vowels and in treating [ɨ́] as related to [í]. The incontrovertible fact is that [ɨ́] is pronounced whenever [í] is put next to a hard consonant in a novel combination, such as when a word beginning with [í] is preceded by a preposition, *от и́мени* [tɨ́] 'from the name', or independent lexeme, *чита́л им* [lɨ] 'he read to them'. The fact that [ɨ́] is pronounced instead of [í] in these instances is parallel to the fact that the vowel pronounced for «э» after prepositions is not fronted and raised: *в э́тот* [vétət], not *[vétət]. Historically, whenever a consonant has lost softness (as have *c, š,* and *ž*), the following vowel changed from [i] to [ɨ], as would be indicated by occasional innovative spellings in texts of «ы» instead of traditional «и». Thus, after consonants [ɨ] and [i] are distributed complementarily, suggesting that they are related sounds: they are allophones of a single phoneme, in a phonemic analysis.[6]

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[6] Discussion in Panov 1967:58ff.

The "Leningrad" approach proceeds from a number of heterogeneous considerations to argue that [ɨ] is a phoneme distinct from [i]. One argument is the fact that most suffixes begin with «и» (rather than «ы») and cause "bare" softening (palatalization) of preceding paired consonants (here termed consonant grade C^I: §2.5.2). This distribution, however, derives from the diachronic artifact that suffixes began with *i, not *y. The fact that [ɨ] (orthographic «ы») is used in initial position in rendering exotic Asian place names (*Ыйсон* in Korea) suggests only that [ɨ] is distinct from [i] in this one context (word initially), and then only in a specialized lexical subsystem of not wholly assimilated lexical items.[7] Over and above these concrete observations, the basic instinct driving the Leningrad analysis is a concern with the psychological reality of phonetics: [ɨ] is phonemic, ultimately, because it is psychophonetically distinct from [i].

A compromise with respect to this nagging question of the status of [i] vs. [ɨ] could be effected by adopting what amounts to a more radical version of the spirit of the Leningrad approach. One might take the point of view that speakers of Russian manipulate whole *CV* and *VC* sequences as conventionalized phonetic units. Localizing palatalization (or its absence) in the consonant alone is an oversimplification. For example, with respect to palatalized labials in word-final position, the palatalization in the consonant cannot be maintained or lost without the preceding vowel being affected: if the labial consonant of *познакóмьтесь* 'be acquainted!' is pronounced without palatalization, as it often is in an informal register, the preceding vowel is also affected, hence [óm] instead of [ǫ́m�]. Or when velars palatalized before [ɨ] in the history of Russian, the change in the consonant was correlated with a change in the vowel – [kɨ] changed to [ķi].

What speakers manipulate, then, is templates of *CV* and *VC* sequences. Fine details of phonetics have psychological reality. Among the templates are [Çi] and [C°ɨ] but not *[Çɨ] or *[C°i], or [Çá] and [C°a] but not *[Ça] or *[C°á].[8] If one works directly with phonetic templates, the question of whether [ɨ] is a distinct phoneme fades in importance.

2.2.3 Vowel duration

Russian does not have a phonemic distinction of quantity in vowels; there are no words distinguished purely by (for example) a long [aː] as opposed to a short [ă]. Despite this, or perhaps because of this, vowels vary in duration in different contexts.[9] The most salient factor is position with respect to stress, but it will be useful to mention some other factors, summarized in [1].

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[7] "known to very few native speakers of Russian" (Gordina [1989:21], who also notes that *Ыссык-куль* was changed to *Иссык-куль* in the 1930s).

[8] Padgett 2001 sees the distinctive quality of [Cɨ] in the velarization of the preceding consonant.

[9] Shcherba 1912.

[1]   *Duration of vowels*
   a [á] > [ó] > [é ú] > [í] > [ɨ́]
   b VR ≥ VZ ≥ VS ≥ VD ≥ VT
   c V# ≥ VCV ≥ VCR(V) ≥ VCC(V)

Stressed vowels differ in their intrinsic duration, in proportion to the degree of aperture (acoustically, F_1) ([1](a)). The most open, [á], is the longest (about 200 milliseconds under stress). [ó] is slightly longer than [é] and [ú] (duration around 155 ms.); [í] is shorter yet (140 ms.) and [ɨ́] the shortest of all (120 ms.).[10] Unstressed vowels are appreciably shorter.

The duration of vowels varies depending on the adjacent consonants, particularly the consonants that follow the vowel. L. V. Shcherba (1912:126ff.) was able to document the effect of a number of factors. Before single consonants in the first, stressed, syllable of disyllabic words, vowels are shortest before voiceless stops (*nána* 'father'), a little longer before voiced stops (*pága* 'glad'), longer still before voiceless fricatives (*páca* 'race'), and the longest before voiced fricatives (GEN SG *ráza* 'time'); each successive difference along this hierarchy was on the order of 10 ms. for [á] in slow speech. The motivation for these differences may be that absence of voicing requires an energetic gesture of opening the glottis, and making a complete closure requires more energetic gestures than producing fricatives.[11] As in [1](c), vowels were found to be shorter before clusters of obstruents (*пáста* 'paste') than before single consonants (*пáдал* 'he fell'); however, a cluster composed of obstruent plus sonorant (GEN SG *пáрня* 'fellow') allows almost the same duration in preceding vowels as singleton obstruents. Vowels are longer when no consonant follows than when a consonant follows, and longer when no consonant precedes.

These constraints on duration ([1]), familiar from other languages, suggest the principle that consonants have negative valence: increasing complexity of consonant articulation removes duration from vowels.[12]

2.2.4 Unstressed vowels

Above all, the duration of vowels depends on stress. If one compares the vowel that appears after hard consonants for orthographic «**a**» and «**o**» to stressed [á], the differences are striking. If stressed [á] has a duration on the order of 200 ms., the [ʌ] that appears in the first pretonic syllable is only half that, while the [ə] that appears in other unstressed positions is shorter yet, on the order of 80 ms. or less.[13]

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[10] Matusevich 1976, who does not indicate what kind of syllables were used in the measurements.
[11] See de Jong 1991 on stops and fricatives, Kniazev 1989 on voicing.
[12] On variation in duration, see Bondarko, Verbitskaia, and Zinder 1960.
[13] Matusevich 1976:100–1.

Because unstressed vowels are shorter than stressed vowels, there is less time for the tongue to reach the articulatory positions of stressed vowels. Thus a great proportion of the duration of unstressed vowels is spent in transition to adjacent consonants. Unstressed vowels do not reach the articulatory extremes of stressed vowels. They are neither as high nor as low, and neither as far front nor as far back as stressed vowels. Acoustically the centralization of unstressed vowels shows up as less extreme values for both F_1 (reflecting vowel height) and F_2 (reflecting frontness vs. backness).[14] The set of unstressed vowels occupies a smaller portion of the vowel space than the set of stressed vowels. As an indirect consequence of the reduced size of the vowel space, unstressed vowels tend to merge. "Vowel reduction," then, means a reduction in the duration of unstressed vowels, and as a consequence, a reduced vowel space, and ultimately a reduced number of distinctions made among unstressed vowels.[15]

Since vowels merge in unstressed position, it is something of a fiction to assert that a given unstressed vowel derives from [á] or [ó] or [é]: once a vowel is unstressed, and has been for at least five hundred years, in what sense is it derived from [á] or [é]?[16] We rely on various kinds of indirect evidence such as etymology, orthography, and related word forms. The fiction, however, is unavoidable. In the following, stressed vowels and the unstressed vowels that derive from them historically are written in curly braces as a set of vowels, termed a SERIES. There are three basic positions: stressed, unstressed position after hard consonant, and unstressed after soft consonant. (Sometimes it is necessary to add a fourth position, position after hard immutable consonant $Š^o$ = [š ž].) In this way, for example, the series of vowels that includes stressed [á] would be {á C°ʌ Çı} or, more simply, {á ʌ ı}. As a shorthand for the whole, we can generally write simply {a} and refer to the set as the series {a}, meaning stressed [á] with its variants and the unstressed vowels that are related to stressed [á] in orthography, in other word forms, by etymology.

It is conventional to distinguish two degrees of reduction, defined by position relative to stress. FIRST DEGREE OF REDUCTION – a milder degree of reduction – occurs in the first pretonic syllable and in word-initial position

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[14] Bondarko 1977:111ff.

[15] The relationship is not deterministic. Different dialect systems of Russian have different phonetic implementations of vowels and different mergers, showing that reducing the phonetic space does not lead automatically to a unique pattern of mergers.

[16] Most models inevitably ascribe some primacy to the stressed vowel, and treat the unstressed vowel as derivative. The suggestion here is that speakers learn unstressed vowels as part of a word form, no less than they learn the identity of a stressed vowel. For example, *земля́* 'land' is learned as [ʑı] with its unstressed vowel in place. Support for the autonomy of unstressed vowels can be seen in the fact that they can be manipulated analogically (§2.2.6). Certain analogies of *stressed* vowels evidently rely on an identity of *unstressed* vowels: unstressed [ı] in *секу́* 'I cut', analogous to [ı] in *несу́* 'I carry', motivates stressed *сёк*, analogous to *нёс*.

(when there is no preceding consonant to cut into the duration of the vowel). Vowels not in first pretonic position (and adjacent to consonants) – in second or more pretonic or in post-tonic position – are subject to more extreme, or SECOND-DEGREE, reduction. There may be slight differences among second-degree contexts – post-tonic vowels are perhaps longer (though less loud) than pretonic vowels two syllables from the stress[17] – but these are fine details ignored in transcription.

Series {i u}: Vowels of series {i u} are affected in a less obvious fashion than other vowels. Not all transcriptions write symbols for unstressed, reduced high vowels distinct from the stressed vowel letters (Avanesov does not).[18] One might use small caps [ɪ ɨ ʊ] or, as here, (modified) Greek letters: [ι ɨ ʋ].[19] No sources distinguish between first and second degrees of reduction among high vowels. In non-allegro style, the rounding of {u} is preserved in unstressed [ʋ] (GEN SG *путú* [pʋţí] 'journey'), and the backing of {i} is still audible in unstressed [ɨ] (FEM PST *былá* [bɨlá] 'she was').

Series {e a (o)} after soft consonants: After palatalized consonants, series {e} and {a} fall together. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, the resulting unstressed vowel was pronounced with EKAN′E, that is, as a mid vowel or an upper mid vowel with [e]-coloring, transcribed [иᵉ] in Cyrillic, [ιᵋ] in Latin. In the twentieth century, the vowel has merged with the slightly reduced vowel of series {í}: thus the first-pretonic vowels of *билéт* 'ticket' [b̝ιļ̣ét] and [b̝ιļ̣ét] *белéть* 'become white' are now identical. This complete merger of vowels from the non-high series {e a} with {i} is termed IKAN′E.

Ikan′e begins to be acknowledged as an acceptable pronunciation around the transition from the nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1912 the Leningrad phonetician L. V. Shcherba (1880–1944) described a generational split: his mother distinguished FEM PST *мелá* 'she swept' from PV FEM *милá* 'pleasant', presumably [m̥ιᵉlá] vs. [m̥ιlá], while he merged them, presumably [m̥ιlá]. At the same time, R. Košutić (1919:39) recommended ekan′e, but conceded that "all the young people" use ikan′e. Ekan′e was still the pronunciation that R. I. Avanesov (1972:66) recommended as recently as the last half of the twentieth century. However, sources after Avanesov treat ekan′e as conservative and outmoded, and assume that there is no longer any distinction among vowels in the position after palatalized consonants.

[17] Bondarko 1977:156.
[18] Now *SRIa* 1 uses [иᵌ] for unstressed {i} and {e a} after soft consonants.
[19] Also approximately as in Jones and Ward 1969.

If one posits {o} as the series vowel where *e changed to *o under stress – for example, if {o} is said to be the vowel not only in *нёс* [nʲós] 'he carried' but also in *несла́* [nʲɪslá] 'she carried' – then one could say that series {o} is merged with series {a} and {e} and ultimately series {i} after soft consonants.

Series {a o} after hard consonants: Unstressed vowels belonging to series {a} or {o} – that is, unstressed vowels spelled with the hard-vowel letters «**a**» or «**o**» that would be pronounced as [á] or [ó] if they were stressed – merge with each other. Under first degree of reduction (first pretonic position, position not after consonant), the unstressed vowel is pronounced as a central, non-high, moderately open vowel, written as [ʌ]:[20] *давно́* [dʌvnó] 'long ago', *должно́* [dʌlžnó] 'must', MSC GEN SG *одного́* [ʌdnʌvó] 'one', *приотвори́ть* [prʲɪʌtvʌrʲítʲ] 'open somewhat'.

Under second degree of reduction, the unstressed vowel is [ə], a vowel shorter and less open than [ʌ]: second pretonic *нагружа́ть* [nəgrʊžátʲ] 'burden', *подраста́ть* [pədrʌstátʲ] 'nurture'; post-tonic *ма́мочка* [máməčkə] 'mommy', *о́блачко* [óbləčkə] 'cloud', *вёдёрочко* [vʲɪdʲórəčkə] 'bucket'. The merger of {o} with {a}, and the pronunciation of the resulting vowel as an unrounded central vowel, is termed AKANʹE.

Series {e a o} after Š⁰ (=[š ž]): For historical reasons, non-high vowels after Š⁰ have unusual behavior. During the time when [š ž] were still soft, original *e was raised to [Šeˤ], later [Šɪᵉ], as it was after any soft consonant. When these consonants lost palatalization, the vowel was backed to [Š⁰ɛˤ], later [Š⁰ɨˤ]. In the twentieth century, the vowel has merged with [ɨ] from series {i}: *желе́зный* [žɨlʲéznɨj] 'iron', *жиле́ц* [žɨlʲéc] 'lodger'.[21] The same vowel is pronounced for {e} in borrowings after mutable consonants if they remain hard: *модели́ровать* [mədɨlʲírəvət] 'model' (cf. *моде́ль* [mʌdʲélʲ] 'model').

For {a o}, there are two possibilities: an inherited pronunciation [ɨ] or a newer pronunciation [ʌ]. How these two variants are distributed is complex (Table 2.3; §2.2.5).

Under second degree of reduction after Š⁰, vowels from the non-high series {e a o} are pronounced as a central vowel [ɨ]: *железа́* [žɨlɨzá] 'gland', *из шалаша́* [ɪšˑɨlʌšá] 'out of the cabin', *шелкови́ца* [šɨlkovʲícə] 'mulberry'.

In absolute initial position the vowel spelled «**э**» in foreign borrowings is raised though not backed (there is no preceding hard consonant), and is merged with [ɪ]: *эта́ж* [ɪtáš] 'storey', *экра́н* [ɪkrán] 'screen', identical to *игра́* [ɪgrá] 'game'.[22]

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[20] The vowel is glossed as raised and backed [a] by Jones and Ward (1969).
[21] In Avanesov's conservative norm, [žɨᵉlʲ], not quite identical to [žɨlʲ].
[22] According to *SRIa* 1.103–4.

Table 2.3 *Vowel series*

series	C° __	Š° (=[š ž])__			Ç__
{u}	[ʋ]	[ʋ]			[ʋ]
{i}	[ɨ]	[ɨ]			[ɨ]
{e}	[ɨ]$^∞$	[ɨ]$^∞$			[ɨ]$^∞$
		borrowing	alternation with [V́]	no alternation with [V́]	
{o}	[ʌ] ([ə]†)	[ʌ]	[ɨ]$^∞$	n.a.	[ɨ]$^∞$
{a}	[ʌ] ([ə]†)	[ʌ]C° ~ [ɨ]Ç	[ʌ]	[ɨ]$^∞$	[ɨ]$^∞$

x† = second-degree reduction
x$^∞$ = Avanesov's conservative norm = [ɪ^ε] ~ [ɪ^ε]

The relations of stressed and unstressed members of vowel series are schematized in Table 2.3 in three contexts.

As shown in Table 2.3, there are more distinctions of vowels under stress – five – than among unstressed vowels. In the contemporary norm, three vowels are distinguished after hard consonants, two after soft. (In the conservative style of Avanesov, four distinctions are made after hard consonants, three after soft.) Further reduction and merger is possible under second degree of reduction in some varieties of speech. The troublesome question is whether unstressed [ĭ] (using breve here to mark significant shortening of an stressed vowel) is so reduced that it merges with [ə] – whether the unstressed vowels of DAT PL *дóбрым* and MSC=NT LOC SG *дóбром* are pronounced the same. Panov (1990) decides that merger has long been a constant possibility in a less-than-standard, allegro style, but has not achieved normative status. Also, in an extreme version of allegro style, series {u} may lose its labialization and merge after soft consonants with [ĭ] and after hard consonants with [ɨ̆], which in this style will be identical to [ə]. At this point, only two unstressed vowel phones would be left under second degree of reduction: [ĭ] vs. [ɨ̆] ≈ [ə]. The two vowel phones would be distributed complementarily, [ĭ] after palatalized consonants, [ɨ̆] ≈ [ə] after hard. This allegro system is not normative, in Panov's view, but it is widespread.[23]

2.2.5 Unpaired consonants [š ž c] and unstressed vocalism

As noted, [š ž], which are always hard and therefore immutable and unpaired, affect unstressed vowels in a manner different from that of ordinary mutable hard consonants.[24]

As mentioned, a vowel from series {e} becomes [ɨ] after [š ž]: *жéмчуг* 'pearl', *жемчýжный* [žɨ]. In similar fashion, for vowels that ALTERNATE with stressed [ó] and could be identified as series {o}, only [ɨ] is used after [š ž]: NOM PL *жёны*,

[23] As Comrie, Stone, and Polinsky 1996 treat this merger.   [24] Kasatkin 1989.

NOM SG *женá* [žɨná] 'wife', NOM SG *шёлк*, GEN SG *шелкá* [šɨlká] 'silk' (Table 2.3).[25] Some recent borrowings have an unstressed vowel which, because it is spelled as «**о**», might be identified as belonging to series {o}. In imitation of its foreign source, this «**о**» can be pronounced with only partial reduction as a shortened mid, labialized vowel [ŏ], for example *Шопéн* 'Chopin' [šŏpén]. As such words are assimilated, this «**о**» is reduced to [ʌ] in first pretonic position: *жонглёр* 'juggler' [žʌngl̡ ór], *Шопéн* [šʌpén], *шофёр* 'chauffeur' [šʌf̡ ór] (Table 2.3). This pronunciation is what might be expected given the pronunciation of unstressed {o} after paired hard consonants: *водá* [vʌdá] 'water'.

Vowels of series {a} show variation between two variants, [ʌ] and [ɨ]. The older pronunciation was [Š°ɛᵗ], later [Š°ɨᵉ], now [ɨ]. Throughout the nineteenth century up until the beginning of the twentieth century, [Š°ɛᵗ], later [Šɨᵉ], was used in native words. Both variants occurred in borrowings, with a stylistic difference: [ʌ], which was closer to the pronunciation of the (often French) sources, was a mark of "spoken language of good society,"[26] in contradistinction to the pronunciation that fit the native Russian pattern, with [Š°ɛᵗ]/[Š°ɨᵉ]. In the twentieth century, sociolinguistic investigations document that there is variation and change, but the change is not uniform; individual lexemes are regularizing usage, but not all lexemes are regularizing in the same direction.[27] Native words in which the unstressed vowel does not alternate with [á] have kept [ɨ]: *ржанóй* 'rye' [ržɨnój], GEN PL *лошадéй* 'horses' [ləšɨd̡éi]. Native words in which the pretonic vowel alternates with stressed [á] are generalizing [ʌ]: GEN SG *жарá* (NOM SG *жáр*) 'heat', GEN SG *вожакá* (NOM SG *вожáк*) 'guide', NOM PL *шагú* (NOM SG *шáг*) 'step', 3SG *ужаснётся* 'becomes horrified' (ADJ *ужáсный*).[28] In borrowings, the vowel depends on the following consonant: [ɨ] is kept if the following consonant is (or used to be) palatalized: *жакéт* 'jacket' [žɨk̡ét], *жасмúн* 'jasmine'. In contrast, [ʌ] is being generalized in words in which the following consonant is hard: *шатéн* 'auburn-haired person' [šʌtén], *шаблóн* 'cliché', *шалáш* 'cabin', *шампáнское* 'champagne'.[29]

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[25] As is not surprising, since stressed [ó] after [š ž] derives from etymological *e. Here is a place where the notion of series is revealed as something of a fiction. In this context, there is no evidence that the *unstressed* vowel ever actually became [o]. The unstressed value here is [ɨ] because it remained *e, and had the same fate as other unstressed *e after [š ž].

[26] See Panov 1990:260ff. Grech (1827) asserted that it was appropriate, in the "spoken language of good society," to say *шампанское* (that is, [šʌ]) rather than *шимпанское* (a vowel of the type [ɛᵗ], subsequently [ɨᵉ], now [ɨ]). At the turn of the twentieth century, Košutić (1919) gives two pronunciations for borrowings: [ʌ] (literary) and [ɨ] (non-literary). Interestingly, he gives only vowels similar to [ɨ] in native words in which the relevant vowel alternates with stressed [á]. Thus these two sources suggest that [ʌ] has long been used in borrowings.

[27] Krysin 1974.

[28] *Жалéть* 'pity', with [ɨ], is exceptional in this regard if it is related to *жáль, жáлко* 'feel sorry for', but the derivational connection is tenuous (and the following [l̡] favors [ɨ]).

[29] Panov 1968 puts the burden on alternation, Krysin 1974:105 on the following consonant. Evidently both are relevant.

Evidently, the use of [ʌ] in borrowings prepared the way for using [ʌ] in native words in which there is alternation with stressed [á], when the unstressed vowel is still associated with [á], and this has become normative. As noted, [ɨ] is maintained in native words when the unstressed vowel does not alternate with stressed [á]. In borrowings, both [ʌ] and [ɨ] occur, distributed according to the following consonant. A following palatalized consonant tipped the balance in favor of the raised variant [ɨ]. Thus far with series {o}, only borrowings use a low unstressed vowel [ʌ]. Words in which the unstressed vowel alternates with stressed [ó] do not use [ʌ]. This is an important difference between {a} and {o}, reflected in Table 2.3.

The sound [c] is, like [š ž], an unpaired immutable hard consonant, but it hardly occurs before series {o} or {a}. A visible exception is the root *цáрь* 'tsar', in which {a} under stress alternates with [ʌ] under first degree of reduction: GEN SG *царя́, цари́ца* 'tsar's wife'.

2.2.6 Post-tonic soft vocalism

In general, unstressed vowels associated with series {a o e} are pronounced as a high front vowel [ɪ] after any soft consonant. For this reason, one might expect to find [ɪ] in place of post-tonic vowels in grammatical endings as well. It is regularly stated, however, that this vowel can, depending on the morpheme, be pronounced as [ə]. Grammatical morphemes differ, and there is some change – and some disagreement among authorities. Table 2.4 lists contexts of nouns, organized by the vowel that appears when the given morpheme is stressed.[30]

There is a gradation of possibilities, from regular [ə] to regular [ɪ]. One phonological condition overrides other considerations. A following soft consonant evokes [ɪ], as in: Context 10 (Declension_{II} INS SG *дерéвней* 'village' [n̩ɪ̯]) and Context 12 (Declension_{III} {-éj} GEN PL *печáлей* 'sorrows' [pɪt͡ɕál̩ɪ̯]). Also, [ɪ] has become usual since the beginning of the twentieth century in Context 6 (INS PL *дерéвнями*: previously [n̩əmʲɪ], now [n̩ɪmʲɪ]).

Beyond this syntagmatic phonetic condition, the choice between [ə] and [ɪ] depends on a paradigmatic condition – on the vowel phones that occur in the given morpheme in *other* words. At one extreme, [ə] is used consistently in Contexts 1–5, for example, NOM SG *дерéвня* 'village' [n̩ə]. The vowel of these morphemes would be [á] under stress (NOM SG *головá* 'head', *земля́* 'land') and [ə] after hard

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[30] See Košutić 1919 (on Old Muscovite), Avanesov 1972:69–71, Kuzʹmina 1966, Panov 1968:42–56. In summarizing Old Muscovite usage, Kuzʹmina claims that the adjectival endings had exclusively [ɪ] (1966:7), relying on Košutić's characterization of [ɪ] as literary, [ə] as uneducated (1919:100). But Košutić (1950:80) transcribes GEN SG *синего* 'blue' as [sʲinʲ^jᵃvᵃ], exactly parallel to GEN SG *доброго* 'good' [dobrᵃvᵃ]. Presumably Panov would posit [ɪ] in GEN PL {-óv}, INS SG {-ój}, and GEN PL {-éj}, contexts with closed syllables, which implies [ɪ] for Panov.

Table 2.4 *Post-tonic vowel reduction, nominal morphology*

Context	Old Muscovite	Avanesov	Kuz′mina, Panov	Krysin
[ÇV̌] ∼[C°ə] ∼ [á]				
1 NOM=ACC PL_{<IB>} {-á}	ə	ə	ə	
2 NOM SG_{<II>} {-á}	ə	ə	ə	
3 GEN SG_{<I>} {-á}	ə	ə	ə	
4 DAT PL {-ám}	ə	ə	ə (∼ ι)	ə (90%)
5 LOC PL {-áx}	ə	ə	ə (∼ ι)	
6 INS PL {-ámi}	ə	ə ≫ ι	ə ≫ ι	
[ÇV̌] ∼ [C°ə] ∼ [ó]				
7 NOM=ACC SG_{<IB>} {-ó}	ə (∼ι)	ə > ι	ə	ə (63%) ∼ ι
8 INS SG_{<I>} {-óm}	ə	ə ≫ ι	ə > ι	ə (81–83%)
9 GEN PL_{<IA>} {-óv}	ə	ə ≫ ι	ι†	
10 INS SG_{<II>} {-ój}	ə	ι	ι†	
[ÇV̌] ∼ [é]				
11 [DAT-] LOC SG_{<[II]I/II>} {-é}	ι	ι	ι†	ι
12 GEN PL {-éj}	ι	ι	ι†	

[V̌] ∼ [V́] = unstressed vowel in alternation with stressed vowel

x ∼ y = x occurs in variation with y

x ≫ y = x has yielded to y

x > y = x is yielding to y

INS SG_{<II>} = case-number form of Declension_{<II>}

x† = presumed, not explicitly stated

consonants (NOM SG *бába* 'old woman' [bábə]). At the opposite extreme, the locative singular of Declension_{<IA>} and Declension_{<II>} (also the dative singular of Declension_{<II>}) is [é] under stress. The vowel of this morpheme does not occur after hard mutable consonants, and accordingly there is no alternation with [C°ə]. Unstressed, this vowel has the variant [ι] after Ç (and [ɨ] after immutable *Š°*: *на пляже* 'on the beach' [žɨ]).

The contexts of greatest interest are those whose vowels alternate between [ó] under stress and unstressed [ə] after hard consonants: Context 7 NOM=ACC SG *мóре* 'sea' – recall *окнó* [ʌknó] 'window', *питьё* 'drinking' [p̦ιtjǫ́], *стáго* [stádə] 'herd' – and Context 8 INS SG *мóрем* – recall *окнóм* [ʌknóm] 'window', *питьём* [p̦ιtjǫ́m], *стáдом* [stádəm]. (Context 9, for example, GEN PL *брáтьев* 'brothers', belongs here as well.) In these contexts, the Old Muscovite style at the beginning of the twentieth century had [ə] after soft consonants.

With respect to usage after the middle of the twentieth century, there is disagreement among commentators. Avanesov (1972:70), recalling that [ə] was the Old Muscovite norm, concedes that in the nominative-accusative singular

[ɪ] has become possible ("widely known") and that in the instrumental singular [ɪ] has even replaced [ə] (the latter "must be considered moribund").[31]

Avanesov's view contrasts with that of Kuz′mina (1966) and Panov (1968), who report on a questionnaire administered during the 1960s to 100 students of the cohort 1940–49. In that questionnaire, 98 percent of the respondents had [ɪ] in INS SG *ка́мнем* 'stone' and, surprisingly, 98 percent had [ə] in NOM SG *по́ле* 'field'. Their results seem quite unambiguous in these two contexts; they are dramatically less ambiguous than in other words in which the vowel is usually thought to be pronounced as [ə] without variation: LOC PL *ды́нях* 'melons' (74% [ə]) or DAT PL *ды́ням* (only 52% [ə]).[32]

A third view derives from the mass survey in the 1960s (Krysin 1974), according to which [ə] was reported to be basically stable, or slightly increasing, in both contexts. In that survey, the use of [ə] in NOM=ACC SG *по́ле* rose from just above 50 percent for the oldest generation to above 60 percent in the final cohort of 1940–49, and [ə] in INS SG *медве́дем* 'bear' and INS SG *пла́чем* 'cry' basically held constant at 80 percent over the six decades of the survey.[33]

To summarize about the two contexts, NOM=ACC SG *мо́ре* and INS SG *мо́рем*: Avanesov believed that both were developing towards [ɪ]; Kuz′mina and Panov found that they were moving in opposite directions; Krysin's survey suggest that both contexts were developing in the same direction, towards [ə].

It is difficult to resolve the discrepancy among these sources. A pilot instrumental investigation carried out for this study (six speakers) did not yield unambiguous results. There was no consistent difference between LOC SG *мо́ре*, in which only [ɪ] is expected, and NOM=ACC SG *мо́ре*, in which variation between [ə] and [ɪ] is expected. The one reasonably clear result was that the vowel of INS SG *мо́рем* had a higher F_1 and lower F_2 than other vowels in nouns, implying a more [ə]-like pronunciation, evidently in anticipation of the following [m]. From this limited investigation, it was not clear to what extent a categorial distinction between [ə] and [ɪ] remains in these morphemes.

[31] A point of notation: Avanesov (1972) uses three symbols: [ъ], a low back vowel after hard consonants; [ь] is unstressed {i}; and Avanesov's [ə] is the *front* vowel occurring after soft consonants for series {e a o}. Other sources (Panov) collapse Avanesov's two front vowels [ь] and [ə] to [ь], and Avanesov himself abandons [ə] in favor of [ь] in his transcribed texts (p. 356: *дре́млешь* has [ь], not [ə]) and in the summary of phonetic variants (pp. 311–14). In Table 2.4, Avanesov's [ь] and his [ə] are both written as [ɪ], [ъ] as [ə].

[32] Kuz′mina 1966, Panov 1968:47–48. Comrie, Stone, and Polinsky (1996:56–59), after deliberation, side with Kuz′mina. Panov's position cannot be separated from his strong belief that the distribution of [ə] vs. [ɪ] must be determined by phonetic factors: for underlying <o>, [ə] is said to occur only in final open syllables (therefore in NOM=ACC SG *по́ле*) while [ɪ] is said to occur elsewhere (therefore in INS SG *пла́чем*).

[33] Krysin 1974: 114, Fig. 24.

Table 2.4 above focused on endings in nouns, the richest set of morphemes in which variation in post-tonic vocalism can be observed. In addition, soft-stem adjectives generally have [ɪ] (GEN SG MSC=NT *préжнего*, DAT SG MSC=NT *préжнему*, LOC SG MSC=NT *préжнем* 'former').[34] The final vowel of singular adjectives after [j] is [ə] (NOM NT SG *стáрое* 'old', NOM FEM SG *стáрая* [əi̯ə]) but that of the plural normally [ɪ] (NOM PL *стáрые* [ɨi̯ɪ]). Present adverbial participles (*деепричастия*) have [ə] (e.g., *пóмня* 'remembering'), a pronunciation that is consistent with [á] in lexemes with final stress (*несá* 'carrying'). Reflexive present adverbial participles still allow [ɪ], under the influence of the following soft consonant (*приосáнясь* 'putting on airs' is Panov's example). Individual forms such as PSV NOM MSC SG *зáнят* 'occupied', MSC SG PST *зáнял* once had only [ɪ] but now prefer [ə].[35] The thematic ligature that marks the present tense in verbs of E-Conjugation is [ó] (*несёшь* 'you carry', etc.) under stress. Unstressed, the ligature in the middle forms of the present tense is only [ɪ] (2SG *лézешь* [l̡é̡zɪš], 3SG *лézет*, 1PL *лézem* 'climb'). The third plural is [ə] in verbs of the I-Conjugation (*плátят* 'they pay' [plá̡t̡ət]).

The Old Muscovite [ə] in NOM=ACC SG *мóре* and INS SG *мóрем* is unexpected on phonetic grounds – after a soft consonant in positions of reduction, original non-high vowels have generally become [ɪ]. The origin of the Old Muscovite pronunciation has been disputed. Most likely, it is analogy, at the level of phonetics. The [ɪ] that might be expected after soft consonants was suppressed, or never developed, in deference to the [ə] that occurs after hard consonants in the same morphemes: NOM SG *дерéвня* [Çə] imitates NOM SG *бáба* [Cʰə], INS SG *медвéдем* [Çəm] imitates INS SG *вóлком* 'wolf' [Cʰəm]. The fact that [ə] can participate in analogy shows that unstressed vowels have some psychological independence. The expected development to [ɪ] did take place in those morphemes whose vowel would not be found unstressed after paired hard consonants (only [ɪ] in LOC SG *на мóре*, 2SG PRS *лézешь*, etc.).

2.2.7 Unstressed vowels in sequence

When {a} or {o} follows another vowel, it does not have to share duration with a preceding consonant in its syllable, and it is less reduced, even two or more syllables from the stress: *у огорóда* 'near the garden' [ʊʌgʌródə], *не отослáл* 'did not send off' [ɲɪʌtʌslál]. An {a} or {o} that is the *first* in a sequence of two vowels far removed from stress will be fully reduced, as *наугáд* 'by guesswork' [nəʊgád], *наигрáться* 'play much' [nəɪgráʦə], except when the first vowel is followed by

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[34] Avanesov 1972:71 implies there is a change from [ə] to [ɪ]; Kuz′mina 1966 mentions only [ɪ].
[35] Panov (1968:49), who relies on Košutić 1919 and Chernyshev 1908.

another [ʌ]. Then the first vowel assimilates to the second and does not reduce, as in *за одинóким* 'beyond isolated' [zʌʌd̦ɪnóḳɪm], *воодушевлён* 'inspired' [vʌʌdʊšɨvl̦ón]. In allegro style the two [ʌʌ] coalesce and reduce: *соотношéние* 'interconnection' neutral [sʌʌtnʌšéénɪə], allegro [sətnʌšéənɪə]. As the first of a sequence, {e} reduces normally to [ɪ]: *необходúмо* 'necessary' [n̦ɪʌɪxʌʌd̦ímə].

2.2.8 Unstressed vowels in borrowings

In foreign borrowings of high culture, unstressed mid vowels (the vowels written as «e» and «o») do not necessarily reduce completely according to the rules that apply to native words. They can instead maintain something of the pronunciation of the source language and, though they are shorter, they do not merge with series {a} or {i} according to the usual pattern: *легáто* 'legato' [l̦ĕgátŏ], *геноцúд* 'genocide' [g̦ĕnŏcit].[36] As words are assimilated, the semi-reduced foreign pronunciation of «o» as [ŏ] yields to [ʌ] ([ə]), as in native words. Thus, in certain frequently used borrowings, the usage of [ŏ] for «o» declined quite dramatically from the oldest cohort (1890–99) to the youngest (1940–49): *конгрéсс* 'congress' (63% > 27%), *портфéль* 'notebook' (62% > 20%), *процéсс* 'process' (76% > 32%), *сонéт* 'sonnet' (78% > 41%), *роя́ль* 'piano' (51% > 25%).[37]

2.3 Consonants

2.3.1 Classification of consonants

The quintessential consonants are OBSTRUENTS (= ℂ), segments that involve obstruction or serious narrowing in the long path from the larynx to the lips. Obstruents are listed above the internal line in Table 2.5. In addition to obstruents, consonants include SONORANTS, a group of sounds that are heterogeneous but share the negative property of being neither obstruents nor vowels. Sonorants are listed below the line in Table 2.5.

Consonants are defined by a complex of articulatory activities. Consonants can be voiced (the membranes of the vocal cords are taut and vibrate) or voiceless (the membranes are open and relaxed, allowing air to pass without vibration). Obstruents can be produced with different trajectories of gestures, or MANNERS of articulation. Obstruents can be STOPS, sounds that involve a sudden gesture of complete closure (for example, the complete closure of both lips to make a [b]), a short interval of stasis, and a sudden release. Or they can be FRICATIVES, which involve a more gradual restriction of the airflow without complete closure followed by an interval of incomplete closure and then a more gradual release. AFFRICATES are intermediate; they are produced by a stop closure and a

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[36] Avanesov 1972:174, 167–68.   [37] Glovinskaia 1976, specifically Table 12.

Table 2.5 *Russian consonant phones*

	bilabial	labio-dental	dental	(alveo-)palatal	velar
voiceless stop	p p̡		t t̡		k k̡[†]
voiced stop	b b̡		d d̡		g g̡[†]
voiceless affricate			c	č	
voiced affricate			ӡ[∞]	ӡ̌[∞]	
voiceless fricative		f f̡	s s̡	š š̡:[‡]	x x̡[†]
voiced fricative		v v̡	z z̡	ž ž̡:	γ[∞]
glide				j	
nasal stop	m m̡		n n̡		
lateral			l l̡		
trill			r r̡		

x[†] = restricted distribution: /__{i e}, rarely /__{a o и}
x[∞] = restricted distribution: /__ ₡
x[‡] = normally long (/V__V), shortened adjacent to *C*

brief interval of closure followed by a more gradual release similar to that of a fricative.

Obstruents are also defined by the PLACE OF ARTICULATION, the place in the vocal tract where the obstruction occurs and, correlatively, the mobile organ used to make the restriction. One ingredient of the place of articulation is palatalization. How consonants are palatalized depends on where the consonant is articulated, but there is a basic similarity.

The matrix of obstruents in Table 2.5 is organized by place of articulation along the top, with non-palatalized consonants listed to the left of palatalized. BILABIAL stops are produced by closing the lips together: [b], [p]. The closest fricatives [f f̡] and [v v̡] are not pure bilabials, but labio-dentals, formed by moving the lower lip up under and close to the upper teeth, constricting the airflow. However, with respect to voicing rules, [v v̡] do not quite act like well-mannered obstruents, and can be designated as a distinct class of sounds "*W*" that is intermediate between obstruents and sonorants (§2.3.9). When a labial or labio-dental consonant is palatalized, at approximately the same time the primary closure (or restriction) is made with the lips (or upper lip and lower teeth), the blade of the tongue is arched up and raised towards the hard palate (see [p̡], broken line in Fig. 2.10). In non-palatalized labials, the tongue is in a neutral position (see [p], solid line, in Fig. 2.11).

Russian has a class of DENTAL sounds whose obstruction is made in the region of the upper teeth. As the dental stops [t d] or the affricate [c] are produced, the tip and blade of the tongue touch against the upper teeth. The body of

[p] = —————————
[p̣] = — · — · — ·
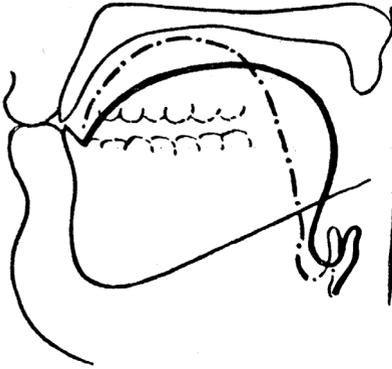
Fig. 2.10 [p], [p̣]. From Avanesov 1972: fig. 8

the tongue is flat or even depressed, which is to say that hard dental stops are slightly velarized (see Fig. 2.11, solid line).[38] In producing palatalized dental stops (broken line in Fig. 2.11), the tongue makes contact all the way from the upper teeth through the alveolar ridge and along the hard palate. Whereas with labials palatalization is a somewhat independent gesture, with dentals, palatalization is part and parcel of the articulatory gesture. For some speakers, the palatalized dental stops [t̬ d̬] have begun to develop a touch of frication in their release, especially before [í]: *τún* 'type' [t̬ˢíp], *gúκο* 'wildly' [d̬ᶻíkə].[39]

The dental fricatives [s z] are pronounced with the tip of the tongue pointing towards the top of the upper teeth, leaving an aperture through with which air flows turbulently. The hard dental fricatives [s z] are noticeably velarized. The palatalized dental fricatives [s̬ z̬] are made with the front of the tongue making an arch that follows the shape of the teeth and hard palate, with the narrowest aperture at the teeth.

Russian has a group of sounds classed together as having an ALVEO-PALATAL (or sometimes simply palatal) place of articulation. In the hard fricatives [š ž] – the sounds spelled by Cyrillic «ш» and «ж» – the tip of the tongue approaches the alveolar ridge, higher than is the case with [s z]. In addition, [š ž] lift the sides of the tongue and force air through a groove, while [s z] have a narrow horizontal slit. These (alveo-)palatal fricatives are strongly velarized: the middle of the tongue is depressed and the back of the tongue is arched upwards (solid line, Fig. 2.12).[40] The sounds [š ž] are pronounced as hard, even when (in borrowings) the following vowel letter is «ю»: *брошюра* 'brochure' [šúr], *парашют* 'parachute' [šút], though sometimes *жюри* 'jury' [ž̬u̬rí]. As a new (hypercorrect?) tendency,

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[38] Velarization is evident in the sketch of *SRIa* 1.43.   [39] Matusevich 1976:183.
[40] Avanesov 1972:40, Fig. 14; see also Matusevich 1976:182.

$[t] = \underline{\hspace{3cm}}$

$[t̪] = \text{— · — · — ·}$
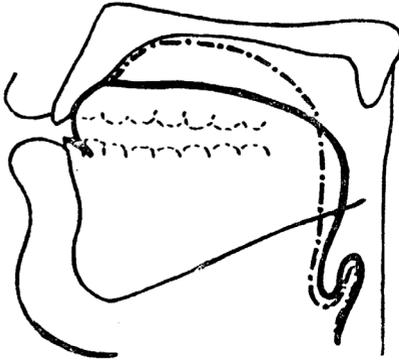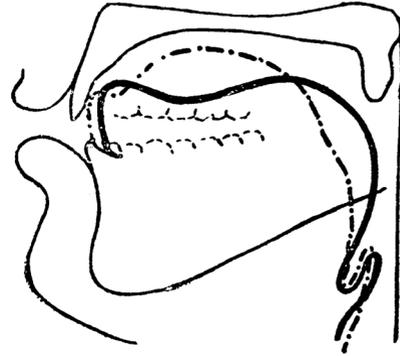
Fig. 2.11 [t], [t̪]. From Avanesov 1972: fig. 11

$[š] = \underline{\hspace{3cm}}$

$[š̪ː] = \text{— · — · — ·}$

Fig. 2.12 [š], [š̪ː]. From Avanesov 1972: fig. 14

[š ž] can soften under assimilation: *вчерáшний* 'yesterday's' normative [šn̪], new [š̪n̪].[41]

Russian has two other alveo-palatal fricatives, [š̪ː] (the sound associated with Cyrillic «щ») and [ž̪ː] (an older pronunciation of Cyrillic spellings «жж» or «зж» in certain words such as *дрóжжи* 'yeast', *éзжу* 'I drive', *пóзже* 'later'). These sounds are palatalized; the tip of the tongue is pointed towards the teeth, and the blade of the tongue curves up along the hard palate (broken line, Fig. 2.12). The alveo-palatal affricate [č], spelled «ч», is likewise "soft" – there is no corresponding hard *[č]. In its initial closure phase, it involves essentially the same tongue position as [t̪]; contact is made from the alveolar ridge along the hard palate. In its release, [č] is similar to the soft alveo-palatal fricative [š̪ː].

In the production of VELARS [k g x], the tongue approaches or touches the roof of the mouth, in the region where the hard palate and soft palate meet (solid line, Fig. 2.13). The voiced fricative [ɣ] is quite restricted, occurring only before a following voiced obstruent: *трёхднéвный* [ɣd̪n̪]. Palatalized velars [k̪ g̪ x̪] have basically the same tongue configuration as non-palatalized velars. They differ from non-palatalized velars in that the tongue makes contact (or restriction) further to the front of the mouth (broken line, Fig. 2.13).

Sonorants, listed below the center line of Table 2.5, are a motley group. Nasal stops [m m̪ n n̪] have a complete closure in the oral cavity like that of a stop – the place of the closure is bilabial for [m m̪], dental for [n n̪] – but, in addition, they simultaneously open the velum, allowing air to flow into the nasal cavity and resonate.

[41] Kasatkin 2001:86.
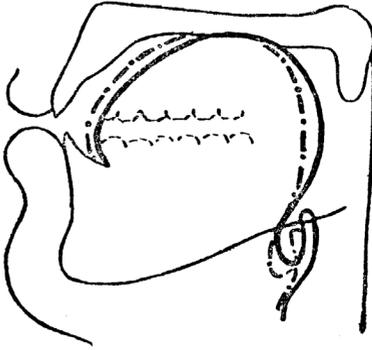
[k] = ——————
[ḵ] = — · — · — ·

Fig. 2.13 [k], [ḵ]. From Avanesov 1972: fig. 20

The approximate [j] is articulated with a tongue position like that of the vowel [i], so that the blade of the tongue raises close to the hard palate behind the alveolar ridge; [j] differs from [i] in that it is not the peak of syllables and involves greater narrowing of the tongue to the front of the roof of the mouth. Given its tongue shape, [j] is intrinsically soft.

The trills [r r̝] are made by one or more taps in the dental region. With the laterals [l l̝], the blade of the tongue makes complete closure in the dental region but the sides of the tongue are raised, allowing air to pass laterally (hence the term) along its sides. Together the [r]-sounds and the [l]-sounds are LIQUIDS. Hard [r] and especially hard [l] are velarized: the middle portion of the tongue is depressed and the back of the tongue body is raised towards the back of the palate.

Collectively, the nasals, liquids (trills and laterals), and the glide [j] can be grouped together as SONORANTS (in notation, the set "*R*"), a loose class of sounds that are neither vowels nor obstruents. Sonorants can distinguish palatalization, in this respect like obstruents. Unlike obstruents, sonorants lack a distinction of voicing; like vowels, they are normally voiced, and do not cause preceding obstruents to become voiced (§2.3.9). Between an obstruent and another obstruent or word end (the contexts ℂ*R*ℂ or ℂ*R*#), sonorants can become syllabic: *MXATa* 'from MKhAT' [ʌ⌈t⌉°m⌈x⌉átə], *октябрь* 'October', [ʌkt̢áb⁽ə⁾r̝], *рýбль* 'ruble' [rúb⁽ə⁾l̝], *жúзнь* 'life' [ž̢z̢⁽ə⁾n̝].[42]

2.3.2 Palatalization of consonants

Most consonants – sonorants as well as obstruents – can be palatalized or not. That is, for almost every consonantal articulation – for almost every combination of place of articulation, manner of articulation, voicing and nasality – there is one sound that is not palatalized and another that is pronounced with similar

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[42] "I pronounce the word *жизнь* as two syllables, with a 'fleeting' ĭ" (Trubetzkoy 1975:238).

gestures but is palatalized. For example, both a palatalized voiced labial stop [b̦] and a non-palatalized [b] occur, and both a palatalized voiceless dental fricative [ș] and a non-palatalized [s] occur. Palatalization is similar but not identical for sounds of different places of articulation. Though there are these minor differences, all palatalized consonants influence vowels in the same way.

When a given articulation occurs in both palatalized and non-palatalized forms, that articulation can be said to be PAIRED, or MUTABLE, for palatalization. Thus [b] and [b̦] are phonetically paired, or mutable. Most consonants are mutable. Labials and dentals obviously are. Velars are as well, although the palatalized forms of velars [k̦ g̦ x̦] are more restricted than palatalized labials or dentals; they do not occur in all phonological contexts, and they rarely if ever distinguish words in opposition to [k g x].

Some consonants are not mutable: the glide [j] (necessarily palatalized); the hard affricate [c]; the soft affricate [č̦]; the hard fricatives [š] (Cyrillic «ш») and [ž] (Cyrillic «ж»). Although the alveo-palatal fricatives [ș̌: ž̦:] are palatalized, they are not paired with [š ž] in this sense, since [š ž] do not become palatalized at the end of noun stems in the locative singular (*o душé* 'about the soul' has [š], not *[ș̌] or *[ș̌:]) nor in the conjugation of verbs (*пишешь* has [š], not *[ș̌:]).

Accordingly, four groups of consonants can be distinguished:

[2]   *hard, immutable*:   [š ž c]
      soft, immutable: [j č̦ ș̌: ž̦:]
      hard, mutable: [p t k x s z], etc.
      soft, mutable: [p̦ ț k̦ x̦ ș z̦], etc.

Among labials and dentals, both palatalized and non-palatalized variants occur before vowels and after vowels in word-final position. In both contexts, palatalization can distinguish words. Compare: prevocalic *тóмный* 'languid' [t] vs. *тёмный* 'dark' [ț], *пáсть* 'fall' [p] vs. *пясть* 'metacarpus' [p̦]; and final postvocalic *вы́пит* 'drunk down' [t] vs. *вы́пить* 'to drink down' [ț], *готóв* 'ready' [f] vs. *готóвь!* 'prepare!' [f̦]. Because contrasts occur in final position where no vowel follows the consonant, palatalization (or its absence) must be intrinsic to the consonant, and in a phonemic analysis, it is the consonant, palatalized or not, that distinguishes words in Russian. If palatalization is distinctive for some consonants in that position, it can be assumed to be distinctive in position before a vowel. Thus the contrast of [t] in *тóмный* 'languid' vs. [ț] in *тёмный* 'dark' is usually analyzed as a contrast of two types of dental stops, non-palatalized [t] as opposed to palatalized [ț].[43]

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[43] In contrast to the abstract phonology of (for example) Lightner 1972, in which there is a rich set of vowel distinctions and consonants are intrinsically hard, becoming palatalized in the position before (underlying) front vowels.

Palatalized and non-palatalized consonants occur with different degrees of freedom depending on the context (the position in the word) and depending on the consonant itself.

All mutable (phonetically paired) consonants historically were palatalized before {e} within lexemes. Palatalization therefore used not to be distinctive in the position before {e}. This historical rule, which dates from the period when palatalization first arose in Russian (a thousand years ago, in the period around the fall of the jers), has been eroded in various ways. Consonants at the end of prefixes are not palatalized before a root-initial {e} (*сэконо́мить* 'economize_{\<PF\>}'), nor is the final consonant of a preposition palatalized before the {e} of the demonstrative *э́тот* 'this' (*в э́том* 'in that', *под э́тим* 'under that', *с э́тим* 'with that', etc., with [vе], [dе], [sе], not [v�ध́e], *[d�ध́e], *[şé]).

Consonants remain non-palatalized before {e} in abbreviations, when that {e} is word-initial in the base word from which it derives, as in *НЭП* ([nep], not [*ņ̧ép] – from "*новая экономическая политика*"). In borrowings, non-palatalized consonants occur before {e}, despite the rule that consonants were historically palatalized before {e} (§2.3.3).[44] Evidently, this primordial rule is no longer productive in all contexts.

2.3.3 The distribution of palatalized consonants

Not all contexts allow both palatalized and non-palatalized consonants. Palatalized consonants are more restricted in their distribution, but non-palatalized consonants occur freely in almost all positions except preceding the vowel {e}.[45] The distribution of palatalization is sensitive to the type of consonant involved.

Dentals distinguish palatalization before all vowels except {e}. Dentals are even developing a distinction before {e} in borrowings, and are doing so more readily than other consonants. Palatalized dentals can occur when no vowel follows. Dental stops occur palatalized in final position after a dental fricative (*шесть* 'six', *гвоздь* 'nail' [şţ] vs. *шест* 'pole', *дрозд* 'thrush' [st]). At the other end of a word, a palatalized dental stop can occur in word-initial position dissimilatively before a non-dental (*тьма́* 'darkness', *тьфу́* 'phooey'). Word-internally not before vowels, palatalized dental obstruents occur dissimilatively before velars and labials, but not before other dentals or palatals: *та́тьба* 'thievery', *сва́дьба* 'wedding', *тётька* 'aunt', *Пе́тька* 'Pete'. Derivational suffixes that now begin with a consonant, such as {-n}, once began with etymological *ь, a high front vowel which, a thousand years ago, palatalized the preceding consonant. Now consonants are not palatalized before these suffixes: *-щик* (*фона́рщик* but *фона́рь*

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[44] Glovinskaia 1971, Alekseeva and Verbitskaia 1989.   [45] Glovinskaia 1976.

'lantern'), *-чик* (*ла́рчик* 'box' but *ларь* 'chest'), *-ник* (*тро́стник* 'reed' but *трость* 'cane'), *-ный* (*янта́рный* but *янта́рь* 'amber').

Palatalized dental sonorants [r̡ l̡ n̡], and especially [l̡], are distributed more freely: word-finally after other consonants (*мы́сль* 'thought', *рубль* 'ruble', *спекта́кль* 'spectacle', *жура́вль* 'crane', *вопль* 'howl', *ви́хрь* 'whirlwind', *жизнь* 'life'), in comparatives (*ра́ньше* 'earlier', *то́ньше* 'thinner', *ме́ньше* 'less'), and in adjectives from months (*октя́брьский* 'of October', *ию́ньский* 'of June', *ию́льский* 'of July'). The lateral [l̡] has the widest distribution: *португа́льский* 'Portuguese', *водеви́льчик* 'vaudeville performer'.

Labials, before vowels other than {e}, can be either non-palatalized (*пасть* 'fall') or palatalized (*пясть* 'metacarpus'). Labials are not palatalized internally before suffixes that once conditioned palatalization: **rabьskъjь > рабский* 'servile'. Labials distinguish palatalization in word-final position after vowels: *копь* 'mine' vs. *око́п* 'trench', *гото́в* 'ready' vs. *гото́вь* 'make ready!'. They can even occur in word-final position after consonants, in *хору́гвь* 'standard', *ветвь* 'branch'. Final palatalized labials in isolated grammatical forms were lost early in the history of Russian (athematic 1SG PRS **damь > дам* 'I give', INS SG **-Vmь > {-om}),[46] and there is a slight tendency to lose palatalization in labials at the end of words in other instances, for example, *во́семь* 'eight' [m] ~ [m̡].

Velars [k g x] can be either palatalized or non-palatalized. For the most part, the variants are distributed in complementary fashion: the palatalized variant occurs before {i e}, the hard variant elsewhere – before other vowels and in a position not before a vowel. However, exceptions to this strict complementarity have begun to appear. Palatalized velars occur before the [o] functioning as the ligature in the second singular through second plural of the present tense of velar-stem verbs, with varying stylistic values in different words. By now, [k̡] is standard in forms of *ткать* 'weave' (2SG *ткёшь*, etc.), while [g] was used by about half of speakers (in the survey of the 1960s) in *жечь* 'burn' (3SG *жгёт* for standard *жжёт*), and [k̡] by a quarter of speakers in *печь* 'bake' (2SG *пекёшь*); in the last two the palatalized velar is not normative. To the extent that present adverbial participles are permitted from velar-stem verbs (they are not universally accepted), the form has a palatalized velar (*берегя́* 'protecting') by analogy to other obstruent-stem verbs (*неся́* 'carrying'). Palatalized velars appear before {a o u} in borrowings in the previous century: *гяу́р* 'giaour', *бракёр* 'inspector', *кюре́* 'curé', *маникю́р* 'manicure'. Palatalized velars do not occur in final, post-vocalic position. Non-palatalized velars do not occur before {e i} in native words, although a non-palatalized pronunciation is normal for the [k] of the preposition *к* before {i} and {e}, as in *к игре́* 'to the game' or *к э́тому* 'to that' or for

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[46] Shakhmatov 1925.

velars in compounds, as in *двухэтáжный* 'two-storied' [x]. In this way, there is a contrast of sorts between palatalized [k̪] internal to morphemes (*кúнуть* 'toss' > [k̪í]) and non-palatalized [k] in the prepositional phrase (*к úноку* 'to the monk' > [kí]). Thus velars are moving towards developing a contrast for palatalization.

In native words, all mutable hard consonants (all hard consonants except [c š ž]) are palatalized in the position before {e}. In borrowings, a non-palatalized pronunciation is possible to a greater or lesser extent, depending on how well assimilated the individual word is, the familiarity of a given speaker with foreign languages, and systemic properties. When the question was investigated in the 1960s, it was found that in some words – seemingly more ordinary, domestic words – the frequency of a hard pronunciation was *increasing*: *рéйс* 'route', *консéрвы* 'conserves', *конкрéтный* 'concrete', *берéт* 'beret', *резéрв* 'reserve'. With other – more scientific – words, the percentage of the population using palatalized consonants *decreased* from the oldest to youngest cohort: *артéрия* 'artery', *инéрция* 'inertia', *критéрий* 'criterion', *энéргия* 'energy', *бактéрия* 'bacteria'. And in a third group there is no clear direction of change: *прогрéсс* 'progress', *патéнт* 'patent'.[47] Hard consonants are more easily maintained in stressed than in unstressed position. Dentals most frequently allow hard consonants, then labials, then velars. Yet a hard pronunciation does occur with labials and with velars: *бемóль* 'b-flat' [běmól̦], *мэ́р* 'mayor' [mér], *пэ́р* 'peer' [pér], *гéмма* 'engraved stone' [gémə], *кéмпинг* ~ *кэ́мпинг* 'camping' [kémpɪŋg], *хэ́ммок* 'hammock' [xémək], *гéтто* 'ghetto' ([gé] ~ [g̪é]).[48]

Overall, the possibility of having a contrast of palatalized and non-palatalized consonants depends on a number of parameters. The possibility of a contrast for palatalization depends on the place (and secondarily manner) of articulation of the consonant itself, dentals favoring the distinction more than labials, which in turn favor the distinction more than velars; yet velars at least have positional variation for palatalization, thereby ranking them ahead of the immutable consonants [š ž ş̌: ž̦:], [c], and [j]. Having a contrast in palatalization also depends on context. A contrast for palatalization is most likely before vowels (/__V), less likely in a position after a vowel with no vowel following; within the latter environment, palatalization is less likely than before a consonant (/V__C) than in word-final position (/V__#) – perhaps because in most instances in which a palatalized consonant would appear word-finally, the given form alternates with another form in which a vowel follows (NOM SG *гóлубь* 'dove' [p̦], GEN SG *гóлубя* [b̦ə]). Palatalized consonants are infrequent in contexts not adjacent to a vowel, though they can occur (*тьмá* 'darkness', *жúзнь* 'life', *рýбль* 'ruble', *хорýгвь* 'standard'). Among vowels, a distinction is made more readily before *back* vowels

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[47] Glovinskaia 1976:100–10.   [48] Glovinskaia 1971:63.

Table 2.6 *Palatalization assimilation and place of articulation*

context	example	recommended pronunciation (Avanesov 1972)	Usage (Krysin 1974)
ZḐ	*сде́лать* 'do'	[z̦d̦]	38%
ZḄ	*изби́ть* 'beat'	[z̦b̦] ∼ [zb̦]	32%
VḄ	*вбежа́ть* 'run in'	[v̦b̦] ∼ [vb̦]	16%
VḐ	*вде́лать* 'set'	[vd̦]	—

than before *front*. Because back vowels have a lower F_2, their F_2 is affected more by palatalized consonants than is the F_2 of front vowels, whose high F_2 has less room to change in the vicinity of palatalized consonants.

2.3.4 Palatalization assimilation

In sequences of two consonants in which the second is palatalized, the first may or may not be palatalized by assimilation. This is just a question of the timing of the articulatory gesture of palatalization. If the raising of the blade of the tongue occurs anticipatorily as the first consonant is formed, assimilation has taken place; if raising occurs within the sequence of consonants, then assimilation has not occurred. Whether palatalization extends over both consonants or begins in the middle of the cluster depends on the extent to which the two consonants are articulatorily linked in other respects. The more linked the two consonants, the more likely it is that palatalization will extend throughout the cluster. There is variation, and the trend is very much towards losing assimilation.[49]

One way to approach the variation is to examine the recommendations of Avanesov (1972) for one morphological context in which most combinations occur, specifically the context of prefix and following root. To see the effect of place of articulation, we may examine combinations of fricative plus stop in Avanesov's recommendations and compare them with Krysin's (1974) survey of usage, in which younger speakers (the last two decades, born between 1930–39 and 1940–49) represent half of the speakers interviewed.

Avanesov does not explicitly mention the combination of labial followed by dental, nor does Krysin (1974) consider it, an indication that assimilation is out of the question in this context. From Table 2.6 we derive a hierarchy of likelihood of assimilation: $TṬ \geq TP̦ \geq PP̦ \geq PṬ$.[50] Comparing the first two terms to the last

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[49] See Drage 1967[a], 1967[b], 1968, on factors. Contemporary speakers have rather less – if any – assimilation than was reported by Drage and Krysin (in the mid-1960s).

[50] Krysin (1974:82) states the hierarchy as $TṬ \geq PP̦ \geq TP̦$ (and then presumably $\geq PṬ$), based on the overall incidence of palatalization in *all* types of morphological contexts. The hierarchy artefactually reflects the kinds of examples tested. Many of the examples of dental plus labial involve prefixes

Table 2.7 *Palatalization assimilation and manner of articulation*

context	example	recommended pronunciation (Avanesov 1972)	Usage (Krysin 1974)
Zʏ̡	*извинúте* 'excuse!'	[zʏ̡] ∼ ± [zʏ̡]	35%
ZB̡	*избúть* 'beat'	[z̡b̡] ∼ ±[z̡b̡]	32%
DB̡	*отбúть* 'repel'	[d̡b̡] ∼ ?[d̡b̡]	—
Dʏ̡	*подвёл* 'subsumed'	[d̡ʏ̡] ∼ ?[d̡ʏ̡]	04%

two, we note that dentals, as ᴛᴀʀɢᴇᴛs, undergo assimilation better than labials. Comparing the first two terms ($T\!\underline{T} \geq T\!\underline{P}$) leads to the result that the same place of articulation in the source and target consonants favors assimilation, because there is no shift in the place of articulation internal to the cluster.

Before velars assimilation is restricted. Labials no longer assimilate; thus in *лáпки* 'paws', the pronunciation [p̡k] that occurred at the end of the nineteenth century gave way long ago to [pk̡]. Assimilation of dentals to velars is out of the question: *таблéтки* 'tablets' [tk̡], *глáдкими* 'smooth' [tk̡].[51] Velars before velars once assimilated (*мя́гкий* [x̡k̡] 'soft'), but the tendency is again towards hardness ([kk̡]).

Table 2.7 shows the effect of manner of articulation.

Avanesov's discussion of these combinations of dentals and labials implies a two-way grouping of $Z\!\underline{\curlyvee} \approx Z\!\underline{B} \geq D\!\underline{B} \approx D\!\underline{\curlyvee}$.[52] His discussion of combinations involving labials implies $V\!\underline{\curlyvee} \geq V\!\underline{B} \geq B\!\underline{B} \approx B\!\underline{\curlyvee}$, and his discussion of combinations involving only dentals implies a hierarchy of $S\!\underline{S}$ (*иссякнуть* 'dry up' [s̡s̡]) $\geq S\!\underline{T}$ (*раздéл* 'division' [z̡d̡] ∼ [zd̡]) $\geq T\!\underline{T}$ (*поддержáть* 'support' [d̡d̡] ∼ ±[dd̡]) $\geq T\!\underline{S}$ (*отсéчь* 'hack off' [ts̡]). Combining the various kinds of information leads to the hierarchy (using the symbols for dentals as general symbols): $S\!\underline{S} \geq S\!\underline{T} \geq T\!\underline{T} \geq T\!\underline{S}$. That hierarchy encodes two principles: fricatives are more likely to assimilate than stops (the first two terms of the hierarchy as opposed to the last two), and consonants that have the same manner of articulation assimilate better than those that have heterogeneous manner (the first and third terms as opposed to the second and fourth). Thus identity of manner, when there is a single elongated articulation without an internal change in manner, favors assimilation.

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or even prepositions (*без вúлки* 'without a fork', *с пúвом* 'with beer'), in which no more than 10 percent of speakers use palatalized dentals. These examples depress the extent of palatalization with dental targets. Among morphologically comparable examples, the 16 percent of *вбежáть* (the only example of labial fricative before labial at a prefix boundary) compares unfavorably with *извинúте* (35%), *избúть* (32%), or even *возвёл* (22%).

[51] Matusevich 1976:203.

[52] Trubetzkoy (1975:184) noted in 1930 that there was no palatalization across prefix boundaries in *отвёртывать*, though there would be assimilation internally in *бритвенный*.

In combinations of dentals, dental stops do not assimilate to a following lateral [l̩] (assimilation to [r̩] is out of the question), because there is a shift to a different mode of articulation (lateral) within the cluster. Dental obstruents assimilate better to dental nasals [n̩], presumably because the *oral* component of a dental nasal is effectively just [d̩].

Additional factors have emerged in other investigations. Clusters in which voicing is maintained throughout seem to assimilate better (*звéрь* 'beast' 30%, *двéрь* 'door' 30% in Krysin's survey) than clusters in which voicing switches and introduces an internal articulatory boundary (*твéрь* 17%) or than in voiceless clusters (*спúнка* 'back' 15%). Intervocalic position favors assimilation over absolute initial position (*леснúк* 'forester' 49%, *во снé* 'in sleep' 54%, but *снéг* 'snow' 28%).

The position before [j] is a special case. Dentals within words assimilate well to [j]. Assimilation to [j] of a dental in a prefix is possible but not obligatory (*съéл* 'ate up' [s̩j], *изъя́ть* 'extract' [z̩j] ~ [zj], *подъём* 'ascent' [dj]) and infrequent in a preposition (*из я́мы* 'from the pit': [ɪzjámɪ], outmoded [ɪz̩jámɪ], only *от ёлки* 'from the fir tree' [ʌtjȯ́lk̩ɪ]).[53] With labials before [j] within words, assimilation still predominates (over 50% of speakers with *побьём* 'we'll beat' and *воробья́* 'sparrow'), but assimilation is unlikely in prefixes (*объéхать* 'drive around' [ʌbjéxət̩]).

2.3.5 The glide [j]

The glide [j] has realizations ranging from strong to weak to weakest.[54] It is pronounced as a relatively strong, more consonantal [j] before a stressed vowel: *я́ма* 'pit' [jámə], *я́корь* 'anchor' [jákər̩]. In other positions it is a weaker, less consonantal [i̯]: *язы́к* 'language' [i̯ɪzík] (initially before unstressed vowel), *дéлают* 'they do' [d̩éləi̯ʊt] (medially before unstressed vowel), *хозя́йка* 'mistress of the house' [xʌz̩ái̯kə] (after vowel before consonant), *стáрой* 'old' [stárəi̯] (after a vowel, not before a consonant).

There is a third, even weaker, pronunciation, and that is nothing. The glide [j] ~ [i̯] is, after all, just an extended [i]-like transition to or away from a vowel. It remains a segment only if it is distinct for a significant interval of time. The glide [j] merges into the adjacent vowel. It is normally lost in verbs of the E-Conjugation: *знáешь* 'you know' [znáɪš], *дéлаешь* 'you do'.[55] It is often inaudible in declensional endings: *с уважéнием* 'with respect' [ɪi̯ə] ~ [ɪə]; *стáрое* 'old' [əi̯ə] ~ [əə]; *грóзное* 'threatening' [əi̯ə] ~ [əə]; *орýжие* 'weapon' [ɪi̯ə] ~ [ɪə].

The glide is also absorbed after a vowel before a following stressed [í].[56] Forms like *моя́* 'my' [mʌjá], *стою́* [stʌjú] 'I stand' imply stems {moj-}, {stoj-} including

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[53] In reference to hard [vᵒ]: "the pronunciation [. . .] [вjýга] cannot be considered correct" (p. 127), a statement which applies to a third of the population, including those with higher education.

[54] Isačenko 1947:145–48, 1959.   [55] Avanesov (1971:367) restores the [i̯] only in careful speech.

[56] *SRIa* 1.109.

[j], but that [j] is not pronounced before [í]: *мой* [mʌ́ɪ], *стойшь* [stʌ́ɪš]. However, [j] is maintained after a consonant before stressed [í]: *чьй* 'whose' [čjí], *воробьй* 'sparrows' [bʲjí].

In words that begin with {i}, there is no [j] left at all. As a result, when initial {i} is put after a prefix or independent word ending in a consonant, the vowel that is pronounced is [í] (unstressed [ɪ]): *в их дóме* 'in their house' [vɪɣdóm̥ɪ], *дáл им* 'he gave to them' [dálɪm], *в Индию* 'to India' [víndʲɪʲʊ]. Interestingly, [j] is maintained before [ɪ] that derives from a non-high vowel – *Яросла́вль* [ʲɪrʌslávl̥], *ещё* 'still' [ʲɪš̥ːʲɵ], *в егó* [vʲɪʲvó], not *[vɪʲvó].[57]

2.3.6 Affricates

The affricates [c] and [č] begin, like stops, with a sudden initial closure, which is followed by a static interval of closure, but the closure is released more gradually than with an ordinary stop, in a fashion similar to the release of a fricative. To indicate their mixed character as part stop, part fricative, it is sometimes convenient to write the affricates as combinations of two symbols: [c] as [t͡s], [č] as [t͡š].[58] Affricates are not, however, simply clusters. They are not appreciably longer than fricatives [s š]. The affricate [c] does not palatalize before {e} (*в концé*) as might be expected if it were composed of [t] plus [s], inasmuch as [s] does (*о лéсе*). The affricate [č] does not condition a vowel in unstressed imperatives like true clusters: *плáчь* 'cry!', *не мýчь* 'don't torment!'.

While affricates in Russian are units, clusters of consonants result in phonetic sequences like affricates.[59] Word-internally, a dental stop [t] that is followed by [c] or [s] ([s̪]) will become a single consonantal complex consisting of a stop onset, a long static interval of closure (written here as "t͡t"), and a fricative-like release: GEN SG *бра́тца* 'chap' [brat͡tsə], *стреми́ться* 'strive' [t͡tsə], identically 3SG PRS *стреми́тся* [t͡tsə]. Similarly, a dental stop [t] plus [č] becomes an affricate with an elongated closure: *во́тчина* 'patrimony' [vót͡t͡šɪnə]. If such a combination is placed before an obstruent, the long closure will be shortened, becoming equivalent to the affricate [t͡s] = [c]: *Петрозаво́дск* [vótsk] = [vóck].

When combinations of stops and fricatives arise at prefixes, they maintain the duration of the fricative of the following root while the preceding hard stop develops the release of an affricate: *отсиде́ть* 'sit out' [c͡s] = [t͡ss̥], *надзира́тель* 'overseer' [ʒ͡z] = [d͡zz̪], *отши́ть* 'rebuff' [c͡š] = [t͡ss̥], *отжи́ть* 'become obsolete' [ʒ͡ž] = [d͡zz̪].

This [ʒ͡ž] or [d͡zž] – a dental stop onset of normal duration followed by the release of an affricate to a full hard alveo-palatal fricative – is the recommended pronunciation for orthographic «дж» in borrowings: *джаз* [d͡zžás], *джем* [d͡zžém].[60]

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[57] Trubetzkoy (1975:237).
[58] In other systems of notation, one could write [c] = [t͡s], [č] = [t͡ʃ] or [t͡ʃ].   [59] *SRIa* 1.106–7.
[60] Avanesov 1972:166, Jones and Ward 1969:102.

There is, then, a range of complex articulations of stop and fricative, which can be ranked in order of increasing duration: true affricates [c č] = [ts tš], which are usually lexical (also derived from clusters of [t] and [s] before consonants: *брáтский* 'brotherly'); affricates with long closures derived from stops followed by fricatives or affricates, [t͡s t͡š]; and complexes with full fricative releases, [t͡ss̩ t͡šš̩ d͡žž̩].[61]

2.3.7 Soft palatal fricatives

The sound represented by the letter «щ» derives etymologically from Common Slavic palatalizations (**sk* before front vowel and **stj*); it is also the Russian interpretation of the Church Slavonic reflex of **tj*. Earlier it was pronounced with an internal closure: [šč] or, equivalently, [š͡tš]. Throughout most of the Russian dialect area, this older pronunciation has lost out to a Muscovite pronunciation in which the internal stop closure has weakened, resulting in a more or less homogeneous long, soft alveo-palatal fricative [š̩:]: *бóрщ* 'borsch' [bórš̩:]. In the sociolinguistic survey of the 1960s, [š̩:] was used by close to 80 percent of speakers born in 1940–49 in *бóрщ* and *щú*, the most favorable lexical items.[62] And although [šč] is often said to be a Petersburg variant, another survey from the same period had ninety percent of (then) young Leningrad natives born after the war using the national variant [š̩:].[63]

In addition to lexical instances of [š̩:] (*бóрщ*, etc.), this sound also arises productively in combinations of dental fricatives [s z] with [č].[64] Dental fricatives [s z] often assimilate in place of articulation to palatals across prefix and preposition boundaries: *сшúть* 'suture' [šš], *с женóй* 'with the wife' [žž], *без жúра* 'without fat' [žž]. These fricatives also assimilate to a following [č] in place of articulation and, since [č] is palatalized, for that feature as well: *исчúслить* 'calculate', *с чéстью* 'with honor' [šč]. As a further stage, the stop closure in the middle of the complex can be lost: [šč] = [š͡tš] > [š̩:]. Which variant occurs, whether [šč] or [š̩:], depends on how cohesive the two units are: the weaker the morphological boundary, and the more lexicalized the combination, the more likely the further stage of [š̩:] is. By now [š̩:] is usual in suffixal derivatives (*расскáзчик* 'raconteur') and in idiomatized prefix–root combinations (*счáстье* 'happiness', *исчéзнуть* 'disappear'); it is possible with free prefix-root combinations of the type *исчúслить, расчищáть* 'clean', *исчертúть* 'sketch out', *бесчéстный* 'dishonorable'. In the 1960s, on the order of 10 to 20 percent of all speakers surveyed used [š̩:],[65] and it is not uncommon now for speakers under forty. Loss of closure is rare with preposition and noun, though it occurs in idiomatic combinations:

[61] Trubetzkoy (1975:182), however, allows that these distinctions are blurred in allegro style.
[62] Krysin 1974:100.
[63] Ivanovna-Luḱianova 1971. Similar observations in Baranova 1971, Drage 1968:377–79.
[64] And in principle palatal fricatives [š ž], as in *перебéжчик*.   [65] Krysin 1974:102–3.

с человéком 'with a person' [ŝč̭], *с чéстью* 'with honor' [ŝč̭] ∼ ±[ŝ:], and idiomatic *с чегó* 'why, from what' [ŝč̭] ∼ [ŝ:].

It is difficult to assign an unambiguous phonemic analysis to [ŝ:] if one expects to define a set of features that distinguish it invariantly from all other sounds.[66] What necessary property would distinguish [ŝ:] from [ŝ]? If [ŝ:] were viewed as the soft counterpart of [ŝ], one might expect [ŝ] to become [ŝ:] before the {-e} of the (dative-)locative. It does not: *о карандашé* [ŝé], not *[ŝ:é]* or *[ŝé]*. Further, [ŝ:] is often phonetically long, and it conditions a vowel in the imperative (*ры́скать* 'roam', IMV *ры́щи*; *мóрщить* 'pucker', IMV *мóрщи*), as is characteristic of clusters. Defining [ŝ:] as the soft counterpart of [ŝ] would not motivate its characteristic length. But length cannot be its necessary property, because the length sometimes disappears. As a third possibility, it might be tempting to think that [ŝ:] in general derives from a cluster – from [sč̭] or [ŝč̭] or, with an abstract fricative, from [Sč̭], inasmuch as [ŝ:] arises productively from clusters of dental or palatal fricative and [č̭] (*расскáзчик*). This analysis violates invariance in another way. It is usually assumed that [č̭] differs from [ŝ] by not being continuous. If all [ŝ:] derive from [č̭], then [č̭] has an allophone [ŝ] which is continuous, in violation of this invariant property. There seems to be no analysis which would not violate one or another axiom of structuralist phonemics and, accordingly, no option other than simply restating the facts: [ŝ:] is a soft alveo-palatal fricative; it is historically a long consonant, though it sometimes shortens; it does not form a canonical pair with [ŝ]; and it can arise from combinations of fricatives with [č̭].

Superficially parallel to [ŝ:], there is also a voiced [ž̭:], which, however, differs in certain respects.[67] With [ŝ:], softness is maintained in all contexts, regardless of whether length is maintained. In contrast, the soft pronunciation of [ž̭:] is yielding to a hard pronunciation [ž:], on a lexeme-by-lexeme basis. In the 1960s, [ž̭:] was used by over half of the speakers of all ages in *дрóжжи* 'yeast', the word with the greatest incidence of [ž̭:], after which came *брызжет* 'gush', *визжáть* 'squeal' (a third), then *éзжу* 'I drive', *пóзже* 'later' (a quarter), and finally *можжевéльник* 'juniper' (15%).[68] Nowadays [ž̭:] is quite limited among speakers under forty. Included in the set of relevant words should also be *дóждь* 'rain', GEN SG *дождя́* (likewise, *вóждь* 'leader', *вождя́*), which allows either this pronunciation (that is, [ž̭:] or, with devoicing, [ŝ:]) or one with a palatal fricative and dental stop (that is, [ž̭d] or devoiced [ŝt]). The pronunciation with a stop has become usual; only a fifth of speakers surveyed still used [ž̭:] in the 1960s.[69]

In the most explicit register, [ŝ:] is generally pronounced with length, but it is often shortened to [ŝ]. Table 2.8 lists most environments.

The table suggests the following observations. Intervocalic position (<a>) preserves length. (A sonorant intervening between a vowel and post-vocalic [ŝ:] does

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[66] See Avanesov 1948, Panov 1967, Flier 1980.   [67] Zinder 1989.   [68] Krysin 1974:85.
[69] Avanesov transcribes it with a hard fricative. Jones and Ward (1969:142) imply [ž̭d].

Table 2.8 *Degemination of [šː]*

	context	pronunciation	(possible) syllable structure
\<a\>	/V__V	[šš]	Vš.šV
\<b\>	/#__V	[šš]	.ššV
\<c1\>	/V́__#	[šš] ∼ ± [š]	Všš.
\<c2\>	/V̆__#	±[šš] ∼ [š]	Všš.
\<d1\>	/V́__CV	±[šš] ∼ [š]	Vš.šCV
\<d2\>	/V̆__CV	[š]	Vš.šCV
\<e\>	/V¢__V	[š]	VC.ššV

± = less acceptable variant

not shorten it: *носи́льщик* 'porter' [l̥šː], *обма́нщик* 'deceiver' [n̥šː].[70]) Length is also preserved in absolute initial, prevocalic position (\<b\>). Before a following consonant ([n] or [n̥]), length is often lost: \<d2\>, *беспо́мощный* 'helpless' [šn], *чудо́вищный* 'monstrous' [šn̥], though its length may be preserved after a stressed vowel: \<d1\> *изя́щный* 'elegant' [šːn] ∼ ±[šn̥]. A preceding obstruent shortens [šː]: \<e\> *гардеро́бщик* 'cloakroom attendant' [pš], *брако́вщик* 'sorter' [fš]. In absolute final, post-vocalic position, length is also vulnerable: \<c1\> *това́рищ* 'comrade' [šː] ∼ ±[š], *по́мощь* 'help' [šː] ∼ ±[š], though less so after a stressed vowel: \<c2\> *мо́щь* 'might' [šː].[71]

These regularities might at first glance seem to follow from syllable structure. Context \<a\> suggests length is preserved when [šː] is ambisyllabic between vowels, and context \<b\> suggests length is preserved in syllable-onset position, while \<c1, c2\> suggest that the coda position is less than ideal. Up to this point the distribution is consistent with principles of syllable structure. But if \<d1, d2\> is ambisyllabic [Vš.šnV], [šnV] should be an acceptable onset, yet length tends to be lost. In \<e\>, length is lost despite the fact that the cluster could be in syllable-onset position, as [VC.ššV]. In fact, in \<d\> and \<e\> it does not matter which syllable [šː] belongs to. The constraint is whether [šː] is adjacent to another consonant. The adjacency of another consonant – regardless of its syllable allegiance – is sufficient to shorten [šː]. The regularities of Table 2.8 do not follow from syllable structure.

2.3.8 Geminate consonants
Clusters of identical consonants, as they are written in the orthography, are likely to be simplified in speech, depending on various factors: tempo, register, familiarity of the word, the ability of the geminate cluster to occur in native Russian words. When geminates arise at the boundary between prefix and root,

[70] According to Avanesov 1972. Panov 1967 transcribes such words with [š].
[71] Avanesov 1972 has length here, Jones and Ward (1969:139) shortness.

they are normally maintained. At internal boundaries, only [nn] and [ss] occur. Geminate spellings involving most consonants occur in foreign borrowings, and then the gemination may or may not be maintained in pronunciation.[72]

Certain segments tolerate gemination more readily than others. Geminate [rr] is quite unlikely. Geminate stops occur occasionally (*гру́ппa* 'group' 55%, *хоккéй* 'hockey' 34%). Geminate [ss], [nn], [mm], and [ll] are the most likely. With respect to position in the word, geminates are best maintained between vowels, and they are maintained better following a stressed vowel than following an unstressed vowel. Compare: *мácca* 'mass' (88%), *кácca* 'cashier' (85%), *комúссия* 'commission' (48%) as opposed to *классúческий* 'classic' (44%), *бассéйн* 'pool' (44%). In fact, no less of a native informant (and phonologist) than Trubetzkoy wrote in a letter to Jakobson that geminate [nː] was possible only after stressed vowels; the sequence would be shortened after unstressed vowels.[73] In word-final position after a vowel, geminates are often simplified but can be maintained (NOM SG *кácca* 'cashier' 85% [sː] vs. GEN PL *кácc* 52% [sː]). Before a following consonant (in the context VC_iC_iV), geminates are lost, as is sometimes reflected in spelling: *оперéтта* 'operetta' but *оперéтка*, *ру́сский* [sk], DIM *гру́ппка* [pk], DIM *прогрáммка* [mk].[74] Just as with [ʂː], if a potential geminate is adjacent to another consonant, it loses length.

In general, maintaining gemination (including [ʂː]) requires an environment which grants a large measure of duration to the interval of obstruents. Intervocalic position, when the geminate is supported on both sides by vocalic intervals, is more favorable to maintaining gemination than absolute initial (prevocalic) position. Both are more favorable to geminates than absolute final (post-vocalic) position. Position adjacent to an obstruent is inferior. Position after a stressed vowel favors maintaining the geminate.

2.3.9 Voicing of consonants

In Russian some obstruents are voiced, some voiceless. Voiced obstruents such as [d], [g], [ẓ] are produced with the vocal cords taut and therefore vibrating through much of the duration of the obstruent – in Russian, voiced stops are voiced through more of their duration than voiced stops in English.[75] Voiceless consonants such as [t], [k], [ṣ] are produced with spread vocal cords that do not vibrate. Almost all obstruents come in pairs that differ only by voicing. Both kinds of obstruents can occur in the context before vowels and distinguish words: *бúть* [b̩] 'be' vs. *пúть* [p̩] 'drink', *géло* [d̩] 'matter' vs. *т́ело* [t̩] 'body'.

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[72] Avanesov 1972:128–38, statistics from Glovinskaia 1976. Kuz′mina 1976 treats the related problem of simplification in consonant clusters.

[73] Trubetzkoy 1975:237.   [74] *SRIa* 1.107–8.

[75] Initial [d] is voiced in English only 60 percent of its duration, Russian [d] 90 percent (Heffner 1964:130).

The obstruents [c č x] are normally voiceless, though they do become voiced preceding a voiced obstruent within a minimal domain: *отéц бы́л* 'father was' > [ʒb], *ткáч бы́л* 'the weaver was' > [ǯb], *лечбá* 'healing' [ǯb], *двухднéвный* 'two-day' [ɣd̯n̯]. The voiced phones [ʒ ǯ ɣ] do not normally occur before vowels by themselves.[76] (Historically, [ɣ], a Slavonic pronunciation, could occur autonomously, in certain lexical items such as *блáго-* 'well-', *Бóг* 'God', *гóсподь* 'Lord'.)

Sonorants are intrinsically voiced. They do not come in pairs that differ by voicing, although sonorants become voiceless in specific contexts. Vowels sometimes become voiceless when they are unstressed between voiceless consonants.

In addition to the paradigmatic constraints on voicing, there are syntagmatic constraints, or "rules," governing how voicing is distributed in connected speech. Because voicing involves vibration of the vocal cords, absence of voicing is generally taken to be articulatorily less complex and less marked than voicing. But speech might be viewed as basically voiced, and absence of voicing – voicelessness – as an interruption of the flow of intrinsically vocalic, and voiced, sound.[77] An interlude of voicelessness must be initiated by an active gesture of opening the glottis ("⌈") and terminated by a gesture of closing the glottis ("⌉"). These gestures coincide more or less with the oral gestures that define the boundaries of segments; for example, in making [p̯] in *опя́ть*, the glottis spreads (and voicing stops) as the lips close and the glottis is closed (and voicing resumes) as the lips open.

Vowels tolerate a boundary of voicelessness on either side. In *тётя* 'aunt', the stressed [ó] tolerates the onset of voicelessness on its right margin and the end of voicelessness on its left: [⌈t̯⌉ó⌈t̯⌉ə]. Sonorants (= "*R*"), intrinsically voiced, extend the vocalic domain, in that they allow a boundary of voicelessness on either side. For example, [r] allows the onset of voicelessness on its right margin in *мáрка* 'stamp' [már⌈k⌉ə]; and before a vowel, [ɣ] and [l] tolerate the end of voicelessness immediately before them in *свёкла* 'beet' [⌈s⌉ɣⓞ́⌈k⌉lə]. Sonorants followed by vowels allow preceding obstruents to distinguish voicing: *для* 'for, on behalf of' and *тля* 'beetle', which differ by initial [d] and [t], or *тлéть* 'rot' > [tl̯] vs. *дли́нный* 'long' [dl̯], *пью́* 'I drink' > [pj] vs. *бью́* 'I beat' [b̯j]. Before a vowel, the two members of the small class of *W*, voiced labio-dental approximates [v ɣ], also allow both voiced and voiceless obstruents to precede (*двойх*_{<GEN>} 'a pair' [dv] vs. *твойх*_{<GENPL>} 'your' [tv]), just as sonorants do. The distribution is recursive, so that a series of these sounds (sonorants *R* or *W*) before a vowel permit obstruents of either type: *от мнóгого* 'from much' [tmn] vs. *под мнóгим* 'under much' [dmn],

[76] As emerges below, the relationship of /f f̯/ to /v ɣ/ is not the same as that between /b̯/ and /p̯/, and it might be justified to include /f f̯/ in the list of consonants that are unpaired for voicing.

[77] Browman and Goldstein (1986[a], [b]) argue that voiceless consonants in English and French are marked by an active "glottal closing-and-opening gesture," gestures which voiced stops lack.

развратúть 'dissipate' [zvr] vs. *отвратúть* 'repel' [tvr]. In this respect the class *W* behaves like sonorants.

Russian has two syntagmatic rules of voicing that apply obligatorily and almost exclusively to obstruents: voicing assimilation and word-final devoicing. Within a sequence of obstruents, all obstruents must have the same voicing as the last segment of the sequence; for example, the sound corresponding to «ж» is voiceless [š] before voiceless [k] in *нóжка* 'knife [DIM]' (it surfaces as [ž] only in the GEN PL *нóжек*), while the sounds corresponding to «с» and «ть» are voiced in *пастьбá* 'pasturage' [z̦(d̦)b]. Viewed in terms of gestures, voicing assimilation is the constraint that no boundary of voicelessness can fall between obstruents; voicelessness cannot begin between the two obstruents of *нóжка* *[ž⌈k], nor can the end of voicelessness fall in the middle of the obstruent interval of *пастьбá* *[ş(ţ)⌉b].

Voicing assimilation is thought to apply without exception within words and at the boundaries of prefixes or prepositions and words: *отбúл* 'repelled' [db̦], *с бéрега* 'from the shore' [zb̦], *подписáть* 'sign' [tp], *дéвка* 'wench' [fk]. Assimilation is usual before enclitics beginning with voiced obstruents (*дóчь бы* 'daughter might' [žb], *отéц же* 'father indeed' [ʒž], *вóт бы* 'well now' [db]), possible but not obligatory in compounds (*партбилéт* 'party card' [tb̦] ∼ [db̦]), and occasional between independent words, at least in close syntagms (and with connotations of colloquial register): *нáш знаменúтый (кúевский тóрт)* 'our famous (Kiev tort)' [žz], *конéц гóда* 'end of the year' [cg] ∼ [ʒg], *мáть с детьмú* 'mother with children' [ţz̦d̦] ∼ [dz̦d̦], *дóчь вдовы́* 'daughter of a widow' [čvd] ∼ [žvd], *трýдность заключáлась* 'difficulty consisted of' [ş(ţ)z] ∼ [z̦(d̦)z], *зýб болúт* 'tooth hurts' [pb] ∼ [bb], *дóчь была́* 'daughter was' [čb] ∼ [žb], *отéц бы́л* 'father was' [cb] ∼ [ʒb].[78] When assimilation occurs, it appears that there is neutralization. That is, a lexical [s], when voiced, is identical to a lexical [z], and conversely, a lexical [d̦], when devoiced, is identical to [ţ].[79]

Final devoicing pushes the beginning of voicelessness as far back into the word from the end of the word as possible. Thus the sound corresponding to «дь» in *тетрáдь* is voiceless [tɪ⌈t⌉rá⌈ţ⌉], and, by voicing assimilation, the onset of voicelessness is pushed back to include both obstruents in *гвóздь* 'nail': [gvó⌈şţ⌉]. Devoicing occurs without exception in phrase-final position, normally in the first word of a phrase consisting of two independent words (*дéд ушёл* 'grampa left' [t], *трýд людéй* 'labor of people' [tl̦]), usually but not always at the end of a word

[78] Some information is given in Paufoshima and Agaronov 1971.

[79] There are still questions to be investigated in the phonetics of consonants participating in voicing rules. Drage 1968 noted some occasional exceptions to the rules. Barry (1988) considered the possibility that final devoiced obstruents maintain some properties characteristic of voiced consonants, but does not find consistent evidence of a phonetic difference. Burton and Robblee (1997), examining assimilation, found that consonants neutralize.

before a clitic beginning with a sonorant or a vowel (*gég уж* 'grampa already' [t], *зу́б ли* 'the tooth?' [pḷ]). Primary prepositions maintain voicing before sonorants and vowels (*под ла́мпой* 'under the lamp' [dl], *без мно́гих* 'without many' [zmn]). However, root and prefixal prepositions have a stressed vowel, marking them as autonomous words (*бли́з* 'near', *сквóзь* 'through', *про́тив* 'against', *вслéд* 'following'), and their final consonants devoice: *сквóзь лéс* 'through the forest' [ṣḷ].

As noted, sonorants (*R*) and labio-dental approximates (*W*) are normally voiced. However, they are not completely inert with respect to voicing rules. *W* is less inert than sonorants. The relevant contexts are these.

<**a**> *V__#*: In final open position after a vowel, the two members of *W* devoice and become identical to the voiceless obstruents [f f̡]: *кро́в* 'roof' [f], *кро́вь* 'blood' [f̡]. Sonorants, in contrast to *W*, are expected to remain voiced. Yet devoicing, partial or complete, occurs, [r̡] being the most susceptible: *ко́рь* 'measles' > [kór̡] . . . [kór̡͡r̡̊] . . . [kór̡̊]. (It is convenient to write the ligature sign to indicate a consonant of normal duration over which some feature such as voicing changes its value.) Sonorants may devoice partially after a vowel before a final voiceless obstruent, as in *сéрп* 'sickle' and *сéрб* 'Serb' [r̡͡r̡̊p].

<**b**> *VȻ__#*: After a preceding voiceless obstruent at the end of a word, final sonorants are usually devoiced: *теáтр* 'theater' [á⌈tr̡̊⌉].[80] After a previous voiced obstruent, the sonorant may acquire an anaptyctic vowel (*ру́бль* 'ruble' [bəḷ]).[81] Or, in less than standard speech, it may devoice, partially ([bl̡͡l̡̊]) or completely ([bl̡̊]), and then pass on voicelessness to the preceding obstruent (([pḷ]),), and (in dialects) even be identified as an obstruent: [žiṣt̡] for *жи́знь* 'life'. In this context, the constraint of final devoicing attempts to move the onset of voicelessness back towards the margin of the previous vocalic domain, in the process potentially affecting a sonorant.

When *W* follows an obstruent at word end, both the *W* and the obstruent apparently devoice: *хору́гвь* 'banner' [kf̡], *трéзв* 'sober', *рéзв* 'frisky', *мнóго я́зв* 'many sores' [sf].[82]

<**c**> *C__CV*: Internally between obstruents, *W* behaves as an obstruent. It participates in voicing assimilation: when *W* precedes a voiced obstruent, a previous obstruent remains voiced (*под вдовóй* 'under the widow' [dvd]) or becomes voiced (*к вдовé* 'to the widow' [gvd]). Before a voiceless obstruent, *W* devoices and passes

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[80] Jones and Ward 1969:189, Matusevich 1976:188, 198, *SRIa* 1.105–6.
[81] See Reformatskii 1971, Liubimova 1975, Barry 1989, Flier 1990, 1993, with references.
[82] But according to Reformatskii (1975), devoicing is not complete: though the *W* of *мнóго я́зв* is devoiced, the preceding |z| can remain partially voiced ([z͡sf]) or fully voiced ([zf]). At the same time, a |z| before an |f| is said to devoice, in an abbreviation concocted by Reformatskii: *ЯЗФ*. If so – if [z͡sf], [zf], or [zv] is pronounced in *я́зв* instead of [sf] – it would show simply that the behavior of *W* in this position is not completely that of an obstruent.

on voicelessness to a preceding obstruent, which remains voiceless (*от второго* 'from the second' [tft]) or becomes voiceless (*под вторым* 'under the second' [tft]). In this context, *W* forms part of an extended obstruental interval that does not permit changes in voicing within the interval.

With sonorants between obstruents, it is possible to insert an anaptyctic vowel and make the sonorant syllabic, in which case the sonorant can accept boundaries of voicelessness. The interesting question – a question on which there is some disagreement – is what happens if the sonorant does not become syllabic. Four sub-contexts can be distinguished.

<c1> *D＿D*: Between voiced obstruents, sonorants remain voiced, and may become syllabic: *под лжи́вым* 'under false' [dl̩⁽ə⁾ž].

<c2> *T＿D*: After a voiceless and before a voiced obstruent, sonorants most probably leave the preceding voiceless obstruent untouched, whether or not they acquire an anaptyctic vowel: *от льди́ны* 'from the ice-floe' [ʌ⌈t⌉⁽ə⁾ld̩ínɨ], *Пржева́льский* [⌈p⌉⁽ə⁾rž]. There is, however, some uncertainty on this point, discussed below.

<c3> *D＿T*: After a voiced obstruent before a voiceless one, a range of variants is possible. In, for example, *му́дрствовать*: 'act wise', both obstruent and sonorant can maintain voice ([dr⌈st⌉v]), or the sonorant can devoice partially ([dr̥͡r̥st⌉v] or completely ([d⌈r̥st⌉v]), or both can devoice, as is not uncommon in *октя́брьский* [⌈pr̥s̨k̨⌉]. The sonorant may be lost. If the sonorant acquires an anaptyctic vowel, as is possible at preposition boundaries, the obstruent is unaffected: *из Лха́сы* [zəlx].

<c4> *T＿T*: Between voiceless obstruents, the sonorant is hemmed in by voicelessness on both sides without the aid of a supporting vowel. The sonorant can insert an anaptyctic vowel, as it does usually at a prefix boundary: *от МХА́Та* 'from MKhAT' [ʌ⌈t⌉əm⌈x⌉á⌈t⌉ə]. Or it can devoice, creating a single extended interval of voicelessness without internal shifts in voicing (*Супра́сльский* [⌈sl̥s̨k̨⌉]). Or it may be lost altogether.

The behavior of *W* and sonorants, especially in these environments, has generated something of a controversy about the nature of the voicing rules. It is Jakobson who is credited with first observing the unusual behavior of *W* in particular.[83] In his original article in 1956, Jakobson characterized the voicing rule so that the final obstruent in a cluster was held wholly responsible. Assimilation occurs between two obstruents, "regardless of whether one follows directly after the other or *v* comes between them." On this view, *W* is a permeable membrane that transmits voicing from a following obstruent to a preceding one.

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[83] Jakobson 1956/1971[a]. On Jakobson's treatment of *W* in this position, see Shapiro 1966. Shapiro 1993 provides an overview of the problem of voicing.

The subsequent tradition saw in Jakobson's observation the possibility that *W* is to be classified as a sonorant. One hypothesis was that *W* is intrinsically a sonorant that becomes an obstruent in weak environments, when it merges with [f f̦].[84] This solution maintains the assumption that active participation in voicing rules is limited exactly to the class of obstruents; true sonorants would have to be excluded on this account.

Another tack was to ask whether true sonorants behave the same as *W* in the vicinity of obstruents.[85] Sheveroshkin, citing *Пржевальский*, states that "voicing of *p*- <...> does not occur <...> It can hardly be suggested that the sonorant [r] is syllabic." He notes that, in *из Лхасы*, devoicing is possible, provided the [l] itself devoices: [sl̥x]. Zalizniak (1975) claims that sonorants generally do not transmit voicing, even if they remain non-syllabic. He states categorically that a voiceless obstruent does not become voiced across an intervening sonorant in assimilation to a voiced obstruent. Thus Tsvetaeva's line *застрахованность этих лбов* 'insurability of these foreheads' could only be pronounced without assimilation as [⌈x⌉lb], never with assimilation as *[γlb]. If so, sonorants differ from *W* or obstruents, which would affect a preceding consonant in this combination: *этих вдов* 'of these widows' [γvd], *этих дней* 'of these days' [γd̦n̦]. Zalizniak mentions that if the following obstruent is voiceless, voicing assimilation – devoicing – could occur.

After the appearance of these studies, Jakobson responded by pushing the parallelism between *W* and sonorants. In his last summary discussion (1978/1985), he insisted that voicing assimilation is passed through sonorants, both when the obstruent after the sonorant is voiceless (*из Мценска* 'from Mtsensk' [smc]) and, remarkably, when the obstruent after the sonorant is voiced ([dl̦d̦] in *от льдины*). (Jakobson does not explicitly say whether the sonorant itself would have to be devoiced before a voiceless obstruent in order to communicate voicelessness; his transcriptions do not indicate that the intervening sonorant is devoiced.) To judge by his examples, sonorants behave like *W*: they are also permeable membranes that transmit voicing. In extending this property of permeability from *W* to all sonorants, Jakobson makes a substantive claim that differs from those made in other sources: his *к лживым словам* 'to false words' [glž] and *от льдины* [dl̦d̦] seem incompatible with Sheveroshkin's *Пржевальский* [prž] and Zalizniak's *этих лбов* [xlb]. While Jakobson claims that there is complete parallelism in the context *CRC* and *CWC* regardless of whether the second obstruent is voiced or voiceless, other investigators point to the likelihood that there is an asymmetry in contexts: voicelessness may be passed on, but only if it is imposed on the

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[84] The solution proposed by Andersen (1969) and subsequently reinvented in other places.
[85] Es′kova 1971:245, Sheveroshkin 1971 (especially 282).

sonorant; voicing will not be passed through a sonorant to a preceding voiceless obstruent.[86] Thus Jakobson's factual observations differ from those of other commentators.[87]

To understand voicing, it is useful to think of voicelessness as a feature with a temporal life. Voicing and voicelessness are not entirely symmetrical. Vocalic domains (vowels themselves, and vowels extended by sonorants) are intrinsically voiced.[88] Boundaries of voicelessness are tolerated on the margins of vocalic domains and only there; consonantal intervals are either voiced or voiceless throughout with no internal change – no internal beginning of voicelessness (*[VD⌈T⌉V]) and no internal end of voicelessness (*[V⌈T⌉DV]). Whether an interval is voiced or voiceless is determined by the last obstruent. Sonorants adjacent to vowels extend the vocalic domain and therefore tolerate adjacent voicelessness. But sonorants are not completely inert in voicing rules. Complications arise when a sonorant is next to a word boundary or is sandwiched between obstruents. In such contexts, the class of *W* behaves like an obstruent. Unambiguous sonorants – liquids and nasals – can do the same if the following environment imposes voicelessness, but they can also act as an autonomous domain and tolerate the cessation of voicelessness immediately preceding them, in the configuration ⌈T⌉RD (*Пржевальский, от льдины*).

2.4 Phonological variation

2.4.1 General

Most – perhaps all – phonetic processes in Russian exhibit variation in their application. While each process deserves its own description, the processes are governed by analogous factors. The factors can be grouped into three classes: systemic factors (those motivated by intrinsic properties of the sounds involved);

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[86] The assumption that both voicelessness and voicing are passed through sonorants is critical for the theoretical studies of Halle and Vergnaud (1981) and Hayes (1984). Robblee and Burton 1997, examining the duration and amplitude of consonants in clusters in which a sonorant is between two obstruents, could find no instrumental confirmation that voicing is transmitted through sonorants. Kavitskaya (1999), a phonologist from Moscow, states that in her speech there is no assimilation in either context, *из Мценска* 'from Mtsensk' or *от геўньи* 'from a liar'.

[87] Jakobson claims (1968/1971[a]) that [f f̩] do not assimilate in word-final position before an enclitic or word beginning with a voiced obstruent: thus *грáф же* 'the graf, though' remains [fž], not [vž]. A half century earlier, before any controversy about the status of *W* had arisen, Cherrnyshev (1908:37) transcribed the phrase *калúф бы́л побеждён* 'the caliph was defeated' as *калúв бы́л*, indicating voicing assimilation.

[88] Though voiceless vowels do occur, the optimal environment being unstressed between voiceless obstruents at word end, e.g., *шёпот* [šop̩t] (Panov 1967:131). Jones and Ward (1969:191–92) say that a voiceless vowel occurs "not infrequently," in contexts adjacent to voiceless obstruents, such as *вы́ставка* 'exhibition', *чéреп* 'skull', *дéвушек* 'girls' [GEN PL].

factors of idiomaticity (those having to do with the morphological and lexical constraints on processes); and sociostylistic factors.

2.4.2 Phonological variation: idiomaticity

Variation depends in large measure on the extent to which the given combination of sounds is conventionally pronounced together. The more the two sounds that participate in the change are associated and linked in usage, the more likely they are to show the effects of phonetic interaction. This factor might be termed the criterion of IDIOMATICITY.

The most familiar aspect of idiomaticity is the hierarchy of morphological "boundaries." By measuring the degree of cohesion vs. autonomy of constituent units, boundaries in effect measure syntagmatic idiomaticity. As is familiar, the weaker the boundary, the more likely it is that segments on either side of the boundary will interact. As a consequence, phonological processes apply most readily within morphemes, a little less regularly across boundaries of derivational suffixes, less across inflectional boundaries, and with decreasing willingness across prefix, preposition, and word boundaries.[89] Most processes in Russian are sensitive to boundaries, though the cut-off points are different for different processes. Processes are summarized in Table 2.9, in which boundaries are listed from weak to strong along the horizontal axis, and processes are listed along the vertical axis from restricted to general. There is no reason to think that boundaries are becoming more prominent or less prominent over time; there is no single direction of development. Any rule can be sensitive to boundaries, whether it is expanding or receding. The generalization is that, as a rule changes – whether it expands or recedes – it will expand or be maintained better when weak rather than strong boundaries intervene between the sounds that interact.

The change whereby [č] loses closure in clusters of [s] plus [č], resulting in [š:], is regular at suffix boundaries, but less regular at prefixes and uncommon with prepositions. Palatalization assimilation has been disappearing. Its retrenchment has been following the hierarchy of boundaries. Assimilation, even for Avanesov, was unlikely between preposition and head word; it was somewhat more likely at prefix boundary, and regular only within morphemes. Palatalization of velars before {i e} applies within words and across inflectional boundaries (between stems and inflectional endings), *рукá* 'hand' [ká], GEN SG *рукú* [ḱí], but normally does not cross preposition or word boundaries: *к ímени* 'to the name' [kí]. The alternation of [i] and [ɨ] is less restricted; it crosses prefixes (*сыгрáть* 'play' [sɨ]) and prepositions (*от ímени* 'from the name' [tɨ]) and, not

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[89] Shapiro 1967.

Table 2.9 *Boundaries and variation*

	internal	derivation	inflection	prefix	preposition	enclitic	word
CÇ > ÇÇ (current)	√	±	?	*	*	*	*
CÇ > ÇÇ (older)	√	√	±	±	?	*	*
{Ki} > [Ḳi]	√	√	√	n.a.	*	n.a.	*
{šç} > [ṣ̌ː]	√	√	n.a.	±	?	n.a.	*
{sç} > [šç]	√	√	n.a.	√	√	n.a.	*
{s z}{š ž} > [šː žː]	√	√	√	√	√	√	?
{Cᵒi} > [Cᵒɨ]	√	√	√	√	√	√	±
{ Ç̣ Ç̣ } > [Ç̣ Ç̣]	√	√	√	√	√	√	±

√ = process applies regularly, without restriction
± = process applies less frequently, with some restrictions
? = process applies exceptionally, with significant restrictions
* = process does not apply
n.a. = not applicable

infrequently, occurs between closely linked words within a phrase (*шёл игра́ть* 'went to play' [lʲi]). Assimilation of [s z] to [ṣ̌] before [ç] or to [š ž] before root [š ž] is regular across prefixes and prepositions and can occur between words in a phrase (*моро́з жёсткий* 'a harsh frost' [žː]). Voicing assimilation easily crosses the boundary between words within phrases.

Variation is affected by other considerations that are, however, difficult to encode as boundaries. Processes apply to words to the extent that the conditions for a process are present in all forms of the paradigm of the word, inflectional and sometimes derivational. Palatalization assimilation is less likely if the trigger consonant is palatalized only in some forms. Palatalization is less likely in *в би́тве* 'in battle' (only [tʲv]), because [ɣ] is palatalized only in certain cases, than in uniformly palatalized *ве́тви* 'branches' (possible [tʲvʲ]).[90]

How regularly a process applies may depend on the relationship between a particular form and the rest of the morphological paradigm to which it belongs. The zero ending – a fecund environment for changes, since consonants are not supported by a following vowel – exhibits different effects depending on which "zero" it is. For example, geminates are often maintained in the genitive plural (GEN PL *масс* [másː] 'of the masses'), because the genitive plural is under paradigmatic pressure from other weighty members of the paradigm in which a vowel follows (NOM SG *масса* [másːə]). Geminates are often lost in the nominative singular, a more autonomous form which is less subject to pressure from forms with vowels (NOM SG *конгресс* [s] 'congress', not *[sː]).

[90] Krysin 1974:61 cites 13 percent for *ве́тви* but an even paltrier 5 percent for *в би́тве*.

The paradigm of verbal forms has less cohesion among its forms than the declension of nouns. Palatalized labials are well maintained before the zero ending of the nominative singular of nouns, because in the rest of the paradigm the labial is before a vowel and is palatalized: palatalized [pʲ] in *го́лубь*_{<NOM SG>} 'dove' is supported by [bʲə] in *го́лубя*_{<GEN SG>}. Palatalized labials are beginning to be lost in the imperative in the substandard register: *пригото́вьте* 'prepare!' standard [fʲ], substandard [f], even despite the fact that there are other forms with palatalized labials in prevocalic position (INF *пригото́вить*, 2SG *пригото́вишь*). In the masculine singular of the past tense of verbs, [l] was lost after fricatives: **neslъ>* *нёс*, **vezlъ>* *вёз*. Analogous phonological combinations have been maintained in nouns (sometimes by insertion of a vowel): *смысл* 'sense', *у́зел* 'knot' because related forms have following vowels (GEN SG *смы́сла*, GEN SG *у́зла*). Again, the zero form of nouns underwent less extreme change than the zero form in verbs because this context in nouns is better integrated in a paradigm of forms.

In many of these processes the target (the segment that is potentially affected) is situated before a boundary in either case; the context is syntagmatically the same. What is different is the *paradigmatic* context: the allegiance of the particular word form to other word forms. A process is retarded when a word form with the proper phonological context is related to other word forms lacking the phonological context for the process.

The principle at work here is the paradigmatic analog of the syntagmatic constraint of boundaries. A word or morpheme will try to remain uniform and not change its shape, even down to the level of the allophonic shape of the segments of which it is composed. To the extent that two otherwise independent units are conventionally pronounced together, their autonomy is overridden. On both the paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes, rules apply to the extent that the proper phonological context is regular, conventional, idiomatic.

2.4.3 Phonological variation: systemic factors

Speech results from various articulatory gestures, scripted in time. Though gestures often line up to define segments (for example, [m̥] involves almost simultaneous labial closure, raising of the tongue, and opening of the velum), each articulatory gesture has its own profile in time. Assimilation is just the spread of a gesture across segments.

Speech is evidently composed of alternations of vocalic domains and consonantal interludes. Consonantal interludes require sanctioning from the vocalic domain. As a consonant cluster grows in complexity, the presence of additional consonants reduces the duration available for other adjacent consonants in the same interlude. As noted in the discussion of vowel duration, vowels are shorter before multiple consonants than before single consonants, and shorter before

single obstruents than before no obstruent. These facts suggest that consonants have a negative valence – they remove duration from the vocalic interval. Similarly, voicelessness and stop articulations (both involving energetic and precipitous gestures) remove duration.[91]

Vowels vary in duration as a function of stress.[92] Stress also affects nearby consonants. The general principle is that stress sanctions extra length in the vowels themselves and also extra duration in adjacent consonants, both before and after the vowel.

The variation of [i ∼ ɨ] sometimes crosses between words, when one word ends in a hard consonant and the next begins with {i}. Matusevich says explicitly that the pronunciation of [ɨ], which involves assimilation of the vowel to the hard consonant of the preceding word, is more common when the vowel is unstressed (*идёт Ирина* 'there goes Irina' [tɨ]) than when the vowel is stressed (*идёт Ира* 'there goes Ira' [tí] ∼ [tɨ́]).

Normally in Russian, consonants are palatalized before {e}, though borrowings allow non-palatalized consonants. The consonant is able to avoid palatalization before {e} in borrowings more readily when the vowel is stressed than when it is unstressed.[93] The extra duration of stressed vowels allows more distinctions in the transitions between consonants and vowels, and in particular allows either a palatalizing transition (with raised F_2) or a non-palatalizing transition (with low F_2); unstressed vowels, with greater cohesion between the vowel and consonant, as a rule allow only the palatalizing transition.

The glide [j] is said to have two allophones, a more consonantal [j] as opposed to a less consonantal [i̯]. The more consonantal [j] occurs before stressed vowels, because the glide has more time for elaboration before stressed vowels than before unstressed. Also, [j] tends to be absorbed before the homorganic vowel [i]. It is less likely to be absorbed before a stressed [í], because a stressed vowel allows more time for an elaborate transition: stressed *свиньй* GEN SG 'pig' > [n̦jí] ∼ ±[n̦i̯í] but unstressed *лгу́ньи* GEN SG 'liar' > [n̦ɪ] ∼ ±[n̦i̯ɪ]. Vowels that are stressed permit more elaborated transitions between consonant and vowel.

Stress also affects consonants in post-vocalic position, especially when they are not also prevocalic. Gemination – maintaining a single articulatory configuration over an extended time – is permissible to the extent that extra duration is sanctioned by adjacent vowels. Stressed vowels sanction more duration

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[91] Browman and Goldstein (1986[a]) examined duration in C^*VC complexes (C^* = a singleton, doubleton, or three-consonant cluster) in English and documented that there is a constant duration measured from the temporal center of the C^* through the vowel to the onset of the post-vocalic singleton consonant. If the interval from the temporal center of the cluster to the end of the vowel yields a stable value, then as the consonant cluster increases in complexity and duration, it must do so at the expense of the vowel.

[92] Bondarko, Verbitskaia, and Zinder 1960.   [93] Glovinskaia 1976.

(rightward) in the following consonantal interlude than do unstressed vowels, and hence *произнесённый* 'pronounced' is more likely to have a geminate [nn] than *оторванный* 'torn off'. Palatalized labials, endangered when no vowel follows, are better maintained after stressed vowels: *сémь* 'seven' [s̨ẹ̄m̨] but *вóсемь* 'eight' [vóş̣ɨm]. In palatalization assimilation, palatalization is better preserved after a stressed vowel than otherwise, hence better preserved in *пóдле* 'alongside of', in Avanesov's norm [pʲód̨l̨ɪ] ∼ [pód̨l̨ɪ], than in *бодлúвый* 'prone to butting', only [bʌd̨l̨ívɨj].

Thus, stressed vowels sanction greater duration both in prevocalic consonants and in post-vocalic consonants. Position preceding a vowel gets more duration than position after.

It might appear that these effects could be described by appealing to syllables. There is more than one algorithm for determining syllable structure. The major point of difference concerns what to do with multiple consonants between vowels, which may be assigned all to the following vowel or split between the preceding and the following syllable according to some principle. Avanesov 1956, for example, allows closed syllables only when a sonorant precedes an obstruent: compare closed *кáрта* [r.t] 'map', *донскóй* [n.sk] 'of the Don', but open *лóбзик* 'fret-saw' [.bz̦], *когдá* [.gd] 'when', *отдáть* [.dd] 'gave away', *сонлúвый* [.nl̨] 'drowsy', *длиннá* [.nn] 'long' [FEM SG]. This approach has the result of minimizing closed syllables. Other approaches, not specific to Russian, might be more tolerant of internal closed syllables of the type $VC_i.C_jV$.

Whatever algorithm is invoked, syllable structure does not account for the variation described above. Palatalized labials in the imperative are more likely to be lost in the plural, when a consonant follows (*эконóмьте*), than in the singular, when no consonant follows (*эконóмь*). The palatalized labial (here [m̨]) would be in syllable-coda position in both instances according to any algorithm of syllable structure. If the behavior of sounds were based strictly on the position in syllable structure, [m̨] should behave the same in both forms; the presence of another obstruent after the syllable-final [m̨] should be irrelevant.

Palatalized consonants cause a preceding vowel to become more front; they do so whether they belong to the following syllable (GEN SG *гóря* 'grief' [gó.r̨ə]) or form the coda of the syllable (e.g., *гóрько* 'bitterly' [gór̨.kə]). Similarly, consonants are labialized in the vicinity of labialized vowels, and this process does not respect syllable boundaries.[94] Nor does voicing assimilation. These processes, then, pay no attention to syllable boundaries.

Finally, we might consider the algorithm for syllable structure of L. V. Shcherba. According to Shcherba, a syllable coda is possible only after a stressed

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[94] Bondarko 1977:130–37.

vowel, as in *свáдьба* [svádʲ.bə] 'wedding' but not *гоньбá* [gʌ.n̪bá] 'pursuit'. Shcherba's algorithm, because it refers to stress, might seem relevant to the processes discussed above. Shcherba's algorithm leads to an odd result with respect to assimilations that affect post-vocalic consonants. In palatalization assimilation, for example, if syllable structure were assigned according to Shcherba's principle, one would expect assimilation to be *less* regular after stressed vowels, because the post-vocalic consonant would be assigned to the same syllable as the vowel, and not to the following syllable that contains the consonant that is the source of palatalization. Thus one would expect less palatalization in *пóдле* [pódʲ.lʲ] 'alongside' than in *бодлúвый* [bʌdʲlʲívɨ̞] 'prone to butting'. In fact, Avanesov observed the opposite. Also, Shcherba's algorithm has nothing to say about consonants in the position *before* vowels, since preceding consonants would be treated as syllable onsets regardless of whether that vowel is stressed. As noted, stress allows more elaboration in consonants *preceding* vowels.

Thus models that rely on syllable structure do not describe the variation that relates to the stress of vowels. We might attempt to describe these facts directly in a temporal model of phonetic interaction. Speech is an alternation of vocalic and consonantal domains. Consonants can be understood as a kind of negative space between the positive articulatory intervals of vowels. Vowels have positive valence proportional to their own duration (at least insofar as duration is a function of stress). The longer the vowel, the more duration is granted to the adjacent consonantal interludes. Consonantal domains are not self-sufficient; they require the support of vocalic domains; they consume duration supplied by vowels. Asymmetrically, consonants get more support from following than from preceding vowels.

Consonants have negative valence: they limit the duration available in the context (in adjacent, especially preceding, vowels and in adjacent consonants in either direction). The longer the consonantal interlude, the less duration is available for neighboring vowels. The systemic (phonological) factors that govern variable processes can be formulated in terms of durational valence.

Sonorants seem neutral or, possibly, variable. In prevocalic position, sonorants behave as an extension of the vocalic domain: in $C_iR\acute{V}(C_jV)$ contexts, the initial stressed vowel is nearly as long as the corresponding first vowel in $C_i\acute{V}(C_jV)$ contexts. Further, sonorants in the position before vowels have the same behavior as vowels with respect to voicing – they tolerate the cessation of voicelessness on their margins. In post-vocalic position, sonorants do not shorten a preceding vowel and they permit a following [ʂː] more elaboration (*обмáнщик* [n̪ʂ̠ː]) than an obstruent in the same position would (*гардерóбщик* [pʂ̠]). Sonorants after vowels, then, extend the vocalic domain.

The overall view is that vowels have duration, especially in proportion to stress, and offer duration to surrounding consonants. Consonants consume derivation. Sonorants are more or less neutral; they extend the domain of vowels.

2.4.4 Phonological variation: phonostylistics and Old Muscovite pronunciation

For most processes in which there is variation, variants are correlated with different stylistic values: characteristically one variant will be evaluated as conservative and explicit, the other as more casual; variation may be correlated with tempo as well. Moreover, as the sociolinguistic investigations of the 1960s documented repeatedly, the conservative variant is the variant preferred (in statistical terms) by the higher social classes, while the innovative, casual variant is that used (by a statistical margin) by workers.

There is a collection of unconnected phonological traits that have been identified in Russian phonological literature as "Old Muscovite" features, features dating back to the residual population of Moscow before the October Revolution of 1917. For the most part, they have been overridden by the national norms of twentieth-century Russian.[95]

Some Old Muscovite features are the following. In vocalism, a more open vowel, conventionally transcribed [α], is used for non-high vowels after hard consonants in first pretonic position rather than [ʌ]: *столы́* [stɑlí]. Velars in the nominative singular masculine of adjectives remained hard, and after them atonic [ə] is used (*тя́жкий* 'difficult' [kəj]); in this instance the Old Muscovite pronunciation is more original; the national norm of [kʲ] in such adjectives is a spelling pronunciation. The imperfectivizing suffix begins with [ə] (again, without palatalizing a velar) rather than [ɨ]. Pervasive use of [ɨ] for orthographic «**a**» after «**ш**» and «**ж**» is Old Muscovite.

In consonantism, maintenance of [ž̑ː] in *дро́жжи* 'yeast' and the like is Old Muscovite. In Old Muscovite pronunciation, a palatalized [ȓ] used to occur in the position after {e} before a following consonant. This ancient pronunciation (it derives from a progressive palatalization of the *r* in *$^*C_ibrC_j$* sequences when C_j was not a hard dental) occurred in words such as *ве́рх* [vʲérx] 'top', *пе́рвый* [pʲérvɨj] 'first'. Old Muscovite had prevalent spirantization of stops in clusters: in lexical items *но́гти* 'nails' OM [xtʲ], *кто́* 'who' OM [xt], *когда́* 'when' OM [ɣd], and even in combinations of prefixes and lexemes, *к до́му* OM [ɣd] 'to the building'. Long ago, [č̑] lost closure before [n] and was reinterpreted as hard [š]. This [šn] is still maintained in certain high-frequency lexical items such as *коне́чно* 'of course' and *ску́чно* 'boring', but in general this pronunciation is receding in favor of the new national norm, [č̑n]. Thus, older speakers have [šn] in *бу́лочная*

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[95] See Shapiro 1968, Matusevich 1976, Panov 1990.

'bakery', *прáчечная* 'laundry', while younger speakers use [čn]. (Some words have consistent [čn]: *кирпúчный* 'brick'.) Maintaining [šn] is a feature of Old Muscovite pronunciation, as speakers are aware. Lidiia Chukovskaia, referring to the word *подсвéчники* 'candlesticks', exclaimed that Anna Akhmatova "so magnificently pronounces «*подсвешники*» [= [šṇ], AT]. I adore that venerable Russian *ш*, which has not been replaced on her lips by modern *ч*."[96]

2.5 Morpholexical alternations

2.5.1 Preliminaries

Sounds occur only in combination with other sounds in conventionalized, lexical combinations. Related forms of a word or related words share most of the same sounds, but not all. It is then possible to example the correspondences of sounds from one word or word form to another, which can be termed MORPHOLEXICAL (or "morphophonemic") alternations.

2.5.2 Consonant grades

Aside from automatic alternations involving voicing, consonant alternations go back to the palatalizations of Slavic and East Slavic. CONSONANT GRADES – the different forms consonants can take – are summarized in Table 2.10. We can define the form of the consonans not affected by any alternation (specifically, by palatalization) as the basic grade, or C^0.

   There are two major patterns of alternation. Firstly, an alternation of C^0 with C^J, reflecting the historical first palatalization of velars before *j and iotation of dentals and labials, occurs in verbs of the type {CVC-a : CVC^J-|e|}, among which C^0 occurs in the past-infinitive stem, C^J in the present stem: *писáть* 'write', 1SG *пишý*, 2SG *пúшешь* and *плáкать* 'cry', 1SG *плáчу*, 2SG *плáчешь*. Secondly, C^0 alternates with C^I, which reflects first palatalization of velars and "bare" palatalization of other consonants before front vowels, within the "middle" forms of the present tense of obstruent stems: compare [s] in 1SG *несý* 'I carry' vs. [ş] in 2SG *несёшь* or [k] in 1SG *пекý* 'I bake' vs. [č] in 2SG *печёшь*. In I-Conjugation verbs, C^J in the first singular and past passive participle alternates with C^I elsewhere: 1SG *молочý* 'I thresh', passive participle -*молóчен* versus *молотúть*, 2SG *молóтишь*. It could be noted that C^J and C^I have the same values for velars. Clusters of fricative and stop (= ST) have developed the unique sounds [ş: ž:] (or [ž:]: §2.3.7): *грустúть* 'be sad', 1SG *грущý*, *полоскáть* 'rinse', 1SG *полощý*, *éздить* 'ride', 1SG *éзжу*.

   C^I has been subject to changes that have led to the development of secondary patterns. Many derivational suffixes that now begin with consonants originally

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[96] Lidiia Chukovskaia, *Zapiski ob Anne Akhmatovoi*, vol. II (Moscow, 1997), 437.

Table 2.10 *Consonant grades*

C^o	C^J	C^I	$C^{I\alpha}$	$C^{I\alpha'}$	C^β
P^o={p b f v m}	P̦	P̦	P^o	P^o	P̦
T^o={t d s z}	{č ž š ž}	Ț	T^o	Ț	Ț
K^o={k g x}	Č={č š ž}	Č={č š ž}	Č={č š ž}	Č={č š ž}	Ķ
R^o = {n r l}	R̦={n̦ r̦ l̦}	R̦={n̦ r̦ l̦}	{n r l̦}	R̦={n̦ r̦ l̦}	R̦={n̦ r̦ l̦}
ST = (st sk zd)	ŠČ = {ş: ş: ẓ:}				

began with *ь. As a front vowel, *ь conditioned palatalization (hence C^I) in the consonant preceding the suffix before it disappeared, leaving behind a consonant cluster. Palatalization has been restricted in consonants in the position before other consonants, a development which has reduced the scope of C^I and led to an alternative pattern, labeled the $C^{I\alpha}$ GRADE in Table 2.10. Thus before adjectival {-n-} the consonants are not palatalized in *рыбный* 'fish', *местный* 'local', *убыточный* 'unprofitable', *дверной* 'pertaining to a door'. (The exception is [l̦], which is preserved: *отдельный* 'separate'.) As a variation on $C^{I\alpha}$, labeled $C^{I\alpha'}$ in Table 2.10, palatalization can be maintained in dentals before labials and velars while being lost in dentals before dentals and lost in labials: *конька* (NOM SG *конёк* 'hobbyhorse'), DIM *яблонька* 'apple-tree', *ходьба* 'walking', *резьба* 'carving', *гоньба* 'pursuit'. In another minor variation on C^I (very restricted, and so not recorded in Table 2.10), the suffix {-sk-}, which conditioned C^I in the consonant preceding the suffix, allows the dental sonorants over and above [l̦] to be palatalized: *июньский* 'of June', *октябрьский* 'of October', as well as *португальский* 'Portuguese'. This minor pattern would be: {P^o, T^o, {č š ž}, R̦}.

These variations on C^I involve tinkering with how well palatalization is preserved before suffixes beginning with consonants. The original C^I grade has also developed in another direction. The C^I grade of velars, historically palatal consonants, has been yielding to palatalized velars by analogy to palatalized dentals and labials in certain contexts: note substandard DEE *берегя* 'protecting', standard 2SG *ткёшь* 'you weave', substandard *жгёшь* 'you burn', *пекёшь* 'you bake', analogous to *неся*, *несёшь*, *гребя*, *гребёшь*. This variation on C^I, in which {Ķ} replaces {Č} while C^I is maintained for dentals and labials, is the pattern used in adjectives formed productively with the suffixes {-ičesk-} and {-ičn-}. These suffixes evoke palatalized velars rather than palatals: *психический* 'psychological', *зоологический* 'zoological', *педагогичный* 'pedagogical', *анархичный* 'anarchic'.

In addition to C^J as stated, there is a special variant with the Church Slavonic reflexes of *tj and *dj, a pattern that is not recorded in Table 2.10. The third row would then be {ş: žd} (or {[ş: žd]}): *возвратить/возвращать* 'return', *победить/побеждать* 'vanquish'. The statement of alternations in

Table 2.10 makes no provision for the reflexes of the Slavic second and third palatalization of velars: if the alternation of consonants that derives from these changes had been maintained, there would be a synchronic series {c z (ẓ) s (ş)} corresponding to {k g x}, but the possible alternations resulting from this palatalization have been eliminated.

2.5.3 Types of softness

Much in Russian phonology depends on whether consonants are palatalized or not. A notion of SOFTNESS (to use the informal term) is relevant at different levels. It may be useful to review the role of softness on different levels.

The concept in the first place is phonetic. Phonetically soft consonants are those with a certain articulatory configuration. That configuration influences adjacent vowels by co-articulation in the same way in different consonants, and in this effect all phonetically soft consonants are equal. By this criterion [Ţ], [P̡], and [R̡] are phonetically soft, and so are [č̡], [ş̡ː], [ẓ̡ː], and [j]. In contrast, ordinary [Tº], [Pº], [Kº], and [c š ž] are hard.

The pairs [Tº] vs. [Ţ] and [Pº] vs. [P̡] are capable of occurring in the same syntagmatic environment and are capable of distinguishing words. In this respect, [Ţ] and [P̡] are *phonemically* soft. The pair [K̡] vs. [Kº] is moving in this direction. Moreover, exactly these sets of consonants are paired in the sense that the hard sounds are replaced by the soft ones before the {-e} of the locative singular of Declension_{<IA>} and Declension_{<II>} (and the dative singular of Declension_{<II>}): *женé* 'to the wife' [n̡é], *о человéке* [k̡ı].

The details of stressed vocalism depend on the *phonetic* softness of consonants. Unstressed vocalism is also sensitive to phonetic softness, but the picture is more complex. In pretonic position in roots, [c] behaves as an ordinary hard consonant with respect to {a} (GEN SG *царя́* [cʌ]). After the unpaired hard consonants [š ž], there is variation between the inherited [ɨ] (*жалéть* [žɨ] 'pity') and the innovative [ʌ] (*жáр* 'heat', *жарá* [žʌ]). The innovative [ʌ] is what one expects after a hard consonant. The high quality of [ɨ] rather than the lower [ʌ] is merely a back version of [ı]. By virtue of eliciting this high variant [ɨ], [š ž] are morphophonemically "soft."

The different criteria for defining softness are summarized in Table 2.11.

Softness is additionally relevant in two other places. First, most nouns of Declension_{<IA>} use one of two overt endings in the genitive plural. Stems ending in paired hard consonants, including velars, take {-ov}, while stems ending in paired soft consonants take {-ej}. On this basis, one might define any stem-final consonant that takes {-ov} as morphologically hard, and any that takes {-ej} as morphologically soft. The phonemically unpaired consonants [č̡], [ş̡ː], [š ž]

Table 2.11 *Types of "softness"*

	phonetic softness [Ç]	independent (phonemic) softness	morphophonemic softness {a} > [ɪ] ([ɪ])	morphophonemic softness GEN PL {-ej}	morphophonemic softness {∅ ~ Cᴵ{é ~ ɪ}}
[Ţ]	√	√	√	√	√
[p̦]	√	√	√	√	√
[Ķ]	√	±	n.a.	√	n.a.
[j]	√	*	√	*	√
[c]	*	*	*	*	√
[ç]	√	*	√	√	n.a.
[ş: ʑ: (ʑ̌:)]	√	*	√	√	n.a.
[š ž]	*	*	±	√	n.a.

√ = counts as soft
* = fails to count as soft
n.a. = not applicable, indeterminate
± = partial, to some extent soft

take {-ej}, and in this respect are morphologically soft. Curiously, [j] and [c] take {-ov}, making them by this criterion morphologically hard.[97]

In certain word forms, vowels alternate with the absence of a vowel. The overt vowel can take different forms under stress. One variant (labeled {∅ ~ Cᴵ{é ~ ɪ}}: §2.5.5) occurs consistently before following paired palatalized consonants: *земе́ль* 'land [GEN PL]', *реме́нь* 'belt'. It also occurs before [j] (*свине́й* 'pigs [GEN PL]', *руче́й* 'brook' and [c] (*отéц* 'father', *конéц* 'end'), which according to this test would be evaluated as morphophonemically soft. (The alternation of vowels does not occur before [č š: š ž].)[98]

Thus, each process defines a set of consonants as soft, but the definitions are not entirely consistent for different processes. A consonant may behave as morphophonemically soft, even if it is not phonetically or phonemically soft in synchronic terms.

2.5.4 Vowel grades

Alternations in vowels date from various time periods. The oldest derive from Slavic reflexes of Indo-European ablaut relations. Only residual traces remain of the QUALITATIVE ABLAUT of **e* and **o* (*везти́* 'lead_<DT>', *вози́ть* 'lead_<ID>',

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[97] The motivation is presumably historical: {-ej} derives from the original *i*-stem declension (from **-ьjь*). Some words in the *i*-stem declension ended in [č], [š:], [š ž], and so {-ej} was understood to occur after these consonants. As the masculines that belonged to the *i*-stem declension moved over to Declension_<IA>, they brought the ending {-ej} with them.

[98] Hard labials have both: *судéб* (newer *сýдеб*) but *наём*.

воз 'wagon'). There was another type of ablaut, between full grade and reduced grade, and traces of this REDUCTIVE ABLAUT (in Slavic, $*\breve{e} \sim *\breve{\iota} > *e \sim *ь$; $*\breve{a} \sim *\breve{u} > *o \sim *ъ$) remain in the allomorphy of verbs such as 1SG *берý* (full grade) $\sim$ INF *брáть* 'take' (reduced grade). Somewhat more productive is the reflex of QUANTITATIVE ABLAUT in the formation of secondary imperfectives. The original alternation of $*\breve{a} \sim *\bar{a} > *o \sim *a$ is still visible in, for example, *оттолкнýть/оттáлкивать* 'push away' (in which it must be an extension, since the *o* is not original). The alternations in the stems of *подобрáть/подбирáть* 'pick up', *вы́звать/вызывáть* 'call out' also go back to quantitative Ablaut of the reduced grade ($*\breve{\iota} \sim *\bar{\iota} > *ь \sim i > *\emptyset \sim$ [Çi]; $*\breve{u} \sim *\bar{u} > *ъ \sim *y > \emptyset \sim$ [Cᵒi]). This alternation can be described synchronically as an alternation of no vowel with {i}, either with palatalization in the preceding consonant (*подбирáть*<IF> 'pick up' {-ḇir-aj-}) or without (*вызывáть*<IF> 'call forth' {-ziv-a(j)}). Such residues of earlier ablaut can be treated as part of the lexical allomorphy of verbs.

2.5.5 Morphophonemic {o}

Hundreds of years ago, $*e$ changed to *o* under certain conditions – under stress before hard consonants (NOM PL $*séla >$ *сёла* 'villages', NOM PL $*žénу >$ *жёны* 'wives') and in final open position ($*pitьé >$ *питьё* 'drinking'), while $*e$ remained unchanged under stress before a palatalized consonant ($*selьskъjь >$ *сéльский* 'village's'). Unstressed, this $*e$ did not change to $*o$, and the reflex of unstressed $*e$ is realized as [ɪ] after soft consonants ($*seló >$ *селó* [sɪló]) and as [ɨ] after hardened palatals ($*žená >$ *женá* [žɨná]).

If the original pattern had been preserved without change, it would have resulted in a synchronic pattern of {ÇóCᵒ $\sim$ ÇéÇ $\sim$ Çɪ} (or {ŠᵒóCᵒ $\sim$ ŠᵒéÇ $\sim$ Šᵒɨ} after hardened palatals Šᵒ); in simplified terms, the pattern would be {óCᵒ $\sim$ éÇ $\sim$ ɪ}. The original distribution has been eroded in various ways. Original $*\breve{e}$ did not change to *o* and then subsequently merged with $*e$, leaving many tokens of [é] before hard consonants that derive from $*\breve{e}$: *тéло* 'body', *мéсто* 'place', *цéлый* 'whole'. In addition, $*e$ was preserved as [é] before formerly soft consonants that have hardened before other consonants: *жéнский* 'female', *учéбный* 'teaching'. As a result, we now find [é] as well as [ó] before hard consonants.

The earlier pattern {óCᵒ $\sim$ éÇ $\sim$ ɪ} is still preserved in some derivational nests, but there has been a tendency, gradual and long-term, to generalize [ó] at the expense of [é]. Thus *решéтчатый* 'latticed' can now be *решётчатый* 'latticed', in deference to NOM PL *решёта* 'grates, lattice'. *Звёздчатый* 'starry' has already adopted [o] from *звёзды*, itself derived by analogy to the alternation of {óCᵒ $\sim$ éÇ $\sim$ ɪ} in *женá* 'woman', NOM PL *жёны*.

Within nominal paradigms, alternation has been eliminated (except for NOM SG *чёрт*, NOM PL *чéрти* 'devil'). In particular, the [ó] does not revert to [é] before

Table 2.12 *Reflexes of the {óCᵒ ∼ éÇ ∼ ɪ} pattern in verbs*

{CVCᵒ-á- : CVCᴶ-}	[ɪ] / INF, 1SG PRS	[é] / PRS	[ó] / IF, PSV
'hew'	*-тесáть*	*-тéшешь*	*-тёсывать, -тёсан*
'tousle'	*-трепáть*	*-трéплешь*	*-трёпывать, -трёпан*
'scratch'	*-чесáть*	*-чéшешь*	*-чёсывать, -чёсан*
'lash'	*-хлестáть*	*-хлéщешь*	*-хлёстывать, -хлёстан*

the palatalized consonants of the (dative-)locative singular (*о мёде* 'about honey', *о клёне* 'about the maple') or before palatalized velars (*щёки* 'cheeks').

Matters are complex in the root vocalism of verbs; it depends on the class of verb. There are two classes of verbs in which the alternation {óCᵒ ∼ éÇ ∼ ɪ} is still visible.

One group is obstruent-stem verbs. Stressed [ó] is found in the masculine past (*l*-participle), e.g., **peklə> нёк* 'he baked', **neslə> нёс* 'he carried'. This is one of the few forms of such verbs in which the root vowel is actually stressed. The past active participle at one time had [é], but now has [ó], e.g., *принéсший > принёсший* 'having brought'. In velar-stem verbs, the infinitive is also stressed and the vocalism is [é] (e.g., *пéчь*), while [ó] appears in the masculine singular (*нёк*), implying {óCᵒ＜MSC SG PST＞ ∼ éÇ＜INF＞∼ ɪ ＜ELSEWHERE＞} for velar-stem verbs. This pattern has been imposed on verbs with etymological **ě*, which otherwise should have become [é]: *увлёк* 'he carried away', *пренебрёг* 'he neglected'. Recently *сёк* has become possible as the masculine past of *сéчь* 'hack', in a root with etymological **ě*. To judge by warnings in normative manuals, a pronunciation with [ó] has long been an alternate pronunciation for *запрáг* 'he harnessed'.

The one other class of verbs in which the alternation {óCᵒ ∼ éÇ ∼ ɪ} occurs is the type {CVCᵒ-á- : CV́Cᴶ-}. In these verbs, [ɪ] occurs in the infinitive, past, and first-singular present; [é] occurs in the other forms of the present; and [ó] is found in the derived imperfective and passive participle, as illustrated in Table 2.12. Other verb conjugations do not have a three-way alternation in vocalism. Verbs with fixed stress on the stem have [é] or [ó] but no alternation: *-дёрнуть* 'jerk', *-дёрнешь, -дёргивать, -дёрнут*; *-дéлать* 'do', *-дéлаешь, -дéлывать, -дéлан*. Verbs with retracted stress in the imperfective and passive participle have an alternation of unstressed [ɪ] with either [ó] (*-метнýть* 'cast', *-метнёшь, -мётывать, -мётнут*) or [é] (*-следúть* 'follow', *-следúшь, -слéживать, -слéжен*), but again there is no three-way alternation. The upshot is that the original pattern {óCᵒ ∼ éÇ ∼ ɪ} that arose out of the change of **e > o /＿Cᵒ* is virtually moribund; it has remained only in quite specific lexical groups.

2.5.6 Null- and full-grade vocalism

In certain words there is an alternation at the end of the stem between the presence of a vowel and the absence of a vowel: NOM SG *мох,* GEN SG *мха* 'moss'; GEN PL *нóжек,* NOM SG DIM *нóжка* 'foot'; NOM SG *бобёр,* GEN SG *бобрá* 'beaver'. The absence of vowel, or NULL grade, is found when a vowel follows, as happens in most inflectional forms. The overt vowel, or FULL grade, occurs when no inflectional vowel follows, when the ending is "zero."

These "fleeting" vowels come from two historical sources. Some stems ended in jer vowels, whether in the root (*тъхъ) or a derivational suffix (the adjectival suffix *-*ьn-,* the diminutive suffix *-*ьk-*/*-*ъk-*). Whenever a vowel other than a jer followed the stem, as happened in most inflectional endings, the stem jer was "weak" and was lost. It was "strong," and kept, only if the following inflectional ending contained a weak jer. Such weak jers were the source of zero endings in declension that now elicit the full grade in the root. This happens in the declension of nouns in the nominative singular of Declension$_{<IA>}$ and Declension$_{<IIIA>}$ (there also in the instrumental) and the genitive plural of Declension$_{<IB>}$ and Declension$_{<II>}$.

This source of vowel alternations was supplemented by a tendency to break up clusters of obstruent and sonorant at the end of words by inserting an anaptyctic vowel. Such clusters arose in the same morphological environments as those in which jers were vocalized. For this reason there are two historical sources of alternation between what might be termed NULL GRADE (no vowel) and FULL GRADE in the same morphological contexts. The synchronic reflexes of these two sources are similar and can be discussed together with a little caution.[99]

There are three patterns. First, the overt vowel, if stressed, is realized as [ó], not under stress as [ə]; the preceding consonant is hard, or C^o. This pattern occurs in specific lexical items (*днó* 'bottom', GEN PL *дóн*) and with the diminutive suffix (*плитка* 'plate', GEN PL *плúток*) and specifically after a preceding velar (*огóнь* 'fire'). (Examples are given in Table 2.13.) In notation, this pattern of vowels is $\{\emptyset \sim C^o\{\text{ó} \sim \text{ə}\}\}$ – an alternation of $\{\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}\}$ with full grade, which is then either stressed [ó] or unstressed [ə].

Secondly, the preceding consonant is C^I – either paired soft or a palatal. The vowel under stress is [ó], [ı] in unstressed position. In notation: $\{\emptyset \sim C^I\{\text{ó} \sim \text{ı}\}\}$. It occurs before velars (*конёк* 'hobbyhorse'; *серьгá* 'earring', GEN PL *серёг*) and hard dentals (*веслó* 'oar', GEN PL *вёсел*, NOM SG *бобёр*).

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[99] To describe alternations between full and null grades synchronically, there are three options: deletion of an underlying mid vowel in certain specified contexts; insertion of a vowel in clusters in specified contexts; or a static (non-derivational) relation of alternate lexical forms, some with the vowel (full grade) and some without (null grade). The last approach is assumed here.

Table 2.13 *Vowel-zero variants (genitive plural, nominative singular)*

		stressed		unstressed	
		[ó]	«o»	[e]	«o»
lexical	(NOM SG) GEN PL	кабарга́ кабарга́, зло́ зла, гно́ гна́	—	—	—
	NOM SG (GEN SG)	мо́х мха́, лоб лба́, ломо́ть ломтя́			ла́поть ла́птя
suffixal {-k-}	(NOM SG) GEN PL	—	«o»	[e]	пли́тка пли́ток, роса́ток, вёдёрко вёдёрок, ку́бок ку́бка, избы́ток избы́тка, деся́ток деся́тка, оста́ток оста́тка
	NOM SG (GEN SG)	кусо́к куска́, гребешо́к гребешка́, листо́к листка́, жучо́к жучка́			
	(NOM SG) GEN PL	—	«o»	[e]	ку́кла ку́кол, ку́хня ку́хонь, тя́гло тя́гол
«o»	NOM SG (GEN SG)	озо́нь огня́, буго́р бугра́			свёкор свёкра, у́зол узла́, у́голь у́гля, гво́зоть гво́здя, но́готь но́гтя ко́готь ко́гтя, ло́коть ло́ктя
/C__{Tº Kº}/	(NOM SG) GEN PL	шестерня́ шестерён, сестра́ сестёр	«ё» («e»)	[ɪ]/[t]	полотно́ поло́тен, ведро́ вёдер, весло́ вёсел, песня пе́сен, бра́шно бра́шен	«e»
	NOM SG (GEN SG)	котёл котла́, пёс пса́, лёд льда́, бобёр бобра́, рожо́н рожна́, ножка́, конёк конька́, пузырёк пузырька́ but хребе́т хребта́			бу́бен бу́бна, вётер вётра, у́зел узла́, бара́шек бара́шка

Table 2.13 (*cont*).

		stressed			unstressed		
/Šº_{Tº Kº}/	(NOM SG) GEN PL	[ó]	«o»	ишшка́ ишшо́к, серьга́ серёг, дьшька́ дьшек, кишка́ кишо́к	[ɯ]/[ɨ]	«e»	ру́чка ру́чек, ножка но́жек, сошка сошек
/C_Pº/	(NOM SG) GEN PL	[é]	«e»	корчма́ корчём, тьма́ тём, судьба́ судеб (archaic)	[ɪ]	«e»	судьба́ судеб, усадьба усадеб, тюрьма́ тюрем, кошма́ кошем (кошм)
		[é]/[ó]		лёд льда, наём найм		«e»	—
/C_Ç/	NOM SG (GEN PL) NOM SG (GEN SG)	[é]	«e»	земля́ земель, ремень ремня	[ɪ]	«e»	капля капель, ливень ливня
/C_c/	(NOM SG) GEN PL NOM SG (GEN SG)	[é]	«e»	словцо́ словец, сельцо́ селец, крыльцо́ крылец, отец отца, жилец жильца, конец конца	[ɪ]	«e»	дверца дверец, зеркальце зеркалец, палец пальца
/C_j/	(NOM SG) GEN PL NOM SG (GEN SG)	[é]	«e»	статья́ статей, ручей ручья, соловей соловьи, воробей воробьи, муравей муравья	[ɪ]	«e»	гостья гостий («и») улей улья, чирей чирья, чирей чирья

The third pattern is one in which [é] occurs under stress along with [ı] not under stress. The preceding consonant is C^I. In notation, the pattern is: $\{\emptyset \sim C^I\{é \sim ı\}\}$. It occurs by default, when the lexical conditions for $\{\emptyset \sim C^o\{ó \sim ə\}\}$ and the phonological conditions for $\{\emptyset \sim C^I\{ó \sim ı\}\}$ are not met. It is relevant to note that, before hard labials, one might expect the same vowel as with hard velars and dentals, but in fact the majority of the few forms have $\{\emptyset \sim C^I\{é \sim ı\}\}$ rather than $\{\emptyset \sim C^I\{ó \sim ı\}\}$.

The distribution of variants is summarized in Table 2.13.

Matters are analogous but simpler in the masculine predicative (short) form of adjectives. The majority of tokens of fleeting vowels involve suffixal {-n-}, from *-ьn-. Synchronically the alternation is the pattern $\{\emptyset \sim C^I\{ó \sim ı\}\}$. Observe: AFTER PALATALS, *смешной* 'amusing', *смешон* (note spelling with «**о**»), *тóшный* 'nauseating', *тóшен*; AFTER LABIALS AND DENTALS, *ýмный* 'intelligent', *умён*; *дурнóй* 'bad', *дурён*; *удóбный* 'comfortable', *удóбен*; *крáсный* 'beautiful', *крáсен*. This $\{\emptyset \sim C^I\{ó \sim ı\}\}$ is also the pattern for anaptyctic vowels in clusters in which the second consonant is a dental: *óстрый* 'sharp', *остёр*; *кúслый* 'sour', *кúсел*. A velar normally conditions $\{\emptyset \sim C^o\{ó \sim ə\}\}$, hence [ə] for the unstressed position: *дóлгий* 'long', *дóлог*; *мя́гкий* 'soft', *мя́гок*. If the preceding consonant is soft or a palatal, palatalization is maintained, and the pattern is $\{\emptyset \sim C^I\{ó \sim ı\}\}$: *гóрький* 'bitter', *гóрек* [ı]; *хýденький* 'thin', *хýденек* [ı]; *бóйкий* 'boisterous', *бóек* [ı]; *тя́жкий* 'difficult', *тя́жек* [ı].

From the range of contexts the following generalizations emerge. The pattern $\{\emptyset \sim C^o\{ó \sim ə\}\}$ is restricted; it occurs with a limited number of individual lexical items, with suffix {-k-}, and after a velar. If the specific conditions for $\{\emptyset \sim C^o\{ó \sim ə\}\}$ are not met, then either $\{\emptyset \sim C^I\{ó \sim ı\}\}$ or $\{\emptyset \sim C^I\{é \sim ı\}\}$ occurs, which are the same for unstressed vowels. Under stress, they are distributed complementarily according to the following consonant. Before (hard) velars and hard dentals (not [c]), the pattern is $\{\emptyset \sim C^I\{ó \sim ı\}\}$, with stressed [ó], and elsewhere $\{\emptyset \sim C^I\{é \sim ı\}\}$, with stressed [é].

There are some additional, rather specific, contexts in which full-null ablaut occurs. Prefixes acquire {o} (usually unstressed) before roots with the null grade, for example: *содрáть* (*сдерý*) 'rip off', *подобрáть* (*подберý*) 'pick up', *созвáть* 'call together', *отомрý* (*отмерéть*) 'die off'. The roots which condition the full grade in prefixes have to be specified lexically. Prepositions likewise adopt «**о**» before certain roots (§4.2.2).

3

Inflectional morphology

3.1 Introduction

Much of the work of Russian grammar is done by inflectional morphology: a given word has a basic shape that is relatively stable, while the end of the word varies, resulting in different forms of one word that are used with different functions or in different contexts. Nouns and verbs differ somewhat from each other in their strategies of inflection.

Nouns present a pleasingly geometric paradigm: to use a noun, a speaker chooses one of about a dozen distinct forms expressing one of six cases and, simultaneously, one of two numbers. Nouns are partitioned into three declension classes. With few exceptions, the stems of nouns remain the same, or nearly the same, in all cases and numbers. Thus *кость* 'bone' (from Declension_{<IIIA>}) uses a stem {kosṭ-} in all forms (NOM SG *кость*, DAT SG *кости*), while *дело* 'deed, matter' (of a different declension class, Declension_{<IB>}) uses the same stem {del-} in almost all forms (NOM SG *дело*, DAT SG *делу*, INS PL *делами*, though LOC SG *деле* implies a slightly different stem, {delʹ-}). Though the stems are stable, the endings differ depending on the declension class, as is evident from the difference in (for example) DAT SG *кости* as opposed to DAT SG *делу*. Nouns are also partitioned into one of three syntactic genders reflected in patterns of agreement in adjectives and verbs; the partition into syntactic genders is closely correlated with (though it is not identical to) the partition into declension classes. A noun belongs to a single gender. Adjectives, unlike nouns, vary in their shape according to the case, number, and gender, in agreement with the noun with which they are associated. Adjectives and verbs distinguish gender in the singular but not in the plural. Accordingly, it is possible to speak of a distinction of four gender–number forms: the three singular genders and the plural. Personal pronouns (first-person, second-person, reflexive) distinguish case and number but not gender. Third-person pronouns distinguish gender in the singular, as well as case and number.

Verbs differ from nouns in various respects. While singular nouns have different endings depending on the declension class, verbs have more uniform grammatical endings. For example, {-š} marks the second-person singular of

the present tense, in all verbs; {-ļi} (spelled «ли») is the past-tense plural ending for all verbs. With respect to the shape of the stem, verbs are morphologically more heterogeneous than nouns (§3.2.1).

Each form in the whole set of inflectional forms of any word – noun, adjective, verb – has a stress. Stress is not automatically and consistently assigned to one and the same syllable in every word or form of a word, such as the first syllable (as in Czech) or the penultimate syllable (as in Polish). Depending on the word, stress can be fixed on the root or on a suffix or can vary between the ending and other positions, as, for example, in NOM SG *душá* 'soul', ACC SG *дýшу*, GEN SG *душú*, NOM PL *дýши*, DAT PL *душáм* 'soul' or 1SG *напишý* 'I write', 2SG *напúшешь*, FEM PST *написáла*, PSV *напúсан* 'write'. The number of patterns of stress is, however, small.

3.2 Conjugation of verbs

3.2.1 Verbal categories
In contrast to the pleasingly geometric declension of nouns, the conjugation of verbs is more heterogeneous. The morphological techniques used by verbs are not always strictly inflectional, and verbs have more variation in their stems.

In verbs, the inflectional endings are added to a verbal STEM that includes the root and, in most verbs, an additional CONJUGATIONAL SUFFIX. The suffix together with the root forms a STEM that is phonologically suitable for adding endings. The suffix and the verbal stem can have different shapes in anticipation of the ending. For example, the past-tense feminine form *трéбовала* includes a conjugational suffix {-ova-} that ends in a vowel before the following consonantal marker of the past tense (the {-la}), while the present second-person singular form *трéбуешь* includes a suffix {-uj-} ending in a consonant before the endings of the present tense, which begin with vowels. Because the stem does not always have the same shape, it is necessary to distinguish two stems for verbs, the PAST-INFINITIVE stem and the PRESENT stem. The pairing of stems defines the conjugation class to which a verb belongs. For example, *трéбовать* with its two stems belongs to the class {{-ova-}_{PST-INF} : {-uj-}_{PRS}}, or, more simply, if the alternate stems are cited in the same order consistently, {-ova- : -uj-}.[1]

A prominent, characteristically Slavic category, is the category of aspect. Almost every verb can be classified as perfective or imperfective, with only a limited number of indeterminacies. The distinction of aspect is more a partition of the lexicon than an inflectional operation. There is no single morphological device that marks the opposition of aspect; rather, aspect is expressed by a combination

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[1] On verbal categories, see Jakobson 1932/1971[b], 1957[a]/1971[b].

of strategies. Verbs without prefixes (SIMPLEX verbs) are, as a rule, imperfective: *писа́ть*_{<IF>} 'write', *крути́ть*_{<IF>} 'spin'. Verbs with prefixes as a rule are perfective – *переписа́ть*_{<PF>} 'write over', *закрути́ть*_{<PF>} 'twirl around' – except when an additional derivational suffix makes them imperfective: *перепи́сывать*_{<IF>}, *закру́чивать*_{<IF>}.

Finite forms distinguish the imperative mood from forms expressing tense.[2] The imperative makes use of the present-tense stem. If the stress falls on the verbal stem throughout the present and if the stem ends in a single consonant, no further vowel is added to the stem: *мурлы́чь* 'purr!' (1SG *мурлы́чу* is not stressed on the ending). If the first-person singular present is stressed *or* if the stem ends in a consonant cluster, the stem is expanded by adding a suffix {-i-}: *пиши́* 'write!' (1SG *пишу́* is stressed on the ending) or *пу́дри* 'powder!' (though 1SG *пу́дрю* is not stressed on the ending, the stem ends in a cluster). In the singular there is no further marker; an extra morph {-te-} ([tɪ], spelled «**те**») is added to make a plural imperative or an imperative for formal address to one person. Verbs with the prefix *вы́*, which is necessarily stressed as long as the verb is perfective, rely on the stress in the simplex verb from which the perfective is derived to determine whether to add the suffix {-i-}. Thus, root stress in 1SG *бро́шу* 'I throw', IMV *брось* and *ста́влю* 'I place', IMV *ста́вь* implies IMV *вы́брось*, *вы́ставь*, while, in contrast, stress on the ending in 1SG *веду́*, IMV *веди́* and *тяну́*, *тяни́* implies *вы́веди*, *вы́тяни*. However, analogical forms with {-i-} – *вы́броси*, *вы́стави* – have become frequent (as much as a third of the tokens on the web).[3] Another idiosyncrasy concerns the small number of verbs whose monosyllabic present stem ends in [j]: *клева́ть* 'peck', *смея́ться* 'laugh', *стоя́ть* 'stand' (§3.2.6).

With the appropriate intonation, first-person plural forms can be used hortatively, to encourage the participation of the addressee (*– Идем к нам, – сказал Юра* '– Let's go to our place, – said Iura'). Expanded with *-те*, the first-person plural is used as a plural or formal ℬ-form (*– Идемте старичка потешить* '– Let's [all] go comfort the old man').

The expression of tense intersects with aspect. Imperfective verbs distinguish three tenses: past, present, and future. The morphological means used to express these three tenses differ. The present tense inflects for three persons and two numbers, 1SG *кручу́* 'I turn', 2SG *кру́тишь*, etc. The future of imperfectives is a combination of the unique future of *бы́ть* (1SG *бу́ду*, etc.: §3.2.8) plus the infinitive. The past tense is marked by a transparent and generally stable formant {-l-}. (It is, however, lost in the masculine singular of those verbs whose stem ends in a consonant other than a dental stop: *нёс* 'he carried', *пёк* 'he baked',

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[2] Trubetzkoy 1975:223 stated clearly that the imperative and infinitive were tense-less forms.
[3] *Вы́броси(те)*: 6,310 xx / 17,090 xx total = 37 percent, *вы́стави(те)* 2,838 xx / 18,948 xx total = 15 percent <15.IX.02>.

грёб 'he rowed', *вёз* 'he conveyed'). Since it developed from a participle, the past expresses the three singular genders and one plural that does not distinguish gender rather than person and number: MSC *пе́л* 'he sang', FEM *пе́ла*, NT *пе́ло*, PL *пе́ли*.

Perfective verbs distinguish two tenses. One, marked by {-l-} and gender–number markers, is unambiguously a past tense. The other tense has the same morphological shape as the present tense of imperfectives: perfective *закрути́ть* 'to wind around' forms 1SG *закручу́*, 2SG *закру́тишь*, parallel to imperfective 1SG *кручу́*, 2SG *кру́тишь*, etc. These present-tense forms of perfective verbs, however, do not report present events – events that are actual at the here and now of speech, but events that are anticipated to occur at some future or hypothetical time (§6.5.8, 6.5.7): *ко́нчится* 'will come to an end', *сочини́т* 'she will compose'. Thus, in these perfective forms there is something of a discrepancy between the form, which is parallel to the present-tense forms of imperfectives, and the function, which is not that of a present tense. It is an old problem what to call these forms – whether "present," in honor of their form but not their function, or "non-past," in honor of their function but not their form. Here these forms are termed PRESENT-TENSE FORMS, but with the understanding that they do not report actual, present-time events.[4]

The particle *бы* expresses irrealis modality – a situation that is not unambiguously real. The resulting combination is less of an inflectional category than, for example, the opposition of present vs. past tense. The verb, if finite, must at the same time inflect for past tense; the tense marking is the real inflection. Morever, the particle does not always occur immediately after the verb (§6.2.1).

Participles are adjectival – the usual sense of participles – or adverbial (that is, *деепричастия*). Adjectival participles can be active or passive. Participles are created by adding a formant that forms the participial stem. In adjectival participles, the stem is then followed by the inflectional endings of adjectives. The formation of active adjectival and adverbial participles intersects with aspect. Not all of the eight conceivable forms are used freely.[5] The possibilities are schematized in Table 3.1.

PAST ACTIVE ADJECTIVAL PARTICIPLES, PERFECTIVE AND IMPERFECTIVE, are formed by adding {-vš-} to the past-infinitive stem when it ends in a vowel, and to this stem are added adjectival endings expressing gender, case, and number: *разгроми́вший* 'having routed', *написа́вший* 'having written', *дости́гнувший* 'having reached', *вы́рвавший* 'having ripped out', *поду́мавший* 'having thought'. Verbs whose past-tense stem ends in a consonant use the formant {-š-}: *принёсший* 'having brought in' (MSC NOM SG), *приве́дшую* 'having led

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[4] Rathmayr 1976. Gvozdanović 1994 calls them "present/future."   [5] Brecht 1976.

Table 3.1 *Aspect, tense, and participles*

	imperfective adjectival participle	imperfective adverbial participle	perfective adjectival participle	perfective adverbial participle
present	пи́шущий	пи́ша	—	принеся́$^\Delta$
past	писа́вший	[? писа́в(ши)]	написа́вший столкну́вшийся принёсший	написа́в столкну́вшись

*писа́ть*_{<IF>} 'write', *написа́ть*_{<PF>} 'write', *принести́*_{<PF>} 'deliver', *столкну́ться*_{<PF>} 'conflict with'
$^\Delta$ = {CVT- : CVT-|e̦|} stems ending in dental consonant

in' (FEM ACC). Past imperfective participles are still used:

[1]   <. . .> художник, писавший_{<IF PST PCL>} портреты и
расписывавший_{<IF PST PCL>} церкви
<. . .> an artist, who used to do portraits and decorate churches

The PRESENT ACTIVE ADJECTIVAL PARTICIPLE (IMPERFECTIVE) can be generated by subtracting the {-t} from the third plural present and adding the formant {-ș̌-}: *моля́т > моля́щий* 'beseech', *пи́шут > пи́шущий* 'write'. Present active adjectival participles of imperfectives are used freely ([2]); perfectives are not used.

[2]   <. . .> бумагой, предписывающей_{<IF PRS PCL>} в 24 часа очистить весь второй этаж дома
<. . .> a document dictating the evacuation of the whole second story within 24 hours

Adverbial participles developed from adjectival participles as they stopped declining. The PRESENT ADVERBIAL PARTICIPLE (IMPERFECTIVE) is {-a} added to the stem of the present tense: *ища́* 'searching', *ду́мая* 'thinking' (present stem {dum-aj-}), *организу́я* 'organizing' (present stem {organiz-uj-}). A mutable consonant is palatalized (C^I grade): *неся́* 'carrying', *приводя́* 'adducing', *глядя́* 'seeing', *по́мня* 'remembering'. The present adverbial participles formed from verbs with phonologically minimal stems are awkward (but possible: *периодически повизгивая, свистя, и рвя*_{<DEE>} *на себе одежду от избытка чувств* 'periodically squealing, whistling, and tearing their clothes from an excess of feelings'); they are not standard with stems that require a velar to be palatalized (?*пекя́* ['baking'], ?*берегя́* ['protecting']). The PAST ADVERBIAL PARTICIPLE is a truncated version of the adjectival participle in {-vš-}, usually just {-v}: *оста́в* 'having left behind', *вы́брав* 'having chosen', *поста́вив* 'having placed', *уви́дев* 'having seen', *прие́хав* 'having arrived'; the fuller form in {-vši} is used occasionally: *оста́вши* (§6.3.5).

Reflexive verbs require {-vši} to support the reflexive affix: *сосла́вшись* 'having referred to', *оста́вшись* 'having remained', *столкну́вшись* 'having collided'. Perfective verbs whose past-infinitive stems end in a dental consonant now use the original present-tense formant {-a} for the past adverbial participle: *принеся́* 'upon bringing, having brought', *введя́* 'having led in', *обретя́* 'upon discovering, having discovered'.[6]

The distribution and use of adverbial participles is especially sensitive to aspect (§6.3.6). Present adverbial participles of imperfectives are used widely, but past adverbial participles of imperfectives, such as *ду́мав* 'having thought', *бив* 'having been beating', though they are listed in grammars, are rarely used. There is basically only one type of adverbial participle of perfective verbs.[7]

The past passive participle is formed from transitive perfective verbs, those governing accusative objects in their active form. (It is formed residually from a small number of simplex imperfectives: *пи́сан* 'written'.) There are three formants. Verbs whose past-infinitive stem ends in {a} take a suffix {-n-}: *напи́сан* 'written', *сформиро́ван* 'formed', *ото́рван* 'ripped off'. Another, related suffix is used with verbs whose past-infinitive stem ends in a consonant (*нёс* implies *принесён* 'brought') or verbs whose past-infinitive stem should end in a vowel other than {-a-}, when the vowel is truncated specifically in this form: {CVC-i-} > {CVCʲ-} *уво́лен* 'released', {CVC-e-} > {CVCʲ-} *преодолён* (*преодолена́*, *преодолено́*, *преодолённый*) 'overcome'. This suffix, spelled «**ен**» (explicit «**ён**»), is pronounced [ón] under stress (*принесён*, *преодолён*) and [ɪn] not under stress (*уво́лен*) ([ɨn] after hard palatals: *умно́жен* 'multiplied'). And third, {-t-} is used with specific verb classes, notably verbs suffixed with {-nu-}: *дости́гнут* 'achieved', also with past-infinitive stems that end in a vowel that is not part of a conjugational suffix: *закры́т* 'closed', *отши́т* 'sewn off', *уко́лот* 'pierced'.

Present passive participles, limited to written Russian, are formed by adding {-m-} to the present-tense stem of imperfectives: *руководи́мый* 'led', from imperfective *руководи́шь*; *описыва́емый* 'being described', from imperfective *описыва́ешь*.

Infinitives, like participles, lack a subject. If participles present an event as a quality (adjectival) or circumstance (adverbial), infinitives present events as possibilities. And indeed, in older grammatical traditions, the infinitive was considered a mood. The infinitive is marked by {-ţ} added to the past-infinitive stem; that stem ends in a vowel for most verbs. With those verbs whose stem

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[6] Rarely, *принесши* (4%), *приведши* (1.9%) <04.XI.02>.

[7] *SRIa* 2.165 cites an innovative use of present-tense perfective participles with an exemplary meaning: *Я мог привести сотни отрывков из книг Грина, взволнующих*<PF PRS PRC> *каждого, не потерявшего способности волноваться перед зрелищем прекрасного* 'I could cite hundreds of examples of fragments from Greene's books that would excite anyone who has not lost the capacity to experience excitement in the face of the spectacle of the beautiful.'

Table 3.2 *Morphological strategies of verbal categories*

category	stem	morphological marker
infinitive	\<PST-INF\>	{-ţ}
past tense	\<PST-INF\>	{-l-} + gender–number markers
past active adjectival participle	\<PST-INF\>	{-vš-} + adjectival declension
past active adverbial participle	\<PST-INF\>	{-v} (resultative {-vši}) ∼ {-vši-ş})
past passive participle	\<PST-INF\>	{-t-} + adjectival declension (/{-nu-} verbs; /asuffixal vowel-stem verbs)
		{-n-} + adjectival declension (/{-a-} verbs)
		{-ón-} ({-[ɪn]-}) + adjectival declension (/stem ends in vowel not {-a-})
imperative	\<PRS\>	{-∅} ∼ {-í-} (if 1SG {-ú} or if {CVCC_\<PRS\>-}) + SG {-∅} ∼ PL {-te}
present tense: 1SG	\<PRS\>	{-u}, all classes
present tense: 2SG 3SG 1PL 2PL	\<PRS\>	thematic |i| ∼ |e| + person–number markers
present tense: 3PL	\<PRS\>	{-at} if thematic |i|
		{-ut} if thematic |e|
present active adjectival participle	\<PRS\>	{-a} if thematic |i| + {-š̌:-} + adjectival declension {-u} if thematic |e| + {-š̌:-} + adjectival declension
present adverbial participle	\<PRS\>	{-a} (implying C^I)

ends in a consonant, the consonants and the infinitive ending together are stressed {-sţí} (*нестú* 'carry', *грестú* 'row'). In stems ending in a velar, the velar and infinitive fuse as {-č}: *пéчь* 'to bake', *пренебрéчь* 'to ignore'.

The categories of verbs and their morphological strategies are summarized in Table 3.2.

3.2.2 Conjugation classes

As noted, verbs have two possible stems, used for different categories.[8] The PAST-INFINITIVE is used for the infinitive, past, and past participles (the past active adjectival participle, the past adverbial participle, the past passive participle).

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[8] The issue of whether verbs should be described in terms of two stems (as in a long tradition, from Leskien on) or one (as in Jakobson 1948/1971[b]) is a non-issue. The most durable observation of Jakobson's study is the observation that there is complementarity in the shape of stems in the past-infinitive (the stem ends in a vowel before consonantal endings) and the present (the stem ends in a consonant before vocalic endings). If one starts with the single underlying stem, to produce this complementarity, the single stem has to be modified immediately to yield two alternate stems – that is to say, there are two stems after all (Chvany 1990, Elson 1986). Alternative approaches to verbal morphology are offered by Lehfeldt 1978, Fegert 1986.

The PRESENT STEM is used for the present-tense forms, the imperative, and present participles (adjectival and adverbial active and present passive participle). When the stems are different, as they are for most verb types, they differ in how the conjugational suffix is treated: it is longer in one stem and shorter or missing altogether in the other. Inflectional endings in the past-infinitive subsystem begin with consonants, and by complementarity, the stem of the past-infinitive of most verbs ends in a vowel. The inflections of the present tense begin with a vowel, and by complementarity, the verbal stem ends in a consonant before these vocalic endings.

There are two conjugations, which differ according to the THEMATIC LIG-ATURE used between the stem and the markers of person and number in the "middle" forms of the paradigm – the second- and third-person singular and first- and second-person plural. One conjugation uses a suffix spelled «и»: *молчи́шь* 'be silent', 3SG *молчи́т*, 1PL *молчи́м*, 2PL *молчи́те*. The third plural of this conjugation is {-at} without the ligature: 3PL *молча́т*. Verbs of this type might be termed "I-CONJUGATION"; its thematic ligature can be written as "|i|." The other conjugational class has a vowel in the middle forms of the paradigm that derives from *e and is spelled now «е» (or if stressed, in explicit style, «ё»): 2SG *де́лаешь*, *несёшь* (inexplicit *несешь*), 3SG *де́лает*, *несёт* (*несет*), 1PL *де́лаем*, *несём* (*несем*), 2PL *де́лаете*, *несёте* (*несете*). The third plural is {-ut} without the ligature: 3PL *де́лают*, *несу́т*. Although the vowel is pronounced as [ó] when it is stressed, as in 2SG *несёшь*, etc., it is convenient to follow history and orthography and identify this as the "E-CONJUGATION" and write the thematic vowel as "|e|." The first singular is {-u}, without the ligature, in both conjugations.

Within each of these two conjugations, it is possible to distinguish more specific conjugation classes depending on the shape of the two stems. The classes with illustrative verbs are listed in Table 3.3. An abstract stem shape is given for the past-infinitive and the present stem of each type. A verb class can be identified as the set composed of the two stems. Thus *люби́ть* is: {{CVC^I-i-}$_{<PST-INF>}$: {CVC^I-|i|-}$_{<PRS>}$} or, more simply, {CVC-i- : CVC-|i|}. In the column before the gloss, they are identified by the number of the conjugation type assigned in Zaliznjak 1977[a].

All verbs of the I-Conjugation (top group in Table 3.3) have an overt suffix in the past-infinitive subsystem, but the suffix is missing in the present tense. The E-Conjugation divides into four groups. In one group, which includes the two most productive classes, there is a conjugational suffix that is syllabic in both subsystems; for example, *броса́ть* 'throw' is {{bros-a-}$_{<PST-INF>}$: {bros-aj-|e|}$_{<PRS>}$}. In a second group, there is a suffix in the past-infinitive but it is lost or reduced to a non-syllabic form in the present subsystem, for example, *пла́кать* 'cry' {{plak-a-}$_{<PST-INF>}$: {plač-|e|-}$_{<PRS>}$}. The third group, of ASUFFIXAL verbs, is a heterogeneous set of conjugation classes, each of which has a limited

Table 3.3 *Conjugation classes*

PAST-INFINITIVE	PRESENT	INFINITIVE	2SG	no.[Δ]	
{CVC-i-}	{CVC-|i|}	люби́ть	лю́бишь	4	'love'
{CVC-e-}	{CVC-|i|}	смотре́ть	смо́тришь	5	'look at'
{CVČ-a-}	{CVC-|i|}	молча́ть	молчи́шь	5	'be silent'
{CVC-a-}	{CVC-aj-|e|}	броса́ть	броса́ешь	1	'toss'
{CVC-e-}	{CVC-ej-|e|}	пьяне́ть	пьяне́ешь	1	'get tipsy'
{CVC-ova-}	{CVC-uj-|e|-}	тре́бовать	тре́буешь	2	'require'
{CVC-nu-}	{CVC-n-|e|}	бры́знуть	бры́знешь	3	'splash'
{CVC-a-}	{CVC-ʲ-|e|}	пла́кать	пла́чешь	6	'cry'
{CVC-a-}	{CVC-|e|}	соса́ть	сосёшь	6	'suck'
{CCa-}	{CC-|e|}	жда́ть	ждёшь	6	'wait'
{CCa-}	{CVC-|e|}	бра́ть	берёшь	6	'take'
{CVJa-}	{CVJ-|e|}	дава́ть	даёшь	13	'give'
{CVJa-}	{CVJ-|e|}	клева́ть	клюёшь	2	'peck'
{CV-}	{CVJ-|e|}	жи́ть	живёшь	16	'live'
{CV-}	{CVJ-|e|}	кры́ть	кро́ешь	12	'cover'
{CV-}	{CJ-|e|}	пи́ть	пьёшь	11	'drink'
{CV-}	{CVN-|e|}	де́ть	де́нешь	15	'set'
{CV-}	{CN-|e|}	жа́ть	жмёшь	14	'squeeze'
{CVRV-}	{CVR-|e|}	коло́ть	ко́лешь	10	'prick'
{CVR(V)-}	{CR-|e|}	мере́ть (мёрли)	мрёшь	9	'die'
{CVC-}	{CVC-|e|}	нести́	несёшь	7	'carry'

[Δ] = index of conjugation class in Zalizniak 1977[a]

number of members. The stems of the two subsystems differ in not entirely predictable ways, for example *зва́ть* 'call' {{zva-}_{<PST-INF>} : {zov-|e|-}_{<PRS>}}. The fourth type is the set of verbs that lack any suffix; the stem ends in a consonant in both subsystems: *нести́* 'carry' {{ņos-}<PST-INF> : {ņes-|e|-}<PRS>}. Verbs of the ᴇ-Conjugation have unpalatalized consonants (C^0) in the first-person singular and third plural, but palatalized consonants (C^1) in the middle forms: *ле́зу* 'climb' with [z] but *ле́зешь* with [ẓ]. The past-infinitive is generally stable, except for the type *мере́ть* 'die' (cf. *мёрли*) and consonant stems such as INF *вести́* 'lead' (MSC PST *вёл*, FEM *вела́*).

3.2.3 Stress patterns
The possible stress patterns of verbs are relatively restricted.

In the past, there are four patterns overall, two widespread and two restricted. (a) Stress can fall consistently on the root (= '$\mathcal{R}$'): *сла́вила*_{<FEM>},

*сла́вили*_{<PL>} 'glorify'. (b) Or stress can fall on the conjugational suffix (= '*F*'): *организова́ла*_{<FEM>}, *организова́ли*_{<PL>} 'organize'. Less frequently, (c) stress may fall consistently on the desinence (= '*E*'): *несла́*_{<FEM>}, *несли́*_{<PL>} 'carry', or (d) stress may be mobile (= '*M*') – that is, it may alternate between stress on the ending in the feminine past and stress not on the ending in other forms: *врала́*_{<FEM>} 'lied', but *вра́л*_{<MSC>}, *вра́ло*_{<NT>}, *вра́ли*_{<PL>}.

In the present system, there are four possibilities. (a) Stress can fall consistently on the root (= '*R*'): *сла́влю*, *сла́вишь*. (b) If there is a conjugational suffix and if it is syllabic, stress can fall on that suffix (= '*F*'): *организу́ю*, *организу́ешь*. (c) Stress can fall consistently on the thematic vowel (= '*T*'): *несу́*, *несёшь* 'carry'. (d) Stress can vary between the first singular (and the imperative) and the syllable preceding the thematic vowel except in the first singular: *пишу́*_{<1SG>}, *пиши́*_{<IMV>}, *пи́шешь*_{<2SG>} 'write'. This last pattern is ANTETHEMATIC accentuation (= '*A*'), in that stress often falls on the syllable preceding the thematic vowel. It is mobile accentuation, though different from that of the past tense.

3.2.4 Conjugation classes: ı-Conjugation

ı-Conjugation has a limited number of groups, all suffixal. The conjugational suffix can be {-i-}, {-e-} (<*ě), or {-a-} (historically a variant of the preceding, since *ě > *a* after palatals and *j). The conjugational suffix is present in the past-infinitive stem (*проси́ть* 'ask', *проси́ли*), lost or replaced by the conjugation marker |i| in the present (*прошу́*, *про́сишь*). Consonants were followed by *j (hence *C^J*) in the first-person singular and palatalized before the conjugational suffix (whether *i or *ě) and before the thematic vowel |i| in the other forms of the present tense and the past-infinitive, resulting in an alternation of *C^J* grade 1SG *прошу́*, *оби́жу* and *C^I* grade: *проси́ть*, 2SG *про́сишь* 'ask', *оби́деть*, 2SG *оби́дишь* 'insult'. In abstract terms, the conjugation pattern is: {{CVC^I-i-}_{<PST-INF>} : {CVC^I-|i|-}_{<PRS>}} or, more simply, {CVC^I-i- : CVC^I-|i|-}. Similarly, *смотре́ть* 'observe' is {CVC^I-e- : CVC^I-|i|-} and *держа́ть* 'hold' {CVČ-a- : CVČ-|i|-}. Included in the last group are *стоя́ть* 'stand', *боя́ться* 'fear', and their derivatives, which have a stem ending in [j] (though the [j] is absorbed before [í]); despite stress, the imperative lacks the characteristic -*и́*: *сто́й* (despite *стою́*), *не бо́йся* (1SG *бою́сь*).

In verbs of the type {CVC^I-i- : CVC^I-|i|-}, the consonant was also followed by *j in the past passive participle: -*про́шен.* In verbs in *ě, *C^J* is etymologically incorrect in the passive participle *оби́жен* 'insulted'; the original *C^I* is preserved in *уви́ден* 'seen' and in archaic *претёрпен*, now usually *претёрплен* 'endured'. The passive participle in this class of verbs thus has the suffix {-on-} (unstressed [ın], [ïn]).

The conjugations of representative verbs are given in Table 3.4. There are three accentual types. (a) Stress falls consistently on the root in past and present; the

Table 3.4 ɪ-*Conjugation*

	{CVC-i- : CVC-|i|}	{CVC-e- : CVC-|i|}	{CVČ-a- : CVC-|i|}	{CVj-a- : CVj-|i|}
	{ℛ : ℛ}	{𝓕 : 𝒯}	{𝓕 : 𝒜}	{𝓕 : 𝒯}
INF	грáбить	летéть	держáть	стоя́ть
PRS 1SG	грáблю	лечý	держý	стою́
PRS 2SG	грáбишь	лети́шь	дéржишь	стои́шь
PRS 3SG	грáбит	лети́т	дéржит	стои́т
PRS 1PL	грáбим	лети́м	дéржим	стои́м
PRS 2PL	грáбите	лети́те	дéржите	стои́те
PRS 3PL	грáбят	летя́т	дéржат	стоя́т
PRS PCL	грáбящий	летя́щий	дéржащий	стоя́щий
PRS DEE	грáбя	летя́	дéржа	стóя
IMV 2SG	грáбь	лети́	держи́	стóй
IMV 2PL	грáбьте	лети́те	держи́те	стóйте
PST MSC	грáбил	летéл	держáл	стоя́л
PST FEM	грáбила	летéла	держáла	стоя́ла
PST NT	грáбило	летéло	держáло	стоя́ло
PST PL	грáбили	летéли	держáли	стоя́ли
PST PCL	грáбивший	летéвший	держáвший	(на) стоя́вший
PST DEE	(о)грáбив	(у)летéв	(за)держáв	(на)стоя́в
PSV	(о)грáблен	—	(за)дéржан	(на)стóян
	'rob'	'fly'	'hold'	'stand'

pattern could be written as {ℛ_{<PST-INF>} : ℛ_{<PRS>}}, or more simply as {ℛ : ℛ}: *грáбить* 'bury', *грáблю*, *грáбишь*; *ви́деть* 'see', *ви́жу*, *ви́дишь*; *слы́шать* 'hear', *слы́шу*, *слы́шишь*. (b) Stress falls consistently after the root – on the suffix in the past and on 1SG {-ú} and 3PL {-át} and thematic {-í-}, or {𝓕 : 𝒯}: *говори́ть* 'speak', *говори́л*, *говори́ла*; *звенéть* 'ring', *звенéл*, *звенéла*; *звеню́*, *звени́шь*; *молчáть* 'be silent', *молчáл*, *молчáла*; *молчý*, *молчи́шь*. (c) Stress falls on the suffix in the past and variably on the 1SG {-ú} but antethematically on the last syllable of the stem in the rest of the present, or {𝓕 : 𝒜}: *люби́ть* 'love', *люби́л*, *люби́ла*; *люблю́*, *лю́бишь*; *смотрéть* 'observe', *смотрéл*, *смотрéла*; *смотрю́*, *смóтришь*; *держáть* 'hold', *держáл*, *держáла*; *держý*, *дéржишь*.

In the past passive participle, stress stays on the root if it is on the root in other forms: *расслáвлен* 'praised', *расслáвлена*, *расслáвлено*, *расслáвленный*; *оби́жен* 'insulted', *оби́жена*, *оби́жено*, *оби́женный*; *услы́шан* 'heard', *услы́шана*, *услы́шано*, *услы́шанный*. The combination of suffixal stress in the past with antedesinential stress in the present ({𝓕:𝒜}) gives stress on the syllable before the suffix in the passive: *возлюби́ть* 'love' (*возлюблю́*, *возлю́бишь*),

возлю́блен, *возлю́блена*, *возлю́блено*, *возлю́бленный*; *удержа́ть* 'restrain' (*удержу́*, *уде́ржишь*), *уде́ржан*, *уде́ржана*, *уде́ржано*, *уде́ржанный*; *рассмотре́ть* 'examine' (*рассмотрю́*, *рассмо́тришь*), *рассмо́трен*, *рассмо́трена*, *рассмо́трено*, *рассмо́тренный*. When stress in the present is thematic ({$F : T$}), the class {CVC^I-i- : CVC^I-|i|-} keeps stress on the ending: *омрачи́ть* 'darken' (*омрачу́*, *омрачи́шь*), *омрачён*, *омрачена́*, *омраченó*, *омрачённый*. The other two classes ({CVC^I-e- : CVC^I-|i|-}, {CVČ-a- : CVČ-|i|-}) pull stress back to the syllable before the passive formant: *усиде́ть* 'sit through' (*усижу́*, *усиди́шь*), *уси́жен*, *уси́жена*, *уси́жено*, *уси́женный*; *отлежа́ть* 'finish reclining' (*отлежу́*, *отлежи́шь*), *отлёжан*, *отлёжана*, *отлёжано*, *отлёжанный*.

In the {CVC-i- : CVC-|i|} type, there is a tendency to shift from thematic stress to antethematic stress in the present and past passive participle. Verbs differ. Some have just begun to shift: *разгроми́ть* 'rout', *разгроми́шь* (**разгро́мишь*), *разгромлён* (*?разгро́млен*). Other verbs have almost completed the shift: *иссуши́ть* 'dry out' *иссу́шишь*, current *иссу́шен* (older *иссуши́шь*, *иссушён*).

3.2.5 Conjugation classes: suffixed ᴇ-Conjugation

ᴇ-Conjugation verbs, less uniform overall, vary in the extent to which they make use of a conjugational suffix. Some do. Others, termed ᴀꜱᴜꜰꜰɪxᴀʟ below, do not have a suffix, or have only a remnant of the conjugational suffix.

Two of the classes maintain the suffix in both stems. These are the two most productive classes of Russian conjugation. One type has stems {CVC-a-_{<PST-INF>} : CVC-aj-|e|-_{<PRS>}}. Stress can be either consistently on the root or consistently on the suffix: {$R : R$} *де́лать* 'do', *де́лал*, *де́лаю*, *де́лаешь*; {$F : F$} *броса́ть* 'throw', *броса́л*, *броса́ю*, *броса́ешь*. The passive participle has {-n-} added to the stem {CVC-a-}; stress is drawn off the {-a-} onto the previous syllable: *разбро́сан* 'thrown around', *разбро́сана*, *разбро́сано*, *разбро́санный*.

A related type has the vowel {-e-} rather than {-a-} in the suffix: {CVC-e- : CVC-ej-|e|}. This type, which makes verbs from adjectives, has the same two stress options: {$R : R$} *угрю́меть* 'grow sad', *угрю́мел*, *угрю́мею*, *угрю́меешь*; {$F : F$} *пьяне́ть* 'become intoxicated', *пьяне́л*, *пьяне́ю*, *пьяне́ешь*. These are mostly intransitive and do not form passives. An exception is *преодоле́ть* 'overcome', whose participle is *преодолён*, *преодолена́*, *преодоленó*, *преодолённый*, which shows the passive formant {-ón-}.[9]

Another, productive, group of suffixed ᴇ-Conjugation verbs has a stem {CVC-ova-} alternating with {CVC-uj-|e|-}. There are two stress options: root stress

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[9] The form and stress are innovative. Etymologically, the suffixal vowel derives from **ě*, which did not undergo the change of **e > o* (witness *преодоле́л*).

Table 3.5 *Representative conjugations: suffixed* E-*Conjugation*

	{CVC-a-: CVC-aj-|e|}	{CVC-ova-: CVC-uj-|e|}	{CVC-a : CVCᴶ-|e|}	{CVC-nu-: CVC-n-}	{CVC-a-: CVC-|e|}
	{ℛ : ℛ}	{ℱ : ℱ}	{ℱ : 𝒜}	{ℱ : 𝒜}	{ℱ : 𝒯}
INF	де́лать	колдова́ть	писа́ть	тяну́ть	соса́ть
PRS 1SG	де́лаю	колду́ю	пишу́	тяну́	сосу́
PRS 2SG	де́лаешь	колду́ешь	пи́шешь	тя́нешь	сосёшь
PRS 3SG	де́лает	колду́ет	пи́шет	тя́нет	сосёт
PRS 1PL	де́лаем	колду́ем	пи́шем	тя́нем	сосём
PRS 2PL	де́лаете	колду́ете	пи́шете	тя́нете	сосёте
PRS 3PL	де́лают	колду́ют	пи́шут	тя́нут	сосу́т
PRS PCL	де́лающий	колду́ющий	пи́шущий	тя́нущий	сосу́щий
PRS DEE	де́лая	колду́я	пи́ша	[? тяня́]	сося́
IMV 2SG	де́лай	колду́й	пиши́	тяни́	соси́
IMV 2PL	де́лайте	колду́йте	пиши́те	тяни́те	соси́те
PST MSC	де́лал	колдова́л	писа́л	тяну́л	соса́л
PST FEM	де́лала	колдова́ла	писа́ла	тяну́ла	соса́ла
PST NT	де́лало	колдова́ло	писа́ло	тяну́ло	соса́ло
PST PL	де́лали	колдова́ли	писа́ли	тяну́ли	соса́ли
PST PCL	де́лавший	колдова́вший	писа́вший	тяну́вший	соса́вший
PST DEE	(с)де́лав	(за)колдова́в	(о)писа́в	(на)тяну́в	(об)соса́в
PSV	(с)де́лан	(за)колдо́ван	(о)пи́сан	(на)тя́нут	(об)со́сан
	'do'	'enchant'	'write'	'stretch'	'suck'

{ℛ : ℛ}, as in *тре́бовать* 'demand', *тре́бовал*, *тре́бую*, *тре́буешь*, or consistent suffixal stress {ℱ : ℱ}, as in *колдова́ть* 'enchant', *колдова́л*, *колду́ю*, *колду́ешь*. The passive has {-n-}, with stress on the syllable before {-a-}: *нарисова́ть* 'sketch', *нарисо́ван*, *нарисо́вана*, *нарисо́вано*, *нарисо́ванный*, similarly *расцелова́ть* 'kiss'.

In the two remaining classes of suffixal E-Conjugation, the suffix is reduced in the present. The type {CVC-nu- : CVC-n-} is used productively to make semelfactive (=singular occasion) perfectives of verbs that report intrinsically cyclical processes. These verbs have two stress patterns: {ℛ : ℛ} (*бры́знуть* 'spurt', *бры́знул*, *бры́зну*, *бры́знешь*) or {ℱ : 𝒯} (*толкну́ть* 'shove', *толкну́л*, *толкну́*, *толкнёшь*). Some {-nu-} verbs are not semelfactive. They allow a third stress pattern: {ℱ : 𝒜} *тяну́ть* 'pull', *тяну́*, *тя́нешь*. The passive participle for {-nu-} verbs is {-t}, which forces stress off the suffix to the root: *растяну́ть* 'stretch out' (*растяну́*, *растя́нешь*), *растя́нута*, *растя́нуто*, *растя́нутый*; *оттолкну́ть* 'shove away' (*оттолкну́*, *оттолкнёшь*), *отто́лкнута*, *отто́лкнуто*, *отто́лкнутый*.

In the verbs in this class that are not semelfactive, the suffix {-nu-} may be absent in some forms of the past-infinitive system. The suffix is expected by

the purely consonantal endings of the infinitive and the passive participle in {-t}: *достúчь* ∼ *достúгнуть* 'reach', *достúгнут*; *отвéргнуть* 'cast away', *отвéргнут*. ((*О*)*стьíть* 'grow cold', however, by ending in a vowel, is more tolerant.) Active participles and the masculine singular past may lose the suffix: PST PCL *достúгший* ∼ *достúгнувший*, *отвéргший* ∼ *отвéргнувший*; MSC *достúг*, *отвéргнул*. The other past-tense forms are most likely to lose {-nu-}: *достúгла*, *отвéргли*. Simplex forms are more likely to keep {-nu-} than prefixed forms. For example, *мёрзнуть* 'freeze', has variation in two forms (*мёрз* ∼ *мёрзнул*, *мёрзший* ∼ *мёрзнувший*), while its prefixed derivatives consistently lack the suffix {*за-*, *на-*, *об-*, *в-*, *под-*, *пере-*, *из-*, *при-*, *по-*, *про-*, *с-*, *вы-*}*мёрз*, *мёрзший*. The development is towards increasing use of {-nu-} and regularizing this class of verbs. Occasionally the suffix even appears in the feminine of simplex forms, the context that usually omits {-nu-}: *лúпнула* for usual *лúпла*.[10]

Another class of suffixed E-Conjugation has a minimal suffix {-a-} in the past-infinitive and no suffix in the present, while the consonant is modified and adopts the C^J grade: {CVC-a- : CVC^J-|e|}. There are two stress options. One is consistent root stress {$\mathcal{R}$: $\mathcal{R}$}: *плáкать* 'cry', *плáкал*, *плáчу*, *плáчешь*. The other is {$\mathcal{F}$: $\mathcal{A}$} – suffixal in the past-infinitive and antethematic in the present: *писáть* 'write', *писáла*, *пишý*, *пúшешь*, implying *напúсан*.

The past-infinitive stem of this group {CVC-a- : CVC^J-|e|} is {CVC-a-}, which is the same as the past-infinitive of the productive group {CVC-a- : CVC-aj-|e|}. As a result, this type is being absorbed into the more productive group, at different rates depending on the final consonant of the stem. The old pattern is preserved well when the stem ends in a dental. Only one of the thirty-four verbs ending in a dental (twenty-six in stop, eight in fricative) shows variation; *метáть* 'throw', *метáл*, *мечý* ∼ *метáю*.[11] Of the twenty-four verbs ending in velar, sixteen show some variation, the innovative variant *махáет* 'wave' (for *мáшет*) being used in the 1960s survey by 17 percent of speakers born in the decade 1940–49 (but only 3% on www.lib.ru <15.IX.02>), *брьíзгает* 'splash' (for *брьíзжет*) by 32 percent for *брьíзгать* (18% on www.lib.ru). Of the eleven verbs ending in labials, eight use the innovative present in {CVP-aj-|e|}; the most advanced is *кáпать*, which uses the new variant (*кáпает* 'drip' for *кáплет*) to the tune of 72 percent of speakers interviewed in the 1960s (82% on www.lib.ru).

There is another very small group of verbs that has the same infinitive shape {CVC-a-}, but in the present uses no suffix and no consonant modification: {CVC-a- : CVC-|e|}. Because the thematic vowel is added directly to the root-final consonant, the present of these verbs has an alternation of consonants in the present,

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[10] Il'ina 1976. However, forms such as *(при)лúпнул(а)* are infrequent on the web.
[11] In the investigation from the 1960s reported in Krysin 1974.

Table 3.6 *Quasisuffixed ε-Conjugation*

	{CVJa- : CVJ-|e|}	{CVJa- : CVJ-|e|}	{CCa- : CC-|e|}	{CCa- : CVC-|e|}	{CCa- : CVC-|e|}
	{ℱ : 𝒯}	{ℱ : 𝒯}	{ℳ : 𝒯}	{ℳ : 𝒯}	{ℳ : 𝒯}
INF	дава́ть	клева́ть	рва́ть	бра́ть	рва́ться
PRS 1SG	даю́	клюю́	рву́	беру́	рву́сь
PRS 2SG	даёшь	клюёшь	рвёшь	берёшь	рвёшься
PRS 3SG	даёт	клюёт	рвёт	берёт	рвётся
PRS 1PL	даём	клюём	рвём	берём	рвёмся
PRS 2PL	даёте	клюёте	рвёте	берёте	рвётесь
PRS 3PL	даю́т	клюю́т	рву́т	беру́т	рву́тся
PRS PCL	даю́щий	клюю́щий	рву́щий	беру́щий	рву́щийся
PRS DEE	дава́я	клюя́	[? рвя́]	беря́	[? рвя́сь]
IMV 2SG	дава́й	клюй	рви	бери́	рви́сь
IMV 2PL	дава́йте	клюйте	рви́те	бери́те	рви́тесь
PST MSC	дава́л	клева́л	рва́л	бра́л	рва́лся
PST FEM	дава́ла	клева́ла	рвала́	брала́	рвала́сь
PST NT	дава́ло	клева́ло	рва́ло	бра́ло	рвало́сь
PST PL	дава́ли	клева́ли	рва́ли	бра́ли	рвали́сь
PST PCL	дава́вший	клева́вший	рва́вший	бра́вший	рва́вшийся
PST DEE	[? дава́в]	(за)клева́в	(ото)рва́в	(на)бра́в	(за)рва́вшись
PSV	—	(за)клёван	(ото́)рван	(на́)бран	---
	'give'	'peck'	'tear'	'take'	'strain'

C^0 grade (absence of palatalization) in the first singular and third plural, C^I grade in the middle forms. Three stress patterns are found: {ℛ : ℛ} жа́ждать 'thirst for', жа́ждал, жа́жду, жа́ждешь; {ℱ : 𝒯} соса́ть 'suck', соса́л, сосу́, сосёшь; and {ℱ : 𝒜} стона́ть 'moan', стона́л, стону́, сто́нешь. In the passive participle, stress shifts back: обсо́сан 'licked round'. A related subgroup is the small set of verbs in which the final consonant of the root is [j], and the suffix {-a-} disappears in the present; these verbs have root stress (се́ять 'sow') or thematic stress (смея́ться 'laugh', смея́лся, смею́сь, смеёшься). Exceptionally, the imperative has no vowel: сме́йся.

3.2.6 Conjugation classes: quasisuffixed ε-Conjugation
Some verbs of the ε-Conjugation have the reflex of a suffix {-a-} in the past-infinitive. The root without this vowel is phonologically minimal.

Дава́ть 'give' and остава́ться 'remain' have present-tense stems in [j] without [v], except in the imperative and participles. Another class is that of клева́ть

'peck', *клюю́, клюёшь*; *кова́ть* 'forge', *кую́, куёшь*; *плева́ть* 'spit', *плюю́, плюёшь*, in which additionally [v] alternates with [j]. Stress is on the second syllable in the past-infinitive, thematic in the present ({F : F}). The passive has antethematic stress: *(за)клёван*. Although the first singular present is stressed, the imperative lacks *-й*: *плюй, суй, жуй, клюй, куй*.

In some other classes the past-infinitive ends in {a}, but the preceding root is phonologically debilitated. The thematic ligature can be added directly to the cluster: *жда́ть* 'wait', *жду́, ждёшь*, implying the formula {CCa- : CC-|e|-}. Like *жда́ть* are: *рва́ть* 'tear', *вра́ть* 'lie', *жра́ть* 'devour', *сра́ть* 'defecate', *-пра́ть* 'trample', *тка́ть* 'weave'. In some verbs the cluster is broken up in the present tense by a vowel augment, as in *бра́ть* 'take', *беру́, берёшь*; *дра́ть* 'tear', *деру́, дерёшь*; *зва́ть* 'call', *зову́, зовёшь*, implying the formula {CCa- : CVC-|e|-}). In the present, stress always falls on the thematic vowel. In the past, stress is mobile: *жда́ть* 'await', *жда́л, ждала́, жда́ли, жда́ло*; *бра́ть, бра́л, брала́, бра́ли, бра́ло*; *рва́ть, рва́л, рвала́, рва́ли, рва́ло*; *зва́л, звала́, зва́ли*. When these verbs are made reflexive, stress becomes fixed on the ending (except in the masculine singular): *рва́лся, рвала́сь, рвало́сь, рвали́сь*. But this end stress has begun to yield to stem stress in an informal register: *рвало́сь, рвали́сь > рва́лось, рва́лись*.[12] *Попра́ть* 'flout', with no augment in the present, has fixed root stress in the past.

The passive participle, in {-n-}, puts stress on the syllable before the [a], and since the root is non-syllabic, stress ends up on the second or only vowel of the prefix: *ото́рван* 'torn off', *ото́рвана, ото́рвано, ото́рванный*; *у́бран* 'cleaned up', *у́брана, у́брано, у́бранный*.

Next comes a set of heterogeneous verbs that have a hyposyllabic stem {CV-} or {CCV-} in the past-infinitive. The present can have various shapes. The following subtypes can be distinguished. Corresponding to a past-infinitive stem {C(C)V-}, the present has the consonant followed by some vowel and [j]: *вы́ть* 'howl', *вы́ли, вы́ла, во́ю, во́ешь* (also *кры́ть* 'cover', *ны́ть* 'moan', *ры́ть* 'dig', *мы́ть* 'wash'). Similar, except for differences in vocalism, are *пе́ть* (*пою́*) 'sing', *ду́ть* (*ду́ю*) 'blow', *зна́ть* (*зна́ю*) 'know', *гре́ть* (*гре́ю*) 'warm', *почи́ть* (*почи́ю*) 'rest', *обу́ть* (*обу́ю*) 'shoe', *бри́ть* (*бре́ю*) 'shave'. Stress in the past falls on the root vowel consistently: *пе́ла, пе́ли*. A second type uses an augment [v] in the present instead of [j]: *жи́ть, живу́* 'live'; *слы́ть, слыву́* 'be reputed'; *плы́ть, плыву́* 'swim'. Stress in the past is mobile: *жила́, жи́ли*. Another subtype has the augment [j] added to the present tense but with no root vowel, or {CJ-|e|}. Stress in the present is thematic by default. The past has mobile stress: *пи́ть* 'drink', *пью, пьёшь, пила́, пи́ли* (also *ви́ть* 'wind', *ли́ть* 'pour'), with the exception of *би́ть* 'beat' and *ши́ть* 'sew', whose past tenses are not mobile: *бью, бьёшь, би́ла, би́ли*.

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[12] Strom 1988, *SRIa* 1.144.

Table 3.7(a) *Asuffixal ᴇ-Conjugation*

	{CV- : CVJ-|e|}	{CV- : CVJ-|e|}	{CV- : CVJ-|e|}	{CV- : CJ-|e|}
	{ℱ : 𝒯}	{ℱ : 𝒯}	{ℳ : 𝒯}	{ℳ : 𝒯}
INF	кры́ть	пе́ть	жи́ть	пи́ть
PRS 1SG	кро́ю	пою́	живу́	пью́
PRS 2SG	кро́ешь	поёшь	живёшь	пьёшь
PRS 3SG	кро́ет	поёт	живёт	пьёт
PRS 1PL	кро́ем	поём	живём	пьём
PRS 2PL	кро́ете	поёте	живёте	пьёте
PRS 3PL	кро́ют	пою́т	живу́т	пью́т
PRS PCL	кро́ющий	пою́щий	живу́щий	пью́щий
PRS DEE	кро́я	—	[? живя́]	—
IMV 2SG	кро́й	по́й	живи́	пе́й
IMV 2PL	кро́йте	по́йте	живи́те	пе́йте
PST MSC	кры́л	пе́л	жи́л	пи́л
PST FEM	кры́ла	пе́ла	жила́	пила́
PST NT	кры́ло	пе́ло	жи́ло	пи́ло
PST PL	кры́ли	пе́ли	жи́ли	пи́ли
PST PCL	кры́вший	пе́вший	жи́вший	пи́вший
PST DEE	(за)кры́в	(с)пе́в	(про)жи́в	(про)пи́в
PSV	(за)кры́т	(с)пе́т	(про)жи́т	(про́)пит
	'cover'	'sing'	'live'	'drink'

Superficially similar are verbs which have the augment [n] in the present. There are two variants. In one, the nasal (originally an infix added to the present tense) appears after the root-final vowel and the present-tense thematic vowel is added to a fully syllabic root in {CVN-}; such are *де́ть* 'put', *де́ну*, *де́нешь*; *ста́ть* 'become', *ста́ну*, *ста́нешь*. Stress is fixed on the root in the present and the past: *де́ть*, *де́л*, *де́ла*, *де́ли*; *ста́ть*, *ста́л*, *ста́ла*, *ста́ли*. In the other variant the nasal consonant appears in place of the vowel of the past-infinitive (reflecting the historical alternation of *VN* in position before vowels with a nasal vowel in position before consonants): *жа́ть* 'reap', *жну́*, *жнёшь*; *жа́ть* 'squeeze', *жму́*, *жмёшь*; *(на)ча́ть* 'begin', *(на)чну́*, *(на)чнёшь*; *(от)ня́ть* 'grasp, take', *(от)ниму́*, *(от)ни́мешь* (substandard variant, *(от)ыму́*, *(от)ы́мешь*). Stress in the present is thematic, except *-ня́ть*. Stress in the past is either root (*жа́ть*, *жа́л*, *жа́ла*, *жа́ли*, *жа́ло*) or mobile, even going onto the prefix (*нача́ть*, *на́чал*, *начала́*, *на́чали*). All of the verbs in these groups that have mobile stress in the past have fixed end stress in the reflexive counterparts of the verbs: *нача́лся* (older *начал`ся*), *начали́сь*, *начало́сь*, *начала́сь*.

Rather different are: *коло́ть* 'prick', *колю́*, *ко́лешь*; *моло́ть* 'grind', *мелю́*, *ме́лешь*; *боро́ться* 'fight with', *борю́сь*, *бо́решься*; *поро́ть* 'lash', *порю́*, *по́решь*.

Table 3.7(b) *Asuffixal ᴇ-Conjugation*

	{CV- : CVN-}	{CV- : CVN-}	{CVRV- : CVR-|e|}	{CVR(V)- : CVR-|e|}
	{𝓡 : 𝓡}	{𝓡 : 𝓣}	{𝓡 : 𝓐}	{𝓜 : 𝓣}
INF	де́ть	жа́ть	коло́ть	тере́ть
PRS 1SG	де́ну	жму́	колю́	тру́
PRS 2SG	де́нешь	жмёшь	ко́лешь	трёшь
PRS 3SG	де́нет	жмёт	ко́лет	трёт
PRS 1PL	де́нем	жмём	ко́лем	трём
PRS 2PL	де́нете	жмёте	ко́лете	трёте
PRS 3PL	де́нут	жму́т	ко́лют	тру́т
PRS PCL	—	жму́щий	ко́лющий	тру́щий
PRS DEE	—	[? жмя́]	коля́	—
IMV 2SG	де́нь	жми́	коли́	три́
IMV 2PL	де́ньте	жми́те	коли́те	три́те
PST MSC	де́л	жа́л	коло́л	тёр
PST FEM	де́ла	жа́ла	коло́ла	терла́
PST NT	де́ло	жа́ло	коло́ло	тёрло
PST PL	де́ли	жа́ли	коло́ли	тёрли
PST PCL	де́вший	жа́вший	(у)коло́вший	(у)тёрший
PST DEE	(раз)де́в	(по)жа́в	(у)коло́в	(у)тере́в ~ (у)тёрши
PSV	(раз)де́т	(по)жа́т	(у)ко́лот	(у)тёрт
	'place'	'squeeze'	'prick'	'rub'

Stress is antethematic in the present, when the consonant adopts C^j grade even in the first-person singular. In the past-infinitive, stress is fixed on the second root syllable: *коло́л, коло́ла, коло́ли*. The two transitives *коло́ть* and *моло́ть* have retracted stress in passive participles: *уко́лот, уко́лота, уко́лото, уко́лотый*. *Мере́ть* 'die', *пере́ть* 'close', *тере́ть* 'wipe' have a non-syllabic present stem (imply-ing thematic stress by default): *мру́, мрёшь*. Unusually for Russian conjugations, the past stem differs from the infinitive stem: *пере́ть, пёр, перла́, пёрли, пёрло*; *мере́ть, мёр, мерла́, мёрли, мёрло*.

Throughout these asuffixal verbs, the passive participle is generally marked by {-t-}. If the verb otherwise has root stress in the past, it has root stress in the passive participle: *разде́ть* 'deck out', *разде́л, разде́ла, разде́т, разде́та, разде́то, разде́тый*; *нажа́ть* 'squeeze', *нажа́л, нажа́ла, нажа́т, нажа́та, нажа́то, нажа́тый*; *растере́ть* 'wipe away' (*растёр, растёрла*), *растёрт, растёрта, растёрто, растёртый*; *сбри́ть* 'shave off' (*сбри́л, сбри́ла*), *сбри́т, сбри́та, сбри́то, сбри́тый*; *отпе́ть* 'read the service over' (*отпе́л, отпе́ла*), *отпе́т, отпе́та, отпе́то, отпе́тый*; *уби́ть* 'kill' (*уби́л, уби́ла*), *уби́т, уби́та, уби́то, уби́тый*.

For those asuffixal verbs that take {-t-}, mobile stress in the past once im-plied mobile stress in the participle: *нача́ть* 'begin' (*на́чал, начала́, на́чало*)

Table 3.8 *Consonant-stem* E*-Conjugation*

	{CVC- : CVC-|e|}	{CVC- : CVC-|e|}	{CVC- : CC-|e|}	{CVC- : CVC-|e|}	{CVC- : CVC-|e|}
	{*E* : *T*}	{*R* : *T*}	{*E* : *T*}	{*R* : *R*}	{*E* : *T*}
INF	нести́	кра́сть	пе́чь	ле́зть	бере́чься
PRS 1SG	несу́	краду́	пеку́	ле́зу	берегу́сь
PRS 2SG	несёшь	крадёшь	печёшь	ле́зешь	бережёшься
PRS 3SG	несёт	крадёт	печёт	ле́зет	бережётся
PRS 1PL	несём	крадём	печём	ле́зем	бережёмся
PRS 2PL	несёте	крадёте	печёте	ле́зете	бережётеся
PRS 3PL	несу́т	краду́т	пеку́т	ле́зут	берегу́тся
PRS PCL	несу́щий	краду́щий	пеку́щий	ле́зущий	берегу́щийся
PRS DEE	неся́	кради́	—	ле́зя	—
IMV 2SG	неси́	кради́	пеки́	ле́зь	береги́сь
IMV 2PL	неси́те	кради́те	пеки́те	ле́зьте	береги́тесь
PST MSC	нёс	кра́л	пёк	ле́з	берёгся
PST FEM	несла́	кра́ла	пекла́	ле́зла	берегла́сь
PST NT	несло́	кра́ло	пекло́	ле́зло	берегло́сь
PST PL	несли́	кра́ли	пекли́	ле́зли	берегли́сь
PST PCL	нёсший	кра́дший	пёкший	ле́зший	берёгшийся
PST DEE	(у)неся́	(у)кра́вши	(из)пёкши	(за)ле́зши	(у)берёгшись
PSV	(у)несён	(у)кра́ден	(из)печён	(на)ле́зен	—
	'carry'	'steal'	'bake'	'crawl'	'protect'

на́чат, *начата́*, *на́чато*, *на́чатый*; *прокля́сть* 'curse' (*про́клял*, *прокляла́*, *про́кляло*), *про́клят*, *проклята́*, *про́клято*, *про́клятый*; *распи́ть* 'drink a shared bottle' (*распи́л*, *распила́*, *распи́ло*), *распи́т*, *распита́*, *распи́то*, *распи́тый*; *отжи́ть* 'outlive one's time' (*отжи́л*, *отжила́*, *отжи́ло*), *отжи́т*, *отжита́*, *отжи́то*, *отжи́тый*. These citations illustrate the point that, historically, mobile stress once meant that the stress retracted onto the prefix when it was not on the end (in the feminine). Stress on the prefix has been fading (manuals must be consulted for details), but it is still preserved in frequent verbs like *нача́ть*.[13]

Among asuffixal verbs, the largest and most homogeneous group are OBSTRU-ENT stems – verbs like *нести́* whose stem ends in an obstruent in both subsystems.

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[13] To illustrate the nature of this variation using derivatives of *пере́ть*. The old pattern – complete mobility in the past and the passive participle – is preserved with *запере́ть*: *за́пер*, *заперла́*, *за́перло*, *за́перт*, *заперта́*, *за́перто*, *за́пертый*. In the middle, *опере́ть* has eliminated prefixal stress, and has even begun to allow the feminine stress on the root: *опёр*, *оперла́* ∼ *опёрла*, *опёрло*; *опёрт*, *оперта́* ∼ *опёрта*, *опёрто*, *опёртый*. Even further, *перепере́ть* has gone over to stem stress in both past and participle: *перепёр*, *перепёрла*, *перепёрло*; *перепёрта*, *перепёрта*, *перепёрло*, *перепёртый*.

In the present, the thematic ligature |e| is added directly to a stem of the shape {CVC-_{<PRS>}}. The final consonant is C^0 in the first singular and third plural (*несу́*, *несу́т*; *пеку́*, *пеку́т*) and C^I in the middle forms (*несёшь*; *печёшь*). The stem of the past tense also ends (or could end) in an obstruent, and that fact occasions some collision between the final consonant of the stem and the consonants of the past tense and the infinitive. The collision is resolved in different ways. (a) Verbs whose present stem ends in a DENTAL STOP lose the stop throughout the past, and have an infinitive in *-стú*: *вестú* 'lead' (*веду́*, *ведёшь*, *вёл*, *вела́*); *местú* 'sweep' (*мету́*, *метёшь*, *мёл*, *мела́*); *плестú* 'weave' (*плету́*, *плетёшь*, *плёл*, *плела́*); *гнестú* 'oppress' (*гнету́*, [no past]); *брестú* 'wander' (*бреду́*, *бредёшь*, *брёл*, *брела́*); *блюстú* 'watch' (*блюду́*, *блюдёшь*, *блюл*, *блюла́*); *грястú* 'come' (3sg *грядёт*, [no past]). (b) Verbs whose present stem ends in a LABIAL STOP keep the stop and lose the {-l-} in the masculine singular past, and have an infinitive in *-стú*: *скрестú* 'scrape' (*скребу́*, *скребёшь*, *скрёб*, *скребла́*); *грестú* 'row' (*гребу́*, *гребёшь*, *грёб*, *гребла́*). (c) Verbs ending in a VELAR STOP keep that consonant and lose the MSC SG {-l-} of the past, and have an infinitive in *–чь*: *влечь* 'draw' (*влеку́*, *влечёшь*, *влёк*, *влекла́*); *течь* 'flow' (*теку́*, *течёшь*, *тёк*, *текла́*); *(на)речь* 'speak' (*-реку́*, *-речёшь*, *-рёк*, *-рекла́*); *пренебре́чь* 'ignore' (*пренебрегу́*, *пренебрежёшь*, *пренебрёг*, *пренебрегла́*); *бере́чь* 'take care of' (*берегу́*, *бережёшь*, *берёг*, *берегла́*); *стере́чь* 'guard' (*стерегу́*, *стережёшь*, *стерёг*, *стерегла́*); *толо́чь* 'pound' (*толку́*, *толчёшь*, *толо́к*, *толкла́*); *(за)пря́чь* 'harness' (*запрягу́*, *запряжёшь*, *запря́г*, *запрягла́*). (d) Verbs ending in a DENTAL FRICATIVE keep that consonant and lose the MSC SG {-l-} of the past, and have an infinitive *-тú* added to the fricative (a voiced fricative letter is kept in spelling): *везтú* 'convey' (*везу́*, *везёшь*, *вёз*, *везла́*); *ползтú* 'crawl' (*ползу́*, *ползёшь*, *по́лз*, *ползла́*); *трястú* 'shake' (*трясу́*, *трясёшь*, *тря́с*, *трясла́*); *пастú* 'tend' (*насу́*, *пасёшь*, *пас*, *пасла́*). *Растú* 'grow' (*расту́*, *растёшь*, *ро́с*, *росла́*) combines the loss of the dental stop and the loss of MSC SG {-l-}. Exceptional vowel alternations reflecting old nasal infixes occur in *лечь* 'lie' (*ля́гу*, *ля́жешь*, *лёг*, *легла́*); *сесть* 'sit' (*ся́ду*, *ся́дешь*, *сёл*, *се́ла*). (*Про-*)*честь* 'read' (*прочту́*, *прочтёшь*, *прочёл*, *прочла́*) and *жечь* 'burn' (*жгу́*, *жжёшь*, *жёг*, *жгла́*) have null grade and stress on endings in both the present and the past.

In stress, the predominant pattern is {E : T}, or thematic stress in the present, end stress in the past (though not in the masculine singular). End stress in the past also implies the unusual end stress in the infinitive as well (*нестú*), except in velar stems. Root or mobile stress in the past precludes end stress in the infinitive.

Other stress patterns are possible, for individual verbs or small groups of verbs. *Кля́сть* 'swear' has {M : T}, or thematic stress in the present (*кляну́*, *клянёшь*) and mobile stress in the past (*кляла́*, *кля́ли*). *Сесть* 'sit' (*ся́ду*, *се́ла*), *ле́зть* 'climb' (*ле́зу*, *ле́зешь*, *ле́з*, *ле́зла*), *отве́рзть* 'open' (archaic) have consistent

root stress: {*R* : *R*}. (In recent times *се́чь* 'hack', originally {*R* : *T*}, has been shifting to the productive stress pattern in the past: *сёк, секла́, секли́* > *сёк, секла́, секли́*.) For other verbs the stress pattern is {*R* : *T*}: *грызть* 'gnaw' (*грызу́, грызёшь, грыз, грызла́*); *красть* 'steal' (*краду́, крадёшь, крал, кра́ла*); *класть* 'place' (*кладу́, кладёшь, клал, кла́ла*); *пасть* 'fall' (*паду́, падёшь, пал, па́ла*) and (*о-*)*стричь* 'shear' (*остригу́, острижёшь, остри́г, отсри́гла*). *Прясть* 'spin' has thematic stress in the present (*пряду́, прядёшь*) and variation in the past: like *грызть*, stem stress (*пря́ла*, implying reflexive *пря́лась*, etc.) or, like *клясть*, mobile past (*пряла́, пря́ло*, implying end stress in the reflexives *пряла́сь, пряло́сь*). *Мочь* 'be able, possible' is a unique verb with {*E* : *A*}: *могу́, мо́жешь, могла́, могли́*.

In obstruent stems with end stress in the past, the passive participle has the suffix {-on-}, with stress on the ending in the short forms (*унести́* 'carry off', *унёс, унесла́, унесло́* implies *унесён, унесена́, унесено́*) and on the participial suffix in the long form (*унесённый*). Stress stays on the root in the participle if the past is root-stressed: *загры́зть* 'chew up', *загры́зла, загры́зен, загры́зена, загры́зено, загры́зенный*.

3.2.7 Stress in verbs: retrospective

The stress of verbs has to be learned, class by class and, in the smaller, less productive, archaic classes, verb by verb. Yet some broad generalizations can be discerned. Verb classes can be divided into four large sets.

The first set consists of verbs with a conjugational suffix that is syllabic in both the past-infinitive and the present. Verbs in these classes allow only two stress patterns: {*R* : *R*} (*тре́бовать, тре́бовал* : *тре́бую, тре́буешь*) and {*F* : *F*} (*колдова́ть, колдова́л* : *колду́ю, колду́ешь*). This limitation suggests that roots and suffixes are heavy. If either the root or suffix receives stress, stress remains there in both subsystems. Furthermore, stress can never go further towards the end of the word than a syllabic suffix.

The second set consists of verbs with an identifiable, syllabic suffix in the past-infinitive, but no suffix, or a suffix that is not syllabic, in the present subsystem. There are three possibilities: {*R* : *R*}, {*F* : *T*}, {*F* : *A*}. The three patterns show again that, in the past-infinitive, stress cannot go further towards the ending beyond an overt and syllabic suffix. But in the present, where the suffix is missing (or lacks a vowel), it is possible to put stress on the syllable preceding the thematic vowel: {*F* : *A*}, 1sɢ *пишу́*, 2sɢ *пи́шешь*. That means that mobile stress in the present is possible only for those verb classes that lose the suffix in the present.

The third set is the array of heterogeneous verbs that have no conjugational suffix and stem shapes that do not remain stable between the past-infinitive and present subsystems. Some of these verbs have {*R* : *R*} stress, like *вы́ть, во́ю*, or

{*R* : *T*} stress, a minor variant that occurs by default when the present stem lacks a vowel, such as *шить*, *шила*, *шили*, *шью*, *шьёшь*. Interestingly, these verbs with stems that are minimal ("hyposyllabic") or inconsistent over the two subsystems allow mobile stress in the past (along with thematic stress in the present), or {*M* : *T*}: *пить*, *пила*, *пили; брать*, *брала*, *брали* (*пью*, *пьёшь*; *беру*, *берёшь*). In fact, mobile stress in the past occurs *only* with such verbs.

The fourth group is the consonant-stem verbs like *нести*, *печь*, which have the same, stable, canonical root structure {CVC-} in both subsystems. These verbs have a variety of stress patterns, but the most frequent is {*E* : *T*}, or end stress in the past (*нёс*, *несла*, *несли*) correlated with thematic stress in the present (*несу*, *несёшь*). It is as if the stable structure requires stability in the placement of stress (rather than mobility) and the absence of an intervening suffix encourages the stress to go beyond the root out onto the endings.

Thus, roots and suffixes are heavy and hold stress towards the front of the word. Absence of a suffix encourages stress after the stem. Mobility, in either past or present, is tolerated by those verb classes in which there is instability in the stem shape between the two subsystems.

In the passive participle, root stress occurs when other forms have root stress. Mobile stress occurs if the participle is {-t-} and if the verb has mobile stress in the past: *начат*, *начата*, *начато*. End stress occurs in some verb classes that add the suffix {-on-}, namely {CVC-i : CVC-|i|} and consonant stems ({CVC- : CVC-|e|}): *разгромлён*, *унесён*, provided stress is thematic in the present. Otherwise, the productive stress pattern is stress on the syllable preceding the suffix: *написан*, *оторван*, *удержан*, *рассмотрен* 'examined', *отлёжан* 'rested', *натянут* 'stretched', *оттолкнут* 'pushed away', *уколот* 'punctured'.

3.2.8 Irregularities in conjugation

Irregularities and exceptions of conjugation are limited in Russian.

The most archaic and irregular verbs are *есть* 'eat' and *дать* 'give'. The ancient athematic ending is preserved in the first-person singular, and the other two forms of the singular are unusual: *ем*, *ешь*, *ест*; *дам*, *дашь*, *даст*. The plural is built on a more recognizable stem. *Дать* follows the ɪ-Conjugation in the first- and second-person plural, but not in the third plural (*дадим*, *дадите*, but *дадут*), while *есть* follows the ɪ-Conjugation throughout the plural (*едим*, *едите*, *едят*). The past-tense forms are regular.

Быть uses a different stem for the past and future (and no stem in the present), but the individual forms are not irregular. The past exhibits consistent mobility: *был*, *была*, *было*, *были*, and in the negative, *не был*, *не была*, *не было*, *не были*. The conjugation of the future is regular if it is taken to be a consonant stem: 1sg *буду*, 2sg *будешь*, 3sg *будет*, 1pl *будем*, 2pl *будете*, 3pl *будут*.

Table 3.9 *Conjugation classes and secondary imperfectives*

PERFECTIVE PAST-INFINITIVE	PERFECTIVE PRESENT	IMPERFECTIVE (PRESENT)	INFINITIVE
{CVC-i-}	{CVC-|i|}	{CVC^J-**aj**-|e|}	осуди́ть/осужда́ть 'judge', заме́тить/замеча́ть 'notice', разгрузи́ть/разгружа́ть 'unload', подцепи́ть/подцепля́ть 'hook up'
		{CVC(^{J})-**ivaj**-|e|}	загото́вить/заготовля́ть (загота́вливать) 'stock up', осмы́слить/осмысля́ть ∼ осмы́сливать 'conceptualize', подмени́ть/подме́нивать 'substitute', подхвати́ть/подхва́тывать 'grab hold of', устро́ить/устра́ивать 'arrange'
{CC-i-}	{CC-|i|}	{CC-**e**-**vaj**-|e|}	затми́ть/затмева́ть 'eclipse', продли́ть/продлева́ть 'prolong'
{CVC-e-}	{CVC-|i|}	{CVC^J-**ivaj**-|e|}	рассмотре́ть/рассма́тривать 'examine', отсиде́ть/отси́живать 'sit out'
{CVČ-a-}	{CVČ-|i|}	{CVČ-**ivaj**-|e|}	умолча́ть/ума́лчивать 'keep silent about', пролежа́ть/пролёживать 'spend time lying'
{CVC-a-}	{CVC-aj-|e|}	{CVC^0-**ivaj**-|e|}	отде́лать/отде́лывать 'trim', переброса́ть/перебра́сывать 'throw repeatedly'
{CVC-e-}	{CVC-ej-|e|}	{CVC-**e**-**vaj**-|e|}	заболе́ть/заболева́ть 'fall ill'
{CVC-ova-}	{CVC-uj-|e|-}	{CVC-ov-**ivaj**-|e|}	упакова́ть/упако́вывать 'pack up', отфильтрова́ть/отфильтро́вывать 'filter out'
{CVC-nu-}	{CVC-n-|e|}	{CVC^0-**ivaj**-|e|}	захло́пнуть/захло́пывать 'clap'
{CVC-a-}	{CVC^J-|e|}	{CVC^0-**ivaj**-|e|} ∼ {CVC^0-**áj**-|e|})	описа́ть/опи́сывать 'write', завяза́ть/завя́зывать 'bind', отре́зать/отреза́ть 'cut off'
{CVC-a-}	{CVC-|e|}	{CVC^0-**ivaj**-|e|}	вы́сосать/выса́сывать 'suck out'
{CCa-}	{CC-|e|}	{CV$^∞$C^0-**ivaj**-|e|}	вы́ждать/выжида́ть 'wait out'
{CCa-}	{CVC-|e|}	{CV$^∞$C^0-**ivaj**-|e|}	убра́ть/убира́ть 'clean up', подозва́ть/подзыва́ть 'call up'
{CVJa-}	{CVJ-|e|}	{CVJ-**ivaj**-|e|}	отсе́ять/отсе́ивать 'screen out', отта́ять/отта́ивать 'thaw out'
{CVJa-}	{CVJ-|e|}	{CVC^0-**ivaj**-|e|}	исклева́ть/исклёвывать 'peck thoroughly', отплева́ть/отплёвывать 'spit out'
{CV-}	{CVJ-|e|}	{CV-**vaj**-|e|}	нажи́ть/нажива́ть 'acquire'
{CV-}	{CVJ-|e|}	{CV-**vaj**-|e|}	закры́ть/закрыва́ть 'close'
{CV-}	{CJ-|e|}	{CV-**vaj**-|e|}	вы́пить/выпива́ть 'drink down'

Table 3.9 *(cont.)*

PERFECTIVE PAST-INFINITIVE	PERFECTIVE PRESENT	IMPERFECTIVE (PRESENT)	INFINITIVE
{CV-}	{CVN-|e|}	{CV-**vaj**-|e|}	задéть/задевáть 'shove off'
{CV-}	{CN-|e|}	{CV$^\infty$N-**aj**-|e|}	вы́жать/выжимáть 'squeeze out'
{CVRV-}	{CVR-|e|}	{CVR^0-**ivaj**-|e|}	наколóть/накáлывать 'puncture multiply'
{CVR(V)-}	{CR-|e|}	{CV$^\infty$C^0-**ivaj**-|e|}	умерéть/умирáть 'die', заперéть/запирáть 'lock'
{CVC-}	{CVC-aj-|e|}	{CVC-**aj**-|e|}	наплестú/наплетáть 'weave in quantity', напря́чь/напрягáть 'tense up'

∞ = alternation of vowel grades null~{i} in root

{. . . -**ivaj**-|e|} = boldface indicates imperfectivizing suffix (present tense)

A very small number of irregularities involves unusual pairings of allostems or occasionally, sub-allostems. *Спáть* and *гнáть* have a past-infinitive stem in {CCa-}, and they have the mobile past-tense stress typical of such verbs: *спáть* 'sleep', *спáл*, *спалá*, *спáли*, *спáло*; *гнáть* 'pursue', *гнáл*, *гналá*, *гнáли*, *гнáло*. The present tense of these verbs switches to ɪ-Conjugation: *сплю́*, *спи́шь*; *гоню́*, *гóнишь*. The unusual verb *зы́биться* 'surge' should belong to the ɪ-Conjugation, to judge by its infinitive, but forms its preferred present in |e|, with *C^J*: *зы́блется*. *Ушиби́ть* 'bruise', on the basis of its infinitive and participles (*ушиби́вший*, *уши́бленный*), implies a stem {CVC-i} of the ɪ-Conjugation, but it behaves like an obstruent stem with {CVC-|e|} in the present (*ушибу́*, *ушибёшь*) and past (*уши́б*, *уши́бла*). *Обя́зывать* 'obligate' conjugates either as expected {CVC-aj-|e|} (*обя́зываешь*) or as unexpected {CVC-uj-|e|} (*обя́зуешься*).

Бежáть 'run, flee' looks like the type {CVC^I-a : CVC^I-|i|-} in the "middle" forms of the present-tense conjugation – *бежи́шь*, *бежи́те* – but the first singular and third plural rely on an allostem {CVC^0-|e|-}: *бегу́*, *бегу́т*. *Хотéть* 'want' has a singular in |e| with *C^J* throughout (*хочу́*, *хóчешь*); the plural has the thematic vowel |i|, implying *C^I* (*хоти́м, хоти́те, хотя́т*).

3.2.9 Secondary imperfectivization

While derivational processes in general are not treated here, it is nevertheless useful to illustrate the patterns of suffixation used to make secondary imperfectives from prefixed perfectives (see Table 3.9, following the verb classes of Table 3.3). There are different suffixes. All imperfectivizing suffixes put the resulting verbs in the class of {-a- : -aj-|e|}.

Simplest and oldest is plain {-a- : -aj-|e|}, which was used in the oldest layer of derivation, old unprefixed pairs (*лишúть*/*лишáть* 'deprive'; *решúть*/*решáть* 'decide', *брóсить*/*бросáть* 'throw'). It is still used with many ɪ-Conjugation verbs, with which it now implies C^J (-*прáвить*-*правлять* 'direct'). For this class of verbs, this older option is in competition with the more recent and productive strategy (see below). This suffix, with C^0, is used by obstruent stems (-*пéчь*/-*пекáть* 'bake'; -*жáть*/-*жимáть* 'squeeze').

A variant with a preceding [v] – that is, {-va- : -vaj-|e|} – is used when the perfective stem ends in a vowel: with {CVC-e- : CVC-ej-|e|} (-*потéть*/-*потевáть*) and with asuffixal verbs (-*бúть*/-*бивáть*; -*дýть*/-*дувáть*; -*дáть*/-*давáть*). A variant is {CC-eva- : CC-evaj-|e|}, for the few roots of the shape {CC-i- : CC-|i|}: *затмúть*/ *затмевáть* 'eclipse'.

The newest and most productive strategy, which yields derived verbs of the type {-iva- : -ivaj-|e|}, is applied to: ɪ-Conjugation verbs (-*молотúть*/-*молáчивать* 'thresh'), with a vowel alternation and (usually) C^J grade in the root-final conso-nant; verbs of the type {CVC-a- : CVC^J-|e|}, with C^0 maintained (-*писáть*/-*пúсывать* 'write'); verbs of the type {CVC-a- : CVC-aj-|e|}, with C^0 maintained (-*дéлать*/ -*дéлывать* 'do); and perhaps semelfactives of the form {CVC-nu- : CVC-n-|e|} (*хлóпнуть*/-*хлóпывать* 'clap'). In these cases the original conjugational suffix dis-appears (although with {CVC-i : CVC-|i|} the suffix leaves a trace in the muta-tion to C^J). This suffix is applied to {CVC-ová- : CVC-új-|e|} verbs, when it gives {-óv-iva- : -óv-ivaj-|e|} (-*торговáть*/-*торгóвывать* 'trade'). In this instance, the orig-inal conjugational suffix remains.

3.3 Declension of pronouns

3.3.1 Personal pronouns

The declension of personal pronouns (first, second, and reflexive) and of inter-rogative pronouns is idiosyncratic in various respects (see Table 3.10).

The reflexive pronoun declines like the second singular pronoun, except for the fact that it does not have a nominative form. All personal pronouns and the animate interrogative *ктó* use the genitive form for the accusative (§§3.6.1, 4.1.6); the inanimate interrogative *чтó* does not. The instrumentals *мнóй*, *тобóй*, *собóй* allow a variant with {-u} (*мнóю*, etc.) in the formal register, if the pronoun is prosodically autonomous, for example as a predicate argument ([3]) or the agent of a passive ([4]):

[3]   Скука все больше овладевала мною<INS>.
       Boredom ever more took hold of me.

Table 3.10 *Declension of personal and interrogative pronouns*

	1SG	2SG	RFL	1PL	2PL	INTG AN	INTG IN
NOM	я́	ты́	—	мы́	вы́	кто́	что́
ACC	=GEN	=GEN	=GEN	=GEN	=GEN	=GEN	=NOM
GEN	меня́	тебя́	себя́	на́с	ва́с	кого́	чего́
DAT	мне́	тебе́	себе́	на́м	ва́м	кому́	чему́
LOC	мне́	тебе́	себе́	на́с	ва́с	ко́м	чём
INS	мно́й	тобо́й	собо́й	на́ми	ва́ми	ке́м	чём

Table 3.11 *Third-person pronouns*

	MSC	MSC=NT	NT	FEM	PL
NOM	о́н		оно́	она́	они́
ACC		=GEN		=GEN	=GEN
GEN		его́ ~ него́		её ~ неё (ней)	и́х~ ни́х
DAT		ему́ ~ нему́		е́й ~ не́й	и́м ~ ни́м
LOC	нём			не́й	ни́х
INS		и́м ~ ни́м		е́й ~ е́ю ~ не́ю ~ не́й	и́ми ~ ни́ми

[4] Так мною_{\<INS\>} решалась задача.

Так мною<INS> решалась задача.

That is how the problem used to get solved by me.

3.3.2 Third-person pronouns

Third-person pronouns, which by origin are demonstratives, distinguish gender, and have a declension similar to that of demonstratives (§3.3.3).

Like personal pronouns, third-person pronouns always express the accusative by using the genitive (or "animate") form, even when they do not refer to animates (§4.1.6). Third-person pronouns occur with a preceding linking consonant «н» when they are governed by a preposition. The feminine instrumental form allows a somewhat old-fashioned variant *не́ю* with prepositions, which occurs more frequently than *мно́ю*:[14]

[5] Он скрылся с нею<INS>.

He disappeared with her.

[6] Между нею<INS> и мной возникла большая дружба.

Between her and me there arose a close friendship.

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[14] Zalizniak 1977[a]:65. In text counts in the conservative usage of memoirist S. Golitsyn (*Zapiski utselevshego* [Moscow, 1990]), *нею* was actually more frequent, by 29 xx to *ней* 27 xx, with *перед*, *с*, *над*, *под*. In the Uppsala Corpus, *ней* predominated over *нею* with these prepositions (*ней* 157 xx/191 xx = 82%). On www.lib.ru <15.IX.02>, *ней* with these prepositions occurred 80 percent of the time (*ней* 23,144 xx / 28,795 xx total).

Table 3.12 *Declension of* э́тот, то́т

	MSC	MSC=NT	NT	FEM	PL
NOM	э́тот ∼ то́т		э́то ∼ то́	э́та ∼ та́	э́ти ∼ те́
ACC	=NOM$_{<IN>}$ ∼ GEN$_{<AN>}$		=NOM	э́ту ∼ ту́	=NOM$_{<IN>}$ ∼ GEN$_{<AN>}$
GEN		э́того ∼ того́		э́той ∼ то́й	э́тих∼ те́х
DAT		э́тому ∼ тому́		э́той ∼ то́й	э́тим ∼ те́м
LOC		э́том ∼ то́м		э́той ∼ то́й	э́тих∼ те́х
INS		э́тим ∼ те́м		э́той ∼ то́й	э́тими ∼ те́ми

Table 3.13 *Declension of* како́й (тако́й)

	MSC	MSC=NT	NT	FEM	PL
NOM	како́й		како́е	кака́я	каки́е
ACC	=NOM$_{<IN>}$ ∼ GEN$_{<AN>}$		=NOM	каку́ю	=NOM$_{<IN>}$ ∼ GEN$_{<AN>}$
GEN		како́го		како́й	каки́х
DAT		како́му		како́й	каки́м
LOC		како́м		како́й	каки́х
INS		каки́м		како́й	каки́ми

In informal Russian *y не́й* is possible instead of *y неё* when it has weak stress ([7]):[15]

[7]   Лицо́ *y ней* бы́ло порази́тельной красоты́.
       That face of hers was of astounding beauty.

3.3.3 Determiners (demonstrative, possessive, adjectival pronouns)

Determiners, like adjectives, agree with a modified noun in gender–number and case. The declensions of the two demonstratives, proximate *э́тот* and distal *то́т* (Table 3.12) are similar, except for the vowel of the ending in the instrumental singular and the plural. Determiners express animacy depending on the reference of the noun they modify (or refer to). If the noun is animate and either masculine singular or plural of any gender, the demonstrative uses the genitive form for the accusative. These demonstratives and all other elements with adjectival declension allow an archaic variant with an extra syllable in the instrumental feminine singular: *э́тою*.

Тако́й 'such' and *како́й* 'what kind of' have purely adjectival declension (§3.5.1).

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[15] In Golitsyn and the Uppsala Corpus, there was a total of 313 xx *y нее* against 6 xx *y ней*, or 98 percent. On www.lib.ru <15.IX.02>, *y нее* occurred 95 percent of the time (*y нее* 14,600 xx / 15,386 xx total).

Table 3.14 *Declension of нéкий*

	MSC	MSC=NT	NT	FEM	PL
NOM	нéкий		нéкое	нéкая	нéкие
ACC	=NOM$_{<IN>}$ ∼		=NOM	нéкую	=NOM$_{<IN>}$ ∼
	GEN$_{<AN>}$				GEN$_{<AN>}$
GEN		(°нéкого) нéкоего		нéкой ∼ нéкоей	нéких (†нéкоих)
DAT		(°нéкому) нéкоему		нéкой ∼ нéкоей	нéким (†нéкоим)
LOC		(°нéком) нéкоем		нéкой ∼ нéкоей	нéких (†нéкоих)
INS		нéким (†нéкоим)		нéкой ∼ нéкоей	нéкими (†нéкоими)

° = innovative, not standard
† = archaic

Table 3.15 *Declension of нáш (вáш), твóй (мóй, свóй)*

	MSC	MSC=NT	NT	FEM	PL
NOM	нáш ∼ твóй		нáше ∼ твоё	нáша ∼ твоя́	нáши ∼ твои́
ACC	=NOM$_{<IN>}$ ∼		=NOM	нáшу ∼ твою́	=NOM$_{<IN>}$ ∼
	GEN$_{<AN>}$				GEN$_{<AN>}$
GEN		нáшего ∼ твоегó		нáшей ∼ твоéй	нáших ∼ твои́х
DAT		нáшему ∼ твоемý		нáшей ∼ твоéй	нáшим ∼ твои́м
LOC		нáшем ∼ твоём		нáшей ∼ твоéй	нáших ∼ твои́х
INS		нáшим ∼ твои́м		нáшей ∼ твоéй	нáшими ∼ твои́ми

The indefinite existential adjective *нéкий*, stylistically old-fashioned, has a declension containing some archaisms (e.g., MSC GEN SG *нéкоего*) alongside adaptations to a more productive pattern of declension (e.g., LOC PL *нéких* for older *нéкоих*).

The elaborated demonstratives *э́дакий*, *э́такий* 'such a' decline just like any adjective whose stem ends in the consonant [k] (*грóмкий* 'loud').

3.3.4 Possessive adjectives: 1SG *мой*, 2SG *твой*, 1PL *наш*, 2PL *ваш*, reflexive *свой*, interrogative *чей*

Possessive adjectives of personal pronouns – 1SG *мóй*, 2SG *твóй*, 1PL *нáш*, 2PL *вáш*, reflexive *свóй* – decline in a fashion similar to *э́тот* (Table 3.15). *Вáш* declines like *нáш*, *мóй* and *свóй* like *твóй*. To express possession by a third person, Russian uses the etymological genitive forms of the third-person pronoun MSC=NT *егó*, FEM *её*, PL *úх*, invariant forms that do not agree in gender–number and case with the modified noun. (The true adjective *úхний* is substandard.) There are some differences between *егó*, *её*, *úх* used as genitives and used as possessives. As possessives, *егó*, *её*, *úх* do not elicit the ligature {n} after prepositions:

Table 3.16 *Declension of чéй*

	MSC	MSC=NT	NT	FEM	PL
NOM	чéй		чьё	чья́	чьи́
ACC	=NOM_{<IN>} ∼ GEN_{<AN>}		=NOM	чью	=NOM_{<IN>} ∼ GEN_{<AN>}
GEN		чьегó		чьéй	чьи́х
DAT		чьемý		чьéй	чьи́м
LOC		чьём		чьéй	чьи́х
INS		чьи́м		чьéй	чьи́ми

Table 3.17 *Declension of вéсь, сéй*

	MSC	MSC=NT	NT	FEM	PL
NOM	вéсь ∼ сéй		всё ∼ сиé	вся́ ∼ сия́	всé ∼ сий
ACC	=NOM_{<IN>} ∼ GEN_{<AN>}		=NOM	всю ∼ сию́	=NOM_{<IN>} ∼ GEN_{<AN>}
GEN		всегó ∼ сегó		всéй ∼ сéй	всéх∼ си́х
DAT		всемý ∼ семý		всéй ∼ сéй	всéм ∼ си́м
LOC		всём ∼ сём		всéй ∼ сéй	всéх ∼ си́х
INS		всéм ∼ си́м		всéй ∼ сéй	всéми ∼ си́ми

Table 3.18 *Declension of сáм*

	MSC	MSC=NT	NT	FEM	PL
NOM	сáм		самó	самá	сáми
ACC	=NOM_{<IN>} ∼ GEN_{<AN>}		=NOM	самý (†самоё)	=NOM_{<IN>} ∼ GEN_{<AN>}
GEN		самогó		самóй	сами́х
DAT		самомý		самóй	сами́м
LOC		самóм		самóй	сами́х
INS		сами́м		самóй	сами́ми

† = archaic

в и́х кóмнате 'in their room' but *в ни́х* 'inside them', *от егó окружéния* 'from its surroundings' but *от негó* 'from it'. In event nominals, for arguments analogous to subjects of intransitive predicates, only possessives, not true genitive pronouns, are possible: {*её ∼ нáш*} *прихóд* '{her ∼ our} arrival', *о* {*егó ∼ моём*} *отчáянии* 'about {his ∼ my} despair' but not *прихóд меня́, *отчáяние меня́. The fact that *егó, её, и́х* are used here suggests that they are analogous to possessive adjectives. The interrogative (relative, indefinite) possessive *чéй* 'whose' has a declension similar to the demonstratives (Table 3.16).

Table 3.19 *Declension of один*

	MSC	MSC=NT	NT	FEM	PL
NOM	оди́н		одно́	одна́	одни́
ACC	=NOM$_{<IN>}$ ∼ GEN$_{<AN>}$		=NOM	одну́	=NOM$_{<IN>}$ ∼ GEN$_{<AN>}$
GEN		одного́		одно́й	одни́х
DAT		одному́		одно́й	одни́м
LOC		одно́м		одно́й	одни́х
INS		одни́м		одно́й	одни́ми

Table 3.20 *Numeral paradigms*

	ORDINARY	PAUCAL	COMPOUND DECADE	COMPOUND HUNDRED	ROUND	COLLECTIVE
NOM	пя́ть	три́	пятьдеся́т	три́ста	сто́	дво́е
ACC	=NOM	=NOM$_{<IN>}$ ∼ GEN$_{<AN>}$	=NOM	=NOM	=NOM	=NOM$_{<IN>}$ ∼ GEN$_{<AN>}$
GEN	пяти́	трёх	пяти́десяти	трёхсо́т	ста́	двои́х
DAT	пяти́	трём	пяти́десяти	трёмста́м	ста́	двои́м
LOC	пяти́	трёх	пяти́десяти	трёхста́х	ста́	двои́х
INS	пятью́	тремя́	пятью́десятью	тремяста́ми*	ста́	двои́ми

*Тремяста́ми is cited with single stress, *трёхста́х* and others with two stresses.

3.3.5 Declension of *весь, сам, один*

Ве́сь 'all' and the old-fashioned demonstrative *се́й* have a basically demonstrative declension, with soft stems (Table 3.17). The emphatic adjective *са́м* (Table 3.18) and the adjectival numeral *оди́н* (Table 3.19) also have demonstrative declension.

3.4 Quantifiers

Quantifiers include cardinal numerals, collectives, and approximate pronominal quantifiers (e.g., *сто́лько* 'so many'). Some are declined like nouns, some like demonstratives (see Table 3.20). Ordinals, which decline as ordinary adjectives (except *тре́тий*), will be given for reference in parentheses in the discussion below.

Paucal numerals: Paucals, comprising MSC=NT *два́*, FEM *две́* 'two', *три́* 'three', and *четы́ре* 'four', use the case endings of plural adjectives, merging genitive and locative, but have idiosyncratic stems: *дву-, трё-, четырё-* (but INS *четырьмя́*). Ordinals are *второ́й* 'second' (different stem, ordinary declension), *тре́тий*

'third' (mixed adjectival declension: Table 3.26), *четвёртый* 'fourth' (ordinary declension).

Single digits, teens: Many numerals decline like singular nouns in Declension_{<IIIA>}. 'Five' through 'nine' stress the ending in the oblique cases, including in the instrumental *пять* (ordinal *пя́тый*) 'five', *шесть* (*шесто́й*) 'six', *се́мь* (*седьмо́й*) 'seven', *во́семь*, GEN=DAT=LOC *восьми́*, but INS *во́семью* (with the null vowel restored) ∼ *восьмью́* (the latter 11% on www.libr.ru <15.IX.02>) (*восьмо́й*) 'eight', and *де́вять* (*девя́тый*) 'nine'. 'Eleven' through 'nineteen', historically compounds, have this declension with fixed stem stress: *оди́ннадцать* (*оди́ннадцатый*) 'eleven', *двена́дцать* (*двена́дцатый*) 'twelve' *трина́дцать* (*трина́дцатый*) 'thirteen', *четы́рнадцать* (*четы́рнадцатый*) 'fourteen', *пятна́дцать* (*пятна́дцатый*) 'fifteen', *шестна́дцать* (*шестна́дцатый*) 'sixteen', *семна́дцать* (*семна́дцатый*) 'seventeen', *восемна́дцать* (*восемна́дцатый*) 'eighteen', *девятна́дцать* (*девятна́дцатый*) 'nineteen'.

Decades: The first three decades have the pattern of *пя́ть*, also with end stress, *де́сять* (*деся́тый*) 'ten', *десяти́*_{<GEN=DAT=LOC>}, *десятью́*_{<INS>}, *два́дцать* (*двадца́тый*) 'twenty', *двадцати́*_{<GEN=DAT=LOC>}, *три́дцать* (*тридца́тый*) 'thirty', *тридцати́*_{<GEN=DAT=LOC>}. The decades from 'fifty' through 'eighty', as compounds, decline both parts like nouns of Declension_{<IIIA>}: *пятьдеся́т* (*пятидеся́тый*) 'fifty', *пяти́десяти*_{<GEN=DAT=LOC>}, *шестьдеся́т* (*шестидеся́тый*) 'sixty', *се́мьдесят* (*семидеся́тый*) 'seventy', *во́семьдесят* (*восьмидеся́тый*) 'eighty' (INS *восемью́десятью* ∼ *восьмью́десятью*). The decade component ends in a hard consonant in the nominative. In standard Russian, both parts should have a distinctively instrumental form (*пятью́десятью*), but the form is sometimes partially analogized to the other oblique forms in the unedited Russian of the web, on the order of 10 percent (low 5% *восьмидесятью*, high 13% *семидесятью* <15.IX.02>).

Round: Certain "round" numerals have a minimal declension, with one form for the nominative and accusative, another for the remaining cases: NOM=ACC *сто́*, GEN=DAT=LOC=INS *ста́* 'hundred', *со́рок*, *сорока́* 'forty', *девяно́сто*, *девяно́ста* 'ninety', and *полтора́ста*, GEN=DAT=LOC=INS *полу́тораста* 'a hundred and a half', the last two being etymologically derived from *сто́*. 'One and a half' has the same pattern, though additionally the nominative distinguishes gender, like the paucal 'two' (MSC=NT NOM=ACC *полтора́*, FEM NOM=ACC *полторы́*, GEN=DAT=LOC=INS *полу́тора*).

Hundreds: The hundreds other than *сто́* itself – *две́сти* 'two hundred', *три́ста* 'three hundred', *четы́реста* 'four hundred', *пятьсо́т* 'five hundred', *шестьсо́т* 'six

hundred', *семьсо́т* 'seven hundred', *восемьсо́т* 'eight hundred', *девятьсо́т* 'nine hundred' – are compounds which should decline both parts. The oblique forms of the low hundreds in less-than-standard Russian sometimes use forms analogically based on the genitive; [8–11] were attested on the web <20.XII.01> with substandard forms (marked "§").

[8] Число пострадавших прибизилось к двумста́м_{<DAT>} (§двухстам_{<DAT>}).
The number of victims approached two hundred.

[9] Мы говорили о двухста́х_{<LOC>} (§двухсот_{<GEN=LOC>}) нахско-германских лексических парралелях.
We remarked on two hundred Nakh-Germanic lexical parallels.

[10] Мэйлер может работать с более чем двумяста́ми_{<INS>} (§двухстами_{<INS>}) модемами.
The mailer program can work with more than two hundred modems.

[11] Это было не трудно, но для Вульфа, с его тремяста́ми_{<INS>} восьмьюдесятью_{<INS>} (§трехстами_{<INS>} восьмидесятью_{<INS>}) фунтами, <. . .>
That was not difficult, but for Wolf, with his three hundred eighty pounds, <. . .>

The ordinals of the hundreds are built from genitives: *трёхсо́тый* 'three hundredth', *шестисо́тый* 'six hundredth', etc.

Collectives: Collective numerals (*дво́е* 'twosome', *тро́е* 'threesome', *че́тверо* 'foursome') have a plural adjectival declension in oblique cases: GEN=LOC *четверы́х*, DAT *четверы́м,* INS *четверы́ми.*

Pronominal approximates: Approximates such as *ско́лько* 'how many' follow the declensional strategy of collectives: GEN=LOC *ско́льких*, DAT *ско́льким*, INS *ско́лькими.* 'Both', which distinguishes gender throughout, declines in this fashion (MSC=NT NOM=ACC *о́ба*, GEN *обо́их*; FEM NOM *о́бе*, FEM GEN *обе́их,* and so on).

Ты́сяча 'thousand' and *миллио́н* 'million' decline like ordinary nouns. *Ты́сяча* has two instrumental forms, nominal *ты́сячей* and numeral-like *ты́сячью* (§4.3.4).

3.5 Adjectives

3.5.1 Adjectives

Long ago, adjectives had a "short" declensional ending identical to those of substantives; the "long" forms are an innovation. The process of replacing short forms by long forms has been a gradual one, extending over a thousand years.

Table 3.21 *Declension of adjectives: кра́сный 'beautiful', да́льний 'far'*

	MSC	MSC=NT	NT	FEM	PL
NOM	кра́сный		кра́сное	кра́сная	кра́сные
ACC	=NOM$_{<\text{IN}>}$ ∼ GEN$_{<\text{AN}>}$		=NOM	кра́сную	=NOM$_{<\text{IN}>}$ ∼ GEN$_{<\text{AN}>}$
GEN		кра́сного		кра́сной	кра́сных
DAT		кра́сному		кра́сной	кра́сным
LOC		кра́сном		кра́сной	кра́сных
INS		кра́сным		кра́сной	кра́сными

	MSC	MSC=NT	NT	FEM	PL
NOM	да́льний		да́льнее	да́льняя	да́льние
ACC	=NOM$_{<\text{IN}>}$ ∼ GEN$_{<\text{AN}>}$		=NOM	да́льнюю	=NOM$_{<\text{IN}>}$ ∼ GEN$_{<\text{AN}>}$
GEN		да́льнего		да́льней	да́льних
DAT		да́льнему		да́льней	да́льним
LOC		да́льнем		да́льней	да́льних
INS		да́льним		да́льней	да́льними

By the nineteenth century, the long forms had won out in all contexts except the strictly predicative context, the only context in which the original nominal "short" forms are still preserved (see §5.2).

Long-form adjectives decline like demonstratives, except that adjectives have heavy (*VC* or *VCV*) endings in the nominative and accusative. Adjectives can have either hard stems (Table 3.21, *кра́сный* 'red') or soft stems (Table 3.21, *да́льний* 'far'). Soft-stem adjectives differ from hard-stem adjectives only in the spelling of vowel letters. In certain adjectives the first or only vowel of the endings is stressed in all forms, as in MSC GEN SG *молодо́го* 'young', GEN=LOC PL *молоды́х*, etc.; if so, the MSC NOM SG form is *-о́й*: MSC NOM SG *молодо́й*. There is no distinction of gender in the plural declension of adjectives. Animacy is expressed in the masculine singular and in the plural, by using the genitive form for the accusative (§4.1.6). Adjectives and participles allow an archaic, poetic instrumental form: FEM INS SG *кра́сною*, *да́льнею*, *уда́ршею*.

Participles are declined as adjectives. Participles are formed using certain characteristic consonants – «щ» in the present tense and «ш» in the past tense – and have the appropriate spellings of vowel letters after these consonants: «и» not «ы», «е» not «о», «у» and «а».

In participles, reflexive verbs use the full syllable of the reflexive affix, both after consonants (MSC=NT INS SG *отдаю́щимся* 'surrendering to', FEM INS SG *уда́ршейся* 'having bumped against') and after vowels (MSC=NT GEN SG *отдаю́щегося*, *уда́ршегося*).

Table 3.22 *Declension of participles:* отдаю́щий 'giving away', уда́ривший 'having hit'

	MSC	MSC=NT	NT	FEM	PL
NOM	отдаю́щий		отдаю́щее	отдаю́щая	отдаю́щие
ACC	=NOM_{<IN>} ~		=NOM	отдаю́щую	=NOM_{<IN>} ~
	GEN_{<AN>}				GEN_{<AN>}
GEN		отдаю́щего		отдаю́щей	отдаю́щих
DAT		отдаю́щему		отдаю́щей	отдаю́щим
LOC		отдаю́щем		отдаю́щей	отдаю́щих
INS		отдаю́щим		отдаю́щей	отдаю́щими

	MSC	MSC=NT	NT	FEM	PL
NOM	уда́ривший		уда́рившее	уда́рившая	уда́рившие
ACC	=NOM_{<IN>} ~		=NOM	уда́рившую	=NOM_{<IN>} ~
	GEN_{<AN>}				GEN_{<AN>}
GEN		уда́рившего		уда́рившей	уда́рившихь
DAT		уда́рившему		уда́рившей	уда́рившим
LOC		уда́рившем		уда́рившей	уда́ривших
INS		уда́рившим		уда́рившей	уда́рившими

3.5.2 Predicative ("short") adjectives

The short-form adjectives, which were originally nominative case forms identical to those of nouns, have no ending in the masculine singular (or {-∅}), {-o} in the neuter singular, {-a} in the feminine, and {-i} in the plural (spelled «ы» with hard stems). Many adjectives were suffixed. Productive suffixes were *ьn > {-n-} and *ъk > {-k-}. The jer of these suffixes would have been lost in all forms except the masculine nominative singular, when the jer was vocalized. The synchronic result is that the masculine nominative singular of short adjectives takes full-grade vocalism. The suffix {-k-} usually takes <o> and leaves the consonant unaffected (C^0 grade): *у́зок*, *кре́пок* (but *го́рький* 'bitter', *го́рек*). The suffix {-n-}, by virtue of its *ь, once palatalized the preceding consonant. The earlier C^I that resulted is still visible in, for example, MSC SG short *ду́рен* 'bad', *тёмен* 'dark', or, under stress, *умён*. However, since all paired consonants except *l have lost palatalization before the [n], the consonants are no longer palatalized in other forms (the restricted $C^{I\alpha}$ grade): *дурно́й*, *тёмный*, though [l�] is maintained, *де́льный* 'effective'.

The small number of stems that ended in an etymological cluster CR have been under pressure to develop an anaptyctic vowel in the masculine singular short (nominative) form, when no vowel follows the cluster. Some develop full-grade vocalism: *по́лон* 'full', *свёте́л* 'light', *чёрен* 'dark', *хитёр* 'clever', while *остёр* ~ *о́стр*

Table 3.23 *Stress in short-form adjectives*

	{ℛ}	{ℛℳ}	{ℳ}	{ℳ(𝓔)}	{ℳ𝓔}	{(ℳ)𝓔}	{𝓔}
	уютный	бурный	ладный	грязный	красный	свежий	умный
	'comfortable'	'stormy'	'harmonious'	'dirty'	'beautiful'	'fresh'	'intelligent'
MSC	уютен	бурен	ладен	грязен	красен	свеж	умён
NT	уютно	бурно	ладно	грязно	красно́	свежо́	умно́
PL	уютны	бурны	ладны	грязны	красны́	свежи́	умны́
FEM	уютна	бурна́	ладна́	грязна́	красна́	свежа́	умна́

{𝒳𝒴} = historically mixed type combining paradigm 𝒳 and paradigm 𝒴
{(𝒳)𝒴} = historically mixed type combining paradigm 𝒳 and paradigm 𝒴, contribution of 𝒳
  less prominent
á . . . ы́ (etc.) = alternate stresses

'sharp' and *шустёр* ∼ *шустр* 'bright, sharp' have variation. *Пёстрый* 'variegated'
maintains the cluster (*пёстр*).

Passive participles have a single [n] in short forms (*унесён*, *унесена́*) but double
[nn] in long forms (*унесённый*). In certain adjectives there is a double conso-
nant in long forms, which is retained in the short forms: *искренний* 'genuine',
MSC SG *искренен*, FEM SG *искренна*, NT SG *искренне* ∼ *искренно*, PL *искренни* ∼
искренны; *самоуве́ренный* 'self-confident', FEM *самоуве́ренна*, NT *-енно*, PL *-енны*
(though MSC SG *самоуве́рен*). Both consonants are kept if the adjective derives
from a noun ending in [n]: *разносторо́нний* 'many-sided', MSC *разносторо́нен*, FEM
разносторо́ння (*сторона́* 'side').

Most soft-stem adjectives are originally suffixed, like *разносторо́нний* or
да́льний. They have a hard [n] in the masculine: *бескра́ен* 'limitless' (<*бескра́йний*).
The rare unsuffixed soft-stem adjective *си́ний* keeps C¹, *синь* 'blue'.

In the vast majority of adjectives, the root is stressed and remains so in all
short forms. In a limited number of adjectives, the ending of some short forms
can be stressed (Table 3.23).[16]

There are three old patterns – stem-stressed {ℛ}, mobile {ℳ} (stress on the
ending only in the feminine), and end-stressed {𝓔} – and some innovative tran-
sitional patterns, in which end stress is more likely in the feminine than in the
plural and neuter. The masculine forms are somewhat independent. It is diffi-
cult to predict what stable patterns will result from this gradation of patterns.
After {ℛ}, which is by far the predominant pattern, only {(ℳ)𝓔}, a transitional
pattern, has any noticeable frequency, the other patterns being residual.

[16] Zalizniak 1977[a]:33, 59–60, though with different ordering and notation; also *SRIa* 1.59–60.

Table 3.24 *Mixed declension of possessive surnames*

	MSC	FEM	PL
NOM	Карамзи́н	Карамзина́	Карамзины́
ACC	=GEN	Карамзину́	=GEN
GEN	Карамзина́	Карамзино́й	Карамзины́х
DAT	Карамзину́	Карамзино́й	Карамзины́м
LOC	Карамзине́	Карамзино́й	Карамзины́х
INS	Карамзины́м	Карамзино́й	Карамзины́ми

3.5.3 Mixed adjectives and surnames

In the change from an original nominal inflection to a distinctively adjectival declension, the heavy, adjectival endings have been adopted according to the order: instrumental ≥ locative ≥ dative, genitive ≥ accusative ≥ nominative. Surnames and possessive adjectives have paused at different points along this process.

Surnames are commonly derived from the possessive adjectives with the suffixes {-ov-} or {-in-}. These still have nominal endings throughout the singular of the masculine, except in the instrumental, which has an adjectival ("long") ending; the feminine forms of names have adjectival endings in all singular oblique cases. In the plural, only the nominative retains the nominal ending (Table 3.24).

Possessive adjectives in {-ov-} (from nouns of Declension$_{<IA>}$), as in Table 3.25 *отцо́в* 'father's', which are restricted in the contemporary language – they are characterized as "little used"[17] – differ from surnames by having the adjectival ending additionally in the locative singular masculine. Possessive adjectives in {-in}, which are derived from both feminine and masculine nouns of Declension$_{<II>}$ and are used frequently, have taken a further step towards adjectival endings in the masculine-neuter genitive and dative singular, which (except for fixed expressions) now use adjectival endings: *к ма́миному*$_{<NT\ DAT\ SG>}$ (**ма́мину*) *зе́ркалу* 'to mama's mirror'.

The ordinal *тре́тий* and generic possessive adjectives (*ли́сий* 'of a fox', *медве́жий* 'of a bear') likewise have mixed declension, with the same distribution of nominal and adjectival endings as possessives in {-in} (Table 3.26).

3.5.4 Comparatives and superlatives

Adjectives form a synthetic comparative and an analytic comparative.

[17] Zalizniak 1977[a]:63.

Table 3.25 *Mixed declension:* отцо́в *'father's',* ма́мин *'mother's'*

	MSC	MSC=NT	NT	FEM	PL
NOM	(отцо́в)		(отцо́во)	(отцо́ва)	(отцо́вы)
	ма́мин		ма́мино	ма́мина	ма́мины
ACC	=NOM$_{<IN>}$ ~		=NOM	(отцо́ву)	=NOM$_{<IN>}$ ~
	GEN$_{<AN>}$			ма́мину	GEN$_{<AN>}$
GEN		(отцо́ва)		(отцо́вой)	(отцо́вых)
		ма́миного		ма́миной	ма́миных
DAT		(отцо́ву)		(отцо́вой)	(отцо́вым)
		ма́миному		ма́миной	ма́миным
LOC		(отцо́вом)		(отцо́вой)	(отцо́вых)
		ма́мином		ма́миной	ма́миных
INS		(отцо́вым)		(отцо́вой)	(отцо́выми)
		ма́миным		ма́миной	ма́миными

Table 3.26 *Mixed declension:* ли́сий *'of foxes',* тре́тий *'third'*

	MSC	MSC=NT	NT	FEM	PL
NOM	ли́сий		ли́сье	ли́сья	ли́сьи
	тре́тий		тре́тье	тре́тья	тре́тьи
ACC	=NOM$_{<IN>}$ ~		=NOM	ли́сью	=NOM$_{<IN>}$ ~
	GEN$_{<AN>}$			тре́тью	GEN$_{<AN>}$
GEN		ли́сьего		ли́сьей	ли́сьих
		тре́тьего		тре́тьей	тре́тьих
DAT		ли́сьему		ли́сьей	ли́сьим
		тре́тьему		тре́тьей	тре́тьим
LOC		ли́сьем		ли́сьей	ли́сьих
		тре́тьем		тре́тьей	тре́тьих
INS		ли́сьим		ли́сьей	ли́сьими
		тре́тьим		тре́тьей	тре́тьими

The analytic comparative is formed by modifying the usual form of the adjective by the adverb *бо́лее*. The adjective reflects the gender, case, and number of the noun it modifies.

The synthetic comparative is invariant; for a given adjective, a single form is used for all genders and numbers and cases. Synthetic comparatives, which are effectively short-form adjectives, are not used freely in all argument positions (§4.4.7). The synthetic comparative is formed regularly by suffixing -*ee* to the stem of the adjective; in speech, it has long been pronounced -*ей*. This originally colloquial variant is often written. Stress usually falls on the stem syllable of the adjective, though the suffix is stressed in certain adjectives: *желте́е* 'more

Table 3.27 *Irregular synthetic comparatives*

consonant	positive	comparative
{k g x} ~ {č š ž}	го́рький 'bitter', лёгкий 'light', ло́вкий 'agile', жесто́кий 'cruel', чёткий 'precise', дорого́й 'expensive'	го́рче, ле́гче, ло́вче (ловчѐе), жесто́че, чётче, доро́же
{t d} ~ {č ž}	бога́тый 'rich', га́дкий 'vile', жи́дкий 'fatty', коро́ткий 'short', ни́зкий 'low', ре́дкий 'rare'	бога́че, га́же, жи́же, коро́че, ни́же, ре́же
{s z} ~ {š ž}	высо́кий 'high', бли́зкий 'near', у́зкий 'narrow'	вы́ше, бли́же, у́же
{st sk} ~ {šʸ}	густо́й 'thick', пло́ский 'flat', сла́дкий 'sweet'	гу́ще, пло́ще, сла́ще
{P} ~ {Pʲ}	дешёвый 'cheap'	деше́вле
? ~ {-še}/{-že}	глубо́кий 'deep', далёкий 'far', до́лгий 'long', то́нкий 'fine'	глу́бже, да́льше, до́льше, то́ньше
unpredictable	ма́ленький 'small', широ́кий 'wide', хоро́ший 'good'	ме́ньше, ши́ре, лу́чше

yellow' (22% *желтѐй* on the web <04.XI.02>), *пустѐе* 'emptier' (29% *пустѐй*), *лютѐе* 'wilder', *сытѐе* 'more satisfied', *святѐе* 'holier'.

Certain frequent adjectives use an older, more irregular form of the comparative in {-e}, implying a modified consonant grade *C^J*. The stem can be shortened, by eliminating what were very old suffixes. In some instances the comparative suffix adds its own consonant, {-še} or {-že}. There are also unpredictable relations and instances of suppletion among the most frequent and familiar words: *ху́же* 'worse' is isolated (though it derives etymologically from *худо́й* 'thin, meager'); *лу́чше* 'better' is used as the comparative of *хоро́ший* 'good'; *бо́льший* 'greater', unusually for a comparative, is used as a long form in all cases (note the difference in stress: *большо́й* 'large').

The superlative is formed by combining the adjective *са́мый* with the positive of the adjective: *он слыл **самым** популярным адвокатом* 'he was reputed to be the most popular lawyer', *те дни были **самыми** счастливыми* 'those days were the happiest'.

The bookish prefix *наи-* combines with the comparative of irregular adjectives (*наивы́сший* 'highest', *наилу́чший* 'very best') or an extension of the comparative of regular adjectives (*наибе́днейший* 'the very poorest'). The derivative expresses an extreme degree of the adjective or adverb. It is now infrequent except in the most common adjectives: *наивысшие урожаи* 'the very highest harvests', *наилучшим образом* 'in the very best manner', *в наименьшей степени* 'to the very least degree', *наипервейшее дело* 'the very first priority', *Я готов за малую плату создать*

вам отличный, **наикрасивейший,** *а самое главное – интерактивный сайт!* 'I am prepared to create for you an outstanding, exceptionally beautiful, and, most importantly, interactive site for a modest price!' Even for such adjectives, it is more common to use the adverb *наибо́лее* with the adjective: *наиболее важные вопросы* 'the very most important questions', *наиболее высокая насыщенность* 'the very highest concentration'.

3.6 Declension of nouns

3.6.1 Categories and declension classes of nouns

Most nouns decline, and express distinctions of case and number. Nouns that decline express two numbers and six basic cases,[18] though no declension distinguishes all of the twelve logically possible forms.

The same markers of number and case are not used uniformly by all nouns. Rather, there is a set of patterns, or declensions, and each noun is assigned to one such class. Declensional classes then partition the lexicon of nouns, and might be termed MORPHOLOGICAL GENDER. Declensional classes are more clearly distinguished in the singular than in the plural; in the plural, the endings for the oblique cases of the dative, locative, and instrumental are the same for all nouns. In the nominative, accusative, genitive plural, each declension class has its preferred endings used by the majority of nouns of a class, but these are preferences, not absolutes. There are three large classes, or declensions. Declension$_{<I>}$ has two subclasses (Declension$_{<IA>}$ and Declension$_{<IB>}$).[19]

The number of a noun is reflected by agreement in an attributive adjective and, if the noun is the subject, in the number of the finite verb. At the same time, adjectives and verbs in the past tense express another property of nouns. Nouns are partitioned into three classes, or SYNTACTIC GENDERS, depending on whether they elicit masculine or feminine or neuter agreement in adjectives and verbs.[20]

In general, the two partitions of nouns – morphological gender and syntactic gender – correspond closely. Declension$_{<IB>}$ is exclusively neuters, except for some isolated nouns (*подмасте́рье* 'apprentice')[21] and derivatives (diminutives *воронко́* 'crow', *соловёйко* 'nightingale', augmentatives *волчи́ще* 'big wolf', *парни́ще* 'big fellow', *дурачи́ще* 'enormous fool'). Conversely, almost all neuter

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[18] On secondary cases: §5.5.

[19] The question of how many declension classes there are is less significant than it might appear. Recognizing fewer classes means recognizing more sub-declensions, and vice versa.

[20] On gender: Jakobson 1932/1971[b], 1960/1971[b], Zalizniak 1967, Stankiewicz 1978, van Schooneveld 1977.

[21] Zalizniak 1977[a]:54 cites *сверли́ло* 'kind of beetle', *мазло́* 'someone who smears', words not in general currency.

nouns – except for the dozen or so neuter nouns in Declension$_{\text{<IIIB>}}$ – belong to Declension$_{\text{<IB>}}$. Declension$_{\text{<IA>}}$ consists of masculine nouns. One interesting complication is that some nouns in Declension$_{\text{<IA>}}$ that refer to people by occupation, such as *врáч* 'doctor', are coming to be used in reference to women and with feminine agreement in verbs and recently even in adjectives (§4.1.3). Syntactic gender is coming to be determined by the sex of the entity referred to – that is, by the REFERENTIAL GENDER. Declension$_{\text{<II>}}$ is feminine, with two large classes of exceptions. Descriptive nouns like *непосéга* 'fidgety person' or *невéжда* 'ignoramus' can be used with either masculine or feminine agreement according to their reference; they are then COMMON GENDER. Diminutive names like *Тóля*, *Жéня*, *Сáша* and some isolated nouns (*дя́дя* 'uncle', *судья́* 'judge') are used to refer to males, and elicit masculine agreement in adjectives and verbs. Thus Declension$_{\text{<II>}}$ is feminine except for nouns referring to human beings whose syntactic gender follows referential gender. Declension$_{\text{<III>}}$ is feminine except for the masculine singleton *пýть* 'route' and the near-dozen neuters. Overall, there is a significant degree of correspondence between syntactic gender (the patterns of agreement nouns condition in adjectives and verbs) and morphological gender (the declension class).[22]

Nouns belonging to Declension$_{\text{<IA>}}$ that refer to animate beings ([12]) and all plural nouns that refer to animate beings ([13]) use the genitive form in syntactic contexts whenever the accusative case is appropriate (§4.1.6):

[12] Не знаю, упрекать или хвалить молодого$_{\text{<MSC ACC=GEN>}}$ режиссера$_{\text{<ACC=GEN>}}$.
      I am not sure whether to criticize or praise the young director.
[13] Тетя Саша учила меня$_{\text{<ACC=GEN>}}$ и моих$_{\text{<ACC=GEN>}}$ младших$_{\text{<ACC=GEN>}}$ сестер$_{\text{<ACC=GEN>}}$.
      Aunt Sasha taught me and my younger sisters.

Here the notation "ACC=GEN" is used for cells in which this equivalence occurs. Except for animate nouns, nouns of Declension$_{\text{<IA>}}$ do not distinguish nominative and accusative singular: NOM *стóл* = ACC *стóл*. Except for animates, plural nouns otherwise do not distinguish these cases: NOM *столы́* = ACC *столы́*. For these cells in paradigms, the notation "NOM=ACC" is used.

3.6.2 Hard, soft, and unpaired declensions

Nouns of Declension$_{\text{<IA>}}$, Declension$_{\text{<IB>}}$, and Declension$_{\text{<II>}}$ have two closely related variants. Some end in a "hard" mutable consonant (*закóн* 'law', *стáдо* 'flock', *женá* 'woman'), others end in a "soft" mutable consonant (*кóнь* 'horse', *мóре* 'sea', *недéля* 'week'). The hard and soft variants seem different in appearance, but the differences are only those that would be expected from rules of

[22] Corbett 1982, 1988[a].

spelling. Both "hard" and "soft" variants are listed for these declensions below. In addition, the stems that end in the unpaired consonants [c č š ž ş:], written «**ц ч ш ж щ**», or [j], look slightly different, because special spelling rules for vowels are invoked after these consonants.

3.6.3 Accentual patterns

Each form of a noun has one vowel that is stressed. The vowel that is stressed is not necessarily the same vowel in every case–number form of a noun. The set of possibilities defines an ACCENTUAL PARADIGM or STRESS PATTERN. There is a modest number of stress paradigms used by nouns. Some common threads can be distinguished across declension classes. (a) Stress on the root in both singular and plural, or $\{\mathcal{R}_{SG} : \mathcal{R}_{PL}\}$, is widespread: NOM SG *неде́ля* 'week', NOM PL *неде́ли*. (b) Some nouns have stress on the ending in both singular and plural, or $\{\mathcal{E}_{SG} : \mathcal{E}_{PL}\}$: NOM SG *гре́х* 'sin', GEN SG *греха́*, NOM PL *грехи́* (except when the ending is $\{-\emptyset\}$, when stress must be on the final syllable of the stem). (c) Some nouns have the opposite stress in singular and plural: $\{\mathcal{E}_{SG} : \mathcal{R}_{PL}\}$ NOM SG *окно́* 'window', NOM PL *о́кна*, or, in the other direction, (d) $\{\mathcal{R}_{SG} : \mathcal{E}_{PL}\}$ NOM SG *сло́во* 'word', NOM PL *слова́*. In nouns that stress the oblique plural, stress may retract to the root in the nominative (and accusative) plural. This retraction can occur (e) with root stress in the singular, or $\{\mathcal{R}_{SG} : \mathcal{E}_{PL}(\mathcal{R}_{NOM})\}$, as in NOM SG *зу́б* 'tooth', GEN SG *зу́ба*, NOM PL *зу́бы*, DAT PL *зуба́м*, or (f) with end stress in the singular, or $\{\mathcal{E}_{SG} : \mathcal{E}_{PL}(\mathcal{R}_{NOM})\}$, as in NOM SG *ко́нь*, GEN SG *коня́*, NOM PL *ко́ни*, DAT PL *коня́м*. These are the six most widespread patterns. In addition, a very small number of nouns in Declension$_{<II>}$ retract stress to the stem in the accusative singular, an alternation that requires an additional specification: NOM SG *душа́* 'soul', ACC SG *ду́шу* $\{\mathcal{E}_{SG}(\mathcal{R}_{ACC}) : \mathcal{R}_{PL}\}$.

3.6.4 Declension$_{<IA>}$

Declension$_{<IA>}$ is characterized by the following properties: (a) it has no overt ending in the nominative singular (equivalently, the ending is $\{-\emptyset\}$); (b) it does not have a distinct accusative singular case form: the accusative is identical either to the nominative (inanimates) or to the genitive (animates); (c) it does not syncretize the genitive, dative, and locative singular; (d) it has the instrumental singular in $\{-om\}$; (e) it has both hard and soft stems that are largely parallel; (f) the preferred nominative plural and genitive plural forms are nominative $\{-i\}$ and an overt genitive $\{-ov\}$ or $\{-ej\}$.

Stress patterns are restricted. Consistent stress on the root (= $\{\mathcal{R}_{SG}: \mathcal{R}_{PL}\}$) is the most usual, then consistent stress on the ending (= $\{\mathcal{E}_{SG}: \mathcal{E}_{PL}\}$). Other patterns occur, and are illustrated in Table 3.28, but are represented by small numbers of nouns.

Table 3.28 *Declension*_{<IA>}

	hard stem	soft stem, [j] augment	hard stem	soft stem (animate)	hard stem	hard stem
	$\{\mathcal{R}_{SG} : \mathcal{R}_{PL}\}$	$\{\mathcal{E}_{SG} : \mathcal{R}_{PL}\}$	$\{\mathcal{R}_{SG} : \mathcal{E}_{PL}(\mathcal{R}_{NOM})\}$	$\{\mathcal{E}_{SG} : \mathcal{E}_{PL}(\mathcal{R}_{NOM})\}$	$\{\mathcal{R}_{SG} : \mathcal{E}_{PL}\}$	$\{\mathcal{E}_{SG} : \mathcal{E}_{PL}\}$
NOM SG	заво́д	ко́л	зу́б	ко́нь	чи́н	гре́х
ACC SG	=NOM	=NOM	=NOM	=GEN	=NOM	=NOM
GEN SG	заво́да	кола́	зу́ба	коня́	чи́на	греха́
DAT SG	заво́ду	колу́	зу́бу	коню́	чи́ну	греху́
LOC SG	заво́де	коле́	зу́бе	коне́	чи́не	грехе́
INS SG	заво́дом	коло́м	зу́бом	конём	чи́ном	грехо́м
NOM PL	заво́ды	ко́лья	зу́бы	ко́ни	чины́	грехи́
ACC PL	=NOM	=NOM	=NOM	=GEN	=NOM	=NOM
GEN PL	заво́дов	ко́льев	зубо́в	коне́й	чино́в	грехо́в
DAT PL	заво́дам	ко́льям	зуба́м	коня́м	чина́м	греха́м
LOC PL	заво́дах	ко́льях	зуба́х	коня́х	чина́х	греха́х
INS PL	заво́дами	ко́льями	зуба́ми	коня́ми	чина́ми	греха́ми
	'factory'	'stake'	'tooth'	'horse'	'rank'	'sin'

Soft stems, listed separately here, differ from hard stems only in orthographic details. In the nominative singular, a hard stem ends in a consonant letter; in soft stems, the final consonant letter is followed by «ь», indicating that a mutable consonant is soft (palatalized). In other case forms, soft stems use the soft-vowel letter that corresponds to the hard-vowel letter used in hard stems, and it indicates that the consonant is palatalized. Thus the «я» letter marking the genitive singular of *коня́* indicates that the consonant is palatalized ([n̦]) and that the vowel is [á] under stress. The endings {-u} and {-i} behave in the same fashion, and differ in soft stems from hard stems only by choosing the appropriate vowel letter.

The locative singular of soft-stem nouns is identical to that of hard-stem nouns, since in fact the final consonant of hard stems is palatalized before {-e}. The instrumental singular is always spelled «ом» in hard stems. In soft stems, the ending, when it is stressed, is pronounced as [om] (with a preceding palatalized consonant) and can be spelled in explicit style as «ём», in neutral style as «ем»; unstressed, it is «ем». The genitive plural endings of hard and soft stems differ in a more substantive way. Hard stems take {-ov}, spelled «ов», while soft stems take {-ej}, spelled «ей».

Unpaired stems – that is, stems ending in the consonants [j] or [c č š ž ș̌:] – present some complications.

Some nouns in Declension_{<IA>} end in [j] preceded by a vowel, or {-Vj-}, spelled as a vowel letter followed by «й»: *кий* 'pole', *музéй* 'museum', *крáй* 'region, edge', *герóй* 'hero', *поцелýй* 'kiss'. In other case-number forms, the ending itself begins with a vowel, and the stem-final [j] is spelled by a following soft-vowel letter; for example, in GEN SG *кия́*, *музéя*, *крáя*, *герóя*, *поцелýя*, the letter «я» spells the {-a} of the ending and the [j] of the stem. In the instrumental singular, the ending {-om} is spelled as it would be after soft stems: under stress, as «ём» (explicit style) or «ем» (neutral style): *киём* (*кием*), *соловьём* (*соловьем*). Not under stress, the ending is spelled «ем»: *музéем*, *сценáрием*. The genitive plural of nouns ending in stem-final [j] is like that of hard stems. The basic ending is {-ov}, spelled as «ёв» (explicit style, under stress) or otherwise as «ев»: stressed *киёв* (neutral *киев*), unstressed *музéев*, *крáев*, *герóев*, *поцелýев*. Before the {-i} of the nominative plural, the [j] is not actually pronounced: NOM PL *кий* is pronounced as [k̩í], not *[k̩jí], similarly *музéи* [eɪ], not *[ejɪ], *герóи*, *поцелýи*.

In stems that end in {-ij-}, the locative singular is spelled «ии» rather than «ие»: NOM SG *сценáрий* 'script', LOC SG *сценáрии*. With other vowels preceding the stem-final [j], the ordinary locative singular spelling «е» is used: NOM SG *герóй*, LOC SG *герóе*.

In some nouns there is an alternation of full-grade vocalism (NOM SG *ручéй* 'brook') and null-grade vocalism (GEN SG *ручья́*) (§2.5.6). The genitive plural is {-ov}, with no vowel between the consonant and the [j]. The ending is spelled «ев» («ёв», explicit under stress): *соловьев* 'nightingales' (*соловьёв*), *ручьев* (*ручьёв*).

Unpaired stems – those ending in unpaired obstruents [č š ž ṣ̌:], written «ч ш ж щ» – use the vowel letters they normally use: «а», «у» and, in the nominative plural, «и». The nominative singular is spelled without «ь». In this way the ending-less nominative singular of nouns of this declension – *палáч* 'hangman', *дýш* 'shower', *нóж* 'knife', *товáрищ* 'comrade' – can be distinguished in spelling from the ending-less nominative singular of nouns of Declension_{<IIIA>} – *дúчь* 'wildfowl', *глýшь* 'remote place', *рóжь* 'rye', *вéщь* 'thing'. In the instrumental singular «ом» is used when the ending is stressed, *палачóм*, *ножóм*, *плащóм*; the ending is spelled «ем» when it is not stressed, *плáчем* 'crying', *саботáжем* 'sabotage', *тýшем* 'ink', *товáрищем* 'comrade'. The locative singular is «е». The genitive plural is {-ej}, not {-ov}: *палачéй*, *товáрищей*, a result of the fact that {-ej} was brought into Declension_{<IA>} by masculine nouns as they moved from the masculine *i*-stem declension into Declension_{<IA>}.

Stems in [c] behave much like those in [č š ž ṣ̌:]. Endings that begin with {-a} or {-u} spell the ending with the hard-vowel letter. The instrumental singular is «ом» if stressed, as in *отцóм*, but «ем» if unstressed: *самозвáнцем* 'pretender'. The genitive plural is {-ov}, spelled «ов» under stress (*отцóв*), «ев» not under

Table 3.29 *Stem types and endings, Declension*_{<IA>}

	END STRESS | STEM STRESS	GEN SG {-a}	DAT SG {-u}	INS SG {-om}	GEN PL {-ov}~{-ej}	NOM PL {-i}
hard	*завóд* 'factory' | *вóл* 'ox'	*-а*	*-у*	*-ом*	*-ов*	*-ы*
soft	*гóлубь* 'dove' | *кóнь* 'horse'	*-я*	*-ю*	*ем* | *-ем (-ём)*	*-ей*	*-и*
[č š ž ṣ:]	*товáрищ* 'comrade' | *палáч* 'hangman'	*-а*	*-у*	*ем* | *-ом (-óм)*	*-ей*	*-и*
[j]	*музéй* 'museum' *кúй* 'pole'	*-я*	*-ю*	*ем* | *-ем (-ём)*	*-ев* | *-ев (-ёв)*	*-и*
[c]	*самозвáнец* 'pretender' *отéц* 'father'	*-а*	*-у*	*ем* | *-ом (-óм)*	*-ев* | *-ов (-óв)*	*-ы*

x | y (z) = unstressed ending | stressed ending, neutral spelling (stressed ending, explicit spelling)

stress (*нéмцев*_{<GEN PL>} 'Germans'). The nominative plural is spelled with «**ы**», *отцы́* 'fathers', not «**и**».

The endings in the stem types of Declension_{<IA>} are listed in Table 3.29, with stressed and unstressed variants where relevant.

Declension_{<IA>} prefers a specific combination of endings in the nominative and genitive plural, namely NOM PL {-i} and an overt genitive plural, {-ov} ∼ {-ej}.[23] There are deviations from this basic preference for Declension_{<IA>}. For the most part, the deviations involve recognizable groups of nouns and, often, changes in the morphophonology of the stem. The following special groups can be distinguished.

Plural stem augment {-j-}: Thirty or so nouns use a stem augment in [j], an old collective suffix, throughout the plural. The nominative plural is {-a}, usually with the genitive plural {-ov} (*кóлос* 'ear', NOM PL *колóсья*, GEN PL *колóсьев*); a half-dozen allow the null ending, which implies a full vowel before the augment [j]: *дéверь* 'husband's brother', NOM PL *деверья́*, GEN PL *деверéй*. A small number has a plural stem augmented by {-ovj-}: NOM SG *сы́н* 'son', NOM PL *сыновья́*, GEN PL *сыновéй*. Along with {-j-}, *дрýг* 'friend' has an unusual consonant: NOM PL *друзья́*, GEN PL *друзéй*.[24]

[23] Jakobson 1957[b]/1971[b], Graudina 1964[a], 1964[b], Mahota 1993, Brown and Hippisley 1994.
[24] This unusual grade, not recorded among the morphophonemic alternations (§2.5.2), goes back to the second palatalization of velars. It would have been justified specifically before NOM PL {-i}; the consonant was preserved as the noun adopted the {-j} augment for the stem throughout the plural.

Stressed NOM PL {-á}: A number of nouns have stressed {-á} in the nominative plural, which implies end stress throughout the plural (hence {ℛ_SG : ℰ_PL}); the genitive plural is the usual: NOM SG *бéрег* 'bank, shore', NOM PL *берегá*, GEN *берегóв*; NOM SG *инспéктор* 'inspector', NOM PL *инспекторá*, GEN *инспекторóв*; NOM SG *учúтель* 'teacher', NOM PL *учителя́*, GEN *учителéй*; NOM SG *крáй* 'edge', NOM PL *края́*, GEN PL *краёв*.

This pattern is avoided with nouns that have consistent end stress (exception: *рукáв* 'sleeve', GEN SG = NOM PL *рукавá*) and, among trisyllabic stems, with nouns whose ultimate syllable is stressed (NOM SG *режиссёр* 'director', NOM PL *режиссёры*, not **режиссерá*).

This ending has a complex history. It derives from the nominative dual of nouns that belonged to the mobile accentual paradigm, such as earlier NOM DU *берегá* '(two) shores'. It was extended first to nouns that come in groups or clusters, such as *домá* 'houses', *волосá* 'head of hair' (opposed to *вóлосы* 'strands of hair'). Then it was applied to (often borrowed) names of occupations, *профессорá* 'professors', *кондукторá* 'conductors', *инструкторá* 'instructors', and to implements and professional accoutrements, *катерá* 'launches', *тракторá* 'tractors', *договорá* 'agreements', even *соусá* 'sauces', *тортá* 'pastries'. Thus the pattern has been productive, inasmuch as it was used for new words. Yet at the same time, even during its heyday at the beginning of the twentieth century, the ending acquired the connotation of trade jargon ("de métier"), while "les classes cultivées manifestent au contraire de la répugnance à employer ces formes."[25]

Consistent with this paradoxical productivity and censure, the sociolinguistic investigation from the 1960s (Krysin 1974) reports a mixed picture. The use of this ending increased with certain nouns (*инженéр* 'engineer', *кáтер*, *трáктор*) and decreased with others (*кондýктор*, *редáктор* 'editor', *слéсарь* 'carpenter', *тóкарь* 'turner'). For a third group, usage peaked in the cohort born 1930–39 and then declined (*бухгáлтер* 'bookkeeper', *шофёр* 'chauffeur'). Other words can be documented to be losing {-á}, especially in neologisms: compare *грóбы* ~ archaic *гробá* 'graves', *кéльнеры* 'waiters' ~ archaic *кельнерá*, or *домá* 'houses, buildings' but newer *детдомá* ~ *дéтдомы* 'orphanages, children's homes'. Thus this suffix, though it has been productive, has also been restricted by sociolinguistic factors. Its history is a cautionary tale against the presumption that change, once begun, will necessarily continue in a linear fashion.

Ethnonyms: Nouns characterizing individuals by place of origin or membership in an ethnic group are commonly built on the suffix {-an-}, and the singular has an additional suffix {-in-}. The plural lacks the second morph and uses an

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[25] Beaulieux 1914:212. Zaliznjak 1977[b], noting doublets, argues that the {-á} pattern can be adopted as a marker of professional jargon, in contradistinction to general usage. See Shapiro 1985.

otherwise unique ending {-e} and the null ending in the genitive plural: NOM SG *армянúн* 'Armenian', NOM PL *армя́не*, GEN PL *армя́н*; NOM SG *ростовча́нин* 'person from Rostov', NOM PL *ростовча́не*, GEN PL *ростовча́н*. (The nominative plural ending is historically *e, spelled as «**е**»; since it is not stressed, it is consistently pronounced as [ɪ].) The pattern has been a productive way of deriving ethnonyms. Just over one hundred items are cited in Zaliznjak 1977[a].

Parts of this pattern for ethnonyms can occur without others. *Граждани́н* 'citizen' has NOM PL {-e}, GEN PL {-∅}, with a stress shift: *гра́ждане*, *гра́ждан*. Three nouns have {-in-} in the singular but without {-an-}, and NOM PL {-i} and GEN PL {-∅}: NOM SG *болга́рин* 'Bulgarian', NOM PL *болга́ры*, GEN PL, *болга́р*; NOM SG *тата́рин* 'Tatar', NOM PL *тата́ры*, GEN PL *тата́р*. One noun has variation: NOM SG *ба́рин* 'barin', NOM PL *ба́ре* ~ *ба́ры*, GEN PL, *ба́р*. *Господи́н* 'gentleman' loses {-in-} and uses stressed {-á-} along with genitive plural zero: NOM PL *господа́*, GEN PL *госпо́д*. *Хозя́ин* 'master' acquires an augment {-ev-} and uses NOM PL {-a} – unstressed – along with a zero in the genitive plural: NOM SG *хозя́ин*, NOM PL *хозя́ева*, GEN PL *хозя́ев*. *Шу́рин* 'brother-in-law' loses the {-in-} suffix and acquires {-j-} as an augment, with {-ov} in the genitive plural: NOM SG *шу́рин*, NOM PL *шурья́*, GEN PL *шурьёв* (recently NOM SG *шу́рин*, NOM PL *шу́рины*, GEN PL *шу́ринов*). *Цыга́н* 'Gypsy' has the plural in {-e} and genitive plural (normally) in {-∅}, though it lacks the suffix {-in-}.

Some ethnonyms that have neither singular {-in-} nor NOM PL {-e} have the {-∅} as the preferred or unique GEN PL: NOM SG *башки́р* 'Bashkir', NOM PL *башки́ры*, GEN PL *башки́р*; NOM SG *грузи́н* 'Georgian', NOM PL *грузи́ны*, GEN PL *грузи́н*; NOM SG *лезги́н* 'Lezgian', NOM PL *лезги́ны*, GEN PL *лезги́н*; NOM SG *румы́н* 'Rumanian', NOM PL *румы́ны*, GEN PL *румы́н*; NOM SG *ту́рок* 'Turk', NOM PL *ту́рки*, GEN PL *ту́рок*. For others there is variation between {-∅} and {-ov} in the genitive plural: GEN PL, *буря́т* ~ *буря́тов* 'Buriats', GEN PL *каре́л* ~ *каре́лов* 'Karelians', GEN PL *туркме́н* ~ *туркме́нов* 'Turkmen'. Still exotic ethnonyms use {-ov} in the genitive plural: *бедуи́н* (GEN PL *бедуи́нов*) 'Bedouins', *бербе́р* (GEN PL *бербе́ров*) 'Berbers', *бушме́н* (GEN PL *бушме́нов*) 'Bushmen', *калмы́к* (GEN PL *калмы́ков*) 'Kalmyks', *таджи́к* (GEN PL *таджи́ков*) 'Tajiks', *тунгу́с* (GEN PL *тунгу́сов*) 'Tunguz', *узбе́к* (GEN PL *узбе́ков*) 'Uzbeks', *хорва́т* (GEN PL *хорва́тов*) 'Croatians'.

The usage in the genitive plural of ethnonyms was investigated in quantitative contexts by Vorontsova (1976). Her results, summarized for four ethnonyms in Table 3.30, were consistent with normative recommendations for usage. The highest percentage of {-∅} was recorded for *грузи́н* (84%), with normative {-∅}. At the other extreme, a low percentage of {-∅} was reported for *мо́нгол* (20%), for which {-ov} is normative. Intermediate usage was reported for *туркме́н* (50%), which allows variation, and for *башки́р* (67%), with normative {-∅}. In recent usage on the web (four right-hand columns in Table 3.30 <20.XII.01>), the distribution of {-∅} and {-ov} seems to have polarized. Context seems to play

Table 3.30 *Genitive plural {-Ø} of ethnonyms*

	normative usage	Vorontsova (1976)	quantifiers	prepositions	*всех*	genitive
грузин(ов)	{-Ø}	84	98	96	91	100
башкир(ов)	{-Ø}	67	100	97	97	90
туркмен(ов)	{-Ø} ∼ {-ov}	50	69	86	96	90
монгол(ов)	{-ov}	20	5	4	6	6

quantifiers = *много, тысяч*
prepositions = *у, от*
genitive = *история ∼ предки ∼ за исключением*
all figures are percentages

Table 3.31 *Morphology of ethnonyms*

	stem augment {-an-}	singular augment {-in-}	NOM PL	GEN PL
калужа́нин	√	√	{-e}	{-Ø}
болга́рин	*	√	{-e}	{-Ø}
башки́р	*	*	{-i}	{-Ø}
буря́т	*	*	{-i}	{-Ø} ∼ {-ov}
хорва́т	*	*	{-i}	{-ov}

little role, except that quantifiers have kept *туркме́н* from fully generalizing {-ov}.

The range of options for ethnonyms is summarized in Table 3.31.

Young animals: The plural of names for the young of animals, with the suffix {-at-}, have a neuter-like combination of endings, namely NOM PL {-a}, GEN PL {-Ø}: *телёнок* 'calf', NOM PL *теля́та*, ACC=GEN PL *теля́т*; *котёнок* 'kitten', NOM PL *котя́та*, ACC=GEN PL *котя́т*; *ребёнок* 'boy', NOM PL *ребя́та*, ACC=GEN PL *ребя́т*. This is because the plural suffix *is* historically a neuter; the nouns appear to belong to Declension_{<IA>} only because that suffix has been paired with the suffix {-on<o>k-} in the singular; this suffix puts the noun in Declension_{<IA>} in the singular. By virtue of having different suffixes in the singular and plural, these nouns switch declensional allegiance between singular and plural.

Counted nouns: While it is usual for nouns of Declension_{<IA>} to have an overt ending in the genitive plural, the archaic null ending is preserved in nouns belonging to certain lexical fields that are commonly used in quantitative constructions: ethnonyms (as just illustrated), units of measurement (17% *десять*

килограмм 'ten kilograms', 29% *много килограми* <04.XI.02>), commonly measured items (e.g., vegetables), military roles (*сапёр* 'sapper', *гусáр* 'Hussar', *драгýн* 'dragoon', *кадéт* 'cadet'), and paired items (*сапóг* 'boot'). The null ending is not purely residual, to judge by the occasional use of GEN PL *кéд* 'Keds' (*стрéльнуть бы пару кед у вас нельзя ли?* 'is it possible I might bum a pair of Keds from you?') alongside *кéдов* (*если хоть пару кедов не вынесу, испорчено настроение на весь день* 'if I don't carry out at least one pair of Keds, my mood is shot for the whole day').[26]

Stem alternation: Two nouns have an idiosyncratic alternation of hard singular stem and soft plural stem: NOM SG *сосéд* 'neighbor', NOM PL *сосéди*, GEN PL *сосéдей* and NOM SG *чёрт* 'devil', NOM PL *чéрти*, GEN PL *чертéй*.

3.6.5 Declension_{<IB>}

Declension_{<IB>} (Table 3.32) is almost exclusively neuter, except for derivatives of masculines (*городúшко* 'town', *топорúще* 'ax') and isolated masculines (notably, *подмастéрье* 'apprentice', an animate noun that participates in the animate accusative). Declension_{<IB>} differs from Declension_{<IA>} in the singular by having an overt ending in the nominative. When, rarely, this ending is stressed, both after hard and soft consonants, this ending is [ó] (e.g., *жильё* 'dwelling'). In the plural, Declension_{<IB>} prefers a nominative in {-a} and genitive in {-∅}.

Although the expected nominative singular is [ó] under stress, three original event nouns have stressed [é] in the nominative singular (and in the instrumental): *житиé* 'life', LOC SG *житúй*, INS SG *житиéм*; also *бытиé* 'being', *питиé* 'drinking'. Here [é] reflects the failure of *$e > o$ in these historical Slavonicisms.

Only three members of Declension_{<IB>} have stems ending in paired soft consonants: *пóле* 'field', *мóре* 'sea', *гóре* 'woe', with overt genitive plural (*полéй*). Productive are event nouns in {-Ç-ij-}, whose locative singular is spelled «ии» and whose genitive plural is {-ij-∅}, spelled «ий», such as NOM SG *здáние*, LOC SG *здáнии*, GEN PL *здáний*. A similar suffix is used to form abstracts or collectives that are not deverbal, such as *многолюдье* 'populousness', *подпóлье* 'underground', *копьё* 'lance'. With nouns of this shape, the genitive plural is usually {Ç-Vj-∅}. The sequence is spelled «ий» if it is unstressed (*ущéлье* 'ravine', GEN PL *ущéлий*), «ей» if it is stressed (*питьё* 'drinking', GEN PL *питéй*). (GEN PL *рýжей*, from *ружьё* 'rifle', is exceptional.) Although the null ending is the general rule for nouns of this declension, a dozen or so nouns of this shape use the genitive plural in

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[26] Vorontsova 1976 suggests that different lexical fields have different directions of development, though the differences are not profound. Use of {-∅} declined slightly for ethnonyms, but increased slightly for fruits and vegetables (*апельсúн* from 26% to 39% – with a peak of 42% in the next-to-youngest generation!) and paired items (*носóк* from 25% to 45%).

Table 3.32 *Declension*$_{<IB>}$

	soft stem {-Cj-}	soft stem {-ij-}	hard stem	hard stem	hard stem	hard stem
	$\{\mathcal{R}_{SG} : \mathcal{R}_{PL}\}$	$\{\mathcal{R}_{SG} : \mathcal{R}_{PL}\}$	$\{\mathcal{E}_{SG} : \mathcal{R}_{PL}\}$	$\{\mathcal{R}_{SG} : \mathcal{E}_{PL}(\mathcal{R}_{NOM})\}$	$\{\mathcal{R}_{SG} : \mathcal{E}_{PL}\}$	$\{\mathcal{E}_{SG} : \mathcal{E}_{PL}\}$
NOM SG	ущéлье	здáние	лицó	крыльцó	мéсто	существó
ACC SG	=NOM	=NOM	=NOM	=NOM	=NOM	=NOM
GEN SG	ущéлья	здáния	лицá	крыльцá	мéста	существá
DAT SG	ущéлью	здáнию	лицý	крыльцý	мéсту	существý
LOC SG	ущéлье	здáнии	лицé	крыльцé	мéсте	существé
INS SG	ущéльем	здáнием	лицóм	крыльцóм	мéстом	существóм
NOM PL	ущéлья	здáния	лúца	крýльца	местá	существá
ACC PL	=NOM	=NOM	=NOM$_{<IN>}$ ∼ GEN$_{<AN>}$	=NOM	=NOM	=NOM$_{<IN>}$ ∼ GEN$_{<AN>}$
GEN PL	ущéлий	здáний	лúц	крылéц	мéст	сущéств
DAT PL	ущéльям	здáниям	лúцам	крыльцáм	местáм	существáм
LOC PL	ущéльях	здáниях	лúцах	крыльцáх	местáх	существáх
INS PL	ущéльями	здáниями	лúцами	крыльцáми	местáми	существáми
	'gorge'	'building'	'face'	'porch'	'place'	'creature'

{-ov} instead: NOM SG *ýстье* 'estuary', GEN PL *ýстьев*. The frequent noun *плáтье* 'dress' belongs here (GEN PL *плáтьев*), as does *остриё* 'point' (GEN PL *остриёв*). Some nouns have variation: NOM SG *подпóлье* 'cellar', GEN PL *подпóльев* ∼ *подпóлий*; NOM SG *верхóвье* 'upper reaches', GEN PL *верхóвьев* ∼ *верхóвий*. The overt genitive plural {-ov} occurs with nouns which use the collective {-j-} augment in the plural, such as *перó* 'feather', NOM PL *пéрья*, GEN PL *пéрьев*, and also with *óблако* 'cloud' (NOM PL *облакá*, GEN PL *облакóв*). The event nouns in {-Ç-ij-} have the locative spelled «ии», while the deverbals and collectives in {-Ç-j-} should have the locative spelled «ье». There was variation in the nineteenth century between «ьи» and «ьѣ». The alternate spelling is still reflected in the idiom *в полузабытьи́* 'in half-forgetfulness'.

Diminutives in {-c-} have the expected nominative plural in {-a} but show variation in the genitive plural between {-ov} and {-∅} (if the ending is {-∅}, the consonant cluster is broken up with the full vowel <e>). Ten older nouns use only {-∅}: NOM SG *блю́дце* 'saucer', NOM PL *блю́дца*, GEN PL *блю́дец*, also *сéрдце* 'heart', *полотéнце* 'towel', *зéркальце* 'mirror', *мы́льце* 'soap'. And only {-∅} (with full grade) is used for nouns with this suffix when the ending is stressed: NOM SG *словцó* 'word' NOM PL *словцá*, GEN PL *словéц*. Some two dozen younger derivatives use both {-∅} and {-ov}: NOM SG *копы́тце* 'hoof', NOM PL *копы́тца*, GEN PL *копы́тец* ∼ *копы́тцев*. The {-ov} ending is regular in *болóтце* 'swamp', GEN PL *болóтцев*.

Table 3.33 *Declension*$_{<\text{II}>}$

	soft stem	soft stem {-Vj-}	hard stem	hard stem
	{$\mathcal{R}_{\text{SG}}$: $\mathcal{R}_{\text{PL}}$}	{$\mathcal{R}_{\text{SG}}$: $\mathcal{R}_{\text{PL}}$}	{$\mathcal{E}_{\text{SG}}$: $\mathcal{R}_{\text{PL}}$}	{$\mathcal{E}_{\text{SG}}$ ($\mathcal{R}_{\text{ACC}}$): $\mathcal{R}_{\text{PL}}$}
NOM SG	неде́ля	ли́ния	жена́	душа́
ACC SG	неде́лю	ли́нию	жену́	ду́шу
GEN SG	неде́ли	ли́нии	жены́	души́
DAT SG	неде́ле	ли́нии	жене́	душе́
LOC SG	неде́ле	ли́нии	жене́	душе́
INS SG	неде́лей	ли́нией	жено́й	душо́й
NOM PL	неде́ли	ли́нии	жёны	ду́ши
ACC PL	=NOM	=NOM	=GEN	=NOM
GEN PL	неде́ль	ли́ний	жён	душ
DAT PL	неде́лям	ли́ниям	жёнам	ду́шам
LOC PL	неде́лях	ли́нияx	жёнах	ду́шах
INS PL	неде́лями	ли́ниями	жёнами	ду́шами
	'week'	'line'	'wife'	'soul'

The combination of NOM PL {-i} and GEN PL {-∅}, characteristic of Declension$_{<\text{IA}>}$, is found with nouns ending in a velar: NOM SG *ве́ко* 'eyelid', NOM PL *ве́ки*, GEN PL *ве́к*; NOM SG *я́блоко* 'apple', NOM PL *я́блоки*, GEN PL *я́блок*; also NOM SG *пле́чо* 'shoulder', NOM PL *пле́чи*, GEN PL *пле́ч*. This combination of NOM PL {-i} and GEN PL {-∅} occurs as a rule with certain gradated forms: *доми́шко* 'house', *око́шко* 'window', *арбу́зище* 'melon' (§3.6.8). Isolated is NOM SG *у́хо* 'ear', NOM PL *у́ши*, GEN PL *уше́й* (similarly, archaic *о́ко* 'eye', *о́чи, оче́й*).

In Declension$_{<\text{IB}>}$ consistent root stress and consistent end stress are again statistically the most prominent, in part because suffixed derivatives fall into one or the other class: {$\mathcal{R}_{\text{SG}}$: $\mathcal{R}_{\text{PL}}$} *жи́тельство* 'residence', {$\mathcal{E}_{\text{SG}}$: $\mathcal{E}_{\text{PL}}$} *колдовство́* 'sorcery'. Some high-frequency nouns fall into the two complementary patterns which oppose singular and plural by stress: {$\mathcal{R}_{\text{SG}}$: $\mathcal{E}_{\text{PL}}$} NOM SG *ме́сто* 'place', NOM PL *места́* and {$\mathcal{E}_{\text{SG}}$: $\mathcal{R}_{\text{PL}}$} NOM SG *лицо́* 'face', NOM PL *ли́ца*.

3.6.6 Declension$_{<\text{II}>}$

Alone of the declensions, Declension$_{<\text{II}>}$ (Table 3.33) distinguishes the nominative and accusative in the singular. This declension also merges the dative and the locative singular (but not the genitive singular). The accusative plural is merged with the nominative or genitive, by animacy, as in all paradigms. Again, hard and soft stems do not differ other than orthographically. With stems ending in {-Vj-}, the [j] is spelled by the following soft-vowel letter of the ending: *ли́ния* 'line', *зате́я* 'trouble', *хво́я* 'needles', *чешуя́* 'fish scales'. The dative and

Table 3.33 *(cont.)*

	soft stem	hard stem	hard stem	hard stem
	$\{\mathcal{R}_{\text{SG}} : \mathcal{E}_{\text{PL}}(\mathcal{R}_{\text{NOM}})\}$	$\{\mathcal{E}_{\text{SG}} : \mathcal{E}_{\text{PL}}(\mathcal{R}_{\text{NOM}})\}$	$\{\mathcal{E}_{\text{SG}} (\mathcal{R}_{\text{ACC}}): \mathcal{E}_{\text{PL}}(\mathcal{R}_{\text{NOM}})\}$	$\{\mathcal{E}_{\text{SG}} : \mathcal{E}_{\text{PL}}\}$
NOM SG	до́ля	губа́	гора́	похвала́
ACC SG	до́лю	губу́	го́ру	похвалу́
GEN SG	до́ли	губы́	горы́	похвалы́
DAT SG	до́ле	губе́	горе́	похвале́
LOC SG	до́ле	губе́	горе́	похвале́
INS SG	до́лей	губо́й	горо́й	похвало́й
NOM PL	до́ли	гу́бы	го́ры	похвалы́
ACC PL	=NOM	=NOM	=NOM	=NOM
GEN PL	долей	губ	гор	похва́л
DAT PL	доля́м	губа́м	гора́м	похвала́м
LOC PL	доля́х	губа́х	гора́х	похвала́х
INS PL	доля́ми	губа́ми	гора́ми	похвала́ми
	'lot'	'lip'	'mountain'	'praise'

locative singular is «ии» for stems in {-ij-}: DAT=LOC SG *исто́рии* 'history' but DAT=LOC SG *зате́е*. Before endings in {-i}, the [j] is not pronounced.

In the plural, the nominative is universally {-i}, and the genitive is preferentially {-∅}. For stems in {-Vj-}, the genitive plural is spelled with «й» (*зате́й, исто́рий*). The final paired consonant of soft-stem nouns normally remains palatalized, and is spelled «ь»: *неде́ля* 'week', GEN PL *неде́ль*; *заря́* 'dawn', GEN PL *зо́рь*. Nouns in {-Cj-} have a null ending with full grade inserted between the consonant and [j]. That vowel is spelled «e» under stress (*свине́й* 'swine', *стате́й* 'articles') and «и». unstressed (GEN PL *госте́й* 'guests').

The overt GEN PL {-ej} is possible with certain soft-stem nouns: *дя́дя* 'uncle', GEN PL *дя́дей*; *до́ля* 'portion', GEN PL *доле́й*; *стезя́* 'way', GEN PL *стезе́й*. Sometimes {-ej} occurs alongside {-∅}: *простыня́* 'sheet', GEN PL *просты́нь ∼ простыне́й*; *растёря* 'absent-minded person', GEN PL *расте́рь ∼ расте́рей*; *межа́* 'boundary', GEN PL *меже́й ∼ ме́ж*. The overt ending is also possible with some soft-stem nouns ending in a cluster: *ноздря́* 'nostril', *ноздре́й*, though other nouns use {-∅} and an inserted vowel: *ка́пля* 'drop', GEN PL *ка́пель*; *пе́тля* 'loop', GEN PL *пе́тель*; *земля́* 'land', GEN PL *земе́ль*. Nouns in {-Cɲ-} insert a vowel with {-∅} ending and, contrary to the general principle of maintaining palatalization, usually harden the consonant: *пе́сня* 'song', GEN PL *пе́сен*; *ба́шня* 'tower', *ба́шен*; *спа́льня* 'bedroom', *спа́лен*. This hardening in turn has exceptions: *дере́вня* 'village' GEN PL *дереве́нь*; *ба́рышня* 'gentryman's daughter', *ба́рышень*.

Declension_{<II>} has an interesting archaic stress paradigm, in which the stress retracted from the ending to the root in the accusative singular and nominative

Table 3.34 *Declensions*$_{<\text{IIIA, IIIB, IIIC}>}$

	IIIA	IIIA	IIIA, animate, stem augment	IIIA	IIIB	IIIC
	$\{\mathcal{R}_{SG} : \mathcal{R}_{PL}\}$	$\{\mathcal{R}_{SG}:\mathcal{E}_{PL}(\mathcal{R}_{NOM})\}$	$\{\mathcal{R}_{SG}:\mathcal{E}_{PL}(\mathcal{R}_{NOM})\}$	$\{\mathcal{E}_{SG} : \mathcal{E}_{PL}\}$	$\{\mathcal{R}_{SG} : \mathcal{E}_{PL}\}$	$\{\mathcal{E}_{SG} : \mathcal{E}_{PL}\}$
NOM SG	тетра́дь	но́вость	до́чь	любо́вь	вре́мя	пу́ть
ACC SG	= NOM	= NOM	= NOM	= NOM	= NOM	= NOM
GEN SG	тетра́ди	но́вости	до́чери	любви́	вре́мени	пути́
DAT SG	тетра́ди	но́вости	до́чери	любви́	вре́мени	пути́
LOC SG	тетра́ди	но́вости	до́чери	любви́	вре́мени	пути́
INS SG	тетра́дью	но́востью	до́черью	любо́вью	вре́менем	путём
NOM PL	тетра́ди	но́вости	до́чери	любви́	времена́	пути́
ACC PL	= NOM	= NOM	= GEN	= NOM	= NOM	= NOM
GEN PL	тетра́дей	новосте́й	дочере́й	любве́й	времён	путе́й
DAT PL	тетра́дям	новостя́м	дочеря́м	любвя́м	времена́м	путя́м
LOC PL	тетра́дях	новостя́х	дочеря́х	любвя́х	времена́х	путя́х
INS PL	тетра́дями	новостя́ми	дочерьми́	любвя́ми	времена́ми	путя́ми
	'notebook'	'news item'	'daughter'	'love'	'time'	'journey'

plural, or $\{\mathcal{E}_{SG} (\mathcal{R}_{ACC}): \mathcal{R}_{PL}\}$, *гора́* 'mountain'. The pattern is unproductive, and it is moving in the direction of $\{\mathcal{E}_{SG} : \mathcal{R}_{PL}\}$, the pattern of *жена́, жёны*. Along the way, transitional stages have developed: stress can be regularized first in the accusative singular while the oblique plural remains stressed, as in $\{\mathcal{E}_{SG}$ $\mathcal{E}_{PL}(\mathcal{R}_{NOM})\}$, NOM SG *губа́*, ACC SG *губу́* (earlier *гу́бу*), DAT PL *губа́м*, or the oblique plural adopts root stress leaving the stress on the stem in the accusative singular, as in $\{\mathcal{E}_{SG}(\mathcal{R}_{ACC}) : \mathcal{R}_{PL}\}$, NOM SG *душа́*, ACC SG *ду́шу*, NOM PL *ду́ши*, DAT PL *ду́шам* (earlier *душа́м*). Different nouns have changed at different rates. *Судьба́* 'fate' has almost completely gone over from $\{\mathcal{E}_{SG} : \mathcal{E}_{PL}(\mathcal{R}_{NOM})\}$ to $\{\mathcal{E}_{SG} : \mathcal{R}_{PL}\}$, except for the archaic genitive plural *судéб* (now *су́деб*) and the idiom *каки́ми судьба́ми* (otherwise INS PL *су́дьбами*). *Сторона́* 'side' is normatively $\{\mathcal{E}_{SG}(\mathcal{R}_{ACC}) : \mathcal{E}_{PL}(\mathcal{R}_{NOM})\}$, but warnings in manuals suggest the future may see both the elimination of the accusative singular stem stress (ACC SG *сто́рону > сторону́*) and end stress in the oblique plural (DAT PL *сторона́м > сто́ронам*). *Река́* 'river' allows variation in both positions: ACC SG *реку́* ∼ *ре́ку*, DAT PL *река́м* ∼ *ре́кам*.

3.6.7 Declension$_{<\text{III}>}$

The three variants of Declension$_{<\text{III}>}$ are characterized by the syncretic ending {-i} in genitive, dative, locative singular (see Table 3.34). Feminine Declension$_{<\text{IIIA}>}$, relatively numerous, has NOM SG {-∅}, INS SG {-ju}, NOM PL {-i}, and GEN PL {-ej}.

In Declension$_{<\text{IIIA}>}$ the consonant is an unpaired consonant (*вóшь*) or paired soft; *цéрковь* allows a hard stem in the oblique plural (*церквáм* ~ *церквя́м*). A small number of nouns have null grade alternating with full grade: NOM SG *вóшь* 'louse', GEN=DAT=LOC SG *вши́*, INS SG *вóшью*; *цéрковь* 'church', GEN=DAT=LOC SG *цéркви*, INS SG *цéрковью*. The two feminine nouns referring to people express animacy in the plural, but not in the singular: NOM=ACC SG *мáть*, ACC=GEN PL *матерéй*; NOM=ACC SG *дóчь*, ACC=GEN PL *дочерéй*. These nouns also preserve an archaic alternation in the shape of the stem.

Stress patterns in Declension$_{<\text{IIIA}>}$ are limited. Most usual are $\{\mathcal{R}_{\text{SG}} : \mathcal{R}_{\text{PL}}\}$ and $\{\mathcal{R}_{\text{SG}} : \mathcal{E}_{\text{PL}}(\mathcal{R}_{\text{NOM}})\}$. A dozen or so nouns have the stress pattern $\{\mathcal{R}_{\text{SG}} : \mathcal{E}_{\text{PL}}(\mathcal{R}_{\text{NOM}})\}$, with the proviso that, in the locative singular, stress shifts to the end to make LOC2: NOM SG *óсь*, LOC1 *óси*, LOC2 *осú*. Pattern $\{\mathcal{E}_{\text{SG}} : \mathcal{E}_{\text{PL}}\}$ is found with *любóвь* and some other nouns. *Пýть*, the lone masculine member of Declension$_{<\text{IIIC}>}$, is genuine $\{\mathcal{E}_{\text{SG}} : \mathcal{E}_{\text{PL}}\}$. Certain numerals have the singular form of this stress (*пя́ть*, GEN=DAT=LOC SG *пятú*), with no stress retraction in the instrumental (INS *пятью́*). The normative accentuation of *грýдь* was originally $\{\mathcal{E}_{\text{SG}} : \mathcal{E}_{\text{PL}}(\mathcal{R}_{\text{NOM}})\}$ with retraction in the instrumental singular (GEN=DAT=LOC *грудú*, INS *грýдью*) and alternation in the plural (NOM PL *грýди*, DAT PL *грудя́м*). The genitive and dative singular now show variation (*грýдú*). In Declension$_{<\text{IIIB}>}$ almost universal is $\{\mathcal{R}_{\text{SG}} : \mathcal{E}_{\text{PL}}\}$ (*и́мя* 'name', GEN=DAT=LOC SG *и́мени*, NOM PL *именá*, DAT PL *именáм*). Only *знáмя* 'banner' differs, with stem stress in the singular (GEN=DAT=LOC SG *знáмени*) and pre-desinential stress in the plural (NOM PL *знамёна*, DAT PL *знамёнам*).

A handful of nouns of Declension$_{<\text{IIIA}>}$ still preserve the older instrumental ending {-ṃi} (spelled «ьми»), though it is close to gone. According to normative recommendations, the old ending is preferred with *лошадьми́* 'horses', *дочерьми́* 'daughters', possible but not preferred with *дверьми́* 'doors', archaic or limited to fixed phrases with *горстьми́* 'handfuls', *клетьми́* 'containers', (*лéчь*) *костьми́* 'lay down one's bones'.[27] The ending is still usual with *детьми́* 'children', *людьми́* 'people' (though these nouns are not usually included in Declension$_{<\text{III}>}$).

There are ten neuter nouns in Declension$_{<\text{IIIB}>}$: *брéмя* 'burden', *врéмя* 'time', *вы́мя* 'udder', *знáмя* 'banner', *и́мя* 'name', *плéмя* 'tribe', *плáмя* 'flame', *сéмя* 'seed', *стрéмя* 'stirrup', *тéмя* 'crown [of head]'. Declension$_{<\text{IIIB}>}$ has a nominative singular which is spelled «я» (pronounced [ə]). The nominative (and accusative) singular uses a diminished stem without the {-Vn-} of other cases. Declension$_{<\text{IIIB}>}$ uses an instrumental {-em}, nominative plural {-a}, and genitive {-∅}: INS SG *и́менем*, NOM PL *именá*, GEN PL *имён*. These are characteristics

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27 Usage on the web (<04.XI.02>) is consistent with the normative rules: *лошадьми́* 99%, *дочерьми́* 88%, *дверьми́* 32%, *горстьми́* 0.8%.

of fellow neuters of Declension$_{<IB>}$. The final consonant of the stem expansion in {-Vn-} is palatalized in the singular {-Vn̦-} and unpalatalized in the plural {-Vn-}. Normally that vowel is unstressed; it becomes stressed only in the ending-less genitive plural, when the end of the stem is normally {-m̦on-}: *имён.* Two nouns take GEN PL {-m̦an-}: *семян, стремян.* The archaic noun *дитя* 'child, offspring' belongs in Declension$_{<III>}$, by virtue of merging the three oblique cases (*дитяти*$_{<GEN=DAT=LOC>}$); the instrumental is *дитятей.* The lone masculine *путь* 'road' follows Declension$_{<IIIA>}$ except in the instrumental singular.

3.6.8 Declension and gender of gradation

As emerged from the earlier exposition, gender and declension class are largely stable and fixed. A given noun is assigned to one and only one declension class. With the exception of nouns referring to human beings, syntactic gender can be predicted from morphological gender. As a rule, Declension$_{<IA>}$ is masculine, Declension$_{<IB>}$ neuter, and Declension$_{<II>}$ and Declension$_{<III>}$ mostly feminine. In ordinary instances, diminutives are transparent; the derived noun is assigned to one of the three productive declensional patterns and maintains its ancestral gender – the gender of the base noun. Thus the masculine suffix {-k-} and its expansions ({-ik-}, {-čik-}, {-čk-}) take masculine nouns from Declension$_{<IA>}$ or Declension$_{<II>}$ and assign them to Declension$_{<IA>}$; masculine gender is preserved. The corresponding feminine versions of these suffixes assign nouns from Declension$_{<II>}$ and Declension$_{<IIIA>}$ to Declension$_{<II>}$, and the neuter versions assign nouns to Declension$_{<IB>}$.

The only problematic cases involve gradated derivatives. Pejorative diminutives of the type MSC *домишко* 'house' and NT *окошко* 'window' belong to Declension$_{<IB>}$, though they have NOM PL {-i}, more like Declension$_{<IA>}$ than Declension$_{<IB>}$, with the expected GEN PL ending {-∅}: NOM PL *домишки, окошки,* GEN PL *домишек, окошек.* Phonetically, the final vowel of [dʌm̦íškə] could easily be construed as the nominative singular of Declension$_{<II>}$. And in fact, in less-than-standard register these nouns can take the singular oblique cases from Declension$_{<II>}$ (GEN SG *домишки,* DAT SG=LOC SG *домишке,* INS SG *домишкой*). The accusative is still *домишку,* not *домишко.*

Another problematic declension is diminutives in {-in-(a)} from masculines (*дождина < дождь* 'rain', *холодина < холод* 'cold', *домина < дом* 'building'), which decline like members of Declension$_{<II>}$: NOM SG *домина,* ACC SG *домину,* GEN SG *домины,* DAT SG=LOC SG *домине,* INS SG *809 домúной,* NOM PL *домины,* GEN PL *домин.* The syntactic gender for these nouns, however, vacillates between feminine, appropriate for Declension$_{<II>}$, and masculine, which is the ancestral gender. Both agreement variants are said to be stylistically neutral, hence both *эта домина,* which would be like a true feminine (though it contradicts

the ancestral gender), and *э́тот доми́на*, which would be like a masculine member of Declension_{<II>} (though masculines in Declension_{<II>} are otherwise only animate). In the accusative, the feminine pattern prevails ([14]):

[14]   Загоню эту домину (*этот домину) за 150 тысячи баксов и возьму в Москве хорошую квартиру.
I'll get rid of this house for 150 thousand bucks and get a good apartment in Moscow.

A third set of problems arises with the suffix {-išč-}. The feminine augmentative assigns nouns to Declension_{<II>}, as in *грязи́ща < грязь* 'dirt', *ба́бища < ба́ба* 'old woman'. With neuter nouns, the derivative behaves like a standard member of Declension_{<IB>}: *сели́ще < село́* 'village'. What appears to be the same suffix can be applied to masculine nouns and yield neuter derivatives which have a metonymic meaning: *топо́р* 'ax' > *топори́ще* 'ax handle'; *костёр* 'bonfire' > *костри́ще* 'site of bonfire'. This suffix also forms derivatives of verbal roots – *убе́жище* 'refuge', *жили́ще* 'dwelling'. These derivatives are unproblematic neuter nouns with the endings characteristic of Declension_{<IB>}: NOM PL {-a} – *сели́ща, костри́ща, убе́жища* – and GEN PL {–∅} – *сели́щ, костри́щ, убе́жищ*.

This suffix, applied to masculine (Declension_{<IA>}) nouns in the strictly augmentative sense, yields derivatives whose nominative singular would put them in Declension_{<IB>}: *до́м > доми́ще* 'big house', *топо́р > топори́ще* 'big ax', *го́род > городи́ще* 'big city', *амба́р > амба́рище* 'big barn'. In the plural, these derivatives use GEN PL {–∅}, while the nominative plural varies between {-a} (from Declension_{<IB>}) and {-i} (from Declension_{<IA>}): *доми́ще*, NOM PL *доми́ща ~ доми́щи*, GEN PL *доми́щ*; *топори́ще*, NOM PL *топори́ща ~ топори́щи*, GEN PL *топори́щ*; *городи́ще*, NOM PL *городи́ща ~ городи́щи*, GEN PL *городи́щ*. A minority of these nouns take {-i} exclusively: *лби́ще* 'forehead', NOM PL *лби́щи*, GEN PL *лби́щ*; *сапожи́ще* 'boot', NOM PL *сапожи́щи*, GEN PL *сапожи́щ*. This is usual for animates: *дружи́ще* 'friend', NOM PL *дружи́щи*, GEN PL *дружи́щ*; *парни́ще* 'fellow', NOM PL *парни́щи*, GEN PL *парни́щ*; *волчи́ще* 'wolf', NOM PL *волчи́щи*, GEN PL *волчи́щ*.

The patterns of nominative plurals can be summarized in tabular form (Table 3.35).

Animate augmentatives like *волчи́ще* can adopt the morphology of Declension_{<II>} in the less-than-standard register. Use of the genitive {-i}, dative and locative {-e}, and instrumental {-oj} (orthographic «-**ей**») is substandard, but use of the accusative in {-u} is only less literary: *тако́го волчи́щу* (*То́лько что ви́дела здорове́нного тако́го волчи́щу* 'I just saw such a healthy wolf'), which is analogous to *моего́ дя́дю*.

In general, these derived forms are subject to two pressures. On the one hand, they should inherit the gender of the ancestral noun. On the other, the suffixes push the derivatives towards specific declension classes. From this tension results

Table 3.35 *Nominative plural of* {-iṣ̌:-e}

gender			semantic type	NOM PL
MSC ANIMATE	>	MSC *бычи́ще*	augmentative	{-i}
MSC INANIMATE	>	MSC *лби́ще*	augmentative	{-i}
MSC INANIMATE	>	MSC *городи́ще*	augmentative	{-i} ∼ {-a}
MSC	>	NT *топори́ще*	metonymic	{-a}
NT	>	NT *окни́ще*	augmentative	{-a}
—	>	NT *убежи́ще*	abstract deverbal	{-a}

an unstable declension affiliation. It is interesting that the accusative singular in {-u} stands out; it is the most characteristic feature of feminine nouns of Declension$_{<II>}$.

3.6.9 Accentual paradigms

Nouns have six patterns of accentuation, which are available to all declensions, but are attested with different numbers of nouns in different declensions (Table 3.36).

If the stress patterns and declension classes are arranged in a particular order, some generalizations about stress paradigms and declension classes emerge.[28]

Those patterns in Table 3.36 in which stress falls consistently in the same place in both singular and plural, either root $\{\mathcal{R}_{SG} : \mathcal{R}_{PL}\}$ or ending $\{\mathcal{E}_{SG} : \mathcal{E}_{PL}\}$, are evidently the most frequent patterns, and occur with the largest number of declension classes. Restricted are patterns in which there is a shift within one number, such as a shift between the nominative plural and the oblique plural, $\{\mathcal{R}_{SG} : \mathcal{E}_{PL}(\mathcal{R}_{NOM})\}$ and $\{\mathcal{E}_{SG} : \mathcal{E}_{PL}(\mathcal{R}_{NOM})\}$. (The pattern in which there is alternation within the singular is the most archaic and restricted pattern of all.) Intermediate are alternations between the whole singular paradigm and the whole plural paradigm, the pattern $\{\mathcal{R}_{SG} : \mathcal{E}_{PL}\}$ and its converse $\{\mathcal{E}_{SG} : \mathcal{R}_{PL}\}$.

If Table 3.36 is viewed from the perspective of the declension classes, we observe that Declension$_{<IIIA>}$, at one end, basically holds stress on the root; it allows only limited end stress, when stress shifts to the end in the oblique plural ($\{\mathcal{R}_{SG}: \mathcal{E}_{PL}(\mathcal{R}_{NOM})\}$). At the opposite end of the spectrum, Declension$_{<II>}$ has shifting stress only when stress is basically on the end in the singular (archaic $\{\mathcal{E}_{SG}(\mathcal{R}_{ACC}): \mathcal{E}_{PL}(\mathcal{R}_{NOM})\}$ or newer $\{\mathcal{E}_{SG}: \mathcal{E}_{PL}(\mathcal{R}_{NOM})\}$). Declension$_{<II>}$ is the most tolerant of end stress and of variable stress. Declension$_{<IA>}$ and Declension$_{<IB>}$ are intermediate, with Declension$_{<IA>}$ more similar to Declension$_{<IIIA>}$ and Declension$_{<IB>}$ more similar to Declension$_{<II>}$.

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[28] Following Brown et al. 1996.

Table 3.36 *Accentual preferences of nominal declensions*

	Declension$_{<IIIA>}$	Declension$_{<IA>}$	Declension$_{<IB>}$	Declension$_{<II>}$
$\{\mathcal{R}_{SG} : \mathcal{R}_{PL}\}$	√	√	√	√
$\{\mathcal{R}_{SG} : \mathcal{E}_{PL}(\mathcal{R}_{NOM})\}$	√	±	*	*
$\{\mathcal{R}_{SG} : \mathcal{E}_{PL}\}$	*	±	±	*
$\{\mathcal{E}_{SG} : \mathcal{E}_{PL}\}$	*	√	√	√
$\{\mathcal{E}_{SG} : \mathcal{R}_{PL}\}$	*	*	±	±
$\{\mathcal{E}_{SG} : \mathcal{E}_{PL}(\mathcal{R}_{NOM})\}$	*	*	*	±

√ = frequent
± = viable but somewhat restricted
* = very restricted, (almost) non-extant

The particular hierarchy of declensions seen in Table 3.36 – whether accidentally or not – matches another hierarchy, the preference for null ending in the genitive plural. Declension$_{<II>}$ allows an overt genitive plural only in the rarest of circumstances, Declension$_{<IB>}$ a bit more frequently (an overt ending is a regular option for the class of derivatives in {-c-}); Declension$_{<IA>}$ strongly prefers an overt ending, but allows {–∅} in certain lexical fields. Declension$_{<IIIA>}$ always has an overt ending.

3.7 Complications in declension

3.7.1 Indeclinable common nouns

Some nouns, especially foreign borrowings, do not inflect; they have one form regardless of the case–number in which the noun is used.[29] (Native nouns that are in effect quotes are not declined: *шá* 'name of the letter «ш»', *я́* 'self, ego', *не-трóнь-меня́* 'name of a flower'.) Whether a borrowing can be declined and what gender it has depends on how well it matches existing Russian patterns.

If a noun ends in a consonant, it is declined as a masculine noun of Declension$_{<IA>}$. Declined are then: *бомóнд* 'beau-monde', *рейхстáг* 'Reichstag', *флáг* 'flag', *англофóб* 'Anglophobe', *масштáб* 'extent' (< German *Maβstab*), *донкихóт* 'Don Quixote', *готтентóт* 'Hottentot', *курóрт* 'Kurort', *панáш* 'panache'. However, *мúсс* 'miss' and *мадáм* 'madam' are not declined because there is a mismatch between the feminine referential gender and the phonological shape, which looks like Declension$_{<IA>}$. If a borrowing fits the pattern of Declension$_{<II>}$, it will be declined as a feminine member of Declension$_{<II>}$: *сирéна* 'siren', *морéна* 'moraine', *лéмма* 'lemma', *лáма* 'llama', *дилéмма* 'dilemma', *стюардéсса*

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[29] Muchnik 1963, Kaliniewicz 1978:43–52, Wojtowicz 1984:84–93.

'stewardess', *абсци́сса* 'abscissa', *па́уза* 'pause', *меду́за* 'jellyfish'. Common are nouns with the shape {-Vj-a}: *Ве́нгрия* 'Hungary', *Га́мбия* 'Gambia', *Япо́ния* 'Japan'. Nouns ending in {-a} preceded by a vowel do not decline: *боа́* 'boa', *ке́чуа* 'Quechua', *патуа́* 'patois'. Nouns ending in stressed {-á} do not decline: *нуга́* 'nougat', *антраша́* 'entrechat'.

Nouns ending in {-o} match the shape of neuters in Declension _{<IB>} but do not decline: *ра́дио* 'radio', *кре́до* 'creed', *либи́до* 'libido', *дина́мо* 'dynamo'. The familiar words *пальто́* 'coat' and *метро́* 'underground' are not declined in standard Russian (*Маяко́вский вышел на сце́ну в пальто́ и шля́пе* 'Mayakovsky came out onto the stage in a coat and hat'), but are occasionally declined in the informal register; thus, *в пальте́* appeared 150 xx out of 13,350 xx, or just 1 percent, on the web <20.X.02>.

Borrowings ending in other vowels violate Russian mores and are not declined: *ви́ски* 'whiskey', *ра́лли* 'rally', *такси́* 'taxi', *и́глу* 'igloo', *бижу́* 'bijoux', *ро́ндо* 'rondo', *фиа́ско* 'fiasco', *либре́тто* 'libretto', *меню́* 'menu', *интервью́* 'interview', *бики́ни* 'bikini', *девана́гари* 'Devanagari', *кафе́* 'café', *шоссе́* 'highway', *экспозе́* 'exposé'.

The gender of an indeclinable foreign noun is determined first by animacy:[30] if a noun refers to animate sexed beings, its syntactic gender is its referential gender, either masculine ([15]) or feminine ([16]):

[15] Шимпанзе́ сбежа́л_{<MSC SG>} из зоопа́рка, чтобы вы́пить пи́ва.
The chimpanzee fled the zoo in order to drink some beer.

[16] «Зна́ки», кото́рыми по́льзовалась_{<FEM SG>} шимпанзе́ Уо́шо че́рез 22 ме́сяца по́сле нача́ла обуче́ния
"Signs" that the chimpanzee Washoe used 22 months after beginning training

Similar to *шимпанзе́* are *ди́нго* 'dingo', *ко́лли* 'collie', *альпака́* 'alpaca'. For some nouns the syntactic gender is the referential gender of typical usage: *то́ри* 'Tory', *атташе́* 'attaché', *э́му* 'emu', *гну́* 'gnu', *гри́зли* 'grizzly', *по́ни* 'pony' are masculine, while *фра́у* 'Frau', *ме́ццо-сопра́но* 'mezzo-soprano', *ле́ди* 'lady' are feminine.

Indeclinable nouns that do not refer to animate beings are generally neuter. All the indeclinable words ending in unusual vowels fit here (*табу́* 'taboo', etc.). There are few exceptions to this rule. Two common nouns, *ко́фе* 'coffee' and *ви́ски* 'whiskey', are exclusively masculine in contemporary Russian (*Где купи́ть хоро́ший_{<MSC ACC SG>} ко́фе в зёрнах?* 'Where can one buy good coffee in beans?'). For some nouns, especially proper nouns, the gender in Russian is the gender of the Russian word that names the category to which the entity belongs. By this logic *бенга́ли* and *зу́лу* are masculine, each being a *язы́к* 'language'; *ми́ни*

₃₀ Corbett 1982.

'miniskirt', as a kind of *юбка* 'skirt', is feminine. *Тóкио* and *Тбилиси* are masculine like *гóрод* 'city'. *Колорáдо* can be feminine, if it is the *рекá* 'river' ([17]), or masculine, if it is the *штáт* 'state' ([18]):

[17]   Под ним тянулся Каньон, по которому текла_{<FEM SG>} Колорадо.
       Underneath stretched the Grand Canyon, along which flowed the Colorado.

[18]   Было время, когда Колорадо в один день имел_{<MSC SG>} трех губернаторов.
       There was a time when Colorado had three governors in one day.

Gender can be attributed to foreign phrases by the same technique, as in [19]:

[19]   Alaska Airlines объявлена_{<FEM SG>} лучшей авиакомпанией_{<\FEM SG>} по качеству Интернет-обслуживания.
       Alaska Airlines has been declared the best airline with respect to the quality of its Internet service.

By definition, indeclinable nouns do not themselves show any distinctions of number. But adjectives and verbs agree with the singular or plural sense of these nouns in context: compare singular *в своем немодном пальто* 'in his out-of-fashion coat' but plural *старушки носили истрепанные старомодные пальто* 'the old ladies wore worn-out old-fashioned coats'.

3.7.2 Acronyms

Acronyms that remain unassimilated are pronounced as a series of names of letters: *ЭВМ* [e.vᵒe.emᵒ]. Unassimilated acronyms do not decline, but they have gender (that of the head noun) and number (as appropriate in context). Thus, feminine is used for the constituents of *две*_{<FEM>} *ЭВМ* 'two computers', *к центральной*_{<FEM DAT SG>} *ЭВМ* 'to the central computer' because feminine is the gender of the noun of *электронная вычислительная машина* 'electronic calculating machine'. *ЕЭС* is neuter, as in *чтобы ЕЭС проводило*_{<NT SG>} *социальную политику* 'in order that the EEC might implement its social program', because *Европейское Экономическое Сообщество* 'European Economic Community' is neuter. *СЭВ*, for *Союз Экономической Взаимопомощи* 'Society for Mutual Economic Assistance', is masculine. Plural number is marked by agreement, as *появились*_{<PL>} *достаточно надежные*_{<PL>}, *мощные*_{<PL>} *и недорогие*_{<PL>} *ЭВМ* 'there appeared sufficiently reliable, powerful, and inexpensive computers'.

Some acronyms have been assimilated into common parlance, and are pronounced not as a series of names of letters but as a phonological word; for example, *ТАСС* is pronounced [tᵒas], not [tᵒe.a.esᵒ.esᵒ]. The noun is then assigned to a declension class according to its phonological shape and declined. Thus *МИД*, for *Министерство Иностранных Дел* 'The Ministry of Foreign Affairs', declines

(*в стенах МИДа*_{<GEN SG>} 'within the confines of MID') and conditions masculine agreement (*итальянский*_{<MSC SG>} *МИД заявил*_{<MSC SG>} 'the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has announced').

3.7.3 Compounds

Compounds are of two types.[31] If the second noun is semantically dominant and the first is a specifier, the second noun declines and determines agreement, while the first noun is inert, and does not decline. A *плащ-палатка* is above all a *палáтка*_{<\FEM>}, which is further characterized as a *плáщ*_{<\MSC>}.

[20] Иван Трофимович тащил меня на большóй_{<FEM SG>} *плащ-палатке*_{<\FEM SG>} через зону обстрела.
  Ivan Trofimovich dragged me through the line of fire on a big poncho-tent.

Alternatively, the first noun may define the type, and the second noun the specifier. In *школа-интернáт* the more general category is *школа*_{<\FEM>} 'school', which is specified as an *интернáт*_{<\MSC>} 'boarding school'. In this case, both nouns decline and the first noun determines the gender of adjectives (*москóвской*_{<FEM SG>}), relative pronouns (*котóрая*_{<FEM SG>}), and anaphoric pronouns (*её*_{<FEM SG>}):

[21] Ученики московской_{<FEM SG>} *школы*_{<\FEM GENSG>}-*интерната*_{<\MSC GEN SG>}№ 18, которая_{<FEM SG>}была основана четверть века назад по инициативе выдающихся наших ученых, отмечали ее_{<FEM SG>} юбилей.
  The students of Moscow Boarding School 18, which was founded a quarter of a century ago on the initiative of our leading scholars, celebrated its anniversary.

For any compound usage is largely fixed, with only occasional variation: *вагóн-выставка* is feminine if it is more an exhibition than a vehicle, as in *вагон-выставка пользовалась*_{<FEM SG>} *большим успехом* 'the railroad-car-exhibition enjoyed great success', but masculine if it is more a vehicle than an exhibition, as in *вагон-выставка стоял*_{<MSC SG>} *на запасном пути* 'the exhibition railroad-car was on a siding'.[32]

3.7.4 Appositives

It is common to combine in APPOSITION a common noun and a proper noun, where the common noun names the category to which the proper noun belongs. Two cases can be distinguished: (a) a personal name with title or occupation; and (b) a geographical name or a title of an artistic work used with a noun stating to what category it belongs.

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[31] Raecke 1972.   [32] Cited by Crockett 1976.

When names and titles or occupations are combined, both parts decline: *с генералом Власовым* 'with General Vlasov', *с врачом Верой Афанасьевной* 'with Doctor Vera Afanasevna'.

With geographical and genre names used in apposition, the syntactic gender is that of the common noun used to categorize the proper noun:

[22]   Город_{<\MSC SG>} Москва_{<\FEM SG>} преобразился_{<MSC SG>}.
       The city of Moscow has been transformed.

[23]   Журнал_{<\MSC SG>} «Юность»_{<\FEM SG>} появился_{<MSC SG>}.
       The journal «Youth» appeared.

[24]   Озеро_{<\NT SG>} Байкал_{<\MSC SG>} глубоко_{<NT SG>}.
       Lake Baikal is deep.

In such combinations, the category noun always declines (*го́род* 'city', *журна́л* 'magazine, journal', *о́зеро* 'lake', *рома́н* 'novel'). Whether the proper noun also declines depends on the category and how familiar the proper noun is. With *го́род*, proper nouns typically decline, *детство в городе Воронеже* 'childhood in the city of Voronezh', except exotic ones, *в испанском городе Табернас* 'in the Spanish city of Tabernas'. With the category *село́* 'settlement', place names that are presumed familiar can decline, as in *в селе Котове, где я жил тогда* 'in the village of Kotovo, where I lived at that time', but place names do not decline if the place is defined in bureaucratic style: *Сдается в аренду фруктовый сад в селе Хилково* 'An orchard is to be leased in the village [that is called] Khilkovo'. In unconventional combinations proper names do not decline: *в рабочем поселке Новосинеглазовский* 'the workers' settlement of Novosineglazovsky', *оккупация сектора Газа* 'the occupation of the Gaza Strip', *на всемирно известном курорте Ипанема в Рио-де-Жанейро* 'at the world-famous resort of Ipanema in Rio de Janeiro'. Only the most familiar rivers decline, *состояние реки Волги* 'the state of the River Volga', *через Москву-реку* 'across the Moscow River' but *берег реки Иордан* 'the shore of the River Jordan'. Variable is: *Заражена рыба и в сибирской реке Оби* 'Fish has been contaminated also in the Siberian river, the Ob' but *сульфиды меди в бассейне реки Обь* 'copper sulfides in the drainage of the river Ob'. Names of lakes do not decline in apposition: *у берегов озера Ильмень* 'on the shores of Lake Ilmen', *мероприятия по охране озера Байкал* 'measures for the preservation of Lake Baikal'.

If the proper noun is marked or understood as a quoted phrase, it does not decline. Hence titles of artistic works used in apposition do not decline: *в летнем номере журнала «Форин афферс»* 'in the summer issue of the journal *Foreign Affairs*', *В этом кабинете Достоевский работал над романом «Братья Карамазовы»* 'It was in this study that Dostoevsky worked on the novel *The Brothers Karamazov*'.

If these proper names are used by themselves, not in apposition, they do decline, and animate names of books are treated as animate: *Я, например, не видел Байкала, разлива Оби в ее устье* 'I, for one, have not seen Baikal, the bay of the Ob at its mouth'; *Начат работа над «Войной<INS SG> и миром<INS SG>»* 'Work was begun on *War and Peace*'; *Несколько раз он даже цитирует «Братьев<ACC=GEN> Карамазовых» и «Идиота»<ACC=GEN> Достоевского* 'Several times he even cites *The Brothers Karamazov* and *The Idiot* of Dostoevsky'.

3.7.5 Names

With names of people, the gender is determined by reference. A name has feminine syntactic gender if it is used in reference to a woman, masculine if used in reference to a man. Whether a name is declined depends largely on how well its phonological shape matches the declension appropriate to the referential gender and how familiar the name is.

Native names: Most native Russian surnames have an adjectival suffix, and distinguish masculine and feminine forms in the singular, and decline. Such are: suffixed names in {-ov}: MSC *Бори́сов,* FEM *Бори́сова*; suffixed names in {-in}: MSC *Пу́шкин,* FEM *Пу́шкина*; suffixed names in {-sk-}: MSC *Петро́вский,* FEM *Петро́вская,* MSC *Кру́пский,* FEM *Кру́пская*. Names formed with the suffixes {-ov} and {-in} have a declension mixed between adjectives and nouns. Those in {-sk-} have a fully adjectival declension. Other names have a pure nominal declension: NOM SG *Мандельшта́м,* INS SG *Мандельшта́мом,* GEN PL *Мандельшта́мов,* INS PL *Мандельшта́мами*. Surnames that are frozen genitive case forms do not decline: *Черны́х, Жива́го*.

Borrowed adjectival names: Names borrowed from other Slavic languages (Polish and Czech) that have an adjectival declension in the source language are treated like Russian adjectival names and decline, including in the feminine:

[25]	так назвал Мицкевич Марию Шимановскую; биография Шимановской; с Шимановской	that is how Mickiewicz dubbed Maria Szymanowska; the life of Szymanowska; with Szymanowska
[26]	матч 33-летней Эверт и 31-летней Навратиловой	a match of the 33-year-old Evert and the 31-year-old Navratilova

These names decline regardless of how the nominative is spelled, whether according to the Russian fashion (usual for the masculine, *Лапицкий* 'Lapicki', possible for the feminine, *Каминская* 'Kamińska') or the source language (possible

Войницки 'Wojnicki', usual *Вышинска* 'Wyszyńska').[33] Note also NOM SG *Неедлы*, GEN SG *Неедлого*, from Czech *Nejedlý, Nejedlého*.

Foreign names ending in {-V}: Names of foreign origin that end in vowels *other than* {-a} do not decline, whether in reference to males or females:

[27] прекрасные рисунки испанского   the wonderful sketches of the Spanish
      художника Сальвадора Дали   artist Salvador Dali
[28] убийство Джона Кеннеди   the murder of John Kennedy
[29] фильм с участием Бриджит Бардо   a film starring Brigitte Bardot
[30] с живой Индирой Ганди   with the living Indira Gandhi

The prohibition covers surnames ending in {-ko} and {-(en)ko}. Names of this type, though historically suffixed and historically of Slavic origin, generally do not decline in literary Russian, whether in reference to men ([31–33]) or women ([34]):

[31] колония А. С. Макаренко   the colony of A. S. Makarenko
[32] письмо Ходзько   the letter of Chodźko
[33] для Громыко   for Gromyko
[34] достижение, установленное год   the triumph, accomplished a year ago by
      назад Ларисой Савченко и   Larisa Savchenko and Svetlana
      Светланой Пархоменко   Parkhomenko

Still, informally these names can decline ([35–36]), especially in the plural ([37–38]):

[35] У Науменки подлинник   Naumenko has the original in her file.
      лежит.
[36] развод с Шилейкой   divorce from Shileiko
[37] По двору бегали и другие   Around the yard ran other little
      маленькие Кучеренки.   Kucherenkos.
[38] в одном доме с Горенками   in the same house with the Gorenkos

First names that end in {-o} decline according to Declension$_{<IA>}$, if the final vowel is stressed, as in *Петро́, Петра́, Петру́, Петро́м,* etc., though there is a tendency toward non-declension. In nouns like *Дани́ло, Миха́йло*, the unstressed final vowel is pronounced as [ə], the same as an unstressed {-a} in Declension$_{<II>}$. In standard Russian, these nouns decline according to Declension$_{<II>}$ ([39]):

[39] Михайлу не увидел; от   [he] didn't see Mikhailo; from Mikhailo; to
      Михайлы; к Михайле; с   Mikhailo; with Mikhailo
      Михайлой

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[33] Kalakutskaia 1970.

Foreign names ending in {-C}: Names that end in consonants fit the expected shape of Declension_{<IA>}, which contains only masculine nouns. In reference to males (or mixed groups), such names, including foreign names, generally decline.

[40] о приезде Хемингуэя   about the arrival of Hemingway
[41] портреты Бюнюэля   portraits of Buñuel
[42] старое выражение генерала   an old expression of General De Gaulle
       де Голля
[43] равно как и с Кондолизой   similarly with Condaleezza Rice
       Райс и с Бушами   and the Bushes

Included are stems which end in a palatalized consonant (*де Голль*) or [j] (*Хемингуэй*). An exception is monosyllabic Korean names such as *Пак*, *Ким*, not declined by a majority of speakers a quarter of a century ago.[34]

Names that end in a consonant do not have a feminine nominative singular form and cannot decline when used in reference to females:

[44] речь М. Тэтчер   the speech of M. Thatcher
[45] смерть Жорж Санд   the death of George Sand
[46] год назад за места в финале   a year ago places in the finals were
       боролись, как и сейчас,   contested, as now, by Navratilova with Chris
       Навратилова с Крис Эверт, а   Evert, and Graf with Pam Shriver.
       Граф – с Пам Шрайвер.

In reference to men, these names decline: *жена господина Тэтчера* 'Mr. Thatcher's wife'.

The prohibition against declining women's surnames ending in a consonant holds also for names that have long been used in a Russian-language context. There is no distinct nominative singular feminine form for *Гинзбург* or *Фигнер*, and these names do not decline in reference to women:

[47] книга Евгении Гинзбург   the book of Evgeniia Ginzburg *Into the*
       «Крутой маршрут».   *Whirlwind*
[48] в Одессу к Вере Фигнер   to Odessa to Vera Figner

There is no feminine form, and hence no declension, of names made with the etymologically Slavic suffixes {-ič} or {-uk} used in reference to women: *Екатерина Николаевна Харкевич*, *о Зое Николаевной Галич*, *к Соне Ганчук*.

Foreign names ending in {-a}: Names ending in {-a} are complicated. Some native roots and assimilated non-native roots are used as names, and they decline in reference to males: *портрет ни более ни менее как самого Ягоды – главного*

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[34] Kim 1970.

палача нашей страны 'a portrait of no one less than Iagoda himself – the main hangman of our country'.

Names ending in {-a} borrowed from other Slavic languages and assimilated names in {-a} decline in reference to men:

[49]	фильм Вайды	a film of Wajda
[50]	за Сметаной	after Smetana
[51]	о Яне Жижке	about Jan Žižka
[52]	вмешательство Берии;	the interference of Beria; murder by Beria;
	убийство Берией; Берию	Zhukov arrested Beria
	арестовал Жуков	
[53]	песни Окуджавы	the songs of Okudzhava
[54]	история Кудирки; Кудирку	the story of Kudirkas; they called Kudirkas
	позвали к начальнику	in to see the head of the prison
	тюрьмы	

With less assimilated foreign surnames used in reference to males, there is variation. Certainly many names decline:

[55]	портреты Лорки	portraits of Lorca
[56]	правительство Патриса	the government of Patrice Lumumba
	Лумумбы	
[57]	перед полотнами Гойи	before the canvases of Goya
[58]	«Процесс» Кафки	Kafka's *Trial*
[59]	жали руку Труэбы;	they shook the hand of Trueba; agreement
	соглашение с Труэбой	with Trueba
[60]	работа Иошимуры;	the work of Yoshimura; unknown to
	неизвестно Иошимуре	Yoshimura

but declension is not automatic for unfamilar names.

[61]	в работах Хидецуми	in the works of Hidezumi Terazawa
	Теразава	

Occasionally, there is variation for a given name, within one text:

[62]	Де-Перрегу освободили	De Perregaux was freed before the end of
	досрочно.	his sentence.
[63]	номер Де-Паррега	the hotel room of de Perregaux

Stress on the {-á} makes declension impossible, even in widely used nouns:

[64]	«Три мушкетера» Дюма́	*The Three Musketeers* of Dumas
[65]	в искусстве Эдгара Дега́	in the art of Edgar Degas
[66]	творчество Золя́	the creative work of Zola
[67]	дочь М.И. Петипа́	the daughter of M. I. Petipa

The trend is evidently towards non-agreement. A work from the turn of the previous century declined Lope de Vega ([68]) but contemporary speakers do not:

[68] влияние на Лопе де Вегу;   influence on Lope de Vega; activity of Lope
деятельность Лопе де Веги;   de Vega; interest in Lope de Vega; written
интерес к Лопе де Веге;   about Lope de Vega
написано о Лопе де Веге

In reference to women, only highly assimilated names in {-a} decline ([69] vs. [70–71]).

[69] биография Л.Н. Столицы   the life of L. N. Stolitsa
[70] у Мальвы Ланда; Мальву   in the possession of Malva Landa; [they]
Ланда вновь арестовали   arrested Malva Landa again
[71] в творчестве М. Хярма   in the creative work of M. Harma
[72] вместо Карлотты Брианца;   in place of Carlotta Brianca; to replace
заменить Карлотту   Carlotta Brianca
{?Брианцу ∼ Брианца}

The accusative was actually used in [72], from a memoir written by the paramour of Nicholas I, but for modern speakers the accusative is only *Бриа́нца* for this famous ballerina.

Russian is generous with respect to *first* names that refer to females, and declines any noun whose nominative can be construed as ending in {-a} in Russian:

[73] А разве Пушкин не писал о   Did not Pushkin write about Cleopatra?
Клеопатре?
[74] с Индирой Ганди   with Indira Gandhi
[75] с Симоной Синьоре   with Simone Signoret

Summaries of soap operas in the new Russian-American press decline the names of heroines *Бекка*, *Эрика*, *Белинда*, *Франческа*, because the nominative ends in {-a}, but they do not decline first names referring to women that end in consonants or vowels other than {-a}: *Ракель*, *Опал*, *Хэйли*.

The usage of surnames discussed above can be summarized in tabular form (see Table 3.37).

Overall, names decline to the extent they are understood to fit the Russian pattern of gender and declension. The different forms of gender need to line up: it must be possible to assign the noun to a recognizable declension class (formal gender), and the referential gender (male vs. female) must be appropriate for the declension class. Names ending in vowels other than {-a} cannot decline at all,

Table 3.37 *Declension of surnames*

	referring to a man	referring to a woman
Russian surnames in {-in}, {-ov}	yes	yes
Slavic surnames in {-a}	yes: Вайда, Глинка, Вечерка	yes: Навратилова
assimilated surnames in {-a}	yes: Окуджава	rarely yes: Столица // usually no: Брианца
assimilated surnames in {-C}	yes: Гинзбург	no: [Евгения] Гинзбург
Slavic surnames in {-ič}, {-uk}	yes: Галич	no: [Соня] Ганчук
foreign surnames in {-C}	yes: Рейган, Джексон, Эйнштейн, Бюнюэль	no: [Крис] Эверт
foreign surnames in {-a}	often yes: Иошимура, Гойя, Лорка // no: Дюма	no: [Мина] Харма
Slavic surnames in {-o}	no: Макаренко but PL yes: Кучеренки	no: [Лариса] Савченко
foreign surnames in {-V}	no: Кеннеди, Дали	no: [Индира] Ганди, Сеньоре

because they fit no declension class; nouns ending in consonants cannot decline in reference to women, there being no feminine gender nouns in Declension$_{<IA>}$. Perhaps paradoxically, foreign names in {-a} often decline in reference to men, but not in reference to women – even though a noun in {-a} would seem to be a perfect candidate for membership as a feminine of Declension$_{<II>}$.

4

Arguments

4.1 Argument phrases

4.1.1 Basics

Predications are made up of various constituents: predicates, arguments (subject, direct object, domain, etc.), and arguments of time and circumstance.

The simplest and most familiar argument phrases are plain nouns or pronouns, but argument phrases are not always so simple. Nouns can be combined with modifiers – adjectives, participles, relative clauses – and result in phrases which are more complex than a bare noun but which are nevertheless equivalent to a noun. Nouns can have their own arguments – possessors or arguments that correspond to the arguments of predicates (subjects, objects, domains). Moreover, argument phrases can be combined with quantifiers or prepositions to form larger phrases, which in turn are equivalent to simpler argument phrases. Pronouns, seemingly minimal units, occur in the sites of arguments where nouns might occur. Part of the discussion below, then, concerns the internal structure of argument phrases: how argument phrases are put together out of nouns and other constituents.

Nouns and pronouns express case and number. Nouns belong to one or another of three genders. Gender, an intrinsic property of lexical items, is discussed here in this chapter (§§4.1.3–6), as is number, an operation that modifies the shape of nouns (§§4.1.7–9). Case is imposed on nominal elements by the syntactic context – by prepositions (§4.2) and by predicates (§5). The functions of case are summarized schematically here (§4.1.10).

4.1.2 Reference of arguments

The REFERENTIAL EXPONENT of argument phrases – a noun or pronoun – names or refers to entities, whether persons, places, concrete things, masses of stuff, abstract essences, or happenings presented as entities.

Naming or referring to entities involves a number of processes at once, which can be grouped into two levels. The first is quantification. At the minimum, using a noun or pronoun establishes that there exists something worth talking

about, and using a noun or pronoun names at least some minimal property. In some instances, this rather minimal ᴇxɪsᴛᴇɴᴛɪᴀʟ ǫᴜᴀɴᴛɪғɪᴄᴀᴛɪᴏɴ is all that using a noun accomplishes. For example,

[1]   Владимир ему рассказал, что у него есть младший брат.
       Vladimir told him that he had a younger brother.

establishes the existence of an individual that fits the formula of being a younger brother.[1] This kind of minimal reference will be termed ᴇssᴇɴᴛɪᴀʟ reference below, motivated in that what is known or relevant is that an entity manifests an essence (equivalently, belongs to a type), but little more is known about the entity as an individual. Essential reference is not marked consistently by any single device or referential exponent. Rather, it is a value, a sense, that arises in certain contexts, especially in contexts such as existential sentences ([1]). Additionally, essential reference is relevant to: the choice of relative pronoun, *ктó* vs. *котóрый* (§4.4.5), reflexive pronouns (§4.7), case choice with negated predicates (§§5.3, 5.4), animate accusative with approximate quantifiers (§4.3.9), ordinary numerals (*двá*) vs. collectives (*двóe*) (§4.3.8), possessive adjectives vs. genitives (§4.4.3).

Alternatively, a noun ɪɴᴅɪᴠɪᴅᴜᴀᴛᴇs not only when it establishes that there is an individual entity belonging to a type, but also when some properties of the individual are known that differentiate it from other members of the class.

[2]   Тетя Саша учила меня и моих младших сестер.
       Aunt Sasha taught me and my younger sisters.

In [2], the younger sisters are already known and differentiated from other sisters of other speakers, and this predication adds an additional property that holds of them (that they received instruction). The layer of quantification, then, includes the distinction between essential vs. individuated reference. This layer also includes number.

The second layer is contextual. To have knowledge about an individual, it is relevant to know on what occasions that individual exists, whether in all times and possibilities or only some. Thus reference has a temporal and modal side. It is also relevant to know what speaker is responsible for identifying the entity. And there is a textual side. Pronouns in particular indicate that an individual is known outside of whatever is being said at the moment; there might well be other properties that are already known about an individual. Pronouns tell

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[1] "Essential" reference derives from Donnellan's (1966) "attributive" meaning of referring expressions. As Donnellan observed, in *Smith's murderer must be insane*, all we know about this individual is that he fits the formula 'whosoever was responsible for the death of Smith'. On the notion of definiteness as it applies to Russian, see Revzin 1973[b], Chvany 1983.

the addressee how to find the source of information about the individual: the personal pronoun *я* 'I' says the individual is the speaker, while an ordinary third-person pronoun such as *она́* 'she' says the individual is a salient entity of the feminine gender presumed to be known to the addressee (from the recent text, from the shared knowledge of speaker and addressee). Thus the second layer of reference is contextual. Pronouns in particular have the task of keeping track of individuals on the contextual level.

4.1.3 Morphological categories of nouns: gender

Russian has three genders: masculine, feminine, and neuter. A given noun belongs to one and only one gender, and does not change its form and become a noun of a different gender. The gender of a noun is revealed in agreement, when an adjective adopts a different form depending on the noun it modifies. Gender is further revealed in the past tense of verbs (when the noun happens to be the subject) and in the gender of relative pronouns and third-person pronouns. Gender in nouns is, then, a partition of the lexicon; it is a latent lexical property that is revealed as SYNTACTIC gender in adjectives and, additionally, in verbs and pronouns.

Nouns are partitioned into declensional classes, or MORPHOLOGICAL gender, which matches syntactic gender often but not always. Nouns in Declension$_{<IA>}$ – those with no ending in the nominative singular and {-a} in the genitive singular – are syntactically masculine; adjectives that modify such nouns and past-tense verbs of which they are subjects adopt masculine form. Nouns in Declension$_{<IB>}$ – those ending in a vowel in the nominative singular and {-a} in the genitive singular – are neuter. Declension$_{<III>}$ for all intents and purposes is feminine; other than feminine nouns, it includes only one masculine noun (*пу́ть* 'road') and less than a dozen neuter nouns (those, like *вре́мя* 'time', ending in -*мя* in the nominative singular). Nouns in Declension$_{<II>}$ are generally feminine, with the significant exception of nouns that can refer to male human beings (*дя́дя* 'uncle', *судья́* 'judge', *Серёжа*, *Алёша*, *Бо́ря*). Overall, then, there is a high degree of correspondence between morphological gender (or declension class) and the syntactic gender of a noun (or agreement patterns in adjectives and verbs).

For most nouns there is no motivation for gender in the real world. But with nouns that refer to people or animals, gender is not just an arbitrary lexical idiosyncrasy; the syntactic gender relates to the sex (or REFERENTIAL gender) of the entity. There is more than one possibility. Many nouns that define people and animals as members of groups come in pairs related by derivation that differ in gender: *учи́тель/учи́тельница* 'teacher', *чемпио́н/чемпио́нка* 'champion', *сосе́д/сосе́дка* 'neighbor', *пенсионе́р/пенсионе́рка* 'pensioner', *во́лк/волчи́ца* 'wolf'.

In such pairs, both nouns are stylistically neutral. With other words, the feminine has overtones of condescension to derogation: *поэте́сса* '(lady) poet', *врачи́ха* 'doctor', *корре́кторша* 'copy editor', *библиоте́карша* 'librarian'. The masculine in [3] is grandiose, the feminine in [4] familiar.

[3] Лоцманом книжного моря называют *библиотекаря* Фаину А.
     Pilot of the sea of books is what people call the librarian A. Faina.

[4] По другую сторону окошка сидела *библиотекарша* Вера Ильинична.
     On the other side of the window was sitting the librarian Vera Ilinichna.

Next, there are nouns for which masculine and feminine forms exist, but the forms are not parallel because the feminine form refers to a different social status (*генера́льша* 'general's wife'), or to occupations that differ markedly in social status depending on the gender (*секрета́рша* 'secretary', *математи́чка* 'student of math', *акуше́рка* 'midwife'), or to occupations stereotypically associated with women (*телефони́стка* 'telephone operator', *дои́льщица* 'milkmaid', *медсестра́* 'nurse'). Finally, some occupations are named by a single word form belonging to Declension$_{<IA>}$: *врач* 'doctor', *президе́нт* 'president'.

The use of paired nouns lacking strong stylistic overtones – *учи́тель/ учи́тельница* 'teacher', *писа́тель/писа́тельница* 'writer' – depends on context.[2] Three contexts can be distinguished. The first context is that in which the individual members of the group are not distinguished, and sex is irrelevant or indeterminate. The masculine form is used in reference to a potentially mixed plural group ([5], [6]) or to any arbitrary single representative of a mixed or indeterminate group ([7], [8]):

[5] У пришельцев были светлые отвороты меха на шее, характерные для степных *волков*.
     The new arrivals had light folds of fur, as is characteristic of steppe wolves.

[6] Ольга Николаевна Маслова, учительница русского языка, в моем классе не преподавала, но если кто-либо из *учителей* заболевал, она его заменяла и целый урок о чем-то рассказывала.
     Olga Nikolaevna Maslova, teacher of the Russian language, did not actually teach in my class, but if some or another of the teachers fell ill, she would replace him and tell stories for the whole lesson.

[7] Талантливый *учитель* сядет с детьми под дерево, и возникнет чудо.
     A talented teacher can sit down with children under a tree, and a miracle will happen.

[8] Она всегда готова была заменить заболевшего *учителя*.
     She was already ready to substitute for a teacher who had fallen ill.

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[2] Recently Mozdzierz 1999, Yokoyama 1999.

The teaching staff of the gymnasium in [6] and [8] was de facto primarily women, but the masculine form is used because the sense of 'teacher' is essential: it is anyone who instantiated the essence of being a teacher. The fact that the masculine noun can be used to refer to groups or tokens of classes that include or might include females is one reason why masculine gender is said to be unmarked – that is, less narrowly defined, since it does not insist that the referent is male.

Second, when an individual woman is introduced into the discourse, the feminine form characterizes her permanent identity. The masculine defines a societal role (in [9], she is 'the person fulfilling the role of supervisor'):

[9] На самом деле Софья Вениаминовна, *географичка*, наш классный *руководитель*.
     As a matter of fact, Sofia Veniaminovna, a geographer, is our class supervisor.

And third, when these paired nouns refer to an individual whose identity is already established, the feminine derivative is used ([10–11]):

[10] *Учительница* поставила лампу на стол, чиркнула спичкой, зажгла свечку.
      The teacher put a lamp on the table, struck a match, and lit a candle.
[11] Он дал мне записку классной *руководительницы* моим родителям.
      He gave me a note from the class supervisor to my parents.

Thus, when paired, stylistically neutral forms exist, the feminine derivative is used when it is clear that one specific woman is discussed as an individual.

When there is a noun in Declension$_{<IA>}$ that names a profession and there is no corresponding feminine derivative in Declension$_{<II>}$ (or no neutral form), the sole masculine form is used in reference to women. For example, in the index of a book on ballet, women are identified by feminine nouns when such exist, *писа́тельница* 'writer', *танцо́вщица* 'dancer', *уча́стница (ру́сских сезо́нов)* 'participant (of the Russian troupes)', *соли́стка* 'soloist', *певи́ца* 'singer', *худо́жница* 'artist'. The women who are identified in this way have often served in other roles, which are described by nouns of Declension$_{<IA>}$: as *режиссёр* 'director', *хорео́граф* 'choreographer', *педаго́г* 'ballet teacher', *вицепрезиде́нт* 'vice president', or *теоре́тик та́нца* 'theoretician of dance'.

4.1.4 Gender: unpaired "masculine" nouns

Historically, when nouns like *вра́ч* were used in reference to women, they evoked masculine agreement in both adjectives and predicates, but this has been changing. Using feminine agreement in the predicate in reference to a woman doctor has become permissible and frequent (reported in 1976 as over 50% in the cohort born between 1940–49):[3]

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[3] Kitaigorodskaia 1976; discussion in Rothstein 1971.

[12]   Врач {рекомендовал_{<MSC>} ∼ рекомендовала_{<FEM>}} ограничить половую жизнь.
The doctor recommended limiting sexual activity.

Feminine agreement is expected when a name marks the individual as female:

[13]   Врач О. Ю. Беспалова тоже {испугалась_{<FEM>} / *испугался_{<MSC>}}.
The doctor O. Iu. Bespalova was also alarmed.

Adjectives make the picture more complex. In the conservative norm, masculine agreement is used in adjectives and predicates ([14](a)). In less conservative usage, now tolerated as normative, the predicate has feminine agreement, adjectives – masculine agreement ([14](b)).

[14]   (a)   В комнату вошел_{<MSC>} новый_{<MSC>} врач.   oldest, formal
(b)   В комнату вошла_{<FEM>} новый_{<MSC>} врач.   newer, informal, now standard
(c)   В комнату вошла_{<FEM>} новая_{<FEM>} врач.   newest, not normative
(d)   В комнату вошел_{<MSC>} новая_{<FEM>} врач.   systemically outlawed
Into the room entered the new doctor.

As a very new option, the adjective may also adopt feminine agreement ([14](c)); though not normative, feminine agreement in *(у нас) хорошая*_{<FEM>} *бухгалтер*_{<\MSC>} '(we have) a good bookkeeper' was offered by 39 percent of workers from the cohort of 1940–49.[4] Feminine is possible only with descriptive or deictic adjectives and only in the nominative, as in [15]:

[15]   <. . .> как рекомендовала_{<FEM>} наша_{<FEM>} любимая_{<FEM>} врач.
<. . .> as our beloved doctor recommended.

Adjectives such as *районный* 'regional', *семейный* 'family', *кожный* 'skin' that are part of the definition of the profession are masculine ([16]):

[16]   <. . .> как рекомендовала_{<FEM>} старший_{<MSC>} врач станции «Скорой помощи» Москвы.
<. . .> as the senior doctor of Moscow emergency care recommended.

The fourth hypothetical possibility above ([14](d)), the combination of a feminine adjective and masculine gender in the predicate, violates a general principle governing agreement: the more closely bound the constituent, the more agreement will be based on morphological gender; the less closely bound the constituent, the more agreement will be based on referential gender.[5] The principle shows up further in relative clauses and the use of (third-person) pronouns, which choose syntactic gender on the basis of the reference of the noun. For example ([17]), in a discussion of *Софья Григорьевна*, who has the responsibility

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[4] Kitaigorodskaia 1976:152.   [5] Corbett 1979[b].

of being *райо́нный*~~<MSC>~~ *санита́рный*~~<MSC>~~ *вра́ч*, the predicate could use either gender, but the pronouns *кото́рая* and *её* appear as feminine:

[17] Очень хорошо ко мне {относилась~~<FEM>~~ ~ относился~~<MSC>~~} районный
      санитарный врач, {которая~~<FEM>~~ ~ *который~~<MSC>~~} и зачастую меня кормила.
      А я для {ее~~<FEM>~~ ~ *его~~<MSC>~~} мужа доставал в библиотеках нужные для его
      литературных исследований сведения.
      The regional sanitation officer, who sometimes would feed me, treated me well.
      And for her husband I used to get information from the library needed for his
      literary studies.

4.1.5 Gender: common gender

There is another group of nouns that do not have distinct masculine and feminine forms but can be used regularly in reference to either males or females. It is the large, open-ended set of nouns of COMMON GENDER (epicenes), nouns belonging to Declension~~<II>~~, often morphologically derived, that describe people in terms of some prominent quality or behavior: *пла́кса* 'crybaby', *сомна́мбула* 'sleepwalker', *выпиво́ха* 'boozer', *левша́* 'lefty', *сирота́* 'orphan'. Adjectives and verbs agree with the referential gender of the noun: masculine gender is used in reference to a man ([18–19]), feminine in reference to a woman ([20–21]):[6]

[18] Мать в детстве привязывала его к стулу — он был страшный~~<MSC>~~ непоседа, —
      чтобы он занимался музыкой.
      His mother used to tie him to a chair — he was a terrible fidget — so he would
      practice his music.
[19] Бедный~~<MSC>~~ сирота мечтал~~<MSC>~~ служить во французском легионе, чтобы
      купить себе дом в Полтаве.
      The poor orphan dreamed of serving in the French Foreign Legion, in order to
      buy himself a home in Poltava.
[20] Ей уже 8 месяцев. Она страшная~~<FEM>~~ непоседа и очень улыбчивая.
      She's eight months old. She's a terrible fidget and loves to smile a lot.
[21] Бедная~~<FEM>~~ сирота должна~~<FEM>~~ была~~<FEM>~~ сама~~<FEM>~~ себе пробивать дорогу.
      The poor orphan had to make her own way in the world.

4.1.6 Morphological categories of nouns: animacy

Nouns that refer to animate beings indicate the animacy of the referent by using the genitive form in syntactic contexts that demand an accusative, whether as the object of a verb ([22]) or the complement of a preposition ([23]):

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[6] It is said that when such a noun refers to a male, the adjective can have feminine agreement, and the stylistic effect is strongly pejorative. In practice, this option is rarely invoked.

[22]   Мать моя намного пережила отца$_{<\text{ACC=GEN}>}$.
       My mother outlived my father by a lot.

[23]   Мой брат Владимир гордился, что был похож на нашего$_{\text{ACC=GEN}}$ отца$_{<\text{ACC=GEN}>}$.
       My brother Vladimir was proud that he was similar to our father.

In the singular, use of this ANIMATE ACCUSATIVE or "ACC=GEN" is restricted to nouns that satisfy two conditions.[7] (a) Animacy is expressed only by nouns that otherwise would merge nominative and accusative, hence not nouns like MSC *Тóля* and MSC *судья́* 'judge', which are masculine but belong to Declension$_{<\text{II}>}$ and have distinct cases forms for the two cases: NOM *судья́* ≠ ACC *судью́*.

[24]   Футбольного$_{<\text{MSC ACC=GEN}>}$ судью$_{<\text{ACC≠NOM}>}$ избили в подъезде собственного дома.
       They killed the soccer judge at the entrance to his own building.

(b) Animacy is expressed only by nouns that condition masculine syntactic gender, hence not by *дóчь*$_{<\backslash\text{FEM NOM=ACC}>}$ 'daughter', *мáть*$_{<\backslash\text{FEM NOM=ACC}>}$ 'mother', *дитя́*$_{<\backslash\text{NT NOM=ACC}>}$ 'child', which do merge nominative and accusative but are not masculine:

[25]   Она учила {мать$_{<\text{NOM=ACC}>}$ ∼ *матери$_{<\text{ACC=GEN}>}$} сапожному ремеслу.
       She taught mother shoemaking.

[26]   Любить {дитя$_{<\text{ACC=NOM}>}$ красивое$_{<\text{NT ACC=NOM}>}$, умное$_{<\text{NT ACC=NOM}>}$ ∼ *дитяти$_{<\text{GEN}>}$ красивого$_{<\text{NT ACC=GEN}>}$, умного$_{<\text{NT ACC=GEN}>}$} – легко.
       To love a child [who is] beautiful, intelligent is easy.

Although the expression of animacy is restricted to masculine nouns in the singular, all animate nouns in the plural express animacy, including feminine and neuter animates:

[27]   Он любит своих$_{<\text{ACC=GEN}>}$ милых$_{<\text{ACC=GEN}>}$ {братьев$_{<\text{ACC=GEN}>}$ ∼ сестер$_{<\text{ACC=GEN}>}$ ∼ детей$_{<\text{ACC=GEN}>}$}.
       He loves his nice {brothers ∼ sisters ∼ children}.

Adjectives express animacy in the singular if the modified noun is masculine and animate: [23] *нáшего*. In this way adjectives modifying masculine animate nouns of Declension$_{<\text{II}>}$ express animacy, though the nouns themselves do not: [24] *футбóльного*$_{<\text{MSC ACC=GEN}>}$ *судью́*$_{<\text{MSC NOM≠ACC}>}$. Plural adjectives, which do not in any event distinguish gender, express animacy if they modify an animate noun of any gender: [27] *своúх*$_{<\text{PL ACC=GEN}>}$ *мúлых*$_{<\text{PL ACC=GEN}>}$. Adjectives also express animacy when they are used without an explicit noun, as a predicative referring to an object ([28]) or as a nominalized adjective ([29]):

[7] Zalizniak 1964, Bondarko 1977, Corbett 1980, Klenin 1983.

[28] Мужчин_{<ACC=GEN>} погоняли голодных_{<ACC=GEN>}.
The men were sent off hungry.

[29] Самых_{<ACC=GEN>} трудолюбивых_{<ACC=GEN>} арестовывали, ссылали с семьями.
They arrested and exiled the most hardworking [peasants] with their families.

Personal pronouns use the genitive form for the accusative: ACC=GEN *меня́*, *тебя́*, *нас*, *себя́*. Third-person anaphoric pronouns use the animate accusative even when they refer to inanimate entities:

[30] Ложка до сих пор у меня хранится . . . И все равно я ее_{<ACC=GEN>} [=ложку] берегу.
I still have that spoon . . . And come what may I treasure it [lit., her].

[31] Дядя Лев начал изготовлять бумажники, собираясь их_{<ACC=GEN>} [=бумажники] менять на продукты.
Uncle Lev began to make wallets, intending to exchange them for food.

For the most part, there is little variation in the expression of animacy. There are only two areas in which there is variation: first, certain pronominal adjectives modifying pronouns, and second, nouns that, in semantic terms, are not unambiguously animate.

Са́м 'self' is one of the few adjectives that can be combined with anaphoric pronouns. It adopts the genitive form when it modifies a masculine or neuter singular (*его́*_{<ACC=GEN>}) or plural pronoun (*и́х*_{<ACC=GEN>}), even when the referent is inanimate ([32–33]):

[32] Лучший путь изжить спекуляцию дефицитом — ликвидировать его_{<ACC=GEN>} самого_{<ACC=GEN>} [= дефицит].
In order to do away with speculation in a deficit, the best method is to liquidate it itself [= deficit].

[33] Естественно, хочется "пощупать" их_{<ACC=GEN>} самих_{<ACC=GEN>} [= кварки].
Naturally, one would like to "feel" them themselves [= quarks].

Modifying a feminine pronoun, even one with animate reference, *са́м* uses a distinct accusative form, older *самоё* or contemporary *саму́*:

[34] Саму_{<ACC>} ее_{<ACC=GEN>} арестовать не посмели.
They didn't dare arrest her herself.

A true genitive would be *само́й её* (*само́й её не́т* 'she herself is not here'). Modifying a personal or reflexive pronoun, *са́м* adopts the ACC=GEN form with a masculine singular or plural referent: MSC *меня́ самого́*_{<ACC=GEN>} 'me myself', *самого́ себя́* 'himself', PL *на́с сами́х* 'us ourselves', but FEM *меня́ саму́*_{<ACC≠GEN>} *отве́ргли* 'they rejected me myself'.

When *ве́сь* 'all' modifies a singular third-person masculine or neuter pronoun, it adopts the ACC=GEN: *всего́ его́*, even if the referent is not animate. With

a feminine referent (even an animate referent), it uses the distinct accusative form *всю* ([35]):

[35]   Я ее_{<ACC=GEN>} всю_{<ACC≠GEN>} [=птицу] рассмотрел.
I examined her all [= the bird].

In the plural this combination expresses animacy: *úx всéx (всéx úx)* is used for animates, *úx всé (всé úx)*, rarely *всéx úx*, for inanimates:[8]

[36]   И {все_{<NOM=ACC>} их_{<ACC=GEN>} ~ ?всех_{<ACC=GEN>} их_{<ACC=GEN>}} [=сонаты] он разбирал —
как строки рифмуются, когда нужны рифмы женские, когда мужские.
And all these [=sonnets] he analyzed – how the lines rhymed, when feminine rhymes were necessary, when masculine.

There are some lexical questions of animacy. Some nouns have two different senses, one animate, one inanimate, and such nouns use either ACC=GEN or ACC=NOM, depending on which sense is intended. *Оригинáл* 'original' can be an original thing (inanimate) or an eccentric person (animate). *Члéн* 'member' is animate in reference to a human participant of an institution, inanimate in reference to an inanimate part of a machine or structure. These are instances in which there are sharp distinctions between two senses of one noun.

With some nouns usage is less rigid. Names of sea animals are likely to behave as animate when they refer to the entities as animals in their habitat, *ловúть крáбов*_{<ACC=GEN>} 'catch crabs'.[9] As foodstuff, they may be inanimate or animate:[10]

[37]   Мы довольно часто ели {крабы_{<ACC=NOM>} ~ крабов_{<ACC=GEN>}}.
We ate crabs rather often.

In the singular, they are animate (that is, merge accusative and genitive) even as foodstuff:

[38]   Я же остался один на хозяйстве. Сварил и съел краба_{<ACC=GEN>}.
I had to deal with the housekeeping alone. I cooked and ate a crab.

There is variation in nouns whose motivation is historically figurative. Names of planets (*Юпúтер*) are becoming inanimate. Names of playing cards and chess figures are animate.

Some nouns that refer to classes of animate beings show variation in the use of the ACC=GEN. *Осóба* 'person' and *лицó* 'person' are animate in the plural. (They are disqualified in the singular because they do not belong to Declension_{<IA>}.)

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[8] Blazhev 1962.
[9] On the web <19.X.02>: {*ловил* ~*ловили* ~ *ловить*} *крабы* 0xx, . . . *крабов* 205xx.
[10] On the web: {*ел* ~ *ели* ~ *есть*} *крабы* 34xx, . . . *крабов* 105xx.

[39] Закон по существу лишит лиц$_{<\text{ACC=GEN}>}$ других национальностей, плохо владеющих$_{<\text{ACC=GEN}>}$ эстонским языком, возможности активно участвовать в общественной жизни республики.

This law in essence will deprive people of other nationalities who speak Estonian poorly of the possibility of participating actively in the public life of the republic.

(*Лицо́* also has the inanimate sense, 'face, visage'.) *Персона́ж* 'character' is (usually) inanimate in the singular and (almost always) animate in the plural.[11] Nominalized neuter adjectives that classify living beings – *живо́тное* 'animal', *парнокопы́тное* 'split-hoofed animal', *насеко́мое* 'insect' – generally do not use the animate accusative in the singular ([40]) but do so in the plural ([41–42]):

[40] {поймать животное$_{<\text{ACC=NOM}>}$ ∼ похожее на животное$_{<\text{ACC=NOM}>}$}
{to catch an animal ∼ similar to an animal}

[41] {с пастьбы переводить ∼ кормить ∼ любить} животных$_{<\text{ACC=GEN}>}$
{from pasture move ∼ feed ∼ love} animals

[42] Сохраняем и размножаем полезных$_{<\text{ACC=GEN}>}$ насекомых$_{<\text{ACC=GEN}>}$.
We preserve and multiply useful insects.

Существо́ 'creature, being' is listed as variably animate or inanimate in the plural.

[43] Они походили на {какие-то сказочные существа$_{<\text{ACC=NOM}>}$ ∼ каких-то сказочных существ$_{<\text{ACC=GEN}>}$}.
They were similar to some sort of fabulous beings.

The tendency is to extend animacy for such category nouns.[12]

Animacy fades out with lower orders of animals. A sampling is listed in Table 4.1.[13] In texts, the boundary between animate and inanimate is sharper than Table 4.1 might suggest. Insects and small vermin (the first group) always use the ACC=GEN:

[44] Всех$_{<\text{ACC=GEN}>}$ козявок$_{<\text{ACC=GEN}>}$, блошек$_{<\text{ACC=GEN}>}$, мошек$_{<\text{ACC=GEN}>}$ и муравьишек$_{<\text{ACC=GEN}>}$ там уморили.
[The birds] devastated all the gnats, fleas, midges, and ants there.

Гу́бка 'sponge', listed as preferably animate, is used consistently with ACC=GEN in technical literature, even in contexts in which sponges are mere passive objects of investigation:

[45] Часто губок$_{<\text{ACC=GEN}>}$ сближают с истинными многоклеточными.
[They] often compare sponges to true multi-cell creatures.

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[11] Panfilov 1966. [12] Exemplification and discussion in Itskovich 1980.
[13] Based on Zalizniak 1977[a].

Table 4.1 *Animacy of lower-order animals*

animacy	nouns
animate	*гу́сеница* 'caterpillar', *меду́за* 'jellyfish', *шелкопря́д* 'bombyx', *че́рвь* 'worm', *моллю́ск* 'mollusk', *жу́к* 'beetle', *мураве́й* 'ant', *пия́вка* 'leech'
animate (∼ ±inanimate)	*гу́бка* 'sponge'
inanimate (∼ ±animate)	*личи́нка* 'larva', *бакте́рия* 'bacterium', *баци́лла* 'bacillus', *микро́б* 'microbe'
inanimate	*органи́зм* 'organism', *токси́н* 'toxin', *кора́лл* 'coral', *ви́рус* 'virus', *планкто́н* 'plankton'

In contrast, nouns of the third group in Table 4.1 use inanimate morphology consistently in texts, whether as objects of investigation (*он давно изучает бациллы*_{<ACC=NOM>} 'he has long studied bacilli'), as entities asserted to exist (*содержащий бактерии*_{<ACC=NOM>} 'containing bacteria'), or as patients of some agent's predatory activity ([46]):

[46]   В норме защитные механизмы инактивируют такие микробы_{<ACC=NOM>}.
       In the normal course of events, defense mechanisms render such microbes
       inactive.

Animacy is expressed only when the microbes are thought of as *potential* agents, as in [47] (unique in a sample of two dozen examples from technical literature):

[47]   Посеют в питательную среду микробов_{<ACC=GEN>}, они растут, потом их от
       питательной среды отделяют.
       [They] put the microbes into the medium, they grow, and then they are separated
       from the medium.

One might entertain the thought that the animate accusative is a rule on the level of syntax – that the genitive case is assigned to the whole argument phrase in place of the accusative case. Arguing against this interpretation are several considerations: the modifier and the head in *все*_{<NOM=ACC>} *их*_{<ACC=GEN>} and *моего*_{<ACC=GEN>} *дедушку*_{<ACC≠NOM>} 'my grandfather' differ in the expression of animacy; animate accusative-genitives can be conjoined with unambiguous accusatives:

[48]   Выклёвывают они червей_{<ACC=GEN>} и личинки_{<ACC=NOM>}.
       They peck out worms and larvae.

On the assumption that case is uniform across all constituents and conjuncts of an argument phrase, then animate accusatives must be syntactic accusatives.

The animate accusative appears to be primarily a morphological phenomenon, whereby the accusative of the relevant paradigms is made identical to the genitive.[14] This interpretation also fits with the fact that the application of the animate accusative depends on the specific paradigm involved.

4.1.7 Morphological categories of nouns: number

Ordinarily, a singular form means a single entity from the class and the plural form means two or more entities. The singular form can also be used in a generic meaning. The only complications in number concern nouns that are used in only one number and certain strategies for using number in ways that do not transparently match the real-world reference.

4.1.8 Number: pluralia tantum, singularia tantum

There is a small set of nouns that can occur only in the plural, the PLURALIA TANTUM *нóжницы* 'scissors', *штаны́* 'trousers', *сýтки* 'day'. Historically, these are entities composed of paired parts. Because these nouns are already plural, to indicate more than one unit, it is necessary to use either collective numerals (*трóе сýток* 'three days') or a classifier: *трú пáры родúтелей* 'three sets of parents', *нéсколько пáр санéй* 'several sleighs'.

Nouns naming masses, by virtue of their meaning, are not likely to be used in the plural. Still, a plural can be used to show that masses come in various types (the "sortal" plural):

[49]   Для каждого человека составлены индивидуальные биохимические карты по
       всем параметрам: сотни белков$_{<PL>}$, ферментов$_{<PL>}$, жиров$_{<PL>}$ и сахаров$_{<PL>}$.
       For each person individual biochemical profiles are prepared along all
       parameters: hundreds of proteins, enzymes, fats, and sugars.

Nouns naming abstract qualities or events, such as *производúтельность* 'productivity' or *великодýшие* 'magnanimity', are naturally singular, but occur in the plural if the quality is manifested as different types: *преврáтности* 'perversions', *спосóбности* 'abilities, talents'.

4.1.9 Number: figurative uses of number

A plural noun is said to achieve the effect of hyperbole when it is known that only one thing is involved, but it is unclear how productive this strategy is; the two most recent examples from the 1980s cited by one source involve *университéты* 'universities',[15] a quote from Gorky.

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[14] Klenin 1983, especially 103.   [15] Brusenskaia 1992:44.

Table 4.2 *Uses of case*

case	function	example
NOMINATIVE		
predicate argument	agent/subject	*Мадонна*<NOM> *очень любила мать. Однако она*<NOM> *умирает от рака.* 'Madonna loved her mother. But she dies of cancer.'
predicative	if no temporal-aspectual-modal restriction	*Он был герой*<NOM>, *орденоносец*<NOM>. 'He was a hero, a medal-wearer.'
preposition complement	missile classified in type (of people)	*выйти в люди*<NOM> 'go among the people'
adnominal	—	—
ACCUSATIVE		
predicate argument	patient/object	*Это меня*<ACC> *не слишком удивило.* 'That did not surprise me much.'
predicative	state predicated of patient/object §5.2.4	*посадить его голого*<ACC> *на осла* 'set him naked on an ass'
preposition complement	direction of missile towards locus §4.2.3	*в* 'into', *на* 'onto', *о* 'against', *под* 'under', *через* 'across', *про* 'through', etc.
adnominal	—	—
GENITIVE		
predicate argument	argument of quantifying or negated predicate; partitive	*Времени*<GEN> *не хватало.* 'There wasn't enough time.' *те, кто ни строчки*<GEN> *из книги не читал . . .* 'those who haven't read a line from the book . . .' *Где можно выпить пива*<GEN>? 'Where can one drink some beer?'
predicative	—	
preposition complement	frustrated contact of missile with locus §4.2.3	*от* 'away', *до* 'up to', *вдоль* 'along', etc.
adnominal	analogous to patient of transitive or agent of intransitive §4.5.3	*черчение карт*<GEN> 'drawing of maps'

Table 4.2 (*cont.*)

case	function	example
DATIVE		
predicate argument	goal of transfer of patient/object	*Ей*<DAT> *платили стипендию.* 'They paid her a scholarship.'
	goal of imposed modality	*Нам*<DAT> *надо быть готовыми к самому худшему.* 'To us is necessary to be prepared for the worst.'
predicative	—	
preposition complement adnominal	movement towards locus §4.2.3 if analogous to predicate	*к* 'to(wards)', etc.
INSTRUMENTAL		
predicate argument	synecdochic relation of agent and patient interaction	*Они питались одним ржаным хлебом*<INS>. 'They lived on only rye bread.'
predicative	if state subject to temporal-aspectual-modal restriction §5.2.	*Сначала он был героем*<INS>, *затем – врагом*<INS> 'At first he was a hero, then – an enemy.'
preposition complement	missile in synecdochic contact with part of locus §4.2.3	*с* 'with', *под* 'beneath', *над* 'above', *за* 'behind', *перед* 'before', *между* 'between'
adnominal	if analogous to predicate	*циничное пренебрежение мнением*<INS> *граждан* 'cynical neglect of citizens' opinion'
LOCATIVE		
predicate argument	missile located in vicinity of locus	*Полк сосредоточился в лесу*<LOC>. 'The regiment was concentrated in the forest.'
predicative	static contact of subject with locus	*Я не был в Москве*<LOC>. 'I was not in Moscow.'
preposition complement	static contact of missile with locus §4.2.3	*в* 'into', *на* 'onto', *о* 'about', *при* 'in presence of', *по* 'following on'
adnominal	location of event nominal	*сосредоточивание полка в лесу*<LOC> 'the concentration of the regiment in the forest'

Another not strictly transparent use of number involves situations in which there is a distributive relationship among a plural set of possessors and a set of possessed entities. Usually the plural is used ([50–51]):

[50]   Они шли медленно, низко опустив головы_{<PL>}.
They walked slowly with their heads lowered.

[51]   Красный Крест занимался судьбами_{<PL>} только политических заключенных.
The Red Cross was concerned with the fates only of political prisoners.

The singular means the possessed entities are not separate entities. A body part is not an independent entity but part of the predicate – in [52], the *manner* of locomotion:

[52]   Они всегда движутся с опущенной головой_{<SG>}, чтобы не испытывать лишнего сопротивления воздуха.
They always move with lowered head, in order not to experience extra wind resistance.

With an abstract noun such as *судьба́*, the singular can be used for plural individuals in an essential sense of 'whatsoever the fate would be' ([53]).

[53]   Их увели, и никогда она не узнала об их дальнейшей судьбе_{<SG>}.
They were led away and she never found out about their further fate.

4.1.10 Morphological categories of nouns: case

Case is expressed by nouns and other constituents of arguments, and in this respect is self-evidently a property of arguments. But case is chosen according to the way the argument fits into context. It is therefore natural to discuss the choice of case when the contexts for arguments are discussed, above all with predicates (§5). For reference, Table 4.2 lists the major uses of cases, with references to the discussion of uses elsewhere.

4.2 Prepositions

4.2.1 Preliminaries

Prepositions combine with nouns, imposing a case on the noun.[16] Combinations of preposition and noun function as argument phrases. Semantically, prepositions locate a mobile entity – the MISSILE – in a space of possible locations relative to a specific LOCUS, the referent of the noun used with the preposition. For example, in *Андрей развернул передо мной карты* 'Andrei spread out

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[16] Hill 1977 treats the expansion of ligature {n}. In those prepositions for which Hill observed variation, the Uppsala Corpus, composed of more recent texts, shows further generalization of {n}.

maps in front of me', the missile is maps, which are distributed in space relative to the locus, the speaker's field of vision. The space can be physical space, as in this instance, or more abstractly, a space of possible states. Thus in *десятки геологов перед ней благоговели* 'dozens of geologists did obeisance before her', the missile is the geologists or, better, their behavior, which adopts a certain attitude (reverence) in the presence of the locus.

How prepositions behave depends on how old they are. The oldest, PRIMARY, prepositions in effect define what we think prepositions should be.

[54] Primary prepositions (govern various cases)

в<\LOC ~ \ACC> 'in', *о(б)*<\LOC ~ \ACC> 'about', *на*<\LOC ~ \ACC> 'at', *при*<\LOC> 'at, in the presence of'; *про*<\ACC> 'through', *через*<\ACC> (~ *чéрез*);[17] *за*<\INS~\ACC> 'behind', *над*<\INS> 'above', *под*<\INS ~ \ACC> 'under', *перед*<\INS> 'in front of'; *к*<\DAT> 'to', *по*<\DAT ~ \LOC(\ACC)> 'along, after'; *с*<\GEN ~ \INS ~ \ACC> 'with; off of', *у*<\GEN> 'near, at', *до*<\GEN> 'up to', *из*<\GEN> 'out of', *от*<\GEN> 'away from', *без*<\GEN> 'without'

Primary prepositions, which as a group govern various cases, have abstract as well as concrete, spatial meanings. Primary prepositions are not used without a noun as adverbs. Primary prepositions are unstressed and generally monosyllabic, except for the fact that prepositions that end in a consonant acquire a linking, or LIGATURE, vowel {o} under certain conditions (*передо мной* 'in front of me', *обо всем* 'about everything'). The negative particles *ни* and *нé* are moved in front of primary prepositions: *ни с кем* 'with no one', *ни перед кем* 'before no one', *не к чему* 'not for anything', as is the pronominal operator *кое*: *кое с кем* 'with this or that person', *кое в каких* 'in certain kinds'. Primary prepositions have a further morphophonemic property. Immediately after a primary preposition, third-person pronouns acquire a ligature consonant, spelled as «н», pronounced [ŋ]: *за ним* 'behind him', *за ней* 'behind her', *с ним* 'with him', *о них* 'about them', *перед ним* 'before him'. Third-person possessives do not use this ligature: *под их именем* 'under their name', *с ее сестрой* 'with their sister'. The {n} ligature thus distinguishes genitive argument pronouns (*от них* 'from them') from possessives (*от их тети* 'from their aunt').

Closest to primary prepositions are ROOT prepositions, often derived from noun roots:

[55] Root prepositions (governing genitive)

прóтив 'against', 'between', *блúз* 'near', *для* 'for', *вдóль* 'alongside', *средú* 'in the midst', *мúмо* 'past', *крóме* 'except', *рáди* 'for the sake of', *кругóм* 'around', *внé* 'outside of'; *сквóзь*<\ACC> 'through', *мéжду*<\INS> 'between'

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[17] *Через* is said to have two variants, a stressed variant implying devoicing before a following sonorant or vowel (*чéрез нéсколько минýт* [ǯéɾɪsn̪éskəļkə] 'after several minutes') and an unstressed variant without devoicing (*через окнó* [ǯɪɾɪzʌknó] 'through the window').

Like primary prepositions, root prepositions are generally not used alone as adverbs (exceptions: *мимо, кругóм*). Most govern the genitive (exceptions: *сквóзь*₍\ACC₎, *méжду*₍\INS₎). As a class, they are phonologically more autonomous than primary prepositions, in that most are stressed, and some have two syllables. They count as phonological words, inasmuch as final voiced obstruents are devoiced before words beginning with vowels or sonorants: *сквóзь морóзный тумáн* [ṣm] 'through a cold fog', *сквóзь очкú* [ṣʌ] 'through glasses'. Almost all root prepositions use the {n} ligature. Only *вне* has resisted: *вне ее* 'outside of her'. Negative particles *ни* and *нé* and pronominal *кое* are generally anomalous in either order: **ни близ чего, *близ ничего, *ни кроме каких, *кроме никаких, *кое кроме чего* (but *кроме кое-чего* 'except for something or another', *ни между какими иными областями* 'not between any such other areas'). The exception is *для* (*ни для кого, кое для чего*). This preposition, whose only vowel is not stressed and undergoes reduction, might be considered to have moved into the class of primary prepositions.

Next come a large number of PREFIXAL prepositions, etymologically a prefix or preposition and a case form of a noun. Some govern the genitive, others the dative case.

[56] Prefixal prepositions (governing genitive)
óколо 'around', *вóзле* 'next to', *вмéсто* 'in place of', *внутрú* 'inside of', *пóсле* 'after', *вокрýг* 'around', *позадú* 'after', *впередú* 'in the front of', *повéрх* 'above', *напрóтив* 'opposite', *сзáди* 'behind', *посредú* 'in the middle of', archaic *окрéст* 'around'

[57] Prefixal prepositions (governing dative)
вслéд 'after', *навстрéчу* 'towards', *вопрекú* 'against'

Prefixal prepositions often have more than one syllable and are stressed (implying devoicing of obstruents before following sonorants and vowels: *вокрýг мéста* [km̩] 'around the place'). Some can be used independently without a noun; some of those that take the dative can follow the noun: *пошла мне навстречу* (possible) 'she came towards me', *смотрю ей вслед* (usual) 'I follow her with my eyes'. Negative particles (*ни, нé*) and *кое* are anomalous in either order (**ни около чего, *около ничего, *кое около каких, *около кое-каких*). Prefixal prepositions split in the way they use the ligature {n}. Those governing the dative do not use {n} (*вслед ему* 'after him') and seem doomed never to develop {n}, while those governing the genitive have generalized the {n} ligature, in some instances quite recently. As late as the nineteenth century, some common prefixal prepositions did not use {n} consistently: *вокрýг* 15 percent without {n}, *óколо* 25 percent without {n}. Both finished generalizing {n} during the course of the twentieth century. (*Méжду* also generalized {n} in the early part of the twentieth century.)

Table 4.3 *Properties of prepositions*

	ligature {o}	*ни, кое*	stress	cases	free occurrence	ligature {n}
primary	√	√	*	ACC, GEN, DAT, LOC, INS	*	√
root	*	*	√	GEN (1 ACC, 1 INS)	*	√
prefixal (\GEN)	*	*	√	GEN	√	√
prefixal (\DAT)	*	*	√	DAT	√	*
convert	*	*	√	ACC, GEN, DAT	√	*

The last to go is *внутри́*, which in the first half of the twentieth century still used {n} only half of the time; it now uses {n} consistently.

After prefixal prepositions follows an open group of words or phrases that are used as prepositions, in that they occur with a noun and impose a semantic operation on the noun. Some are phrases composed of preposition and noun (*по по́воду* 'on the basis of', *во вре́мя* 'during', *в отноше́нии* 'in relation to', *в числе́* 'among, in the number of'). Others are developing from gerunds (*благодаря́* 'thanks to', *несмотря́ на* 'despite'), and, possibly, comparatives (*пре́жде* 'before', *ра́ньше* 'earlier', *по́зже* 'later'). These new CONVERT prepositions generally do not elicit the {n} ligature, except in less than standard Russian: *раньше него* 'earlier than him' (2,080 xx on the web), *в отношении него* 'in relation to him' (7,160 xx on the web).[18]

Prepositions can be arranged in a list by group, with the properties that are characteristic of the groups as a whole (Table 4.3). The older the preposition, the greater number of the characteristic properties of prepositions it has.

4.2.2 Ligature {o}

Primary prepositions sometimes add a ligature vowel {o} to forestall clusters that might arise when the final consonant of the preposition meets the initial consonant(s) of the next word.[19] Whether {o} is used depends on how idiomatic the combination is and on the phonological properties of the impending cluster.

Other things being equal, {o} is more likely to be used if the combination of preposition and head word is conventional and idiomatic: *в стороне ото всех* 'off to the side of all' still preserves the vowel even when it is lost in novel combinations, *отличен от всех других* 'distinct from all others'. Roots can be ranked according to the criterion of idiomaticity. The two pronominal roots

[18] Via Google (<15.IX.02>).   [19] Rogozhnikova 1964.

Table 4.4 Prepositions and ligature {o}

preposition	pronoun мн-, вс-, quantifier мног-, втор-	non-syllabic nominal root лб-, дн-, рт-, льд-	same place and manner of articulation	other clusters
в(о)	во мне, во многих, во всей, во втором, во что, во сколько	во сне, во лбу, во рту	во время, во взаимодействии, во Владимире, во взглядах	в стремя, в своей жизни, в Днепр, в стране
с(о)	со мной, со всеми, со всех, со многими, со вторым	со лба, со дня, со льдом, со львиными, со сном || с ржавчиной	со ссылкой, со стороны, со своей, со скрипом, со сцены, со спином, со средой, со знанием || с длинными	со двора (с двумя) || с длинным, с кладбища, с благодарностью, с племянницей, с влаги (со вложенным между ними клином)
к(о)	ко мне, ко всему, ко второму, ко многим	ко сну, ко дну, ко дно || к дням	ко Христу, ко Климецкому || к классицизму, к Клавдии, к хранению	ко двору, ко вдове, ко времени || к злокачественному, к знанию, к своей, к снижению, к длинному, к двери, к врачам, к двум
над(о), под(о), перед(о)	передо мной, подо мной || перед всем, перед многими проблемами	подо льдом (под льдом и снегом), надо лбом, перед сном, под дном	над дверями, над другими	над страной, перед властью, перед встречей, перед призывной, перед хмурым мужчиной
из(о), от(о)	из всех (изо всех сил), от всех (в стороне ото всех), из всего, от многих, от второго	изо рта, изо дня в день, ото рта, ото дня || от льда	из длинных, от двора, из двух, от знания, от другого, от трубы, от друзей	от времени, от пруда, от плохого, от взрослых, от книг
о(б(о))	обо всем, обо мне, обо что-то ударился	обо льде (об лед)	—	—

мн- and *весь (вс-)* are the most likely roots to elicit the ligature, then come quantifiers *мног-* and *второй*. Other roots, even if they have the same phonological structure, are less likely to use the ligature: *со мной* (*с мной) 'with me' > *со многими* (±*с многими*) 'with many', (±*со множеством*) *с множеством* 'with a set' > (*со мнением), *с мнением* 'with the opinion', *с многолетним* 'with many-yeared'.

The use of {о} also depends on the phonological structure of the potential cluster at the juncture of preposition and word. Two considerations are relevant. First, inasmuch as the ligature compensates for a shortage of vowels, the vowel-less prepositions *в, с, к* use the ligature more than those that have a vowel, such as *над, из, от, под*; disyllabic *перед* is the least likely of all (only *передо мной*). The ligature is likely to occur before roots that lack a vowel (in oblique cases): *лоб/лб-* 'forehead', *рот/рт-* 'mouth', *день/дн-* 'day', *дон/дн-* 'bottom', *сон/сн-* 'dream'. Second, the nature of the potential cluster is relevant. The ligature dissimilatively separates consonants that are similar in place and/or manner of articulation (*со сцены* 'from the stage', *ко Христу* 'to Christ'). Some combinations are illustrated in Table 4.4.[20]

The ligature vowel is preserved in Slavonic idioms: *во имя* 'in the name', *во избежание* 'in avoidance of' (otherwise: *в историю* 'into history', *в избушку* 'into the hut'), *во главе* 'at the head of' (otherwise: *в главном* 'in the main').

О(б(о)) has three forms. Plain *о* is the most general form. At the opposite extreme, *обо* occurs only in: *обо мне* 'about me', *обо всем* 'about everything', *обо льде* 'about the ice' (or now, *о льде*). *Об* occurs with a following vowel, regardless of what part of speech the word belongs to: *об этом* 'about that', *об охране* 'about a guard', *об опасной тенденции* 'about a dangerous tendency', *об угрозе* 'about a threat', *об изобилии* 'about an abundance'. Words beginning with Cyrillic «**е**» are pronounced with [j] before the vowel. In recognition of this consonantal [j], words beginning in «**е**» take *о* rather than *об* by a ratio of seven to one: *о ее существовании* 'about its existence', *о единстве* 'about unity', though *переписка об ерунде* 'correspondence about nonsense', *доклад об его установке* 'report about its installation'. There are exceptions, in both directions, that relate to idiomaticity. *Об* occurs in idioms: *как рыба об лёд* 'like a fish out of water [against ice]'. But the consonant in *об* can fail to appear before *и* when it is the first vowel of a participle, an unidiomatic combination: *о имеющихся резервах* 'about the available reserves'.

4.2.3 Case government
A preposition determines the case of the noun phrase with which it combines. Many prepositions govern only one case. Different prepositions that govern the

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[20] Examples primarily from the Uppsala Corpus.

same case have some similarity in meaning. The exposition below is organized according to cases.

Dative: The primary preposition *к* is the dative preposition par excellence: it presents the locus (the dative noun) as a goal or final destination for change in the position of the mobile entity; it governs the dative and only the dative.

A number of newer prepositions govern the dative (*вопреки* 'contrary to', *благодаря* 'thanks to', *согласно* 'consistent with', *соответственно* 'corresponding to', *назло* 'in spite'). The dative expresses a *directed* relationship between the missile and the locus.

The primary preposition *по* occurs with three or arguably four cases. In its old meaning of distribution over space or time, it used the dative: *по улице* 'along (different points in) the street', *по средам* 'on (successive, one-after-another) Wednesdays'. When a missile is distributed in groups of a certain quantity – one, two, thirty, etc. – *по* once took the dative, which still occurs with units: *по (одному) карандашу* 'one pencil per . . .' (§4.3.11).

Genitive: Primary prepositions governing the genitive portray a missile in the vicinity of the locus, but the contact is less than complete in some way. *До* expresses an approach to the locus that falls short of the destination, while *для*, more abstractly, states a modal destination – the locus is something whose well-being is intended to be affected. *С* 'from off', *из* 'out of', *от* 'away from' indicate the removal of a missile from the vicinity of the locus, as do the compound prepositions *из-за* 'out from behind' and *из-под* 'out from under'. *У* 'nearby, *chez*' reports a relation in the neighborhood, or sphere of influence, of the locus.

Many root and prefixal prepositions take the genitive. Like the primary prepositions that take the genitive, they also present a situation in which the missile is located in the vicinity of the locus but does not come into complete contact: *вдоль* 'alongside', *вблизи* 'near to', *посреди* 'in the middle of'. *Между* 'between', though it generally uses the instrumental, still uses the genitive to express a position between two paired and parallel entities (*между строк* 'between the lines', *между стволов сосен* 'between the trunks of the pines').

Locative: Prepositions that use the locative establish that the mobile entity is in contact with the locus: *в* 'in, at', location at a punctual locus; *на* 'on, at', location on a surface; *о*, location in contact in a space encompassing the locus; *при* 'in the presence of', coincidence and contact, as opposed to absence of coincidence, in a domain; the domain can be spatial (*при городских домах* 'with city houses', *при станции* 'at the station') or temporal-modal (*при Екатерине* 'during the time of Catherine the Great', *при погрузке* 'during loading', *при новолунии* 'during a new

moon'). *По* 'upon, after' with the locative expresses location in the immediate temporal and causal wake of some event (*по приезде* 'upon arrival').

Only the oldest, primary, prepositions take the locative. *В* and *на* take another case along with the locative. When the missile moves toward and comes into contact with the locus, *в* and *на* govern the accusative. *О(б)* does as well, in the sense of contact against a surface: *волны разбиваются о скалы* 'waves beat against the cliffs'. The distributive sense of *по* with the dative was mentioned above.

Instrumental: The instrumental is used with *c* in the sense of contact with the locus; and more than mere contact, *c* means that the missile and the locus play similar roles in the state or event.

The instrumental is used with four prepositions that express position on one of the planes of a three-dimensional object: *над* 'on top of' and its opposite *под* 'underneath', *за* 'behind' and its opposite *перед* 'in front of'. Only primary prepositions can take the instrumental, except for *между*.

Accusative: Few prepositions use the accusative exclusively: *про* 'through', *через* 'through, over', *сквозь* 'through'. Newer prepositions do not adopt the accusative.

The accusative expresses motion with *в*, *на*, *о*, which otherwise take the locative. In a similar fashion, the prepositions that take the instrumental to describe static position on the perimeter of the locus – *над*, *под*, *за*, *перед* – once expressed motion towards by using the accusative, but this usage has been fading. *Перед* and *над* take the instrumental: *Я встал перед ним*$_{<INS>}$ *на колени*$_{<ACC>}$ 'I kneeled before him on my knees' (where *на колени* has the accusative of motion), *поднять над ее головой*$_{<INS>}$ *венец* 'to raise the wreath over her head'. *Под* can still take the accusative: *залезали под кровати*$_{<ACC>}$ '[they] crawled under the beds'; *я их клал под матрас*$_{<ACC>}$ 'I placed them under the mattress'; idiomatic *попадаться под руку* 'to come under the hand of'; *она шла под руку с ним* 'she walked arm-in-arm with him'. With *за*, the instrumental expresses either a static position behind the locus, *ходил за нею* 'he walked behind her', or adopting a position behind the locus, *кто-то побежал к калитке, он бросился за ним*$_{<INS>}$ 'someone ran up to the gate, he hurried after him' (though: *пересесть за другой стол*$_{<ACC>}$ 'to sit at another table').

Под and *за* use the accusative in a range of idioms. With *под* with the accusative, the locus can be understood as a model for the missile (*под мрамор*$_{<ACC>}$ 'like, as if marble'), as an adapted function (*оборудовали под театр*$_{<ACC>}$ 'they fixed it as a theater', *сняли под дачу*$_{<ACC>}$ 'they rented it to serve as a dacha'), as a framework for an activity (*пели под гитару*$_{<ACC>}$ 'they sang to the guitar'; *под раскаты*$_{<ACC>}$ *аплодисментов* 'to torrents of applause'), or as a boundary

of incomplete approach (*под пятьдесят*_{<ACC>} 'coming up on fifty years of age'; *под конец*_{<ACC>} *письма* 'near the end of the letter'). *За* uses the accusative to express: modal cause (*вина за неудачи*_{<ACC>} 'fault for the failures'); on behalf of, in exchange for (*хлопотать за женщину*_{<ACC>} 'to make efforts on behalf of the woman'; *дядя получил за оперетту*_{<ACC>} *небольшой гонорар* 'uncle received a small payment for the operetta'); interval of time or space over which something significant happens (*за несколько*_{<ACC>} *минут* 'over the course of several minutes'; *за несколько*_{<ACC>} *шагов виделся дым* 'at a distance of several steps smoke was visible'; *за час*_{<ACC>} *до обеда* 'an hour before dinner'; *за три*_{<ACC>} *дома до угла* 'three houses before the corner').

C with the accusative expresses an approximate measurement: *с неделю*_{<ACC>} *-другую* 'for a week or maybe two'; *взмахнула черными ресницами (каждая со спичку*_{<ACC>} *толщиной)* 'she fluttered her eyelashes (each the thickness of a matchstick)'.

По uses the accusative to express the final, inclusive boundary of an interval of time or motion: *с осени 1927 по весну*_{<ACC>} *1929-го года* 'from the fall of 1927 through the spring of 1929', *по другую сторону*_{<ACC>} 'over on the opposite side'. *По* has come to use the accusative in its distributive sense with most numerals other than single units.

Nominative: While it might seem inconceivable to use the nominative case with prepositions, what is apparently the nominative case is used in two idioms: *что это за ерунда*_{<NOM>} 'what is that for nonsense' and *выйти в люди*_{<NOM>} 'go among the people' (the nouns are not fixed). In the latter, the nominative, if it is that, is a residual carry-over from a time when complements of prepositions had not yet adopted the merger of accusative and genitive with animates.

4.2.4 The use of *на* and *в*

В and *на* both express the location of a missile in contact with the locus. To a large extent, the choice between the two is determined by the meaning of the noun that names the locus. *В* can be considered the more general. *На* expresses contact of a missile with a physical locus conceived of as a surface, as something more than a one-dimensional point and as less than a three-dimensional container: *на Эльбрусе* 'on Elbrus', *на стенах* 'on the walls', *на Северном Кавказе* 'in the Northern Caucasus', *на веранде* 'on the veranda', *на улице* 'on the street', *на альпийских лугах* 'in alpine meadows', *на полу* 'on the floor', *на плато* 'on the plateau', *на периферии* 'on the periphery', *на разных континентах* 'on various continents', *на Луне* 'on the moon', *на втором этаже* 'on the second floor', *на траве* 'on the grass', *на кладбище* 'in the graveyard', *на Марсе* 'on Mars', *на маленьком острове* 'on a small island', *на наших экранах* 'on our movie

screens'. Layered surfaces take *на*: *на дне* 'on the bottom', *на поверхности* 'on the surface'.

By association, the locus of *на*, being a surface, is a place where activity occurs: *на базаре* 'at the bazaar', *на вокзале* 'at the station', *на почте* 'at the post office', *на солнце* 'on the sun', *на пути* 'on the journey', *на рынке* 'at the market', *на Карельском фронте* 'on the Karelian front', *на совести* 'on one's conscience'. Often the sense of activity overshadows the physical location: *на форуме* 'at the forum', *на фестивале* 'at the festival', *на собраниях трудящихся* 'at meetings of workers', *на заседании* 'at the meeting', *на недавней премьере* 'at a recent premiere'. Eras are also sites where events occur: *на протяжении* 'throughout the course', *на первых порах* 'at the beginning', *на этой стадии* 'at this stage', *на нынешнем этапе* 'at the current stage', *на старости* 'in old age'. Thus, *на* expresses location on a surface, and, abstractly, the site of activity.

External body parts are surfaces where activity occurs or missiles come into contact with the person: *с сумкой на боку* 'with a purse on the side', *ружье на плече* 'a rifle on the shoulder', *на бедре* 'on the hip', *на ее спине* 'on her back', *на его голове* 'on his head', *на глазах* 'in the eyes', *на собственной шкуре* 'on one's own skin, risk'.

Vehicles and the associated activity of locomotion are a special case. One can travel *на борту* 'on board', *на парашютах* 'by means of parachutes', *на корабле* 'on the ship', *на его велосипеде* 'on his bicycle', *на электричке* 'on the suburban train', *на машине* 'in a car'. Conveyances, however, can sometimes be viewed as containers in which missiles can be located: *В машине сидели полковник и лейтенант* 'in the car there sat a colonel and lieutenant'; *мне предложили одно место в машине* 'I was offered a place in the car'.

Thus to a large extent, the choice between *в* and *на* is determined by the noun, though some nouns, like the words for conveyances, can use both prepositions. *Ку́хня* is another such noun. *В кухне* makes the locus a unit of architecture. It can be one part of a whole that is opposed to other, analogous, parts of the whole:

[58]　Таким образом, мы могли говорить, что у нас четыре комнаты. В первой за перегородкой обосновались Владимир и я, *в кухне* за печкой спала Лена, в большой комнате жили обе мои старшие сестры.
　　Thus we could say we had four rooms. In the first behind the partition Vladimir and I were based, in the kitchen behind the stove slept Lena, and in the large room lived my older sisters.

Here the kitchen is one room, one unit in a set of rooms, each containing inhabitants. With *в*, the kitchen is one unit among many, and it can itself contain parts: *в кухне стояло восемь столов* 'in the kitchen there stood eight tables'. Thus using *в кухне* is thinking in synecdoche – in parts and wholes. *На*

Table 4.5 *Triplets with на, в*

location на$_{<\backslash\text{LOC}>}$, в$_{<\backslash\text{LOC}>}$	motion towards на$_{<\backslash\text{ACC}>}$, в$_{<\backslash\text{ACC}>}$	motion away с$_{<\backslash\text{GEN}>}$, из$_{<\backslash\text{GEN}>}$.
Мяса на базаре$_{<\text{LOC}>}$ не было. 'There was no meat at the bazaar.'	*— Так вы пойдите на базар$_{<\text{ACC}>}$ и купите себе другого цыпленка.* '— So go to the bazaar and buy yourself another chick.'	*Теперь не надо таскать с базара$_{<\text{GEN}>}$ уголь.* 'Now it won't be necessary to drag coal from the bazaar.'
Люди сидели на кухне$_{<\text{LOC}>}$. 'People sat in the kitchen.'	*Всех уток перестрелял и принес на кухню$_{<\text{ACC}>}$.* 'All the ducks he shot and brought to the kitchen.'	*Раздался с кухни$_{<\text{GEN}>}$ его голос.* 'His voice rang out from the kitchen.'
Всю войну жили они в соседнем селе$_{<\text{LOC}>}$. 'The whole war they lived in the next village.'	*К вечеру приехали в село Владимирское$_{<\text{ACC}>}$.* 'Towards evening we came to the village of Vladimirskoe.'	*Во время засухи привезли чудотворную икону Божьей матери из села$_{<\text{GEN}>}$.* 'During the drought they brought the miraculous icon of the Mother of God from the village.'
В кухне$_{<\text{LOC}>}$ за печкой спала Лена. 'Lena slept in the kitchen behind the stove.'	*Перешли в кухню$_{<\text{ACC}>}$.* 'They went into the kitchen.'	*Она принесла из кухни$_{<\text{GEN}>}$ электрическую плитку.* 'She brought a hot-plate from the kitchen.'

кухне is a plane with no precise boundaries; it is a theater where life happens, as in [59] and Osip Mandelshtam's poem [60]:

[59]   И вот эти чужие *люди сидели на кухне*, ели, пили, смотрели сочувственно, что-то вспоминали.
And those strangers sat in the kitchen, eating, drinking, looking sympathetically, recalling something.

[60]   Мы с тобой *на кухне* посидим. | Сладко пахнет белый керосин.
Let's you and I sit together in the kitchen. | With the sweet smell of white kerosene.

Both *в* and *на* express static location. As noted above, the accusative expresses motion towards the locus. Corresponding to each sense is a distinct preposition governing the genitive, resulting in triplets (Table 4.5): *с*, removal from a surface, is paired with *на*, location on or motion onto a surface, and *из*, exit from a container, is paired with *в*, location in or motion into a container.

4.3 Quantifiers

4.3.1 Preliminaries

Quantifiers are operators which, by applying to nouns, impose a count, whether exact or approximate, on the entities involved. (If no noun is used with the quantifier, the entities that are counted are determined from the context.) Combinations of quantifiers and nouns behave as argument phrases, and can be used as subjects or oblique domains, and so on. Quantifiers have some properties that allow them to be grouped together, and at the same time, there are differences, especially morphological, among them (see Table 4.6).[21] The bulk of the quantifiers, in the middle of Table 4.6, can be termed GENERAL NUMERALS.

In addition, it is necessary to distinguish between numerals that occur without other numerals and COMPLEX numerals, those composed of more than one numeral: *двáдцать трú* 'twenty-three', *двéсти пятнáдцать* 'two hundred fifteen', *тьíсяча трúста двé* 'one thousand three hundred two'. Ordinal numerals, not considered further here, do not impose case on the quantified noun; they are pure adjectives modifying the noun. In complex ordinals, all but the final component are invariant (or nominative) forms of the numeral, and only the final component is an adjective: *я перешагнул грань сто девяностого года* 'I have crossed the boundary of the hundred ninetieth year', *ты родился в (тысяча десятьсот) пятьдесят втором году* 'you were born in (nineteen) fifty-one'. As in the last example, dates are expressed with ordinals. In general, ordinals themselves are pure adjectives, and do not require further attention.

It will be useful to begin with general numerals.

4.3.2 General numerals

Quantifier phrases, and numerals in particular, behave differently depending on whether the case of the whole phrase is direct – nominative or accusative – or an oblique case.

In an oblique case, quantifiers act as modifiers, adopting the same oblique case as the noun: genitive ([61]), dative ([62]), locative ([63]), instrumental ([64]):

[61] необычайная форма пневмонии у пяти$_{<GEN>}$ молодых мужчин$_{<GEN>}$
   an unusual type of pneumonia in five young men

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[21] The basic text is Mel'chuk 1985[a]. On the nature of the constituency, see Corbett 1993. Halle 1994 has a rule of Concord that applies to oblique quantifiers but does not apply to quantifiers in nominative or accusative, which instead use the default genitive. General numerals are said to be nouns, paucals adjectives. Franks 1995 treats the formal description of quantifier argument phrases.

Table 4.6 *Types of quantifiers*

quantifier type	examples
singleton	*оди́н* 'one', [plural] 'some'
paucal	MSC=NT *два́* ∼ FEM *две́* 'two', *три́* 'three', *четы́ре* 'four'
high integers & teens	*пя́ть* 'five', *де́сять* 'ten', *оди́ннадцать* 'eleven', *девятна́дцать* 'nineteen'
low (non-compound) decade	*два́дцать* 'twenty', *три́дцать* 'thirty'
high (compound) decade	*пятьдеся́т* 'fifty', *шестьдеся́т* 'sixty', *се́мьдесят* 'seventy', *во́семьдесят* 'eighty'
round	*со́рок* 'forty', *сто́* 'hundred', *девяно́сто* 'ninety'
compound low hundred	*две́сти* 'two hundred', *три́ста* 'three hundred', *четы́реста* 'four hundred'
compound high hundred	*пятьсо́т* 'five hundred', *девятьсо́т* 'nine hundred'
mille numeral	*ты́сяча* 'thousand', *миллио́н* 'million', *миллиа́рд* 'billion', *триллио́н* 'trillion'
lexical fractions	*полови́на* 'half', *че́тверть* 'quarter'
approximate	*сто́лько* 'so many', *мно́го* 'many', *немно́го* 'some', *ма́ло* 'few'
collective	*дво́е* 'twosome', *пя́теро* 'fivesome'

[62]   Этим четырём_{DAT} буквам_{DAT} придано глубочайшее символическое значение.
To these four letters is attached the greatest symbolic meaning.

[63]   На этих шести_{LOC} станках_{LOC} работало всего шестеро.
On these six machines used to work only six people.

[64]   Она шила ему специальный пояс, широкий, с восемью_{INS} карманами_{INS}.
She sewed him a special, wide belt with eight pockets.

When the quantifier argument is nominative or accusative, numerals appear in the nominative or accusative. The quantified noun and any modifiers are genitive plural:

[65]   Так вот, есть просьба выделить двадцать_{NOM=ACC} хороших_{GEN PL} ребят_{GEN PL}.
So, there is a request to select twenty good fellows.

[66]   Здесь на помощь финалисткам пришли десять_{NOM=ACC} галантных_{GEN PL} кавалеров_{GEN PL}.
Here there came to the rescue of the finalists ten gallant cavaliers.

Some modifiers occur before the quantifier and modify the whole quantifier phrase. One type of such PHRASAL modifiers appear in the direct (NOM=ACC) case. Such are: demonstratives (*эти пять рублей* 'these five rubles'), possessive pronouns (*мои пять рублей* 'my five rubles'), quantifying adjectives ({*все* ∼ *последние*} *пять рублей* '{all ∼ the last} five rubles'). Certain modifiers *evaluate* the quantity, and these appear before the noun usually in the genitive

plural: {*добрых* ∼ *целых* ∼ *жалких* ∼ *каких-нибудь*} *пятнадцать лет* '{a goodly ∼ a whole ∼ measly ∼ some or another} fifteen years', only rarely in the NOM=ACC form: *целые пять лет* (on the web, only 177 xx *целые пять* vs. 11,600 xx *целых пять* <15.IX.02>).

General numerals are insensitive to animacy. When the noun is animate and the phrase is accusative, a general numeral is expressed in the NOM=ACC form, not the genitive ([67–68]). An external modifier does express animacy (but *эти* now occurs in the informal register):

[67] Зал Дома кино встречал этих_{<ACC=GEN>} двадцать_{<NOM=ACC>} (*двадцати_{<ACC=GEN>}) ребят аплодисментами.
The House of Film greeted those twenty lads with applause.

[68] Владимир окрестил всех_{<ACC=GEN>} двенадцать_{<NOM=ACC>} (*двенадцати_{<ACC=GEN>}) сыновей своих.
Vladimir baptized all twelve of his sons.

4.3.3 Paucal numerals

The PAUCAL numerals – MSC=NT *два* ∼ FEM *две* 'two' (with an unusual distinction of gender), *три* 'three', *четыре* 'four', and MSC=NT *оба* ∼ FEM *обе* 'both' – behave like general numerals in oblique cases: the noun, modifiers, and the numeral are in the oblique case (instrumental in [69], dative in [70]); the quantified noun and any modifiers are plural.

[69] Андрей познакомил меня с теми_{<INS PL>} двумя_{<INS>} молодыми_{<INS PL>} людьми_{<INS PL>}, с которыми сидел на одной скамье.
Andrei introduced me to those two young people with whom he shared a bench.

[70] Успешное развитие ребенка по этим_{<DAT PL>} трем_{<DAT>} генеральным_{<DAT PL>} линиям_{<DAT PL>} обеспечивает способность личности к разным видам деятельности.
Successful development of the child along these three general lines ensures the ability of an individual to engage in various forms of activity.

In direct cases, the quantified noun is genitive *singular*, not plural. Internal adjectives modifying the noun are plural, but the case depends on the gender of the noun. With masculine and neuter nouns, an adjective is always in the genitive.

[71] Забрали два других_{<GEN PL>} охотничьих_{<GEN PL>} ружья_{<\NT GEN SG>}.
They confiscated two other hunting rifles.

[72] Лишь полупустуют три_{<NOM=ACC>} первых_{<GEN PL>} ряда_{<\MSC GEN SG>}, отгороженных_{<GEN PL>} для почетных гостей.
Half-empty are only the first three rows, roped off for important guests.

With feminine nouns, NOM=ACC case rather than genitive is usual:

[73]   Бабушка нарисовала две {одинаковые_{<NOM=ACC PL>} ∼ ?одинаковых_{<GEN PL>}} афиши_{<\FEM GEN SG>}.
       Grandmother drew two identical posters.

[74]   Под одной администрацией были объединены две {московские_{<NOM=ACC PL>} обувные_{<NOM=ACC PL>} ∼ ?московских_{<GEN PL>} обувных_{<GEN PL>}} фабрики_{<\FEM GEN SG>}.
       Under one administration were united two Moscow shoe factories.

[75]   В больнице работали две санитарки_{<\FEM GEN SG>}, присланные_{<NOM PL>} из города.
       In the hospital there were working two [female] orderlies, sent from the city.

The genitive, used rarely, focuses on the fact of existence or the quantity ([76–77]).[22]

[76]   Поднялся столб воды, раздался глухой взрыв. Мы бросились в воду. И поймали . . . всего три {?оглушенные_{<NOM=ACC PL>} ∼ оглушенных_{<GEN PL>}} утки_{<\FEM GEN SG>}.
       A column of water rose up, a thud resounded. We threw ourselves into the water. We had caught . . . all of three deafened ducks.

[77]   В больнице всего две санитарки_{<\FEM GEN SG>}, присланных_{<GEN PL>} из города.[23]
       In the hospital there were altogether only two [female] orderlies, sent from the city.

Paucal numerals, unlike general numerals, usually express animacy.[24] When the quantifier argument is accusative and the quantified noun is animate, the paucal numeral is in the genitive; the quantified noun is then genitive *plural*, not singular ([78] *учениц*): Modifiers, including modifiers of feminine nouns, are genitive plural ([78] *молодых*).

[78]   Он послал за себя этих_{<ACC=GEN PL>} четырех_{<ACC=GEN>} молодых_{<ACC=GEN PL>} учениц_{<ACC=GEN PL>}.
       In his place he sent those four young [female] students.

The special paucal quantifier *óба/óбе*, like *двá/двé*, distinguishes gender, even in oblique cases: *с обеими_{<FEM>} бутылками*. Unlike *двá/двé*, *óба/óбе* presupposes that the two referents are individuated and known, a fact that leads to certain differences. *Óба/óбе* generally elicits plural agreement ({*пришли/*пришло*} *óбе девушки* 'there arrived both girls'). *Óба/óбе* can be used as an anaphor (*оба пришли* 'both arrived') or as a modifier of the anaphoric pronoun (*оба они пришли* 'they both arrived').

Constructions with numerals can be stated as a hierarchized list of branching decisions ([79], which does not treat external modifiers or complex numerals):

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[22] Observation due to Worth 1959:123–24.
[23] [75], [77] from Mel′chuk 1985[a]:448-49, here with a different interpretation.
[24] The thoroughly un-individuated [76] does not.

[79] Algorithms for numeral constructions
    if the quantifier phrase is in an oblique case:
        quantifier, modifiers, and noun are in the oblique case; modifiers and
        noun are plural;
    if the quantifier phrase is nominative or accusative:
        if the quantifier is paucal,
            if the quantifier phrase is accusative, if the quantified noun is
            animate, then the quantifier is genitive, modifiers and the
            noun are genitive plural;
            otherwise, the quantifier is nominative=accusative, the
            quantified noun genitive singular, internal modifiers plural,
                nominative=accusative if the noun is feminine and the
                context non-existential,
                otherwise genitive;
        if the quantifier is a general (not a paucal) numeral,
        the quantifier is nominative=accusative (regardless of animacy),
        modifiers and noun are genitive plural.

4.3.4 *Mille* numerals *миллион*, *миллиард*, *триллион*, and *тысяча*

Миллио́н 'million', *миллиа́рд* 'billion', and *триллио́н* 'trillion' – quantifiers expressing large quantities, which can for short be termed MILLE numerals – behave more like nouns than quantifiers, though they quantify things and combine with ordinary numerals. They themselves can be quantified by other numerals or approximate quantifiers. With numerals that take the plural, they themselves form a plural ({*шесть* ~ *несколько*} *миллионов* '{six ~ several} million'); general numerals do not form plurals. Combined with a paucal numeral, a mille numeral goes into the genitive singular; the noun is genitive plural:

[80]   На дорогах ежегодно гибнет два миллиона_{\<GEN SG\>} машин_{\<GEN PL\>}.
       On the roads two million cars perish every year.

When a mille quantifier occurs in an oblique case, the quantified noun still appears in the genitive, not the oblique case (dative in [81], instrumental in [82]):

[81]   Я спустился, дав тебе руку, по крайней мере по миллиону_{\<DAT SG\>} лестниц_{\<GEN PL\>}.
       I have descended, with you on my arm, at least a million stairs.
[82]   IBM проектирует компьютер с миллионом_{\<INS SG\>} процессоров_{\<GEN PL\>}.
       IBM envisions a computer with a million processors.

In these respects, mille numerals are more similar to nouns than to general numerals.

Тысяча acts sometimes like a general numeral, sometimes like other mille numerals. When singular *тысяча* is used in an oblique case, there are said to be two patterns. In one, the quantified noun is genitive plural: *к тысяче*_{DAT} *рублей*_{GEN} 'to a thousand rubles', *с тысячей*_{INS} *рублей*_{GEN} 'with a thousand rubles'. With this syntax, which is similar to that of the mille numerals, the instrumental form is said to be *тысячей*: *с тысячей*_{INS} *учеников*_{GEN} 'with a thousand pupils'. Alternatively, *тысяча* and the quantified noun can both appear in the oblique case: *к тысяче*_{DAT} *рублям*_{DAT}. This is the syntax of general numerals. With this syntax, the instrumental is said to be *тысячью* (or *тысячей* as a secondary option): *с тысячью*_{INS} *(тысячей*_{INS}*) рублями*_{INS}.[25]

These two possibilities for *тысяча* are presented in grammars as equal options. In fact, in recent Russian, the former pattern is rather more frequent. In a sample of the first 100 tokens that appeared in a search on the whole web for the form *тысяче* (a third dative, two-thirds locative), almost all – 97 – were used with the genitive plural of the quantified noun.[26] The behavior of the two instrumental forms is complex. Both seem current in contemporary Russian; *тысячью* appeared in 67 percent of tokens on www.lib.ru (<20.XII.02>). Interestingly, *тысячью* – supposedly the numeral form, which should combine only with an instrumental – occurs frequently with the genitive of the quantified noun. In the first 100 distinct tokens of *тысячью*,[27] only 15 were followed by the instrumental, including:

[83] Sound Forge 5.0 — это профессиональная программа для редактирования звука! Есть возможность пользоваться более чем тысячью эффектами_{INS}!

Sound Forge 5.0 is a professional program for sound editing! There is the possibility of using more than a thousand effects!

Otherwise, the genitive was used, in idiomatic expressions (*с тысячью окон*_{GEN} 'with a thousand windows', *с тысячью рук*_{GEN} *и глаз*_{GEN} 'with a thousand arms and eyes', *жить тысячью жизней*_{GEN} 'to live a thousand lives') and in new combinations ([84]):

[84] Сейчас у группы открыты офисы в 22 странах по всему миру, с более чем тысячью сотрудников_{GEN}.

At this time the group has offices in twenty-two countries throughout the world, with more than a thousand co-workers.

Translations of Hamlet's "<. . .> we end / The heartache and the thousand natural shocks" use the genitive, for example: <. . .> *покончишь / С сердечной мукою*

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[25] Zalizniak 1977[a]:68 gives only *тысячью*, *SRIa* 2.123 gives *тысячей*.

[26] The first 100 examples produced by searching with Google (<03.XII.01>) for *тысяче*, excluding: forms (*анкеты*), poetry, songs, religious texts, distributive constructions, conjoined numerals, more than one hit from a single site. Many of these 100 tokens were clichés measuring distance.

[27] Whole web <20.XII.02>.

и с тысячью терзаний. It is not clear whether there is a systematic semantic or stylistic difference. Compare *связаны тысячью нитей*_{<GEN>} 'bound by a thousand ties', but *связаны тысячью видимыми и невидимыми нитями*_{<INS>} 'bound by a thousand visible and invisible ties', or *Человек с тысячью лиц*_{<GEN>} – the name for the movie starring Lon Cheney and the novel by Alfred van Vogt – but Joseph Campbell's book *Герой с тысячью лицами*_{<INS>}.

The oblique plural forms of *тысяча* in earlier Russian combined with oblique nouns, as in Derzhavin's *Чтобы тысячам девочкам | На моих сидеть ветвях* 'In order that thousands of girls | On my branches might rest', but now the genitive plural is used: *на пятнадцати тысячах*_{<LOC>} *квадратных километров*_{<GEN>} 'on fifteen thousand square kilometers'. Overall, *тысяча* is coming to behave more like mille numerals than general numerals.

Mille numerals do not express animacy themselves or in demonstratives ([85]):

[85] Специальное заседание Политбюро ЦК решило эту проблему иначе: пустить корабль с зеками на дно. Не отпускать эти_{<NOM=ACC>} две_{<NOM=ACC>} тысячи_{<NOM=ACC>} каторжан в Соединенные Штаты!
In a special meeting, the Politburo resolved the problem in another way: to sink the ship to the bottom with the prisoners. Never to allow these two thousand prisoners into the USA!

4.3.5 Preposed quantified noun

While quantifiers ordinarily precede the nouns that are quantified, there is an alternative construction in which the noun comes before the numeral and, if there is one, a preposition; the construction indicates that the quantity is not precise:

[86] Часа́ через три-четыре мы увидали город.
After three to four hours or so, we saw the city.
[87] Приехали недель на шесть.
They've come for six weeks or so.

The noun retains the same morphological properties it would have in the position after the quantifier – for example, the genitive singular with a paucal in [86] (and numerative stress *часа́*). The numeral and the preposed noun take the case governed by the preposition: *верстах*_{<LOC>} *в двух*_{<LOC>} *от села* 'at a place two versts or so from the village', *часов*_{<GEN>} *до четырех*_{<LOC>} 'up until about four'.

4.3.6 Complex numerals

In COMPLEX numerals – combinations of numerals – there is a significant difference between the most careful written register and less formal registers.

In the formal register, if the quantifier phrase is oblique, all components of the complex numeral are in the oblique case, and the noun and modifiers are plural.

[88]   Число жертв в десяти$_{<LOC>}$ трибуналах$_{<LOC>}$ равняется в этом году тысяче$_{<DAT>}$ четыремстам$_{<DAT>}$ двадцати$_{<DAT>}$ (четырем$_{<DAT>}$) человекам$_{<DAT>}$ сожженным живьем.
The number of victims in ten tribunals in that year amounts to one thousand four hundred twenty (-four) people burned alive.

In a direct case, all components of the complex numeral are in the direct case. The last component determines the case and number of nouns and modifiers. They are genitive plural when the last component is not a paucal ([89]):

[89]   Четыреста$_{<NOM=ACC>}$ десять$_{<NOM=ACC>}$ трибуналов$_{<GEN\ PL>}$ произошло в этом году.
Four hundred ten tribunals took place in this year.

If the last component is a paucal, the noun is genitive singular, as is usual with a paucal numeral; adjectives are plural, genitive with masculine or neuter nouns ([90]), nominative or accusative with feminine nouns ([91]).

[90]   Я насчитал двадцать$_{<NOM=ACC>}$ два$_{<NOM=ACC>}$ молодых$_{<ACC=GEN\ PL>}$ нациста$_{<GEN\ SG>}$.
I counted twenty-two young Nazis.

[91]   Комитет нанял тысячу$_{<ACC>}$ двести$_{<NOM=ACC>}$ пятьдесят$_{<NOM=ACC>}$ три$_{<NOM=ACC>}$ опытные$_{<NOM=ACC\ PL>}$ учительницы$_{<GEN\ SG>}$.
The commission hired one thousand two hundred fifty-three experienced teachers.

However, as in [90–91], paucals in complex numerals do not express animacy. The ACC=GEN is said to be outmoded, but still occurs, even on recent websites.[28] If the paucal does express animacy, the noun and any modifiers become genitive plural.

[92]   Лагерь "Патриот" принял на отдых (и воспитание) пятьдесят$_{<NOM=ACC>}$ четырех$_{<ACC=GEN>}$ трудных$_{<ACC=GEN>}$ подростков$_{<ACC=GEN>}$.
Camp Patriot has accepted for recreation (and training) fifty-four troubled adolescents.

In a complex numeral that ends in *одúн* 'one', the noun is singular, and *одúн* agrees with the noun.

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[28] The use of the ACC=GEN has attracted the attention of grammarians for popular audiences: D. È. Rozental′ (http://www.spelling.spb.ru/rosenthal/alpha/r151.htm), V. I. Novikova (http://www.gramota.ru/monitor.html?mid=13). An example (because it is an internal quotation?), in reference to the three loves of Maiakovsky: *Я думаю, Маяковский любил всех трех – и еще тридцать трех в придачу* 'I think Maiakovsky loved all three – and another thirty-three to boot'.

[93] Я участвовала в двадцати двух балетах и двадцати одной_{<FEM LOC SG>}
опере_{<\FEM LOC SG>}.
I took part in twenty-two ballets and twenty-one operas.

If the numeral is subject, the predicate agrees with the singular number of *одúн* ([94]):

[94] Тремя вологодскими депутатами в бюджет 2002 года внесена_{<FEM NOM SG>} сто
пятьдесят одна_{<FEM NOM SG>} поправка_{<\FEM NOM SG>}.
By three delegates from Vologda were introduced into the 2002 budget one
hundred fifty-one changes.

[95] Пускай платит сто тридцать одну_{<FEM ACC SG>} золотую лиру_{<\FEM ACC SG>}.
Let her pay one hundred thirty-one golden liras.

[96] Николай Первый отправил в ссылку сто двадцать одного_{<MSC ACC=GEN SG>}
человека_{<\MSC ACC=GEN SG>}.
Nikolai I sent into exile one hundred twenty-one persons.

[97] Сестры родили — ни много ни мало — двадцать одного_{<MSC ACC=GEN SG>}
ребенка_{<\MSC ACC=GEN SG>}.
The sisters gave birth to no more, no less than twenty-one babies.

Animacy is expressed by *одúн* when the noun is masculine and animate ([96–97]).
     In the informal register, when a complex numeral should be in an oblique case, there is a tendency to avoid declining all components and to use the direct case form of numerals instead. How far this breakdown in the expression of case has progressed is difficult to determine. Nevertheless some general principles can be sketched. At the left margin, numerals of the mille group maintain declension when other numerals in the phrase may not be declined.

[98] Фонд оказал квалифицированную юридическую помощь более чем трем_{<DAT>}
тысячам_{<DAT>} двести_{<NOM=ACC>} {двадцати_{<GEN>} ~ ?двадцать_{<NOM=ACC>}} семьям
погибших военнослужащих.
The fund has rendered qualified legal aid to more than three thousand two
hundred twenty families of deceased servicemen.

On the right margin of a complex numeral, the last numeral, especially if it is a paucal, tends to decline, but the preceding decades and especially hundreds often do not:

[99] Александр Алехин мог давать сеансы одновременной игры по шахматам
вслепую на тридцать_{<NOM=ACC>} двух_{<LOC>} досках_{<LOC>} одновременно.
Alexander Alekhin used to give demonstrations of simultaneous chess games
played blindfolded on thirty-two boards simultaneously.

[100] Стрелка колебалась между сто_{<NOM=ACC>} пятью_{<INS>} и сто_{<NOM=ACC>} десятью_{<INS>} километрами в час.

The speedometer hovered between one hundred five and one hundred ten kilometers per hour.

[101] Оля — высокая девушка двадцать_{<NOM=ACC>} пяти_{<GEN>} лет.

Olia is a tall girl of twenty-five years.

Thus the informal register is developing a template, according to which numerals on margins are likely to be declined and numerals internal to the phrase need not be.

4.3.7 Fractions

Полови́на 'half', *че́тверть* 'quarter', *тре́ть* 'third' are lexical fractions which, like paucal numerals, take the genitive singular of the noun: *половина комнаты* 'a half of the room', *две трети муки* 'two thirds of the flour'. Fractions now condition feminine agreement: *осталась*_{<FEM SG>} *добрая*_{<FEM SG>} *четверть часа до отхода поезда* 'there remained a good quarter of an hour until the train's departure'.[29]

Other fractions are formed using a nominalized ordinal for the denominator and the (feminine) cardinal in the numerator. When the numerator is 'one', the expression is feminine singular, in memory of the noun *часть* 'part': *одна восьмая* '1/8'. With other numerators, the denominator is plural and genitive in direct cases in formal Russian. The noun remains in the genitive singular: *две десятых* 'two-tenths' (informally, *две десятые* or MSC *два десятые*), *(оставалось) три восьмых грамма* '(there remained) three-eighths of a gram', *три тридцать восьмых* 'three thirty-eighths', *шесть двести сорок седьмых комнаты* '6/247'. When the quantifier phrase is oblique, the oblique case is imposed on the cardinal in the numerator and the ordinal of the denominator (on the last, adjectival part); the noun is genitive singular: *с тремя восьмыми метра* 'with three-eighths of a meter', *к шести двести сорок седьмым комнаты* 'to six two hundred forty-sevenths of the room'.

Mixed numbers are formed as follows. The integer, expressed by a cardinal numeral and optionally the nominalized adjective *целая* 'a whole', has the same case as the fraction. The fractional portion is conjoined with the integer. (The lexical fractions are combined through the comitative preposition *c*.) The noun remains in the genitive singular, in honor of the most immediate constituent, the fraction: *(оставалось) шесть (целых) и три восьмых грамма*_{<GEN SG>} '(there remained) six (wholes) and three-eighths grams'; *с тремя (целыми) и тремя восьмыми метра*_{<GEN SG>} 'with three (wholes) and three-eighths meters'; *к трем*

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[29] Though Vinogradov 1947:294 had neuter singular.

*(целым) и шести двести сорок седьмым комнаты*_{<GEN SG>} 'to three (wholes) and six two hundred forty-sevenths of the room'; *шесть с половиной комнаты*_{<GEN SG>} 'six and a half rooms'; *три с четвертью метра*_{<GEN SG>} 'three and a quarter meters'.

A distinct style is used for reading decimals. The lowest exponent can be explicitly read, for example, '3.18 grams': *(оставалось) три (целых) и восемнадцать сотых грамма*, but in scientific style it would be more common to read the numeral without ordinals, as *(оставалось) три (целых) и восемнадцать грамма*. An initial zero before the decimal point is *нуль*, which declines; zeroes to the right of the decimal point are read as invariant *ноль*: *от нуля ноль ноль шести грамма* 'from 0.006 gram'; *с тремя (целыми) и ноль восемью килограмма* 'with 3.08 kilograms'.

Some unusual numerals contain an etymological prefix *пол-* 'half'. 'One and a half', etymologically 'half of the second', behaves like a paucal. The direct cases distinguish gender and take the genitive singular of the noun: MSC *полторá столá* 'one and a half tables', NT *полторá окнá* 'one and a half windows', FEM *полторы́ стороны́* 'one and a half sides'. *Пóлтора*, with initial stress, is used with pluralia tantum: *пóлтора сýток* 'a day and a half'.[30] There is a single form for all oblique cases in all genders; nouns are genitive plural: *из полýтора буты́лок* 'out of one and a half bottles'. 'One hundred and a half', etymologically 'half of the second hundred', distinguishes two forms: direct (NOM=ACC) *полторáста*, implying genitive plural of the noun ([102]), and oblique *полýтораста*, implying oblique case by agreement ([103]):

[102]   Мне двадцать пять лет: лицо мое и фигуру многие хвалят. Недурно езжу
верхом и стреляю, попаду с полутораста_{<GEN>} шагов_{<GEN>} в стакан или яблоко.
I'm twenty-five: people admire my looks and my figure. I'm not too shoddy at
riding and shooting: I can hit a glass or an apple from a hundred and fifty paces.

[103]   Помогать на кухне — это мыть посуду за всеми полутораста_{<INS>}
постояльцами_{<INS>}.
Helping in the kitchen means washing dishes for all hundred and fifty lodgers.

4.3.8 Collectives

Russian has a distinct class of collective numerals, used for groups of individuals: *двóе* 'pair, twosome', *пя́теро* 'quintet, fivesome', extending up to *деся́теро* 'tensome'.[31] They are more frequent for small than for large groups – *двóе* is over ten times more frequent than *сéмеро* 'sevensome', which in turn is ten times more frequent than *вóсьмеро*. Whether collectives are used rather than ordinary numerals depends primarily on the noun that is quantified and secondarily on

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[30] Zalizniak 1977[a]:66.   [31] Vinogradov 1947:308–11, Mel'chuk 1985[a]:376.

the context. Collectives are used regularly with: adjectival substantives (*двое часовых* 'two sentries'); masculine animate nouns belonging to Declension_{⟨II⟩} (*двое мужчин* 'two men'); nouns describing membership in groups defined by national identity or social role (*трое словаков* 'three Slovaks', *двое студентов* 'two students'); children, when counted in relation to the parents (*он женат и имеет четверых несовершеннолетних детей* 'he is married with four minor children'). Collectives are used with inanimate pluralia tantum, at least for low numbers in the direct cases: only {*двое ∼ четверо*} *суток* '{two ∼ four} days'. Higher than paucals, regular numbers are used: occasionally *пятеро суток* 'five days' but much more frequently, *пять суток* (93% on the web <31.X.02>). Regular numbers are used in oblique cases: *при помощи двух (*двоих) щипцов* 'using two pairs of pliers', *с тремя ножницами* 'with three pairs of scissors'. Paired items, for some speakers, can be expressed by collectives, but others prefer to use *пара*: *двое сапог* 'two pairs of boots' or *две пары* {*сапог ∼ брюк ∼ перчаток*} 'two pairs of {boots ∼ trousers ∼ gloves}'.

Aside from the lexical groups just mentioned, collectives are generally used only for groups including men. Collectives are avoided if the group is composed exclusively of women: *две женщины* 'two women', not *двое женщин*, except in newer, colloquial language (*относительно всех пятерых девиц* 'with respect to the whole fivesome of girls'). With nouns that can use either collectives or ordinary numerals, the collective focuses on the fact that the group exists (a fact which, in [104], explains how the uncle behaved):

[104] Теперь у него было пятеро детей, и эта должность его никак не устраивала.
By now he had five children, and so that occupation was no longer adequate.

The regular numeral suggests that the entities are individuals ([105]):

[105] Выдали пять карточек — на моих младших сестер Машу и Катю и на трех детей брата Владимира.
Five cards were issued — for my younger sisters Masha and Katia and for my brother Vladimir's three children.

In the accusative, collectives express animacy ([106]), and not only for small quantities:

[106] Он работал не за двоих, а за десятерых.
He did the work not just of two, but of ten people.

4.3.9 Approximates

Quantifiers such as *столько* 'so much', *много* 'much', *немного* 'a little', *мало* 'little' assert the existence of some quantity that is evaluated against an implicit standard: as greater (*много*) or less (*мало*) or the same (*столько* and *сколько* – the

question form that asks what the quantity is equal to). These quantifiers can also function as adverbs, when they do not govern a noun and modify a verb: *много молилась* 'she prayed a lot'.

In oblique cases, the quantifier and the noun and any modifiers go into the oblique case. A count noun is plural: *многими силами* 'with many forces', *сколькими деньгами* 'with how much money'. If the noun is a mass noun, it is singular and the quantifier has a singular declension: *без многой силы* 'without much force', *сколькой валютой* 'with how much money'. *Máло* 'little', *немáло* 'not a little' and the comparatives *мéньше* 'less', *бóльше* 'more' do not decline and are not used where an oblique case would be called for, except in the idioms: *без малого* 'only a little less than', *(начинаться) с малого* '(to begin) with a little'. The adjective *мáлый* 'small, slight' does occur in oblique cases: *не рождала и малого звука* '[the machine] did not produce even the slightest sound', *с малым содержанием урана* 'with trace amounts of uranium'.

Alongside of the pure quantifier *мнóго* there is a parallel plural adjective *мнóгие* in the direct cases. *Мнóго* points to the existence of a quantity of undifferentiated entities, as opposed to the possibility that no entities were involved. *Мнóгие* individuates, inviting a contrast among individuals – many did, others did not ([107]):

[107] В Москву понаехало *много* китайцев. Среди них были Хо Ши Мин, Чан Кайши и *многие* соратники Мао Дзэдуна.
Many Chinese arrived in Moscow. Among them were Ho Chi Minh, Chiang Kai-shek, and many comrades of Mao Zedong.

Мнóго expresses animacy obligatorily, *нéсколько* 'some' does so three-quarters of the time. The NOM=ACC *нéсколько* establishes existence (in [108], there will now be expertise); the ACC=GEN *нéскольких* focuses on the effect on individuals, such as the violence in [109]:

[108] Привлекли несколько_{<NOM=ACC>} опытных специалистов.
[They] have brought in some experienced specialists.
[109] Казаки убили нескольких_{<ACC=GEN>} демонстрантов.
Cossacks killed some of the demonstrators.

4.3.10 Numerative (counting) forms of selected nouns
Some nouns have distinct, archaic, forms when they are used with quantifiers.[32]

Certain nouns belonging to Declension_{<IA>} use the null form of the genitive plural in combination with quantifiers, but the explicit ending {-ov} for other genitives: *шестнадцать килограмм* 'sixteen kilograms', *до двухсот килограмм* 'up to two hundred kilograms' but *среди этих килограммов* 'among those

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[32] Worth 1959:fn. 9, Mel′chuk 1985[a]:430–37.

Table 4.7 *Alternative plurals (selected numerals, genitive and dative cases)*

			percentage			percentage
	человек	людей	человек	человекам	людям	человекам
четырех ∼ четырем	18,800	476	98%	67	116	37%
пяти	14,100	143	99%	81	119	41%
десяти	9,380	389	96%	83	17	83%
пятидесяти	4,140	75	98%	6	9	40%
ста	12,400	160	99%	110	3	97%

kilograms' (§3.6.4).[33] The measures of modern science are similar: *гаусс(ов)* 'gausses', *ангстрем(ов)* 'angstroms', *ом(ов)* 'ohms', *рентген(ов)* 'roentgens'.

Two high-frequency nouns use two different stems in the plural.

While the general plural of *челове́к* is *лю́ди*, plural forms of *челове́к* are used in quantifying contexts. As a genitive plural with the ending {-∅}, *челове́к* is used with true numerals: *шестьсот двадцать пять человек были подвергнуто епитимьям* 'six hundred twenty-five people were subjected to performing penances'. Both *челове́к* and *люде́й* are used with the approximate quantifiers *сто́лько, не́сколько, сто́лько*. In *несколько человек потонуло* 'some people drowned', *челове́к* establishes the existence of an event of drowning. *Люде́й* indicates that the people are individuals, each with a separate history: *сколько людей остались бы живы* 'how many people might have remained alive'. With *мно́го* 'many', *ма́ло* 'few', *нема́ло* 'not a few', *люде́й* is used by a wide margin (on the web, 97% *людей* <31.X.02>), as in [110]:

[110]   Но есть немало людей, которые считают по-другому.

        But there are a fair number of people who think otherwise.

Люде́й tends to be used with mille quantifiers more than *челове́к*. The nominative-accusative *миллио́ны* overwhelmingly uses *люде́й* (97% *людей* on the web <31.X.02>). The genitive *миллио́нов*, however, prefers *челове́к* (only 30% *людей* on the web <31.X.02>). *Люде́й* is also used with groupings of people, *десятки талантливых людей* 'dozens of talented people'. Genitives that are not quantifying have only *люде́й*: *проблемы жизни людей* 'problems of people's life', *толпа людей* 'crowd of people'.

With general numerals in oblique cases other than the genitive, either noun can be used with numerals, to judge a search of dative forms reported in Table 4.7 (web, <31.X.02>). Table 4.7 reminds us that *челове́к* is close to universal with

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[33] Vorontsova 1976:136–37.

Table 4.8 *Numerative plurals:* лет, человек

context	годы/лета	люди/человек
plural oblique, non-genitive	*к двадцати годам*; *отдаленные десятью годами*	*поможет даже десяти людям* [individuated] / *понравится пяти человекам* [existential]
adnominal to lexical noun	*люди шестидесятых годов* [individuated] / *в учебниках тех лет*; *практика прошлых лет*; *количество лет* [existential]	*проблемы жизни людей*; *толпа людей*
quantifiers *мало, немало, много, немного*	*много лет*	*много людей*, *немало людей*
mille numerals *миллион*	*миллионы лет назад*	*320 миллионов людей*
group quantifiers *десяток, сотня*	*сотни лет*	*десятки талантливых людей*
approximate quantifiers *столько, несколько, сколько*	*столько лет прошло*	*сколько людей остались бы живы* [individuated] / *несколько человек потонуло* [existential]
general numerals	*двадцать лет*; *более двух лет*	*двадцать человек*

genitive forms of numerals. With oblique numerals, forms of *люди* allow the people to be viewed as separate individuals ([111]); forms of *челове́к* focus on the quantity as such ([112]):

[111]   Если моя книга поможет даже *десяти людям*, я уже буду счастлив.
        If my book should help just ten people, I will be happy.
[112]   Наша музыка понравится *пяти человекам* из сотни.
        Our music will please five people out of a hundred.

Го́ды 'years' is used in many contexts, including in oblique cases with numerals, *к двадцати годам* 'to twenty years', *отдаленные десятью годами* 'distanced by ten years'. *Ле́т* is used for almost any genitive plural: with quantifiers of all kinds, *много лет* 'many years', *до двадцати лет* 'up to twenty years', *миллионы лет назад* 'millions of years ago', *столько лет прошло* 'so many years have passed'; with adnominal genitives that are not quantifying, *в учебниках тех лет* 'in the textbooks of those years', *практика прошлых лет* 'the practice of recent years'; and in idioms with the preposition *с* defining the start of an interval: *с {детских ~ юных ~ тех} лет* 'from {childhood ~ young ~ those} years'. *Ле́т* is used in discussions of age, which is often measured with numbers: *выглядела старше своих лет* 'she looked older than her years', *лыжники средних лет* 'skiers of

middle age'. The plural *го́ды* can have the sense of a series of years, such as a decade: *шестидеся́тые го́ды* 'the sixties', *в пе́рвые го́ды револю́ции* 'in the first years of the revolution', and in this sense it can appear in the genitive: *лю́ди шестидеся́тых годо́в* 'people of the sixties'. The genitive *годо́в* is also used if years are understood as individuated, *траги́ческие собы́тия 1937–1938 годо́в* 'the tragic events of the years of 1937–1938', or if the genitive is governed by a verb: *но́вый проце́сс в лу́чшем слу́чае потре́бует еще́ годо́в испыта́ний* 'the new process, even at best, will require still more years of testing'.

Челове́к and *год* are used with numerals that call for the singular form: *два́дцать оди́н челове́к* 'twenty-one people', *с двадцатью́ одни́м челове́ком* 'with twenty-one people', *три челове́ка* 'three people', *четы́ре го́да* 'four years', *до двадцати́ одного́ го́да* 'up to twenty-one years', but *до во́зраста четыре́х лет* 'up to the age of four years'.

The usage and examples discussed above are summarized in Table 4.8. *Лет* is used broadly as a genitive plural, not only in quantifying contexts. *Челове́к* is used in quantifying contexts (though *люде́й* is not excluded), and not only as a genitive.

A small number of nouns have two genitive singular forms that differ by stress. The regular genitive is used in most contexts. The NUMERATIVE form with unusual stress is an archaism used with paucal numerals or fractions: {(*два́дцать*) *два* ~ *три* ~ *четы́ре*} {*шага́* ~ *часа́* ~ *ряда́* (*ря́да*) ~ *шара́* ~ [archaic] *раза́*} '{(twenty) two ~ three ~ four} {steps ~ hours ~ rows ~ balls ~ times}'; *полови́на шага́* 'a half step'. The regular genitive singular is stressed on the stem: *о́коло ча́са* 'around an hour'. Numerative stress yields to the regular stress when the combination is not idiomatic: *два пе́рвых ша́га* 'two first steps' *два бесконе́чных ча́са* 'two endless hours', *два с полови́ной* {*часа́* (~ *ча́са*) ~ *ша́га*} 'two and a half {hours ~ steps}'.[34] *За о́бе щёки* 'on both cheeks' (otherwise, GEN SG *щеки́*) and *все четы́ре сто́роны* (GEN SG *стороны́*) 'all four sides' are fixed idioms.[35]

4.3.11 Quantifiers and *по*

A construction beloved among grammarians is the use of quantifiers with the preposition *по* in its distributive sense: a certain quantity of things is assigned to each member of some set.[36]

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[34] The pattern is a vestige of the stress in the dual of nouns with originally mobile accentuation. In mobile nouns, the accent fell on the NOM=ACC dual ending of MSC *o*-stem nouns, hence *шага́*, and on the initial syllable of FEM *a*-stem nouns, *сто́ронѣ* > *сто́роны* (Stang 1957:76, 61).

[35] Vinogradov 1947:302–4.

[36] Vinogradov 1947:297, Bogusławski and Karolak 1970:13–14, Mel′chuk 1985[a]. The historical trajectory is outlined in Bogusławski 1966:199–201, passim.

Distributive phrases with *no* fit in a wide range of argument positions: in positions where one might expect an accusative object ([113]), an accusative expression of frequency ([114]), or the nominative subject of an intransitive verb with existential force ([115]):

[113] Декану каждого факультета разрешили взять с собой по два_{<NOM=ACC>} студента.
The dean of every faculty was permitted to take two students each.

[114] Я нанялся мыть посуду в ресторане, по двенадцать_{<NOM=ACC>} часов в день и по шесть_{<NOM=ACC>} дней в неделю.
I took a job washing dishes in a restaurant, twelve hours per day and six days per week.

[115] На каждой скамье сидело по три_{<NOM=ACC>} студента.
At each bench there sat three students.

These are the same argument positions that allow the genitive of negation,[37] presumably because *no*, like the genitive of negation, focuses on existence rather than individuation. For the same reason, presumably, *no* does not treat its accusative complement as animate with paucal numerals (*по два студента* in [113]). But *no* is not limited to contexts that allow the genitive of negation. *По* phrases can be inserted in apposition to an argument including arguments of predicates in which the genitive would be problematic ([116]) and, unusually, can even substitute for a transitive subject ([117–18]):

[116] Живут студенты на первом курсе по двадцать_{<NOM=ACC>} человек в комнате.
Students in the first year live twenty people to a room.

[117] Каждого министра держали под руку по два_{<NOM=ACC>} матроса.
Each minister was held by the arms by two sailors each.

[118] В 47 вузах эту стипендию получили по одному_{<DAT>} студенту, в 16 вузах – по два_{<NOM=ACC>} студента.
In 47 schools, one student each received this scholarship, and in 16 schools — two students each.

The case of the numeral used with *no* is a favorite puzzle of Russian grammar.[38] In earlier times *no* took the dative in this distributive construction, just as *no* takes the dative in other senses of distribution over a set of entities (*бродить по улицам* 'to wander along the streets'). In this construction, however, there is a long-term shift away from the dative. The dative is still obligatory with single units: adjectival *один* ([119]), mille numerals ([120]), even bare singular nouns without a numeral ([121]):

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[37] Legendre and Akimova 1994.   [38] Comrie 1991, among other sources.

[119] В Москве сейчас 9 тысяч ВИЧ-инфицированных – в среднем по одному_{<DAT>} человеку_{<DAT>} на каждую тысячу населения.

In Moscow now there are nine thousand HIV-positive people – on average, one person per thousand of the population.

[120] Примерно по миллиону_{<DAT>} долларов получат в нынешнем году лауреаты.

Nobel laureates will receive approximately one million dollars per person this year.

[121] У Кости было по роману_{<DAT>} в каждом порту.

Kostia had a romance in every port.

Pluralia tantum use the dative: *по суткам* 'for a day at a time', *по ножницам* 'a pair of scissors each'. The dative is still an option with *несколько*: *сидело по одной, по две, а то и по нескольку*_{<DAT>} *старух*_{<GEN>} 'there sat one, or two, or several old women on each'.

Many numerals – integers (*пять*), teens (*тринадцать*), and decades (*двадцать, пятьдесят, восемьдесят*) – take either of two forms. The older form is an oblique case form – *двадцати́* in [122]. This form, let us assume, is genitive, since the quantified noun is genitive and some forms (*по пятисо́т* 'five hundred per') look like genitives.[39]

[122] Софья потребовала, чтоб стрельцы прислали по двадцати_{<GEN>} человек лучшей братии от каждого полка.

Sofia demanded that the streltsy should send twenty of their best people from each regiment.

The other option is the direct (NOM=ACC) case form (*по двадцать*_{<NOM=ACC>} *человек*, in [116]), now much more frequent. In a sampling of websites, the older oblique form was used at most in a quarter of the tokens (with *пять* and *десять*), to as little as a tenth (*двадцать*).

Other numerals now use the direct case almost exclusively. Included here are compound hundreds ([123]), round numerals (*сто́* 'hundred', *со́рок* 'forty'), and paucals ([124]):

[123] Новичок должен был привести в организацию минимум трех человек и, соответственно, получить от каждого из них по триста_{<NOM=ACC>} долларов.

The initiate was supposed to bring into the organization at the minimum three people, and accordingly, to receive from each three hundred dollars.

[124] После трех тысяч полученных звонков фирма прикрывает сайт и появляется в другом месте. Три тысячи звонков по три_{<NOM=ACC>} минуты, по три_{<NOM=ACC>} доллара минута.

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[39] Comrie 1986[a]. Alternatively, the form might be a dative, residually governing the genitive of the quantified noun, parallel to *по нескольку*_{<DAT>} *старух*_{<GEN>}; *пятисот* would be an idiosyncratic, archaic dative preserved in this construction.

> After three thousand hits the firm closes the site and appears in another place. Three thousand hits of three minutes each, three dollars per minute.

The old forms appear haphazardly: note *по ста рублей с человека* 'a hundred rubles per person', from a novel of 1925, or the unusual *пятисо́т* ([125]):

[125] В заключение была показана битва двух полков по пятисот_{<GEN>} пехотинцев, двадцать_{<NOM=ACC>} слонов и триста_{<NOM=ACC>} всадников с каждой стороны.
In conclusion there was noted a battle of two regiments consisting of five hundred foot soldiers, twenty elephants and three hundred cavalry from each side.

However one analyzes the oblique case used with *по*, it is clearly residual. The future for all numerals (except singleton units) is the direct (NOM=ACC) case form.

If a complex numeral ends in a singleton unit ('one', 'thousand'), the unit itself is dative; the remainder of the compound can be either oblique (genitive?) or, in a more contemporary register, the direct case form:

[126] по двадцати_{<GEN>} одному_{<DAT>} рублю   [standard]
по двадцать_{<NOM=ACC>} одному_{<DAT>} рублю   [contemporary]
twenty-one rubles each

Other complex numerals now use the direct form (*по двадцать*_{<NOM=ACC>} *пять*_{<NOM=ACC>} *рублей в день* 'twenty-five rubles per day'), only rarely the genitive (*по двадцати*_{<GEN>} *пяти*_{<GEN>} *рублей*). Mixed forms also occur (*по шестисот*_{<GEN>} *девяносто*_{<NOM=ACC>} *семи*_{<GEN>} *рублей двадцати*_{<GEN>} *копеек в год* 'six hundred ninety-seven rubles and twenty kopecks per year').

4.3.12 Quantifier (numeral) cline

The properties of numeral quantifiers can be summarized in a matrix (almost a cline) with numerals in columns, properties in rows.

Оди́н, an almost purely adjectival quantifier, is at one extreme. At the opposite extreme, the large (mille) units *миллиа́рд* and *миллио́н* behave almost completely like nouns, *ты́сяча* a little less so. Between these extremes are true numerals. General numerals have generally similar properties that distinguish them from either adjectives or nouns; they could qualify as a distinct part of speech. If one invokes any sort of hierarchical constituent analysis that distinguishes between head and dependent, quantifiers in direct cases seem to be the head of a special type of argument phrase, and the quantified noun the dependent. But in oblique cases quantifiers act like modifiers of the nouns they quantify. It is a bit of an anomaly that the constituency of some phrase should depend on the case of the whole argument phrase.

Table 4.9 *Numeral cline*

	single	paucal	digit; teen	non-compound decade ~ compound decade	round	compound hundred	thousand	million
	один	*два/две, три*	*пять, пятнадцать*	*двацать, пятьдесят*	*сорок, сто, девяносто*	*двести*	*тысяча*	*миллион*
case/number (NN)/ NOM=ACC (QU)	α case SG	GEN SG	GEN PL	GEN PL	GEN PL	GEN PL	GEN PL	GEN PL
internal adjective / NOM=ACC (QU)	α number-case-gender	NOM=ACC PL/FEM GEN PL/MSC=NT	GEN PL	GEN PL	GEN PL	GEN PL	GEN PL	GEN PL
ACC=GEN (QU)/AN NN	yes/MSC; no/FEM	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
case with *no*	DAT	ACC ~ *GEN	ACC ~ ?GEN	ACC ~ ?GEN	ACC ~ ?GEN	ACC ~ *GEN	DAT	DAT
gender-number (QU)	α number-case-gender	α gender (*два/две*) ~ null	null	null	null	null	FEM	MSC
ACC=GEN (external adj.)/ AN NN	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no
QU countable?	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes
case (NN) / DAT ~ LOC ~ INS (QU)	α case SG	α case PL	α case PL	α case PL	α case PL	α case PL (/GEN PL)	GEN PL	GEN PL
inversion possible	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	unusual	no
number of case distinctions (QU)	3 / FEM SG 5 / MSC=NT; PL	4	3	3	2	4	5	5
compound morphology	no	no	no	no ~ yes	no	yes	no	no

4.4 Internal arguments and modifiers

4.4.1 General
Nouns by themselves can function as arguments, but nouns can also form larger phrases by combining with dependent constituents, either arguments or modifiers (adjectives, participles, relative clauses).

4.4.2 Possessors
Most nouns can be possessed. Possessors that are nouns are expressed in the genitive, and are placed after the possessed noun (twice in [127]). Possessors that are first-person, second-person, or reflexive pronouns are expressed as possessive adjectives *мо́й ~ на́ш*, *тво́й ~ ва́ш*, *сво́й*. Possessive adjectives usually come before the possessed noun ([128]). As a stylistic variant, they can occur after the noun to remind the addressee of a known relationship of possession ([129]). The third-person forms *и́х, её, его́* are historically genitive-case forms. In synchronic terms, they are used in the same way as the possessive adjectives ([128–29]). Accordingly, it is reasonable to refer to them now as possessives, though they do not inflect like *мо́й* or *тво́й*.

[127] На сайте расположены тексты песен_{<GEN>} разных исполнительней и групп_{<GEN>}.
  On the site are made available texts of songs of various performers and groups.

[128] На сайте расположены тексты {моих ~ их ~ ее ~ ваших} песен.
  On the site are made available texts of {my ~ their ~ her ~ your} songs.

[129] Тексты песен {моих ~ ее} вполне могут сойти и за стихи.
  The texts of those songs of {mine ~ hers} could easily count as poems.

First- and second-person possessive adjectives can be expanded with comitative phrases, and interpreted the same way as first- and second-person argument pronouns. Thus *к нашему с Константином дуэту* 'to my and Constantine's duet' contains the possessive corresponding to *мы с Константином*, and both can be interpreted as a dual, the speaker and Constantine. (Such phrases can also be interpreted as plurals: *внимание!!!! нашему с вами сайту срочно требуется web-дизайнер* 'attention!!!! your and our site urgently needs a web-designer'.) Genitive possessors can sometimes be conjoined with, or placed in apposition to, possessive adjectives ([130–31]), demonstrating that genitives of nouns and possessive forms of pronouns have analogous functions.[40]

[130] Он не занимался нашим (моим_{<PSS>} и брата_{<GEN>}) воспитанием целенаправленно.
  He did not concern himself in a systematic fashion with our (mine and my brother's) upbringing.

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[40] Note also: *за нашим и дяди Сашиным флигелями* 'behind our and Uncle Sasha's wings', where the genitive *дяди* is associated with the base noun of the adjective *Сашин*.

[131] <. . .> сына Сашу – нашего_{<PSS>}, тогда еще молодых писателей_{<GEN>}, товарища
        <. . .> of his son Sasha – the comrade of us, then still young, writers

As has long been observed, possession should be understood very broadly, to mean not only the relationship of, for example, a person to a pencil, but all manner of relations of association between two entities, in which one entity – the possessed entity – is defined in terms of another – the possessor. Possession can mean ownership, relationship (of kinship), synecdoche, and so on. Many nouns – EVENT nouns – are related to verbs and take arguments like verbs. One argument, which may correspond to the subject or to the object, is genitive or possessive, and so is a possessor in an extended sense of the term: *приспособление организма* 'the adaptation of the organism'. Paradoxically, it is the possessed item that has the privilege of functioning as the argument phrase of the predicate, and the possessor is presented as ancillary.

4.4.3 Possessive adjectives of unique nouns

A very old option for expressing possession for nouns that specify unique people – first names or nouns identifying familial roles – is possessive adjectives formed by adding a suffix to the noun.[41] These adjectives have a "mixed" declension (§3.5.3). Nouns that belong to Declension_{<IA>} once could use the suffix {-ov}, such as *отцо́в* 'father's', but this formation is little used in contemporary Russian; to express possession with such nouns, the genitive case is now used. Nouns belonging to Declension_{<II>}, masculine as well as feminine, use the suffix {-in}. These possessive adjectives have a domestic, intimate ring to them, and are freely used in speech and in certain written genres, for example, memoirs: *бабушкина*_{<PSS>} *сестра* 'grandma's sister', *вцепилась в Машину*_{<PSS>} *руку* 'she latched onto Masha's hand', *Катин*_{<PSS>} *чемодан* 'Katia's suitcase'. The difference between a genitive and a possessive adjective, then, is in part a stylistic difference of formal as opposed to domestic.

In addition, a possessive adjective presumes or imputes some connection between the possessor and thing possessed that is characteristic and previously known, as in *бабушкина*_{<PSS>} *рыба* 'grandma's fish [fish the way grandma prepared it]'. With event nominals, a possessive adjective suggests that the event is already known and viewed as characteristic of the possessor ([132–33]):

[132] Вот от этого и шло Шуркино_{<PSS>} отвращение к профессии.
        And that is where Shurka's revulsion to the profession came from.
[133] При Митином_{<PSS>} аресте у него не взяли записную книжку со всеми
        телефонами и адресами друзей.
        At Mitia's arrest they did not take from him his notebook with all the telephone
        numbers and addresses of friends.

[41] Comments in Corbett 1987, with extensive bibliography.

In contrast, the genitive, which is more formal, less intimate, defines the essence of something in relation to its possessor, such as the painting and its painter in [134] or an event and its agent in [135]; the addressee has no prior knowledge of the possessor and possessed item:

[134] Сохранилась акварель бабушки$_{\text{<GEN>}}$.
There is preserved [that which could be defined as] a watercolor painting of grandma's.

[135] Ждали возвращения папы$_{\text{<GEN>}}$.
We were waiting for [the event that would amount to] the return of Papa.

4.4.4 Agreement of adjectives and participles

Modifiers – adjectives, participles, demonstratives, possessive adjectives – combine with nouns to form more complex argument phrases.[42] Modifiers reflect the gender–number and case of the noun with which they combine: in *во всей*$_{\text{<FEM LOC SG>}}$ *этой*$_{\text{<FEM LOC SG>}}$ *начинающейся*$_{\text{<FEM LOC SG>}}$ *мировой*$_{\text{<FEM LOC SG>}}$ *войне*$_{\text{<\FEM LOC SG>}}$ 'in all this beginning world war', all four modifiers are locative feminine singular, in agreement with *войне́*.

Agreement (or concord) within argument phrases is largely unproblematic in Russian. Complications arise only with conjoined nouns or multiple adjectives.

Multiple adjectives modifying a single plural noun will ordinarily be plural, unless there are distinct individuals or distinct types of individuals, each defined by a different adjective. In [136], both of the hands are ours (hence plural *на́ши*) but the two hands are distinct:

[136] В зеркале наши$_{\text{<PL>}}$ правая$_{\text{<FEM SG>}}$ и левая$_{\text{<FEM SG>}}$ руки$_{\text{<\FEM PL>}}$ поменяются местами.
In a mirror our right and left hands change places.

Mass nouns avoid being used in the plural ([137–38]), even when there is plural agreement in adjectives or verbs applying to the distinct sorts ([138]):

[137] русская$_{\text{<FEM SG>}}$ красная$_{\text{<FEM SG>}}$ и черная$_{\text{<FEM SG>}}$ икра$_{\text{<\FEM SG>}}$, сервированная$_{\text{<FEM SG>}}$ со сметаной
Russian red and black caviar, served with sour cream

[138] Предлагаются$_{\text{<PL>}}$ высококачественные$_{\text{<PL>}}$ красная$_{\text{<FEM SG>}}$ и черная$_{\text{<FEM SG>}}$ икра$_{\text{<\FEM SG>}}$ с Дальнего Востока.
There is offered high-quality red and black caviar from the Far East.

In argument phrases that include conjoined nouns, modifiers are plural if one of the nouns is plural. If the nouns are singular and a modifier is understood to modify only one of those nouns, the modifier is singular and expresses the

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[42] Crockett 1976, Corbett 1983[b].

gender of the noun it modifies: *наша*_{<FEM>} *страна*_{<\FEM>} *и остальной*_{<MSC>} *мир*_{<\MSC>} 'our country and the remaining world'.

Complications arise with singular nouns modified by adjectives that are understood to apply to both nouns. In principle, the modifier can be either singular, reflecting the gender of the nearest noun, or plural: *о {больном*_{<MSC SG LOC>} ~ *больных*_{<PL LOC>}*} сыне*_{<\MSC SG LOC>} *и дочери*_{<\FEM SG LOC>} 'about the ailing son and daughter'. In the colloquial register, plural agreement is not usual. In written Russian, either singular or plural occurs.

The overriding condition is the sense of the nouns in context. Plural means the entities are understood as independent and parallel individuals, each of which can be evaluated separately as having the property. In [139], the speaker does not resemble either of two individuals, her brother or, separately, her sister.

[139] Я не похожа на своих_{<PL>} брата и сестру.
   I am not similar to my brother and sister.

In [141], two distinct well-known individuals were present:

[140] Среди группы оказались наши_{<PL>} Абджапаров и Тетерюк.
   Among the group were our Abduzhaparov and Teteriuk.

Singular, in contrast, is appropriate if the entities to which the nouns refer are not conceptualized as distinct individuals, in any of a number of ways. The two nouns may be synonymous: *особое*_{<NT SG>} *значение*_{<\NT SG>} *и смысл*_{<\MSC SG>} 'special meaning and sense'. They may be specific instances of a higher-order category; for example, in *структура советского*_{<MSC SG>} *экспорта*_{<\MSC SG>} *и импорта*_{<\MSC SG>} 'the structure of Soviet export and import', both entities are types of trade; and in *(нашли) серебрянную*_{<FEM SG>} *ложку*_{<\FEM SG>} *и вилку*_{<\FEM SG>} '(we found) a silver spoon and fork', both entities are utensils. Or the two together form a unit. In [141], the addressee failed by not thinking about the family as a unit:

[141] Ты не подумал про своего_{<SG>} брата и сестру, тем более про бабушку.
   You didn't think about your brother and sister, and worse, about your
   grandmother.

The connective *и* is likely to condition plural agreement. The folkloric connective *да* is asymmetric, and the properties of the first element generally dominate. The disjunctive connective *или* generally takes singular agreement.

4.4.5 Relative clauses

Relative pronouns make it possible to present a predication as a modifier of a noun and still remain finite.[43] The head of a relative clause – the noun or

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[43] Comrie 1986[c].

pronoun that is modified – is explicit in Russian; Russian does not have "headless relatives." Most interrogative pronouns can function as relatives. By far the most widely used pronoun is *кото́рый* 'which', and it is used for persons as well as for inanimates.

[142]   Слушайте, я вчера «Времечко» смотрела, там вопросы были, ну, *которые* даются, ты звонишь по телефону, *который* дается, и там выщелкивается количество людей, *которые* звонили.
        Listen, yesterday I was watching "Time," they had questions, which, well, were given, you call the number, which is given, and there they click off the number of people who have called.

As a relative, *кото́рый* has no trace of the restriction to a delimited set that is characteristic of its use as an interrogative. Russian does not distinguish between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, whether by the choice of pronoun or intonation or punctuation.

   Кто́ 'who' can be used as a relative under special conditions. *Кто́* defines membership in a set of possible individuals. *Кто́* fits when the head is the demonstrative *то́т* (or plural *те́*) without a noun. The intended referents must be human and, as a rule, include males (exceptionally, [145]). Agreement with *кто́* is masculine singular if the relative proposition is true of each individual separately ([143]), but plural is possible for group activities ([144]):

[143]   Расстреляли всех *тех, кто* знал_{<MSC SG>} о заговоре, но не донес_{<MSC SG>}.
        They shot all those who knew about the conspiracy but did not report it.
[144]   А *те, кто* стояли_{<PL>} сзади, оказались в самом выгодном положении.
        And those who were standing at the back turned out to have the best position.
[145]   Из всех *тех, кого* ему прочили в невесты, он ее считал наболее подходящей.
        Of all those whom they were proposing to him as a bride, he thought she was the most suitable.

The construction *то́т, кто́* . . . defines an implicit condition: if a person has such and such a property (the *кто́* clause), then here is what can be said about such a person (the *то́т* clause). The condition then becomes a prescription for how to treat a person who acts in a certain way. And, in fact, the *то́т, кто́* . . . construction was a formula in medieval legal language, when the defining property (*кто́*) was put at the front of the clause and separated from the consequence (*то́т*). A memorable modern token is Lenin's phrase: *кто не с нами, тот против нас* 'whosoever is not with us, that one is against us'.

   The construction *те́, кто́* contrasts with *те́, кото́рые*, which occurs as well. *Те́, кто́* refers to possible individuals (in [146], any possible individual who might have knowledge of the affair), while *те́, кото́рые* refers to real individuals (in [146], the actual culprits):

[146] Он не хотел встречаться не только с *теми*, *которые* принимали участие в убийстве Распутина, но и с *теми*, *кто* напоминал его о происшедшем.
He avoided meeting not only those who had taken part in the murder of Rasputin, but even those who might remind him of what had happened.

Thus using *кто́* as a relative requires a concept of a set and a process of defining the membership in a set. The requisite set can be established by any quantifying adjective – *все́* 'all', *ка́ждый* 'each', *не́которые* 'several', *никто́* 'no one':

[147] Опишу *некоторых*, *кого* запомнил.
I'll describe some whom I remember.

[148] Я не видела *никого* вокруг себя, *к кому* я могла бы обратиться.
I didn't see anyone around to whom I could turn.

Кто́ can also be used with demonstratives and overt head nouns if the nouns have general reference ([149]). In the exceptional case, a simple noun without a demonstrative can be the head, if something evokes a set (in [150], *в числе́*):

[149] Гитлер договорился со Сталиным, что *все те тамошние жители*, *у кого* в жилах течет немецкая кровь, могут уехать в Германию.
Hitler made an agreement with Stalin that all of the local residents who had any German blood could leave for Germany.

[150] *В числе гостей*, *кто* к нам постоянно ездил, были три брата Раевских.
Among the guests who came to us regularly were the three Raevsky brothers.

Inanimate *что́* 'what' can be used as a relative under certain conditions. It can be attached to the demonstrative *то́* or other pronouns such as *все́* and then used in any case.

[151] Может быть, *то*, *о чем* сейчас буду рассказывать, происходило до ареста.
Possibly what I'm just to tell about happened before my arrest.

[152] Выход на сцену был осуществлением *всего*, *что* дремало во мне.
Going on stage was the realization of everything that lay dormant in me.

In the colloquial register, *что́* can be attached to a noun if it is used in the direct case form – nominative (animate or inanimate) or accusative (but then only inanimate). If it is the subject, the verb agrees with the gender–number features of the head (in [153], *ка́рта* 'map'):

[153] Мы изучали *карту*_{<\FEM>} района, *что* лежала_{<FEM>} перед нами на столе.
We studied a map of the region, which lay before us on the table.

Adverbial pronouns *где́* 'where', *куда́* 'to what place', *когда́* 'when', *каќ* 'how' can be used as relative pronouns when they are attached to appropriate sites – to demonstrative pronouns such as *та́м* 'there', *туда́* 'to that place', *тогда́* 'then', *та́к* 'thus' or simply to nouns with the meaning of location, time, or manner.

[154] Было четыре инстанции, *куда* полагалось подавать заявления.
There were four levels to which one could make application.

Какóй, an adjective, can be used if the matrix context focuses on the properties of the entity, as do *такóй* 'that kind' ([155]), the quantifier *стóль* 'to such an extent' ([156]), or a superlative adjective ([157]):

[155] Муниципальная система осталась *такой*, *какой* возникла во времена Великой французской революции.
The municipal system has remained such as it was when it arose during the era of the French Revolution.

[156] <. . .> *столь* же энергичной даме, *какой* была она сама.
<. . .> to a woman just as energetic as she was herself

[157] <. . .> один из *самых* честнейших людей, *каких* я знал
<. . .> one of the most honest people such as I have ever known

As a relativizer, the possessive *чéй* is bookish.

[158] Бавыкины дружили с семейством Томленовых, *чей* отец служил железнодорожником вместе с Михаилом Васильевичем.
The Bavykins were on friendly terms with the Tomlenov family, whose father worked on the railroad along with Mikhail Vasilevich.

Чéй suggests an intrinsic connection between the possessor and its possessed object; for example, in [158], there is a presumption that each family unit would have its own head. *Кóй* is archaic (*в ресторан, хозяйкой коего явилась наша соседка* 'into a restaurant, the proprietor of which turned out to be our neighbor'). A favorite concern of linguistic investigations of the past few decades has been to determine constraints on which arguments are accessible to relativization. Russian allows relativization of all argument positions within finite clauses – subjects, objects, possessors, adverbial arguments. It can relativize object arguments of non-finite verbs – of infinitives ([159]) or of adverbial participles ([160]).

[159] Здесь мы сталкиваемся с такими тонкостями, выявить и понять *которые* сумела лишь столь мощная отрасль современной науки, как квантовая теория.
Here we run up against subtleties, to make explicit and understand which only such a powerful branch of contemporary science as quantum theory has managed.

[160] <. . .> с широким лицом, встретив *которое* даже где-нибудь в Австралии или Новой Зеландии можно без опаски заговаривать по-русски.
<. . .> with a broad face, on meeting which even anywhere in Australia or New Zealand one can without hesitation address in Russian.

Relativizing to a site in a finite clause, marked "∅," is possible (though not frequent) provided the intervening syntax is relatively transparent:[44]

[161]   Князь по привычке говорил вещи, *которым* он и не хотел, чтобы верили ∅.
         The prince by habit said things that he did not even expect people to believe.

[162]   У меня есть книга, *которую* я хочу, чтобы ты прочла ∅.
         I have a book that I would like for you to read.

[163]   ? У меня есть книга, *которую* я дерзаю надеяться, что ты прочтешь ∅.
         I have a book that I dare to hope you might read.

Such sentences are rare in texts, Tolstoy's [161] notwithstanding.

4.4.6 Participles

Active participles, unlike adjectives and passive participles, do not form short forms; they are rarely used with copular predicates (§5.2.1). Some active participles can be used as nouns, in reference to people ([164]) or events ([165]):

[164]   Такую бумажку подписывал каждый *поступающий* на строительство.
         Such a document was signed by every [person] beginning work at the
         construction site.

[165]   В столице не знали о *совершившемся*.
         In the capital, they did not know about what had occurred.

Active participles are used freely as attributive modifiers. Used attributively, a participle agrees in gender–number and case with the noun it modifies, which is interpreted as the subject of the participle. Participles, like verbs, have arguments. Participles are in general a bookish construction. (On tense and aspect in participles, see §6.3.5.) Attributive participles can be preposed to the noun, and integrated prosodically with other modifiers, *живущую там дочь* 'his living-there daughter', or they can be postposed, separated in writing by a comma and in speech by an intonation break, *отца, проходившего комиссии* 'father, who was going through review boards'.

Participles, like relative clauses, convert what could be independent predications into attributes of nouns. Aside from the obvious fact that a participle can only be used if the head noun would be the subject of the participle, it is an elusive (and still not investigated) question when participles as opposed to relative clauses are used. A relative clause with *который* can be used either to define an individual in essential terms (in [166], 'whatsoever family used to live there') or to add new information about a known individual ([167]):

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[44] Zalizniak and Paducheva 1979 ([161] – from Tolstoy, [162]), also Comrie 1980[b]:105. Růžička 1988:409 terms the awkwardness of such relatives "a problem of performance."

[166] Я спросил ее, помнит ли она ту семью, *которая* когда-то жила тут в течение трех лет. Она отрицательно покачала головой.
I asked her if she remembered that family which at one point had lived there for a period of three years. She shook her head no.

[167] Я не могу не вспомнить с глубокой благодарностью Анну Кайзер, *которая* старалась оказывать мне всяческую поддержку.
I cannot fail to remember with deep gratitude Anna Kaiser, who tried to help me in all possible ways.

Relative clauses, then, state what properties individuals have, but it is not an issue whether the individual is known or defined on the spot.

Participles, in contrast, focus on the way the entity is relevant; they present the individual in some capacity, *qua* a certain property. In [168], the participle not only defines individuals but it explains what makes the friendship possible; the subject knew them *qua* housemates.

[168] Я подружился со студентами, *жившими* в нашей квартире.
I became friends with the students living in our apartment.

In [169], the memory does not concern all properties of Sophia Loren, but concerns Sophia Loren specifically *qua* her descent down a staircase in Cannes.

[169] Вспоминается молодая София Лорен, *спускающаяся* по знаменитой лестнице Дворца фестивалей в ослепительном туалете с массивным колье из бриллиантов и изумрудов на шее и такими же серьгами в ушах.
What also comes to mind was the young Sophia Loren, descending the famous staircase of the Palace of the Festival in a blinding outfit with an enormous necklace of diamonds and emeralds and corresponding earrings.

A relative clause in [169] would not tie this descent to the act of memory.

Both participles and relative clauses are at home in written language. Spoken language rarely uses participles, sometimes uses relative clauses ([142]), but is most likely to string together clauses paratactically ([170]) when the written language would call for a relative clause or participle ([171]):

[170] И от Никитского | доехали до Ялты на автобусе || Ну там позавтракали | и сели на автобус бахчисарайский || Он идет до Бахчисарая
From Nikitskoe | we went to Yalta on the bus || Well and had breakfast there | and got on the Bakhchisarai bus || It goes to Bakhchisarai

[171] <. . .> сели на автобус, {идущий ~ который идет} до Бахчисарая.
<. . .> we got on a bus headed for Bakhchisarai.

4.4.7 Comparatives

Comparison of adjectives is expressed by synthetic comparatives (*я́рче* 'brighter', *досту́пнее* 'more accessible') or analytic comparatives (*бо́лее досту́пно* 'more accessible'). To a large extent the two forms of comparatives are used in complementary contexts.

Analytic comparatives occur if the adjective is attributive and describes a known individual ([172]). The analytic form is virtually required in oblique cases ([173]):

[172] Пронесся слух, что она учит их танцевать не только фокстрот, но еще *более развратный* чарльстон.
      A rumor started that she was teaching them to dance not only the foxtrot, but the even more degenerate Charleston.

[173] Полтора года спустя я стоял в очереди еще *более длинной*.
      A year and a half later I had occasion to stand in an even longer line.

The synthetic form can be a predicate ([174]) or a predicative adjective ([175–76]):

[174] *Спокойнее* было на берегу Черного моря.
      It was more peaceful on the shore of the Black Sea.

[175] Всеволод {был ∼ казался ∼ оказался} *умнее* нас всех.
      Vsevolod {was ∼ seemed ∼ turned out to be} smarter than us all.

[176] Его считали *умнее* нас всех.
      [They] thought him smarter than us all.

Postposed, the synthetic form defines a type of individual (essential reference):

[177] Я попросил его принести мне другую — *потолще, посерьезнее и поинтереснее*.
      Then I asked him to bring me another one [book], [one that would fit the definition of being] thicker, more serious, and more interesting.

In the function of adverbs, the synthetic form is used for irregular comparatives:

[178] Мы начали бурить *глубже*, до ста метров.
      We began to drill deeper, up to a hundred meters.

With other lexemes, both forms are possible:

[179] Постепенно мои родители начали все *более благосклонно* относиться к Клавдии.
      Gradually my parents began to treat Claudia ever more graciously.

[180] Маша стала относиться к нему *благосклоннее* и во время очередной прогулки дала ему свое согласие.
      Masha began to treat him more graciously and once on a walk she gave him her consent.

A comparative implies comparison to some other individual or situation — that is, to a STANDARD. Often the standard is left implicit, to be understood from context. The standard can be expressed in the genitive: *умнее его* 'smarter than him' ([181]). Or the standard can be made explicit with a conjunction, neutral *чем* or old-fashioned *нежели*. The standard of comparison can be an individual ([181]) or a place ([182]) or an occasion ([183]):

[181] Костя был *старше нас* года на три и выглядел более солидно, *нежели остальные*.
Kostia was older than us by three years and looked more solid than the rest of us.

[182] У самого входа в банк жмется к стенке некто и на ломаном английском языке шепотом дает за валюту в пять раз дороже, *чем в банке*.
At the entrance someone clings to the wall and offers in whispered, broken English to exchange currency for a rate five times higher than in the bank.

[183] И всех тех богатств было тогда много больше, *чем теперь*.
And of those riches there were then many more than now.

The standard usually has the same role in the predicate as the entity that is compared, and hence has the same case as the compared entity: nominative ([184]), dative ([185]), possessive genitive ([186]), accusative ([187]):

[184] Я$_{<NOM>}$ могу бегать быстрее, чем отец$_{<NOM>}$.
I can run faster than father.

[185] Специалистам$_{<DAT>}$ мы платим меньше, чем громадной массе$_{<DAT>}$ работников с более низкой квалификацией.
To specialists we pay less than to the great mass of workers with lower qualifications.

[186] Продуктивность Азовского моря$_{<GEN>}$ в то время была в 1,5 раза больше, чем Северного$_{<GEN>}$.
The productivity of the Sea of Azov was at that time one and a half times greater than that of the North Sea.

[187] Это уже сделало радиоастрономию$_{<ACC>}$ более «зоркой», чем обычную оптическую$_{<ACC>}$.
That has already made radio astronomy more insightful than ordinary optical [astronomy].

When the standard is the implicit subject of the comparison, the nominative is used. In [188], the father is an implicit subject by virtue of belonging to the class of energetic workers:

[188] Я не знал, да и теперь не знаю более деятельного и усердного работника, чем мой отец$_{<NOM>}$.
I did not know, and I still don't know today any more effective and energetic worker than my father [is].

4.4.8 Event nouns: introduction

Many nouns have something of the flavor of predicates. As nouns, they refer or point to something, but what they refer to is an event or part of an event. Such EVENT nouns often have arguments analogous to the arguments of verbs. The most transparent of these nouns are derived by suffixation of verbal roots; they are neuter nouns of Declension_{<IB>} formed with an augment {-ij-} added to what looks like the passive participle: *существование (противоречий)* 'existence (of contradictions)', *состояние (банковского сектора)* 'condition (of banking)', *совершенствование* 'perfection', *соревнование (операционных систем)* 'competition (of operating systems)', *отрицание (нашего выбора)* 'rejection (of our choice)', *перевоспитание (лиц, совершивших преступления)* 're-education (of people who have committed crimes)', *обладание (истиной)* 'possession (of truth)', *требование (к очистке газов)* 'demand (for cleaning of gases)', *(их) опубликование* '(their) publication'. Abstract nouns related to adjectives, such as *необходимость* 'necessity', *закономерности* 'regularities', can also be considered event nouns referring to a static event.

Other nouns not formed with productive suffixes can also evoke events and have arguments: *любовь к родине* 'love for the fatherland', *ловля бабочек* 'butterfly hunting', *гибель царя* 'the demise of the czar', *разговоры взрослых между собой об играх в карты* 'the conversations of grownups among themselves about card games'. The ability of nouns to evoke events is so pervasive that one can see an event lurking in *дорога в Тулу снежными полями* '[a journey on] the road to Tula through snow-covered fields'.

Event nouns, even the most event-like, stop short of being verbs. They do not distinguish verbal categories. The reflexive affix *-ся* cannot be used with nouns, even if the corresponding verb is necessarily reflexive: *отчаяние* 'despair', related to *отчаяться* 'despair'. Because nouns do not allow the reflexive affix, many event nouns are associated both with transitive verbs and with reflexive intransitive verbs: *отдаление* 'departure, removal', related to both transitive *отдалить* 'remove' and reflexive *отдалиться* 'remove oneself, depart'. Aspect is not distinguished. As a rule, only one nominal is formed, in some instances like the perfective (*перевоспитание* 're-education', *наказание* 'punishment'), in others like a secondary imperfective (*выбрасывание* 'tossing out', *высказывание* 'utterance', *всасывание* 'sucking into'). Dual forms are rare: usual *избрание* 'election' (*избрать*_{<PF>}), unusual *избирание* 'the process of selecting' (*избирать*_{<IF>}).

Using event nouns and abstract nouns extensively is characteristic of scientific and publicistic style: *необходимость более дифференцированного подхода к назначению уголовного наказания* 'the necessity of a more differentiated approach to the designation of criminal punishment'.

4.4.9 Semantics of event nouns

Event nouns have different senses in contexts, along two parameters.

One parameter is the reference of the event. An event noun often has essential reference – it establishes the fact of the existence of an event of a certain type ([189–90]) – but can also refer to a specific event ([191]):

[189] У них уже не хватало времени на *чтение*.
They already were short of time for [any activity that would qualify as] reading.
[190] Он примирился, он вообще не верил в свое *освобождение*.
He was resigned, he did not believe in [the possibility of] his being freed at all.
[191] Председатель закашлялся, не сразу смог продолжить *чтение*.
The chairman began to cough, and could not continue [the current act of] reading right away.

Also, an event noun can refer to the whole event (as above) or to some part or aspect of the event: the manner in which the event progresses ([192]) or the results of an event ([193]):

[192] Его новое *существование* с женой и детьми было настолько для него драгоценно, что призраки былого не допускались сюда.
His new existence with wife and children was so valuable to him that no phantoms from the past were permitted.
[193] От радости я забыл захватить свои *приспособления* для ловли бабочек.
I was so enthused I forgot to grab with me my instruments for butterfly hunting.

The result reading, especially, is frequent. A *помещение* is just as likely to be a location as an act of locating; *приспособление* in the sense of a *result* of devising – a device, as in [193] – is as common as the pure event sense of the *process* of adaptation ([194]):

[194] Установлены закономерности *приспособления* организма к условиям невесомости.
The regularities of the adaptation of the organism to the condition of weightlessness were determined.

4.4.10 Arguments of event nouns

Event nouns have arguments corresponding to predicate arguments.[45] It is useful to distinguish the equivalent of intransitive verbs, which have one major argument, and the equivalent of transitive verbs, which may have two arguments.

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[45] On valence in event nouns, see: Veyrenc 1972, 1974, Revzin 1973[a], Comrie 1980[a], Rappaport 1992, Fowler 1998, and especially Paducheva 1984. To judge by the typological literature on event nouns, Russian is not unusual in its valence patterns or semantics or restrictions on verbal categories (Comrie 1976[a], Comrie and Thompson 1985, Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993, with bibliography).

An argument analogous to the subject of an intransitive is expressed in the genitive if it is a noun ([195]), as a possessive adjective if it is a pronoun ([196–97]):

[195] {приход войск_{<GEN>} ~ пролетарское происхождение разбивателей_{<GEN>} вагонов ~ поступление продуктов_{<GEN>}}
{arrival of the troops ~ the proletarian origins of the destroyers of the wagons ~ the arrival of products}

[196] {*приход меня_{<GEN>}} ~ {{мой_{<PSS>} ~ свой_{<PSS>} ~ их_{<PSS>}} приход}
{*arrival of me} ~ {{my ~ one's own ~ their} arrival}

[197] {*отчаяние себя_{<GEN>}} ~ {свое_{<PSS>} отчаяние}
{*despair of self} ~ {one's own despair}

As above (§4.4.2), the third-person forms behave in a manner parallel to possessive adjectives, in that the unmarked position is before the event noun: *его приход* 'his arrival', parallel to *мой приход*, in contrast to *приезд президента* 'the arrival of the president'; similarly, *твоя решительность* 'your decisiveness', *ее решительность* 'her decisiveness', but *решительность государства* 'the decisiveness of the government'.

If an event noun corresponds to a transitive predicate, there are three possibilities for expressing both arguments: (a) the subject analog is instrumental, the object analog is a possessive ([198]); (b) the subject analog is instrumental, the object analog is genitive ([199–200]); (c) or the subject analog is possessive, the object analog is genitive ([201–2]):

[198] Сталин все-таки умер естественной смертью (если не принимать во внимание необоснованную версию о его_{<PSS>} якобы *убийстве* Берией_{<INS>}).
Stalin, nevertheless, died a natural death (assuming one does not consider the unsubstantiated version about his supposed murder by Beria).

[199] *чтение* Купера_{<GEN>} учеником_{<INS>}
the reading of Cooper by the pupil

[200] Он говорил о *убийстве* Сталиным_{<INS>} его жены_{<GEN>}.
He spoke about the murder by Stalin of his wife.

[201] {мое_{<PSS>} ~ его_{<PSS>}} *чтение* Купера_{<GEN>}
{my ~ his} reading of Cooper

[202] Валя попросила записать на магнитофон ее_{<PSS>} и мое_{<PSS>} *чтение* отдельных фраз_{<GEN>}.
Valia asked to have her and my reading of some individual phrases tape-recorded.

The possibilities for arguments in event nouns are schematized in Table 4.10. As is evident from Table 4.10, instrumental case and genitive case are used for complementary arguments. It is impossible to have two genitives, one the analog of a transitive subject, the other the object analog, in a single nominal. The versatile possessives fit in all three positions.

Table 4.10 *Arguments in event nouns*

argument analog	instrumental	possessive pronoun	genitive
TRANSITIVE SUBJECT	*чтение Купера учеником_{<INS>}* 'reading of Cooper by the pupil'	{*ee*_{<PSS>} ~ *мое*_{<PSS>}} *чтение отдельных фраз* '{her ~ my} reading of individual phrases'	
INTRANSITIVE SUBJECT		{*твой*_{<PSS>} ~ *ee*_{<PSS>}} *приход* '{your ~ her} arrival' [pronoun]	*приход войск*_{<GEN>} 'arrival of troops' [noun]
TRANSITIVE OBJECT		{*его*_{<PSS>} ~ *мое*_{<PSS>}} *назначение* '{his ~ my} appointment'	*назначение меня*_{<GEN>} 'appointment of me'

Table 4.10 gives the maximal possibilities, when all arguments are expressed. In practice, arguments of event nouns, especially those corresponding to agents of transitives, are often left out, to be interpreted, depending on context, as referring to any person's participation or to some specific individual's participation:

[203] Этому гимназисту удалось скрыться, но ведутся его *поиски*.
That gymnasium student managed to slip away, but his search [the search for him] is underway.

[204] *перевязка* вены и ее *удаление*
binding of the vein and its removal

[205] *Г*: У меня аппетит пробуждается после *прихода* на работу.
И: Ну с *приходом* на работу да, у нас это ж процесс вот прийти на работу, вот часа полтора занимает.

My appetite kicks in after arrival at work.
Well with respect to arrival at work – that process of arriving at work, that takes an hour and a half.

As in Table 4.10, pronominal arguments corresponding to objects can be expressed in principle in two ways: as genitives or as possessives.[46] Genitives – the more general option – focus on the fact that an event, viewed as a whole fact (essential reference), occurs at all, as is appropriate when the event is still virtual ([206–8]):

[206] Вопрос о назначении его_{<GEN>} на ответственный пост вот-вот должен был решиться.

[46] Paducheva 1984.

The question of assigning him [= whether to assign him] to an important position was to be decided any day now.

[207] Он был против превращения меня$_{<GEN>}$ в переводчика.

He was opposed to [the possibility of] converting me into a translator.

[208] Она не подозревала о {*твоем преследовании ~ преследовании тебя}.

She had no suspicion of the persecution of you [= of the fact that persecution of you was occurring].

Using a possessive is appropriate if the event is actual and is characteristic of, or of interest to, that specific possessor ([209–11]):

[209] Не совсем понимаю причину моего$_{<PSS>}$ назначения.

I don't entirely understand the reason for my appointment.

[210] Он не сочувствовал моему$_{<PSS>}$ превращению в переводчика.

He was not sympathetic to my conversion to a translator.

[211] Я буду просить, чтобы суд потребовал от русских властей прекратить мое$_{<PSS>}$ преследование.

I will ask that the court demand of the Russian authorities that they cease my persecution.

Arguments of event nouns corresponding to arguments other than subject or object usually have the same cases as they would with the corresponding verb. For example, *возвращение* 'return', related to *возвратить/возвращать* 'return', allows sources (*после возвращения из Китая* 'after the return from China') or goals (*возвращение их на корабль* 'returning them to the ship'); the verb (*увлечься/увлекаться компьютерами* 'be fascinated with computers') and the event noun (*увлечение компьютерами* 'fascination with computers') govern the instrumental.

An exception to this rule is the set of nouns that refer to static attitudes. The goal of the attitude is expressed by the preposition *к* with the dative even when the corresponding verb does not use this preposition: *уважение к собеседнику* 'respect for one's interlocutor', *презрение к таким людям* 'scorn for such people' (*уважать* 'respect', *презирать* 'scorn' take the accusative); *пренебрежение к ценностям* 'inattention to valuables' (*пренебречь ценностями*$_{<INS>}$ 'treat valuables inattentively'); *отвращение к школе* 'disgust for school' (compare *отвратиться/отвращаться от школы* 'feel repulsed from school').

4.5 Reference in text: nouns, pronouns, and ellipsis

4.5.1 Basics

As speakers talk about the entities in the world, they use one or another REFERENTIAL EXPONENT to name or refer to the entities. Referential

exponents are the following: bare nouns; nouns with adjectives; nouns with demonstrative pronouns; demonstrative pronouns used as nouns (without nouns); pronouns; ellipsis, or "zero pronouns" (absence of any overt argument where one might be expected); and reflexive pronouns. Many referential exponents have a similar function. Pronouns, reflexive pronouns (§4.7), zero pronouns, and sometimes bare nouns can all point to known individuals whose existence and relevance have been established. The various exponents differ in how they instruct the addressee to look for information about the individual. Exponents can be more or less local. Third-person (non-reflexive) pronouns instruct the addressee to look for a source of information about the individual currently under discussion somewhere else, over a boundary, over a barrier, and integrate the current information with the inherited understanding of the individual.[47]

4.5.2 Common nouns in text

Nouns establish the existence of some entity and categorize it: they state what category (type, class, essence) the entity belongs to, and thereby indicate what some of its properties are.

Russian is famous for the fact that it does not have articles. (And, unlike Czech, it does not use demonstratives with any special frequency.) As a consequence, a bare noun or a noun with an adjective does not by itself indicate whether the entity is a specific individual known to the addressee or not. On first mention, a noun establishes that there is an entity that belongs to a certain class. What the noun refers to may or may not have any particular significance as an individual. In [212], for example, all that is known about the entities being carried is that they have the essence of backpacks (*рюкзаки*), and they will not be relevant further. In contrast, the legendary helmet girl reappears.

[212] А мы оставили *рюкзаки* на полпути || Нас встретила *девица в шлеме* | вот эта *девица в шлеме* нас преследовала || Такая легендарная || У нее был какой-то невероятный компас
So we left our backpacks along the way || We were met by a girl in a helmet | well that helmet girl persecuted us || positively legendary || she had some amazing compass

Bare nouns can be used not only to establish new entities. They can also refer to entities that have already been established as individuals. For example, in the abridged text in [213], the memoirist first mentions a unique lake (*озеро Светлояр*) where he once went with a friend to observe the festival of the Holy Mother of Vladimir before such rituals were suppressed.

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[47] That is, identity need not remain constant across times and worlds, pace Fauconnier 1985.

[213] Там невдалеке находилось *озеро Светлояр* – моя давнишняя греза. Мы попадали туда накануне престольного праздника Владимирской Божьей Матери, когда праведные люди удостаиваются лицезреть на дне *озера* священный град Китеж . . .

Not far from there was located *Lake Svetloiar* – my longstanding dream. We arrived on the evening of the holiday of the Mother of God of Vladimir, when the devout are vouchsafed a vision of the sacred city of Kitezh on the bottom of the lake . . .

Вокруг стояли люди, слушали . . . Постояли и мы, потом спустились к *озеру* . . . Все стояли *к озеру* лицом . . . Мы подошли к самой воде и тут увидели совершенно невероятное. От поверхности *озера* шел слабый свет . . .

People were standing around, listening . . . We stood a while as well, then went down to the lake . . . Everyone stood facing the lake . . . We went up to the water and there saw something completely unbelievable. Off the surface of the lake came a faint glow . . .

Я усышал шорох в камышах, всмотрелся и увидел старуху. Она ползла на локтях . . . За нею ползли другая, третья . . . Они дали обет проползти вокруг *всего озера*!

I heard a rustling in the reeds, looked there and saw an old woman. She was crawling on her elbows . . . Behind her was crawling a second, and a third . . . They had vowed to crawl around the whole lake!

After the first mention, that unique lake is referred to by means of a bare noun. (A third-person pronoun would conflict with the speaker's companion.) Similarly in [214], one clause first establishes the existence of an entity that qualifies as a 'plateau'. After that, the entity is known as a unique individual, and it is referred to by the bare noun.

[214] вот в гору поднялись / и это уже было *плато* || Вот || Значит я гуляла по *плату* || *Плато* называется Яйла, что ль? . . . так представляла себе / <. . .> / *плато* очень большое ||

so we climbed up the mountain / and there was a plateau || So || I mean I walked on the plateau || The plateau is called Iaila or something . . . that's what I thought / <. . .> / the plateau is quite large ||

Nouns, then, at first mention introduce and categorize an entity (essential reference); in context, nouns can point to an already known, individuated entity.

4.5.3 Third-person pronouns

A third-person pronoun is the neutral exponent for keeping track of an entity that is established as a distinct individual.[48] Normally a pronoun is used

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[48] On anaphoric pronouns in Russian, see Paducheva 1985.

throughout a series of predicates that form a coherent block of text, so long as the text has no boundaries: there are no competing referents of the same gender–number, the time-worlds are the same, and the unit of text (the episode) is the same. In [215], the individual is identified by a noun at the beginnings of episodes, and pronouns are used within the episodes.

[215] Все последнее время *папа* собирался в Каир, на конгресс археологов. Настал день отъезда. Мы провожали *его* на вокзал, неловко толклись рядом с *ним* на перроне, жалея *его* за таких нескладных детей, на *него* не похожих . . .

Папа слал нам письма с пути, из Афин и из всех городов, через которые ехал <. . .> Чудесные письма! <. . .> Но почему-то *он* не получал наших ответных писем.

Мы уже ждали скорого возвращения папы.

All this time papa was getting ready to go to Cairo, to a meeting of archeologists. The day of departure came. We took him to the station, awkwardly hanging around the platform with him, pitying him for such useless children, so unlike him . . .

Papa sent us a letter from Athens and from all the cities he traveled through <. . .> Wonderful letters! <. . .> For some reason he didn't receive our answers.

We were already expecting papa's return any moment.

Anaphoric pronouns usually refer to well-established individuals with distinct properties. But in Russian anaphoric pronouns can also refer back to essential descriptions, where in English some other pronominal form (*one*, etc.) would be required.[49]

[216] – И с такими знаменитыми предками и не быть монархистом! – вскричал следователь.

– Никогда *им* не был!

– And with such notable ancestors not to be a monarchist! – exclaimed the interrogator.

– I was never one.

4.5.4 Ellipsis ("zero" pronouns)

As a rule, Russian uses an overt phrase – a noun or a pronoun – for its subject argument and, when the verb is transitive, for the object argument. In this respect, Russian is not what has come to be called "a pro-drop language."[50]

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[49] Channon 1983:61.

[50] It is a question whether "pro-drop language" is a unitary concept. Discussing Russian, Franks (1995:317, passim) distinguishes two senses of the term: Russian is like English and French in retaining subject pronouns (thus all three are positive for the parameter "+Overt Subject Parameter"), but Russian is unlike English or French in *not* requiring dummy subjects (Russian has a negative value for "Overt Expletive Subject Parameter": **это холодно*). Moreover, null (elliptical) subjects are said to be licensed by discourse, and Russian is said to be more discourse-oriented

Yet there are contexts when Russian indulges in ellipsis – when it does without overt subject argument phrases or (less commonly) object argument phrases when those would be expected. (Below, "∅" marks the absence of an expected argument in Russian.) Ellipsis depends on register and mode of language and on systemic factors.

Speech uses ellipsis liberally. Ellipsis is possible in dialogue when the identities of the participants are predictable, as in sequences of question and answer. Often, the question, being more open-ended, contains an overt pronoun, while a direct response to the question lacks a subject, as happens more than once in [217] (^{1}М/^{2}Л, ^{12}Л/^{13}М, ^{16}Л/^{17}М).

[217]	1	*М*:	А он после работы придет / да?	He's coming after work / right?
	2	*Л*:	Да-а/ ∅ собирался // Он хочет / у него часы встали // И он хо . . . хочет их отдать в ремонт/	Yes / [he] meant to // He wants / His watch stopped // And he wants to take it to be fixed/
	11	*М*:	Вот сегодня я поеду // <. . .>	So today I will go// <. . .>
	12	*Л*:	А во сколько ты поедешь?	At what time are you going to go?
	13	*М*:	Ну ∅ вот прямо сейчас наверно поеду //	Well [I] will go probably right away. //
	14	*Л*:	А-а / ну ты вернешься к вечеру / да?	Aha / but you'll return by evening / yes?
	15	*М*:	Ну я думаю что часов в шесть-семь я буду //	Well I think at six or seven I'll be here //
	16	*Л*:	Так что ты Петю-то увидишь //	So then you'll see Petya //
	17	*М*:	∅ Увижу ∅ думаешь / да? Ну я скажу маме чтобы он меня подождал //	[I] will see him, [you] think so / yes? Well I'll tell mama to have him wait for me. //

Pronouns are used when the predicate does more than simply respond to the previous question (^{2}Л, ^{17}М). Parenthetical phrases that relate to the fact of dialogue lack pronouns, phrases such as: *не слышу* '[I] can't hear you', *знаешь* '[you] know', *понимаешь* '[you] understand', but *брось ты* 'come off it!'.

In speech that is narrative, argument phrases can be omitted if the individual is understood to be the same in all respects: the same individual with the same properties; continuous text type (narrative or commentary or dialogue); same time-world; and same perspective of the speaker. An overt argument phrase signals a shift or discontinuity. In [218], the overt pronoun restarts the narrative after the commentary (*нужно было туда идти*), after which pronouns are omitted in the two subsequent events of the brief episode of the first day:

than English (307), suggesting yet a third typological parameter. The task here is to characterize the conditions and effect of invoking discourse-licensed ellipsis. See: Nichols 1985, Koktová 1992, Kresin 1994.

[218] Нужно было туда идти / и вот *мы* шли-шли-шли / пока . . . *(откашливается)* не начало темнеть / часов до пяти / потом Ø разбили палатки и остановились // а на следующий день Ø уже вошли в настоящий каньон // И вот что это такое / это красота / невиданная //

[We] had to go there / and so we walked and walked and walked / until . . . [*coughing*] it started to get dark / around five / then [we] broke out the tents and stopped // and on the next day [we] entered into a real canyon // what can you say / that's beauty / unprecedented //

In written Russian, argument phrases are omitted less frequently, but ellipsis does occur. Ellipsis is common in finite subordinate clauses. Ellipsis is usual in adverbial clauses which share the subject with the main clause, as in [219].

[219] Я ездила туда не только в те дни, когда Ø танцевала.
I went there not only on the days when [I] danced.

In a modest sample with first-singular subjects and subordinate clauses introduced by *когда́* (in either order), the pronoun was omitted in the *second* clause 89 percent of the time (25xx of 28xx).[51] Overt pronouns appear in subordinate clauses if there is an intervening subject:

[220] Теперь, когда я вижу юношей и девушек, которые по окончании школы не хотят учиться дальше, я всегда вспоминаю свою юность.
Now, when I see young fellows and girls, who finish school but do not want to study further, I always remember my youth.

Ellipsis is usual in clauses expressing the content of verbs of speech or thought when the subjects are identical, depending on the type of predicate. Ellipsis is close to obligatory with verbs ([221]), less regular with adjectives ([222]), which in turn tolerate ellipsis more than predicate nominals or prepositional phrases ([223]):

[221] Я почувствовала, что {?я ∼ Ø} завладела московской публикой.
I felt that I had conquered the Moscow audience.
[222] Виктор признался моей матери, что {±он ∼ Ø} счастлив безмерно, что {±он ∼ Ø} влюблен, как пылкий юноша.
Viktor confessed to my mother that [he was] completely happy, that [he was] in love, like a passionate young man.
[223] Он сказал, что {он ∼ ?Ø} сын помещика, что {он ∼ ?Ø} тоже из тех мест.
He said that [he was] the son of a landowner, that [he was] also from that area.

Operations on the predicate like the question *ли* or questions require a subject pronoun:

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[51] Based on S. Golitsyn, *Zapiski utselevshego* (Moscow, 1990).

[224] Я не знала, завладела ли {я ∼ *∅} московской публикой.
I was not sure whether I had conquered the Moscow audience.

[225] Мы рассказали, кто {мы ∼ *∅}.
We told who we were.

Thus, dependent clauses in written Russian often use ellipsis.

From one independent clause to the next, subject pronouns are generally maintained in written Russian, but ellipsis occurs in written Russian that has the flavor of speech (interior monologue, for example). A subject argument can be omitted if the types of events or properties are related and continuous; if the time-world is the same; and if the individuals are being discussed by the same speaker and addressee. For example, in the following passage, all predicates report on the same theme of the author's biography. After the initial pronoun, no subject pronouns are used until the predicate which starts a new paragraph and brings us out of reminiscence back to the main narrative.

[226] Но гонорар *я* успел получить. Затем ∅ писал внутренние рецензии для журналов. Анонимно ∅ сотрудничал на телевидении. Короче, ∅ превратился в свободного художника. И наконец занесло меня в Таллинн.

　　Около магазина сувениров *я* заметил телефонную будку.

But I still managed to get paid. Then [I] wrote internal reviews for journals. [I] anonymously worked in television. In short, [I] turned into a free-lance artist. And now here fate had dumped me in Tallinn.

　　Next to a souvenir store I noticed a telephone booth.

Ellipsis of *object* arguments is possible, if the subjects are the same, the objects are the same, and the second event is closely related to the first, by being part of a series of events ([227]) or an elaboration or explication of the first ([228]):[52]

[227] Акушерка схватила меня<j> за ножки, перевернула ∅<j> вверх головой и шлепнула ∅<j> по голой попке.
The midwife grabbed me by my legs, turned [me] upside down, and slapped [me] on my naked behind.

[228] В тот день она продала свое единственное приличное платье<j>. Продала ∅<j> дешево, потому что таких платьев было много в магазинах.
That day she sold her only decent dress. [She] sold [it] cheap, because there were many such dresses in the shops.

Ellipsis does not occur when the events are understood as separate events for which it is necessary to restate the participants: if the second event requires the completion of the first ([229]) or if attention is focused on what eventually happens to the object ([230]):

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[52] McShane 1999.

[229] В ресторанчик вошел человек и сел рядом с Харингтоном. – Привет! – взревел человек. Потом он заметил Харингтона_{<j>} и шлепнул его_{<j>} по спине.

Into the restaurant came a man and sat next to Harrington. – Greetings! – the man roared. Then he noticed Harrington and slapped him on the back.

[230] Он вытащил из кармана две стопки денег_{<j>} и шлепнул их_{<j>} на стол перед Леонидом.

He took out two stacks of money and slapped them down on the table in front of Leonid.

4.5.5 Second-person pronouns and address

Russian, like French, uses second-person plural forms of the pronoun and of the present tense of verbs – what may be written as the "$\mathcal{B}$-form" – both for true plurals and for formal address to a single person.[53] The second-person singular forms of the pronoun (*ты*, etc.) and of verbs – what may be written as the "$\mathcal{T}$-form" – are then not only singular but also informal. To an extent the use of address has to be understood as part of a dyad involving two speakers: reciprocal $\mathcal{T}\leftrightarrow\mathcal{T}$ is mutually recognized familiarity and solidarity; $\mathcal{B}\leftrightarrow\mathcal{B}$ implies mutual formality, distance, and mutual acknowledgment of autonomy; the mixed dyad $\mathcal{T}\leftrightarrow\mathcal{B}$ indicates an asymmetry in age or social status.[54]

For a given pair of individuals, the use of pronouns and (less so) forms of names is stable in different speech contexts, though certain kinds of ad hoc changes do occur. Speakers who use mutual $\mathcal{T}$ privately may switch to $\mathcal{B}$ when others are present in a professional setting.[55] It has been reported that speakers can spontaneously, in annoyance, switch to $\mathcal{T}$ in place of $\mathcal{B}$, or, alternatively, that speakers can switch away from $\mathcal{T}$ to a more detached $\mathcal{B}$, indicating the breakdown of cordial, familiar relations.

As a rule, once two individuals have adopted one pattern of address, they can be expected to maintain the pattern throughout their lives. The exception is the ritual transition from $\mathcal{B}$ to $\mathcal{T}$ that marks the emergence of brotherhood or romance:

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[53] The cultural rules for the use of the two forms of pronouns and verbs, and of names in address, are, like many linguistic and cultural rules, internalized by speakers of Russian but little described for outsiders. Kantorovich (1966) inserts personal observations and textual attestations in an impassioned argument against asymmetric $\mathcal{T}\leftrightarrow\mathcal{B}$. Friedrich (1966, 1972) lists ten parameters that influence usage and documents usage in nineteenth-century belles-lettres, which he takes to reflect actual usage, with special attention to instances of shifts ("breakthroughs") between $\mathcal{T}$ and $\mathcal{B}$. The examples of instability should probably be interpreted as literary maneuvers. For instance, the wild swings in pronoun usage between $\mathcal{T}$ and $\mathcal{B}$ observed between the prince and a seduced-and-abandoned maiden (eventually prostitute) in Tolstoy's *Resurrection* has to be understood as part of Tolstoy's attempt to portray the complex power and moral relations between the two characters. Nakhimovsky 1976 and Alexeev 2000 offer extensive observations about patterns of usage across various ages and social groups. Comrie, Stone, and Polinsky 1996 adds some additional observations.

[54] Brown and Gilman 1960.   [55] Nakhimovsky 1976:93.

[231] Один из них – Валерий Перцов – говорит другому:

   – Давайте будем с вами на ты.

   – Давай, – говорит другой. этим другим юношей был я.

   One of them – Valery Pertsov – says to the other:

   – Let's switch to *ty*.

   – Let's, – says the other. I was that second youth.

Aside from this codified rite of transition, speakers otherwise tend to maintain the pattern they establish, from the time in the life cycle when they establish their relations. Childhood or adolescent friends who have grown up with *ты* continue to use *ты* throughout their lives. Thus "to switch from *ты* to *вы* when a relationship has reached a certain degree of intimacy is impossible, in fact insulting."[56]

Actual usage depends on the social class of the interlocutors, their institutional rank and allegiance, age, and how people perceive these variables.

Children grow up being addressed with *ты* and using *ты* to address family members and peers. Children learn to address adult family friends with *вы*, with a quasi-kinship title like *дядя (Толя)*, *тетя (Лена)*, and eventually to use *вы* with adult outsiders (teachers, etc.).

The usage among adolescents and young adults is transitional. It was reported a quarter of a century ago that adolescents begin to be addressed with *вы* by teachers and other adults from (approximately) the age of sixteen, and since they already address their teachers (and other authority figures) with *вы*, they would, accordingly, enter into dyads of reciprocal *вы↔вы*.[57] For young people amongst themselves, reciprocal *ты↔ты* seems to be usual now when they presume they belong to the same social sphere – educational or professional or social circles. However, a new acquaintance between members of the opposite sexes in late adolescence used to begin with *вы* if they did not presume a shared in-group.

Middle-aged adults of comparable status who have no prior relationship are likely to initiate reciprocal *вы↔вы*. The reciprocal pattern is that favored in academic institutions between persons of different ages (excepting younger colleagues who think of themselves as peers and use reciprocal *ты↔ты*). Some asymmetry in the relations is inevitably introduced by the name forms that are used in the dyad *ты↔вы*. In particular, a senior person can use the first name (= *И*) or the surname (= *Ф*) while the junior person uses first name and patronymic (=*ИО*). Reciprocal *вы↔вы* among comparable adults (of comparable status and

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[56] Nakhimovsky 1976:117, n. 4, a source unusual in making explicit the etiology of address – the fact that speakers establish a pattern of address at some point and thereafter maintain that pattern.

[57] Transition to address with *вы* may not be universal (Comrie, Stone, and Polinsky 1996:252).

age, with no long-term history) has evidently been losing ground to reciprocal *Т↔Т*.

Asymmetric usage (*Т↔В*) makes explicit an asymmetry in power relations in an institutional setting – in the army, in factories – but it is possible that asymmetric *Т↔В* has lost ground to *В↔В* and *Т↔Т* over the last quarter century.[58] Overall, the development until 1989–91 was in the direction of increasing use of the two reciprocal patterns. *В↔В* evidently expanded across the institutional spectrum, from the most genteel context of academia to other institutions. *Т↔Т* expanded up the age ladder, at the expense of the asymmetric pattern *Т↔В* and the formal pattern of *В↔В*. It remains to be seen what patterns of usage will emerge – in particular, whether the asymmetric pattern *Т↔В* will make a comeback in the culture of the New Russians, where power and status are so vexed.

4.5.6 Names

Names are various, and various combinations are possible.[59] Usage differs depending on whether the name is used to address someone or to refer to someone. Usage differs by genre or function of text. Even in speech, narrative is different from immediate conversation. Official bureaucratic style has its own patterns (in writing and, derivatively, in speech). Memoirs have a distinct style, one that vacillates between familiarity and detachment. Reference is made below to one uninspired, Soviet-era text, a set of short reminiscences by forty writers and family members about the jingoistic poet Alexander Andreevich Prokofev.[60] The text, while formulaic, offers some evidence about the variation that is possible in the use of names to refer to the same individual in a written text.

Russian names have maximally three parts: the formal given name (*имя*, hereafter, "*И*"), such as *Алексей*; the patronymic (*отчество*, hereafter "*О*"), such as male *Алексеевич*, female *Алексеевна*; and the surname (or family name, *фамилия*, hereafter "*Ф*"), such as male *Алексеев*, female *Алексеева*. In place of the formal first names, diminutives (*уменьшительная форма*, hereafter, "*У*"), such as *Алеша*, are often used.

Given name/имя (*И* or *У*): In ADDRESS, someone who is addressed with the informal pronoun *Т* is as a rule also addressed by the given name, and in fact by a diminutive form rather than the full form of the given name. The forms of *У* are legion. For example, the formal name *Алексей* 'Aleksei' gives *Алеха*, *Алеша*, *Леха*, *Лена*, *Алешенька*, *Алехан*, *Лекса*, *Лексей*, *Лексейка*; similarly,

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[58] Comrie, Stone, and Polinsky 1996:255.
[59] Formanovskaia 1989:71–74.   [60] *Aleksandr Prokof′ev: Vspominaiut druz′ia: sbornik* (Moskva, 1977).

Мария 'Mariia' gives *Марийка*, *Мариша*, *Маря*, *Муля*, *Муся*, *Маруся*, *Марюта*, *Мася*, *Муша*, *Маня*, *Манюня*, *Маняша*, *Маша*, *Машуня*, *Марьяша*.[61] 𝒴 is used to address a person with 𝒯 and to refer to a person whom the speaker would address by 𝒯 and 𝒴.

Most diminutive names belong to the second declension, and end in {-a} in the nominative singular. In address, the final {-a} is often lost, and the preceding consonant does not devoice: *Наташ*, *Вить*, *дядь* [d̦], *Сереж* [ž]. The more explicit form with {-a} is preserved when a dialogue is initiated ([232]):

[232] 1 *В*: Здравствуй *Лена* || Это Марьяна　　Greetings Lena || This is Mariana
　　　 2 *Л*: Добрый день *Марьяна*　　　　　　　Good day Mariana.
　　　 3　　 <. . .>　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 <. . .>
　　　 4 *В*: Ну всего доброго Лен ||　　　　　　 Well all the best Len || Come see us
　　　　　　Приходи как-нибудь к нам　　　　　 some time
　　　 5 *Л*: Хорошо *Марьян* || Как вырвусь так　Fine Marian || Soon as [I] get free [I]
　　　　　　приду　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 will come

The less explicit form (*Лен*, *Марьян*) maintains or confirms an ongoing connection between speaker and addressee (⁴В or ⁵Л in [232]).

The more formal 𝒾 is used less commonly than 𝒴. Still, it can be used by a speaker (for example, by a spouse) as a more detached, less intimate referential form than the diminutive. Thus, in talking to her friend Natasha, Sveta refers to her husband as *Андрей*:

[233] *Н*: И вы долго шли там?　　　　　　　　Did you walk for a long time there?
　　　 С: По этому каньону мы шли-шли |　　　Along that canyon we walked and
　　　　　 Андрей конечно хотел его насквозь　walked | Andrei of course wanted to
　　　　　 пройти　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　walk all the way through it

Given name-patronymic/имя отчество (𝒾 O): The given name is used together with the patronymic as a conventional combination. In ADDRESS, a person who is addressed by ℬ is usually addressed using 𝒾O. Conversely, a person addressed using 𝒾O is addressed with ℬ:

[234] Маргарита Наполеонна | а расскажите о Париже
　　　 Margarita Napoleonovna | tell us about Paris

By using 𝒾O to refer to someone, the speaker invites the addressee to think of the person as someone who *might* be addressed in those terms, by means of 𝒾O and ℬ. There are many possible motivations: the speaker is acquainted with the person; the speaker knows the addressee is acquainted with the person; the

[61] Listed in the popular handbook Grushko and Medvedev 2000.

speaker invites the addressee to think of the person as someone who might be addressed. We do not know Pushkin, but we can discuss him as a person who might be addressed:

[235] Пушкинских сосен уже нет возле села Михайловского, как нет и самого *Александра Сергеевича*, его детей . . .
The Pushkinian pines are no longer at Mikhailovskoe, just as there is no Aleksandr Sergeevich himself, nor his children . . .

A person who *could* be addressed is a private individual, one with unique habits or qualities that the speaker (or the reader) could observe (as in [236]). These private, personal properties are opposed to the public and professional properties of the individual:

[236] Мы жили в Доме творчества в Комарове. Стояла холодная зима. *Прокофьев* в те дни переживал трагическую кончину сына Сани – нашего, тогда еще молодых писателей, товарища – даровитого поэта и переводчика. Те, кто находился рядом с *Александром Андреевичем*, старались отвлечь его . . .
We were living in the Dom Tvorchestva in Komarovo. It was a cold winter. Prokofev in those days was trying to get over the tragic death of his son Sania – a comrade of us writers, who were still young then – a talented poet and translator. Whoever was around Aleksandr Andreevich tried to distract him . . .

The first reference by means of $Ф$ presents a journalistic fact, after which the perspective shifts to discuss how this individual, now $ИО$, interacted with others as a private person.

The patronymic O is used occasionally by itself in peasants' or workers' speech, addressed to avuncular figures,[62] a famous example being *наш Ильич* 'our beloved Ilich [Lenin]', or among the intelligentsia as a teasing parody of that type of usage.

Surname/фамилия ($Ф$): The surname $Ф$ can be used by itself or in combination with the given name $И$ or $ИО$. The combined forms $ИОФ$ or $ИФ$ would ordinarily not be used in address, except in bureaucratic contexts (for example, reading a list of names). $Ф$ can be used by itself in address with $Т$. This pattern can signal: a remnant of schooldays, solidarity within some profession or status group (when $Т$ is reciprocal), or condescension from a superior to an inferior (when the address dyad is asymmetric $Т{\leftrightarrow}В$).

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[62] Nakhimovsky 1976:95. A no less famous example from an earlier time: *«долго ли муки сея, протопоп, будет?» И я говорю: «Марковна, до самыя смерти!» Она же, вздохня, отвещала: «добро, Петровичь, ино еще побредем»* "Will these torments last long, oh protopope?" And I say, "Markovna, until death." And she, sighing, answered, "Well, Petrovich, let us wander a bit more".'

In reference, φ is used in an anaphoric fashion to refer to a known individual in the middle of an episode, once the identity of the individual and some properties of the individual are established ([236], [237] below).

The combination of all three names $ИО\varphi$ (for example, *Александр Андреевич Прокофьев*) provides a complete identification of an individual, potentially with all properties relevant, with overtones of grandeur, to initiate or finish off the discussion of an individual. Using initials (*А. А. Прокофьев*) is more bureaucratic than the explicit $ИО\varphi$.

The combination of $И\varphi$ (without the *отчество*) is used especially for public figures (actors, writers, etc.). It invites one to think of the public as opposed to the private individual – for example, to introduce individuals for a public performance ([237]):

[237] Вслед за *Всеволодом Вишневским* выступил *Александр Прокофьев*. Он вышел на сцену уверенным, твердым шагом. Первые же слова его проникли до глубины сердец. *Прокофьев* говорил, что жизнь и борьба ленинградцев в условиях блокады – это легендарная история мужества, стойкости и массового героизма. Following Vsevolod Vishnevsky Aleksandr Prokofev spoke. He strode onto the stage with a confident, firm gait. His first words went to the depths of the heart. Prokofev said, that the life and struggle of the citizens of Leningrad under the conditions of the blockade – that was a legendary story of courage, resilience, and massive heroism.

The oxymoronic combination $У\varphi$ (for example, *Саша Прокофьев*) indicates that the speaker might personally address the individual with $У$, but still φ gives a more complete identification of the individual for the addressee.

As noted, there is a high degree of correlation between the mode of address and the forms of names. As a rule, formal address in $В$ is correlated with $ИО$, and informal address in $Т$ is correlated with $У$. There are exceptions, which have distinct sociological overtones. Some members of the intelligentsia use the diminutive name in address ($У$) to express familiarity but, at the same time, maintain respectful distance by using address with $В$. The combination of $Т$ with $ИО$ is possible in a highly specific milieu. One of those who wrote reminiscences about Prokofev commented, "I considered him a senior colleague, addressed him with *ty*, though as Alexander Andreevich": age merits the respect of $ИО$ at the same time as the enforced solidarity of party culture implies $Т$.

Table 4.11 gives a list of name forms, with a statement of their typical meanings and stylistic connotations. By "given" is meant reference to an individual whose identity is already established in the text; by "introduced" is meant a process of establishing or introducing an individual in the current text.

Table 4.11 *Names*

form	example	mode, individual, properties / stylistic connotation
У	*Саша*	address with *П* or reference to given individual, with private properties / intimate
И	*Александр*	reference to given individual as if not an addressee, with private properties / less intimate than *У*
О	*Андреевич*	address / folk, uncultured (jocular)
ИО	*Александр Андреевич*	address with *В*; reference to introduced or given individual / (formal) addressee
УФ	*Саша Прокофьев*	reference to introduced individual / as if intimate addressee
ИФ	*Александр Прокофьев*	reference to introduced individual with open public properties, episode onset or coda / formal or bureaucratic
ИФ	*Александр Андреевич Прокофьев*	reference to introduced individual with public properties, text onset or coda / formal or bureaucratic, pompous
Ф	*Прокофьев*	address with *П* or *В*; reference to given individual with specific, partial (episodic) properties / neutral

4.6 Demonstrative pronouns

4.6.1 *Этот*

The two demonstrative pronouns of Russian, in one way or another, point out entities.[63] *Э́тот* is PROXIMAL, pointing to something relatively near or known in the discourse. *То́т* is DISTAL, pointing to something less near or less known, though *то́т* is used in quite specific functions.[64] A demonstrative adopts the gender–number and case of the noun which it modifies. A demonstrative can be used without an explicit head noun, as an argument, and agree with the intended referent.[65] The neuter singular forms *э́то* and *то́* have developed specialized uses that go beyond the narrow sense of pointing to a specific entity.

A familiar and basic function of demonstratives is to point to entities that are present in the speech situation, such as, for example, the coffee pot (called a *шту́ка*) in [238].

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[63] *Comment.* In the literature on reference, the task is often taken to be to describe how "we can identify an object by means of a referring expression" (Lyons 1977:648); demonstratives are assumed to differentiate one individual from a set of comparable individuals. This view presumes that individuals are given and waiting to be pointed to. In fact, a demonstrative creates the individual for the current discourse; the background from which the individual is selected is not necessarily a universe of analogous elements. On Russian demonstratives, see Paducheva 1985, Kresin 1994 ([242], [243], [244]), Grenoble 1998.

[64] Weiss 1988 documents asymmetries in the usage of the two pronouns.

[65] On the anaphoric use of demonstratives, see Berger and Weiss 1987; Weiss 1988, 1989.

[238] А как работает *эта штука* || значит нужно прочищ . . . прочищивать каждую
        дырочку.
        And how does this thing work || I get it, you have to clean out every hole.

In [238], by using the demonstrative and the minimal class name (*штýка*), the
speaker takes an object in the domain of the external reality of the speech situa-
tion and moves it into the domain of speech. Similarly, by using the demonstra-
tive in [239], the speaker brings the article of clothing, which is in the speaker's
visual field, into speech:

[239] Ленка, а ты *это платье* в этом году сшила или в прошлом?
        Lenka, that dress – was it this year you sewed it, or last year?

In both [238] and [239], the function of the demonstrative is not so much to
differentiate these specific tokens (this thing or this dress) from other possible
entities of their class (from other things or other dresses) as to select these enti-
ties in one domain – here, the real-world situation in which the activity of speech
is embedded – and establish them as entities that can be discussed in speech.

   Demonstratives also operate in the domain of text, pointing from the current
discussion to the domain of the prior discussion. Recall that bare nouns without
a demonstrative can easily be used in Russian to refer back to unique individuals
(*óзеро* in [4.213] and *платó* in [4.214]). For example, in the narrative of a hiking
expedition in the Crimea ([240]), the narrator first asserts that they entered what
she calls a canyon:

[240] А на следующий день уже вошли в настоящий *каньон* || Мы с Мариной
        вернулись к рюкзакам / а они пошли дальше || И они вышли . . . прошли
        каньон насквозь
        The next day we entered a real canyon || Marina and I went back to the backpacks
        | while they went on || And they came out . . . they went through the whole
        canyon

When the hike becomes difficult, the party divides, and the speaker's husband
and a friend continue. *Throughout this episode*, the ravine is a known entity with
a constant property; it is the site of a challenging hike. Here no demonstrative
is used. In the continuation in [241],

[241] Вот || Теперь . . . Ну мы вернулись из *этого каньона* / опять уже стало темнеть /
        мы разбили . . . опять палатки / переночевали
        So || Now . . . We came out of this canyon / again it had started to get dark / we
        broke out . . . the tents again / spent the night

the speaker uses a demonstrative to begin a new text segment (note *Вот ||
Теперь . . . Ну*). By using the demonstrative, the speaker indicates that the canyon

now under discussion is, after all, the same canyon discussed in the prior text segment. In broader terms, demonstratives "point" in the sense that they connect an individual across two domains; they indicate that there is continuity of identity despite there being a shift from one domain to another.

Demonstratives can also be used to establish that there is a unique individual under discussion even when no individual was previously established. In particular, a demonstrative can turn a shapeless event or state – *посмотре́л* in [242], *наступи́ла тишина́* in [243] – into something that can be discussed as an entity:

[242] Сталин посмотрел ему прямо в глаза. Будягин знал, что означает *этот взгляд*: он означает недоверие.
Stalin looked him straight in the eye. Budiagin knew what this look meant: it meant suspicion.

[243] Он не успел ответить. Вдруг наступила тишина, и в *этой тишине* Марк услышал голос Сталина: <. . .>
He was about to reply when silence suddenly fell. In this silence Mark heard the voice of Stalin: <. . .>

The nouns used with demonstratives help define the class of entities to which the entity is thought to belong, at this point in the text. Sometimes a new noun is introduced to re-classify an individual which is already known in other respects.

[244] Будягин единственный как-то с ним сблизился. Рабочий парень из Мотовилихи, он впервые увидел кавказца, пожалел *этого южанина*, засланного в холодную Сибирь, в условия, суровость которых выдержит и не всякий русский.
Budiagin had been the only one who managed somehow to get along with him [=Stalin]. A working-class lad from Motovilikha, as soon as he spotted the Caucasian, he felt sorry for this southerner banished to chilly Siberia, to ferocious conditions that not every Russian could endure.

As the noun places the individual in a new category – those people who come from the Caucasus – the demonstrative connects the new category (essence) to the prior mention.

The class of things to which a demonstrative points has some connection to the class named by the noun, but it does not have to match it exactly. In [245], for example,

[245] Я помню в детстве | наша будка оказалась рядом с Фаберже | с каким Фаберже | я не знаю | будка была | и вот | как сейчас помню | *этот Фаберже* пришел | мой отец с ним разговаривал | сидели в костюмах

> I remember in childhood / our booth turned out to be next to the Fabergés' / with which Fabergé / I don't know / the booth was / and so / as I recall now / that Fabergé came / my father talked with him / they were sitting in their bathing suits

the function of the demonstrative is not to single out this Fabergé from other Fabergés. The set is not people bearing the name Fabergé, but the inclusive hypernym of wealthy tourists that includes this particular person.

Thus using a demonstrative with a noun is a complex operation. A demonstrative points from the domain of the current discussion to some other domain, such as the real world surrounding speech, the adjacent text, or the set of comparable entities; there is continuity of reference – the individual is the same – in spite of the shift in domains.

4.6.2 *Тот*

Тóт, more restricted than English *that*, has quite specific functions.

In speech, *тóт* can indeed be used, in opposition to proximate *э́тот,* to point to a distal object. In [246], the distal location is confirmed by the distal adverb *вóн*:

[246]   – Товарищи, я к вам с *той лавочки.* Просто *в том вон доме* есть столовая.

– Comrades, I've come to you from that bench. Just wanted to let you know there's a canteen in that building over there.

– С улицы?

– On the street?

– Да. И мы решили прямо в порядке очереди заходить, ведь покушать все хотят.

– Yes. We decided to go in, keeping the right order 'cause everyone wants a bit to eat.

– А чего, правильно.

– Good idea, why not?

– Так что *эта лавочка* за нами, а вы за ней, хорошо?

– So this bench is after us, and you're after them, okay?

Тóт is used along with *э́тот* in texts when two participants are under discussion and need to be distinguished. *Э́тот* refers to the more prominent, *тóт* to the less prominent referent.

[247]   Много лет спустя, сестра Маша сказала Рине, что я был в нее влюблен. *Эта* очень удивилась, переспросила Машу, *та* подтвердила, что очень сильно, что без памяти.

Years later, my sister Masha told Rina that I had been in love with her. This one [= Rina] acted surprised, quizzed Masha, and that one [= Masha] confirmed that yes, I had been completely, head-over-heels in love.

[248]   Рина очень удивилась, переспросила Машу, *та* подтвердила, что <. . .> Rina acted surprised, quizzed Masha, and that one [= Masha] confirmed that <. . .>

Thus *тóт* selects out the more distal of two competing individuals.

When there is no contrast between competing individuals, *тóт* points to an entity perceived as remote from the current situation. Some examples:

[249]	Не знаю, цел ли *тот* альбом.	I don't know if that album is still intact.
[250]	Шестьдесят лет прошло, а я накрепко запомнил *тот* допрос.	Sixty years have passed, but I still clearly remember that interrogation.
[251]	Недавно перечитал я *тот* свой сборник очерков.	Not long ago I reread that collection of sketches of mine.
[252]	в *том* кафе	in that café [in Paris, long ago]
[253]	в *том* (1929-ом) году	in that year (of 1929)
[254]	Из соседнего вышла старуха, очень похожая на ту, которая здесь жила полвека назад. Я понял, что это была *та* девочка-соседка, успевшая состариться.	From the adjacent house an old woman came out, very similar to that one who had lived here a half century ago. I understood that it was that neighbor girl, who had managed to grow old.

Тóт in this sense becomes idiomatic: *в тé временá* 'in those times of yore [unlike now]', *в тóт рáз* 'on that occasion', *с тóй стороны́* 'from the other [not this] side', *тóт свéт* 'the other realm [death]'.

Combined with the adjective *сáмый* or the particle *же* (or both), *тóт* confirms that the discussion still concerns the same individual discussed earlier, when other individuals might be imagined, or the participation of this individual is unexpected:

[255] Танцуя строжайше запрещенный фокстрот, заводили одну и *ту же* пластинку.
Dancing the strictly forbidden foxtrot, we would put on one and the same record.

Similarly, *э́тот же* reminds the addressee that the entity is the same, lest there be any doubt:

[256] Вот || А потом мы на *эту же* вершину вместе | поднимались | на утро на следующее
So || And then together up this very same peak | we climbed | on the following morning

Тóт commonly initiates an upcoming relative clause that provides a description of the entity or entities that fit a formula (essential reference):

[257] Однажды Сергею показалось, что он нашел именно *ту* девушку, которую искал всю жизнь.
Once it seemed to Sergei that he had found just the very girl he had been looking for all his life.

In this function *тóт* is easily used without an overt head noun (§4.4.5):

[258] Власти преследовали *тех*, *кто* крестил.
      The authorities persecuted those who engaged in baptism.

Related is the use of neuter singular *то́* to provide a head for *что* clauses embedded as argument phrases when a preposition or oblique case is required in the matrix clause ([259]) (§5.10.2).

[259] Мы потом встретили еще одну группу киевлян | так они тоже ее очень
      возненавидели | *за то что* она . . . говорила им | в Ялте гололед
      We subsequently met another group of people from Kiev | and they also took a
      dislike to her | on account of the fact that she told them | there was frost in Yalta.

4.6.3 Headless *то, это*

The neuter singular forms *э́то* and *то́,* used alone without a noun, have developed functions that go beyond their strictly demonstrative functions, although they are related.[66]

Both *э́то* and *то́* can refer back to whatever was being discussed in the previous discourse:

[260] Ну вот | значит ну мы шли . . . там очень подниматься было . . . немножечко
      тяжеловато вот | у кого сердце не очень хорошее | но мне как раз *это* было
      нетрудно
      So well | I mean well we walked . . . you had to climb . . . just a bit difficult you
      see | for anyone whose heart isn't so good | but for me this was not hard

A specialized variant is: *x – э́то y*, which first names a topic and then makes an assertion:

[261] Путешествие в Верею – *это* светлое воспоминание моей юности.
      The trip to Vereia – that is a sacred memory of my youth.

То́ used in this function makes the situation remote:

[262] С начала того 1929 года я сблизился с Лялей Ильинской. Нет-нет, *то* не был
      роман.
      From the beginning of that year of 1929 I grew close to Lialia Ilinskaia. No, no,
      that was no romance.

It could be noted that the neuter demonstrative usually comes before the copula, but the copula agrees with the noun that is introduced (masculine in [262], feminine above in [254]).

Headless *то́* has been lexicalized in various expressions and constructions, such as *бо́лее того́* 'even more than that', *тому́ наза́д* 'ago'. The phrase *а то́* has

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[66] Weiss 1988, Junghanns 1996.

become a discourse connective introducing the apodosis in conditionals:

[263] Алеша я тебе налью / а то будет очень холодный
       Alesha, I'm going to pour [coffee] for you now / or else it will be very cold

Repeated, it forms the notable idiom *тó* . . . , *тó* . . . 'first one, then the other':

[264] Ночью не давали покоя – открывалась дверь, и то одного, то другого
       выкликали на допрос.
       At night they gave us no peace – the door would open and they'd call in first one,
       then another for interrogation.

   While headless *тó* has become a connective that links clauses in discourse,
headless neuter *э́то* has also extended its functions, but in a different direction.
The starting point is its deictic function of pointing to an entity (in the speech
situation or in the text) and identifying it, such as the first token of *э́то* in
[265]. From this, *э́то* has become an operator identifying something about the
nature of the situation, such as who the agent was (second and third tokens in
[265]):

[265] A – *Это* твое шампанское? *Это ты*   – Is this your champagne? Are you
             принес?   the one who brought it?
       M – Нет, *это Лида* вчера принесла.   – No, it was Lida who brought [it]
                                                        yesterday.

Or *э́то* can identify some other participant, such as an object (first token in
[266]) or even how the event as a whole is to be characterized (second token in
[266]):

[266] – Вот они, пролетарии, пролетарии!   – There they are, those proletarians,
       Проклятые!   damned proletarians.
          Да ведь *это нам кричат*, нас   It was us they were shouting at, us
       проклинают! Шура и я пошли мимо   they were cursing. Shura and I passed
       следующего вагона. И оттуда, увидев   by the next car. And from there, once
       нас, взрывались те же злобные   they saw us, came the same angry
       крики, улюлюканье.   cries, hooting.
       – Пойдем обратно, – сказал я   – Let's go back, I said to Shura.
       Шуре . . .   – Don't pay any attention, what they're
       – Не обращай внимания, *это кулаков*   doing is shipping off kulaks, – said
       везут, – сказал Шура невозмутимым   Shura in an imperturbable voice.
       голосом.

At this point *э́то* has become a sentential operator with the function of focusing;
it does not have to have a specific argument position. The uses of *э́то* in [265–66]
have become quite usual in colloquial Russian.

4.7 Reflexive pronouns

4.7.1 Basics

Russian has two reflexive pronouns: *себя*, an argument pronoun, and *свой*, a possessive adjective.[67] *Себя* occurs in positions in which argument phrases usually occur, except subject position. *Себя* expresses case, but does not distinguish gender or number. As an adjective, *свой* agrees in gender, case, and number with the noun it modifies. *Свой* and *себя* can refer to first or second persons as well as to third persons.

Pronouns instruct the addressee to posit an individual at the site of the pronoun and go to a source for information about the identity of the individual. On the syntactic domain of a finite predicate in which a pronoun is an argument of the predicate (or modifies an argument of the predicate), the meaning of reflexive and third-person pronouns is complementary. When a reflexive pronoun is used, the source, or antecedent, for the reflexive must be the subject of the finite predicate (indexed <i> in [267] and [268]); reflexives cannot refer to an object (*её* in [267] or *ему́* in [268], indexed <j>) or to some other third person who is not mentioned in this sentence (indexed <k>):

[267] Моя мать<i> взяла ее<j> к себе<i | *j | *k>, к своей<i | *j | *k> семье.
       My mother<i> took her<j> to herself<i | *j | *k>, into her<i | *j | *k> family.

[268] Он<i> кратко сказал ему<j> про себя<i | *j | *k>, про свою<i | *j | *k> жизнь.
       He<i> told him<j> briefly about himself<i | *j | *k>, about his<i | *j | *k> life.

By complementarity, non-reflexive third-person pronouns cannot refer to the subject of a finite predicate, but must refer to some other entity, which can be another argument of the same predicate or an individual that is not mentioned as an argument of the predicate at all. In [269–70] the third-person feminine pronouns (*ней, её*) cannot refer to the subject (indexed <i>) but could refer to the direct object (indexed <j>) or to some other person not mentioned in the predication (indexed <k>).

[269] Она<i> расспрашивала ее<j> о ней<*i | j | k>, о ее<*i | j | k> жизни.
       She<i> questioned her<j> about her<*i | j | k>, about her<*i | j | k> life.

[270] А через два дня Маше<j> вернули ее<*i | j | k> заявление с резолюцией: Отказать.
       Two days later they returned to Masha<j> her<*i | j | k> application with the decision: Denied.

On the domain of a finite predicate, almost any argument phrase can be the site for a reflexive. If English normally uses a non-reflexive pronoun in sentences

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[67] See Peshkovskij 1956, Klenin 1974, Paducheva 1974[b], 1985, Yokoyama 1975, Yokoyama and Klenin 1976, Timberlake 1980[a], 1980[b], 1986, Rappaport 1986.

such as *next to him (?himself) John found a snake*, similar constructions in Russian would use *себя*. Compare:

[271] Солдат$_{<i>}$ дал ему место рядом с собой$_{<i>}$ на скамейке.
 The soldier made room for him next to him on the bench.

[272] На той же станции в трех шагах от себя$_{<i>}$ Маша$_{<i>}$ увидела самого Сталина.
 At that station, just three steps from her, Masha saw Stalin himself.

As in [272], it does not matter if the site for the pronoun precedes the subject antecedent; word order is largely irrelevant to the use of reflexive and non-reflexive pronouns.

Thus on the most transparent and frequent domain – that of a finite predicate – there is complementarity between the two types of pronouns in all argument positions: a reflexive means the current referent is the same as that of the subject, while an ordinary third-person pronoun cannot refer to the subject of the finite predicate.

Semantically, a reflexive pronoun means that the individual posited at the site of the pronoun is understood to be the same individual, with the same properties, as the antecedent. In context, subtle variations on the notion of identity of reference arise, especially with the possessive adjective *свой*.[68] Example [267] above, in which *свой* establishes that there was a family associated with the mother, might be considered neutral identity in between two extremes. At one extreme, the referent of the pronoun could be defined independently, such as Vladimir's friend in [273]; this is INDEPENDENT or INDIVIDUATED reference.

[273] Владимир повел нас к большому *своему* другу художнику Корину.
 Vladimir took us to his good friend the artist Korin.

At the opposite extreme, the individual may be defined by its relation of identity to the subject. Thus, *свой* often suggests that the possessed entity fits exactly because it is associated with the subject, whereas other entities would not fit. In [274], young people want to hear from representatives of that generation associated with them, not from some other generation.

[274] Наша молодежь хочет услышать живой голос представителей *своего* поколения.
 Our young people want to hear the living voice of members of their generation.

This kind of reference is essential, in that the referent of the pronoun is defined by its relation of identity to the antecedent. In context, with *свой*, essential reference takes on several guises: a DISTRIBUTIVE relation of possessed entities with possessors, a CONTRAST of exactly this possessor as opposed to other possible

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[68] Timberlake 1980[b].

Table 4.12 *Domains and semantics of reflexives*

	domain unrestricted	domain moderately restricted	domain severely restricted
individuated reference (individual defined independently of relation of identity to antecedent)	*себя, свой*	*его, ее, их*	*его, ее, их*
neutral reference	*себя, свой*	*себя, свой*	*его, ее, их*
essential reference (individual defined by relation of identity to antecedent, specifically by a distributive, contrastive, or characteristic relation)	*себя, свой*	*себя, свой*	*себя, свой*

possessors, or the sense that this possessed item, defined by identity to the subject, is CHARACTERISTIC of the entity ([274]).

On the domain of finite predicates, these nuances in reference are merely contextual overtones. But there are also restricted domains on which complementarity is vitiated, and then either a reflexive or a non-reflexive pronoun can be used to refer to the antecedent. In such contexts, the choice of pronoun is correlated with the sense of reference (Table 4.12).

In the vast majority of cases, the domain is the domain of finite predicates, and then pronouns follow the principle of complementarity in an automatic fashion, and these cases require no further comment. The discussion below is devoted to the less automatic, albeit less frequent, contexts.

4.7.2 Autonomous arguments

Adverbial phrases such as *несмотря на* 'notwithstanding', *при* 'for all his/her', *по* 'according to' are commentary by the speaker about the validity of the predication. They are independent of the syntactic domain. In reference to the subject, a possessive pronoun is often *свой*, especially if the subject might be aware of the relationship (as she is in [275]) but a non-reflexive can be used, if the sentence reflects the speaker's judgment (as in [276]):

[275] Она, несмотря на *свою* беременность, целыми днями суетилась.
       Despite her pregnancy, she bustled around for days on end.
[276] Но офицеры, несмотря на *их* недовольство, все же не чувствовали себя рабами.
       The officers, their dissatisfaction notwithstanding, still did not feel like slaves.

Non-reflexive pronouns are used with parenthetical *по*: *по его {расчетам ∼ признанию ∼ словам}* 'by his {calculations ∼ admission ∼ words}'. *Свой* is avoided in comitative phrases expressing characteristic qualities whose existence is presupposed:

[277] Вставали леса с *их* прохладой и сумеречностью.
There rose up forests with their dankness and gloominess.

4.7.3 Non-immediate sites

Pronominal sites which are not direct arguments of a finite predicate, but which are buried inside argument phrases, allow both types of pronouns in reference to the subject:

[278] Он принял решение по самому важному для {себя ∼ ±него} вопросу.
He made a decision on the most important for him question.

[279] Так он произносил все непривычные еще для {±себя ∼ него} русские слова.
That is how he pronounced all still unusual for him Russian words.

The choice of pronoun depends in part on the adjective's meaning. Affective adjectives, such as *ва́жный* 'important' in [278], report states that impinge on the well-being of the subject, who is also responsible for evaluating the effect. Similar are: *благоприя́тный* 'favorable', *гла́вный* 'central', *дорого́й* 'dear', *неожи́данный* 'unexpected', *обяза́тельный* 'obligatory', *опа́сный* 'dangerous', *отча́янный* 'hopeless', *поле́зный* 'useful', *счастли́вый* 'happy, fortunate', *тру́дный* (*тя́гостный, тяжёлый, тя́жкий*) 'difficult', *убийственный* 'devastating'. These affective, subjective adjectives readily allow the reflexive to be used (half of the examples in a small corpus of this infrequent construction, 19xx/38xx).

In contrast, non-affective adjectives, such as *непривы́чный* 'unfamiliar' in [279], describe a quality of the situation that does not affect the well-being of the subject. The quality is evaluated by the speaker. Similar are: *высо́кий* 'high', *досту́пный* 'accessible', *зага́дочный* 'puzzling', *интере́сный* 'interesting', *непоня́тный* 'incomprehensible', *но́вый* 'new', *очеви́дный* 'obvious', *стра́нный* 'strange', *чужо́й* 'alien'. As in [279], such non-affective, objective adjectives use the reflexive sparingly (in 8 of 35 tokens, or 23%).

The reflexive is rare for dative targets of adjectives, even affective adjectives: *он не сразу находит нужный ему цвет* 'he cannot right away find the color he needs'.

4.7.4 Special predicate–argument relations: existential, quantifying, modal, experiential predicates

Existential, modal (*ну́жно, необходи́мо* 'necessary'), and quantifying predicates (*хвати́ть/хвата́ть, доста́точно* 'be sufficient') have potentially two arguments (§5.3.3).[69] One argument, expressed in an oblique case or with a preposition, is known independently and states the domain on which existence or modality or quantification holds. The other argument, expressed in the nominative

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[69] Timberlake 1980[a].

or genitive, names the entity whose existence is at issue. Its reference is often defined by a relationship of possession to the domain:[70]

[280] Да и на войне лошадь тоже находится при деле, ей тоже есть тут *своя* обязанность.
The horse also has a function in war; it also has its own duty.

[281] *Своих* запасов горючего ему не хватит.
His reserves of fuel were not going to be sufficient for him.

[282] Ей *свой* дом нужен.
To her is necessary her own house.

[283] Ей нужна хотя бы видимость *своей* значимости.
To her was necessary at least the appearance of her (own) significance.

Свой in these constructions defines the essence of the possessed entity: it is a token of the kind of thing that is appropriate for, or characteristic of, this domain or possessor ([280–83]). *Свой* also fits in such contexts if there is a distributive relationship between entities and possessors, where each entity is associated with a distinct possessor.

[284] Каждый шкаф имел несколько секций, к каждой из них был *свой* ключ.
Each cabinet had several divisions, to each was its own key.

Свой is occasionally used in other arguments if one of the special senses of *свой* comes in, such as a contrast of self opposed to other:

[285] У колхозников на *своих* участках чудеса агротехники.
On their own plots the kolkhoz farmers achieve veritable wonders of agrotechnology.

[286] Я не хотел уходить из цеха. Мне хорошо было в *своем* рабочем коллективе.
I didn't want to leave the shop. It was good for me being in my own worker collective.

But *свой* is not needed if the entity is independently known (the folder in [287]):

[287] И вдруг я инстинктивно почувствовал, что у меня в руках нет {моей ∼ *своей} папки.
And suddenly I felt instinctively that I did not have my folder in my hands.

Себя has fewer opportunities than *свой* to occur with existential (modal, quantifying) predicates, but can appear in a comitative expression ([288]) or within a noun phrase ([289]):

[288] У меня оказались с *собой* спички.
I had some matches turn up on myself.

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[70] In *Его не было в своей конторе* (Stadniuk), the reflexive possessive in the domain phrase refers to a genitive.

[289] У него не оставалось времени на *себя*.
   He kept having no time left for himself.

Experiential predicates are similar to existential predicates. Experiential predicates, usually not verbs, report an experience or state or emotion localized in a domain, which is named in an oblique (dative) case. Another argument, expressed by a prepositional phrase or the genitive, states the focal point of the experience or emotion. The domain is referentially independent and is a natural antecedent for reflexive pronouns in the focal argument.

[290] Ему стало {неловко ~ стыдно ~ грустно ~ больно} за {*него ~ себя} и за {*его ~ свою} слабость.
   It became {uncomfortable ~ shameful ~ sad ~ painful} to him on account of himself and his weakness.
[291] Жалко было *своего* труда.
   He was sorry on account of his effort.
[292] Ему стало гадко на самого *себя*.
   To him it became disgusting with respect to himself.

With experiential predicates, the reflexive is used regularly, without essential force.

4.7.5 Unattached reflexives

Especially in existential constructions, *свой* often acquires the overtone of something that is appropriate, or characteristic, or uniquely one's own (as in [280–83] above). In this sense, *свой* can modify the subject of intransitives that are vaguely existential ([293–95]):

[293] Между ними установилась *своя*, особая, связь, не такая, как с другими.
   Between them there arose their own, special, bond, not like that with others.
[294] Заговорит же *своя* кровь.
   One's own blood will speak out [≈ Blood is thicker than water].
[295] Подумать, и мы были когда-то безусые, теперь вот *своя* гвардия подросла.
   And just to think, we were once whiskerless, and now our own regiment has sprouted up.

A related sense of *свой* is the sense of 'one's own kind'. In this sense *свой* can even be used as the subject of transitive verbs:

[296] В судьбе же Митягина я не сомневался. Лет через пять-шесть обязательно либо *свои* зарежут, либо расстреляют по суду.
   I had no doubts about Mitiagin's eventual fate. Five or six years down the line, either his own kind will slit his throat or they'll condemn him to a firing squad.
[297] Судьбу обвиненного решали *свои* же сослуживцы.
   The fate of an accused person was decided by his own fellow workers.

Here *свой* creates a contrast of self with others. It is in this sense that *свой* is used in idioms with no obvious antecedent: *публика своя* 'it's our kind of audience'; *свои люди* 'they are our own people' ≈ 'we're among friends'.

Себя is occasionally used without any explicit antecedent, in the sense of 'whosoever might be under discussion':

[298] Это опасность, которая всегда влечет за собой тяжкие последствия *для себя* и
для других.
That is a danger such as always brings with it serious consequences for oneself and for others.

Used in this way, *свой* and *себя* have gone considerably beyond reflexives that only blindly identify the referent of one argument as the same as the subject.

4.7.6 Special predicate–argument relations: direct objects

It is generally true that in Russian, unlike in English, objects do not antecede reflexive pronouns. Nevertheless, the direct object can antecede a reflexive if the predicate records that the argument changes over a domain, where the domain includes the pronoun site.[71] The domain can be: the source of emotional equilibrium (*это выводило его из себя* 'that took him out of himself, upset him'; *чужие люди отвлекали его от себя* 'people distracted him from himself'); the goal of emotional equilibrium (*влечет его к себе* 'that drags him towards himself'; *предоставив товарища самому себе* 'turning him over to himself, to his own devices'); or the domain of reciprocal interaction (*Я был способен сравнивать клоунов между собой* 'I knew enough to be able to compare clowns among themselves'; *Офицеры поили шампанским обезьяну и собак и стравливали их между собой* 'The officers got a monkey and some dogs drunk and set them fighting amongst themselves'; *как связать между собой людей* 'how to bind people amongst themselves').

In these constructions, the pronoun could hardly refer to anyone other than the object. That is not so with *защитить/защищать* 'defend' – the danger could come from anyone. This verb uses the reflexive pronoun if the source of danger happens to be the object who needs protection:

[299] Папа Карло, разумеется, защищает нас<j> от самих себя<j>.
Papa Carlo, clearly, is protecting us<j> from ourselves<j>.

A possessive adjective is usually not reflexive in reference to the direct object:

[300] Она защищает его<j> от {его<j> ∼ ?своих<j>} друзей!
She is protecting him<j> from his<j> friends.

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[71] Timberlake 1996.

[301] Христю_{<j>} с двумя дочурками оставили в ее_{<j>} хате.
    They left Khristia_{<j>} with her_{<j>} two daughters in her_{<j>} hut.

[302] Мы проводили Сережу_{<j>} до его_{<j>} комнаты.
    We accompanied Serezha_{<j>} to his_{<j>} room.

Nevertheless *свой* can be used to express the special sense of characteristic possession ([303]) or a distributive relationship (in [304], of sailors and ships):

[303] Можно ли оставить Хийумаа_{<j>} без своего_{<j>} штаба?
    Could one really leave Hijumaa_{<j>} without its_{<j>} own staff?

[304] Начальство теперь беспокоилось лишь об одном – скорее развести пьяных_{<j>}
    по своим_{<j>} судам.
    The authorities were worried about just one thing – how to return the drunken
    sailors_{<j>} to their_{<j>} own ships.

4.7.7 Special predicate–argument relations: passives

Subjects of passive participles can antecede reflexives: *приученная к этому* **своим** *старым хозяином, обезьяна выкинула вперед и вверх лапу* 'trained by its former master, the monkey thrust its paw out and up'. Locative arguments, which are defined independently, use non-reflexives: *фотография, где была снята вся ее семья в* **их** *крошечном имении* 'a photograph, where her whole family was taken on their modest estate'.

The agents of passives, whether overtly named in the instrumental case or implicit, can antecede reflexives: *смысл, который будет открыт Богом самому* **себе** *только в день суда* 'a meaning that will be revealed by God to himself only on Judgment Day'; *в одном из писем, адресованных* **своему** *другу, отец говорит* 'in a letter addressed to his friend, father says'. Arguments that are defined independently use non-reflexive pronouns: *предметов, привезенных отцом из* **его** *путешествий по разным странам* 'objects, brought back by father from his trips through various countries'.

4.7.8 Autonomous domains: event argument phrases

Event nominals (often derived from verbs) or abstract qualities (often derived from adjectives) can have their own arguments. A subject analog can antecede a reflexive:

[305] А если вспомнить о его спартанской суровости к *себе*, к *своему* дарованию,
    If one just thinks of his Spartan rigor with respect to himself, to his talent,

[306] понимание им *своей* ошибки
    understanding by him of his mistake

Себя can be used with arguments of nouns which do no more than hint at events: *запись о себе* 'a note about oneself', *(ее) свобода над собой* '(her)

freedom over herself'. Possessive adjectives are non-reflexive if there is no special (contrastive, characteristic, distributive) sense of reference: *рассказ товарища о его встрече с известным литератором* 'the story of a comrade about his meeting with a famous writer'. Often, the possessor is not named, but can be inferred: *я видел, какую боль доставляет ему созерцание своих старых картин* 'I saw what pain was afforded to him by the contemplation of his old pictures'.

Event nominals, then, constitute an autonomous domain for reflexives. But since event nominals are used as arguments of a finite predicate, the subject (indexed <i>) is also a potential antecedent for pronouns in event nominals. Both reflexive and anaphoric pronouns can be used in reference to the subject:

[307] Он<i> надеялся выяснить отношение к {его<i> ~ своим<i>} словам Брюханова.
He was hoping to get a clear sense of Briukhanov's relationship to his words.

[308] Петров<i>, отметив внимание к {нему<i> ~ себе<i>} Сталина, стал сдержаннее.
Petrov, noticing Stalin's attention to him(self), became more reserved.

A noun that is the head of an argument phrase can antecede a reflexive if it can be construed as the implicit subject of an event or a state: *среди равных себе людей* 'among people [who are] equal to each other'; *народ, гордый своими победами* 'a people proud of its victories', *настоящие артисты своего дела* 'true artists of their (own) work'; *наставник своих подчиненных* 'a trainer of his (own) subordinates'; *пророк в своей родине* 'a prophet in his (own) land'.

4.7.9 Autonomous domains: non-finite verbs

Non-finite forms of verbs – adjectival participles, adverbial participles (*деепричастия*), and infinitives – though they lack an explicit subject argument, can be understood as having an implicit subject, which can antecede reflexive pronouns ([309]):[72]

[309] Девица<i>, все еще колотившая себя<i> по груди, попыталась вырваться.
The girl<i>, still striking herself<i> on her breast, tried to break free.

[310] Получив печальную весть о его<j> друге, Федор<i> ходил замкнутый.
After getting the sad news about his friend, Fedor went around depressed.

By complementarity, a non-reflexive pronoun would have to refer to another individual; the friend in [310] cannot be Fedor's.

Infinitive clauses for the most part behave as autonomous domains which obey complementarity of reference (with exceptions discussed below). In "subject-controlled infinitives" – infinitives dependent on such main verbs as *хотéть* 'want', *старáться* 'try', *предпочитáть* 'prefer' – the subject of the finite predicate

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[72] On the context of pronouns and infinitives, see Yokoyama 1975, Timberlake 1979.

is the implicit subject of the infinitive: the person who wants (tries, prefers) is the person who performs the desired (attempted, preferred) activity. Such constructions obey complementarity of reference, as if they were a finite domain. Thus a reflexive in *Моя мать*$_{<i>}$ *решила взять ее*$_{<j>}$ *к себе*$_{<i \mid *j \mid *k>}$, *к своей*$_{<i \mid *j \mid *k>}$ *семье* 'My mother$_{<i>}$ decided to take her$_{<j>}$ to herself$_{<i \mid *j \mid *k>}$, into her own$_{<i \mid *j \mid *k>}$ family' refers to the implicit subject of the infinitive and the matrix subject, while the non-reflexive pronouns in *Она*$_{<i>}$ *не снизошла расспрашивать ее*$_{<j>}$ *о ней*$_{<*i \mid j \mid k>}$, *о ее*$_{<*i \mid j \mid k>}$ *жизни* 'She$_{<i>}$ did not condescend to question her$_{<j>}$ about her$_{<*i \mid j \mid k>}$, about her$_{<*i \mid j \mid k>}$ life' cannot refer to the subject.

Infinitives can be used independently (first clause of [311]) or subordinated to modal predicates (second clause of [311]). The dative argument in the matrix clause supplies the implicit subject of the infinitive and the potential antecedent for reflexives. For the most part such constructions obey the constraint of complementarity:

[311] Жизнь была очень тяжелой. Чтобы хоть мало-мальски кормить себя$_{<j>}$ и своих$_{<j>}$ детей, им$_{<j>}$ приходилось продавать свои$_{<j>}$ немногочисленные вещи.
Life was difficult. To feed themselves and their children, however minimally, they had to sell off their not very numerous possessions.

Occasionally, an anaphoric adjective (*егó*, *её*, *úх*) occurs, if the possessed entity is defined independently. In [312], Nikolai is a known person; in [313], his years are a given:

[312] Она и Нинке Курзовой жаловалась, а та над ней только смеялась, втайне завидуя, потому что ее$_{<j>}$ Николая и раз в неделю подбить на это было ей$_{<j>}$ не так-то просто.
She even complained to Ninka Kurzova, but that one just laughed at her, while secretly envying her, because it was not simple for her$_{<j>}$ to get her$_{<j>}$ Nikolai up to that once a week.

[313] Отчего бы ему$_{<j>}$ уставать в его$_{<j>}$ годы?
Why should he$_{<j>}$ be getting so tired at his$_{<j>}$ age?

The most complex construction is "object-controlled" infinitives, which have in effect two subjects: the implicit subject of the infinitive, which corresponds to a dative or an accusative object of the main predicate, and the subject of the main predicate. Either can in principle antecede a reflexive pronoun in the infinitival clause. The choice of pronoun depends on the cohesion of the infinitive and the matrix predicate, which in turn depends on the semantics of the matrix predicate. The two clauses are very cohesive if the subject of the matrix predicate controls the outcome of the event, as with *дáть/давáть* 'give, let', *помóчь/помогáть* 'help', *застáвить/заставля́ть* 'force'. The two predicates are not cohesive if the

matrix subject transfers responsibility for the event to the matrix object (implicit subject), as with *умоли́ть/умоля́ть* 'beseech', *уговори́ть/угова́ривать* 'persuade', *убеди́ть/убежда́ть* 'convince', *пригласи́ть/приглаша́ть* 'invite', *(по)проси́ть* 'ask'. Intermediate are *приказа́ть/прика́зывать* 'order', *позво́лить/позволя́ть* 'allow', *предложи́ть/предлага́ть* 'propose', *поручи́ть/поруча́ть* 'delegate'.

If the subject of the *matrix* predicate is the same person as an argument or a possessor in the infinitival clause, it is in principle possible to use either an anaphoric or a reflexive pronoun, depending on the matrix predicate, as in the schematic example [314]:

[314]   Она$_{<i>}$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{дала мне}\\\text{позволила мне}\\\text{попросила меня}\end{array}\right\}$ сопровождать $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\{\text{себя}_{<i>}\sim\text{?ее}_{<i>}\}\\\{\text{себя}_{<i>}\sim\pm\text{ее}_{<i>}\}\\\{\text{?себя}_{<i>}\sim\text{ее}_{<i>}\}\end{array}\right\}$.

She$_{<i>}$ {let ∼ allowed ∼ requested} me to accompany her$_{<i>}$.

The reflexive is close to obligatory with cohesive predicates ([315]), variable for intermediate clauses ([316–17]), and unlikely for the least cohesive ([318]), yet possible ([319]):

[315]   Он$_{<i>}$ не дал этой вспышке побороть себя$_{<i>}$ окончательно.
He$_{<i>}$ didn't let this flare-up completely conquer him$_{<i>}$.

[316]   Полковник$_{<i>}$ незадолго до этого приказал подать себе$_{<i>}$ коня и куда-то уехал.
Not long before, the colonel$_{<i>}$ ordered a horse brought to him$_{<i>}$ and had gone off somewhere.

[317]   Полковник$_{<i>}$ приказал дать ему$_{<i>}$ китель, надел его, застегнулся на все пуговицы и угостил нас завтраком.
The colonel$_{<i>}$ gave an order to bring him$_{<i>}$ a coat, he put it on, buttoned up all buttons and treated us to breakfast.

[318]   Дядя$_{<i>}$ поселился в Японии и просит простить его$_{<i>}$ за внезапное исчезновение.
Uncle$_{<i>}$ has settled in Japan and asks [us] to forgive him$_{<i>}$ for disappearing suddenly.

[319]   Зинаида$_{<i>}$ попросила положить себя$_{<i>}$ поближе к двери.
Zinaida$_{<i>}$ asked [one] to place her$_{<i>}$ a bit closer to the door.

When both reflexive and non-reflexive are possible, the difference lies in how the whole complex action is understood. With the reflexive in [316], the matrix predicate and infinitive together amount to one action: he acquired a mount for himself. In [317], with non-reflexive, there are two actions, first commanding and then producing the coat, an entity which becomes the focus of the subsequent narrative.

Less freely, *свой* in the infinitive clause can refer to the matrix subject, but only if the predicates are cohesive:

[320]
$$\text{Она}_{<i>} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{заставляла меня} \\ \text{приказала мне} \\ \text{умоляла меня} \end{array} \right\} \text{передать письмо} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{\text{своему}_{<i>} \mid \pm\text{ее}_{<i>}\} \\ \{\pm\text{своему}_{<i>} \mid \text{ее}_{<i>}\} \\ \{^*\text{своему}_{<i>} \mid \text{ее}_{<i>}\} \end{array} \right\} \text{дяде в}$$
Москве.

She {tried to force me ~ ordered me ~ beseeched me} to deliver a letter
to her uncle in Moscow.

The other potential antecedent of reflexive pronouns inside the domain of
the infinitive is the implicit subject of the infinitive (and object of the matrix
predicate). If an argument of the infinitive is the same as the implicit subject,
себя must be used, with all matrix verbs:

[321]
$$\text{Он} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{не дал ей}_{<j>} \\ \text{не позволил ей}_{<j>} \\ \text{умолил ее}_{<j>} \end{array} \right\} \text{забрать мальчишку } \{\text{к себе}_{<j>} \sim {}^*\text{к ней}_{<j>}\}.$$

He {would not allow her$_{<j>}$ ~ did not permit her$_{<j>}$ ~ beseeched her$_{<j>}$}
to take the lad to live with her$_{<j>}$

With possessive adjectives, the non-reflexive is occasionally possible ([322]):

[322]
$$\text{Директора не раз} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{заставляли ее}_{<j>} \\ \text{предлагали ей}_{<j>} \\ \text{просили ее}_{<j>} \end{array} \right\} \text{изменить} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{\text{свою}_{<j>} \mid \text{ее}_{<j>}\} \\ \{\text{свою}_{<j>} \mid ?\text{ее}_{<j>}\} \\ \{\text{свою}_{<j>} \mid {}^*\text{ее}_{<j>}\} \end{array} \right\}$$
фамилию на иностранный манер.

Directors more than once {tried to force her$_{<j>}$ ~ suggested to her$_{<j>}$ ~
asked her$_{<j>}$} to change her$_{<j>}$ name to the foreign style.

Cohesive matrix predicates allow anaphoric possessives ([323–24]), while the less
cohesive almost require the reflexive ([325]), unless the possessive is a kind of
epithet applied to a noun that is defined independently ([326]):

[323] И был счастлив, лишь бы ему$_{<j>}$ давали писать его$_{<j>}$ рассказы.
And he was happy if they only just let him$_{<j>}$ write his$_{<j>}$ stories.

[324] Он находился в Париже и помогал Андре Мальро$_{<j>}$ собирать его$_{<j>}$
интернациональную эскадрилью.
He was in Paris and helped André Malraux$_{<j>}$ organize his$_{<j>}$ international
brigade.

[325] Мы попросили Макалинского$_{<j>}$ прочесть свои$_{<j>}$ стихи.
We asked Makalinsky$_{<j>}$ to read his$_{<j>}$ poems.

[326] Мы упросили Владимира$_{<j>}$ повести нас к большому его$_{<j>}$ другу художнику
Корину.
We begged Vladimir$_{<j>}$ to take us to that good friend of his$_{<j>}$ the artist Korin.

Thus, in infinitive clauses whose implicit subject is an object of the main
predicate, either the implicit subject of the infinitive or the matrix subject can

Table 4.13 *Reflexives with object-controlled infinitives*

matrix predicate	antecedent = matrix subject	antecedent = infinitive subject
дать/давать 'give, let',	{*себя* | *?ее*}	{*себя* | **ее*}
помочь/помогать 'help',	{*свою* | *?ее*}	{*свою* | *ее*}
заставить/заставлять 'force'		
предложить/предлагать 'propose',	{*себя* | *ее*}	{*себя* | **ее*}
поручить/поручать 'delegate',	{±*свою* | *ее*}	{*свою* | *?ее*}
приказать/приказывать 'order',		
позволить/позволять 'allow'		
умолить/умолять 'beseech',	{*?себя* | *ее*}	{*себя* | **ее*}
уговорить/уговаривать 'persuade',	{**свою* | *ее*}	{*свою* | *?ее*}
убедить/убеждать 'convince',		
пригласить/приглашать 'invite',		
(по)просить, упросить/упрашивать		
'request'		

antecede a pronoun in the infinitive clause. Matrix predicates can be hierarchized according to the cohesion between matrix predicate and infinitive, and that influences the choice of pronoun (Table 4.13). As cohesion decreases, the possibility of using reflexives to refer to the matrix subject decreases, and the pressure to use a reflexive in reference to the infinitival subject increases.

4.7.10 First- and second-person antecedents

Reflexive pronouns in Russian can refer to first- or second-person antecedents. When the subject of a finite predicate antecedent of an argument pronoun is a first or second person, *себя* is used:

[327] Я никому не верю. Никому! Только себе. Я и {себе ~ *мне} теперь не верю!
     I don't trust anyone. No one! Only myself. These days I don't even trust myself!

One difference from third persons is that, when the pronoun site and the potential source are not in a close domain, it is natural to use a personal pronoun (*меня, вас*), for example in *Я восстановил по свежей памяти важные для {меня ~ ?себя} подробности* 'I reconstructed from memory important for me details'. In this context, a reflexive pronoun might easily be used with a third-person antecedent ([278] above).

With possessive adjectives, either the reflexive *свой* or a non-reflexive possessive adjective – *мой, твой, наш, ваш* – can be used:

[328] В {±своей ~ моей} заплечной сумке, я вез рекомендательное письмо.
     In my shoulder bag I was carrying a letter of introduction.

Table 4.14 *Свой with first-person and second-person antecedents (Petr Tarakhno, Zhizn′, otdannaia tsirku; Konstantin Simonov,* Raznye dni voiny, *vol. II)*

		свой	non-reflexive	total	% *свой*
Tarakhno	1ST SG	90	7	97	93
Tarakhno	1ST PL	10	11	21	48
Simonov	1ST SG	187	17	204	92
Simonov	1ST PL	39	11	50	78
Simonov	2SG/2PL (not imperative)	24	1	25	96
Simonov	2SG/2PL (imperative)	11	9	20	55

[329] Я впервые увидел {свою ∼ ±мою} будущую жену.
     I first saw my future wife.

The non-reflexive, likely in [328], refers to an entity known independently. In contrast, the reflexive is appropriate with an essential reading; in [329], *свою будущую жену* is the person who can be defined as fulfilling the role of wife to *x, x* being the subject.

Usage can be investigated in memoirs, a genre in which first-person antecedents arise frequently. Table 4.14 records the usage in two memoirs. As can be seen in Table 4.14, the reflexive *свой* is used pervasively with first-person singular antecedents, somewhat less frequently with first-person plural. The reflexive is also usual for second persons, though less so in the imperative, when the immediacy of the situation makes the possessed items more individuated.

The memoirist can speak of himself as the unique, universal memoirist or as an individual whose properties differ in each time-world. The personal possessive *мóй* reflects the unique memoirist: *Я хочу остановится на этом факте **моей** личной жизни потому, что* <. . .> 'I want to pause on this fact of my personal life because <. . .>' [Tarakhno] – his life is his total, unique life; *Десять лет назад я получил письмо от одного из читателей моей книги «Солдатами не рождаются»* 'Ten years ago I received a letter from a reader of my book *Not Born a Soldier*' [Simonov] – the book is timelessly that book; *Не думал я, что в последний раз вижу **моего** друга Виталия Ефимовича Лазаренко* 'It never occurred to me that I was seeing my friend Vitaly Efimovich Lazarenko for the last time' [Tarakhno] – friendships are not constantly redefined.

Свой refers to another self who acted in other circumstances and was associated with entities that existed in other times and places – Tarakhno had his repertoire, Simonov his notes and his feuilletons.

[330] Никогда до этого я не менял и не искал *свой* репертуар так осмысленно.
Never before had I modified and searched out my repertoire so studiously.
[Tarakhno]

Here the argument with *свой* has an essential reading: *x*, the speaker's past self, attempted to define whatever would constitute the repertoire associated with *x*. The non-reflexive *мой* can be used, however, when the perspective shifts to a moment in the past:

[331] В эту ночь я показывал Карабинину *мой* репертуар.
That very night, there I was showing Karabinin my repertoire. [Tarakhno]
[332] Все это не могло не радовать меня, и я с еще большим рвением принялся
заниматься с *моим* партнером.
All this couldn't help but please me, and so I began to rehearse with my partner with even greater enthusiasm. [Tarakhno]

Once the speaker shifts into the past world, the speaker at that moment has only one unique repertoire ([331]) and one unique partner ([332]).

Both reflexive *свой* and non-reflexive *твой/ваш* can be used in the imperative. Simonov uses *ваш* when the issue is what to do with known entities ([333]):

[333] – Куда вперед?
– На Лослау. Забирайте этот ваш штурмовой батальон и ведите его вперед.
– Forward in which direction?
– To Loslau. Gather up that attack battalion of yours and lead it forwards.
[Simonov]

He uses the reflexive for entities that are not known, but are defined by their relation to the addressee (essential reference: 'whoever your adjutant is, because he has that role'):

[334] Офицеров своих вперед пошлите, адъютанта *своего* пошлите, оставьте при себе
одного-двух человек, остальных всех пошлите вперед.
Send your officers ahead, send your adjutant ahead, but keep one or two behind, while you send all the others ahead. [Simonov]

Thus, with a first- or second-person antecedent, *себя* is used almost as regularly as with third persons. The possessive adjective allows more freedom of choice, but the reflexive is still more usual. The non-reflexive is used when an entity has an identity separate from the event and is associated with the unique speaker (*мой*, *твой*).

4.7.11 Emphatic pronominal adjective *сам*

The adjective *сам* creates a contrast between what is asserted and other options that might be entertained or expected. When it modifies *себя*, *сам* reflects

the gender–number of its antecedent (for example, plural in [299] above, singular in [335] below). *Сáм* may or may not agree in case with *себя́*. When it agrees in case, *сáм* registers surprise that it is specifically this entity that is involved in the event as opposed to other entities that might be imagined. In [335], *сáм* implies a set of people who might be deceived, but it turns out that the individual who is the same as the subject does not belong to that set.

[335] Буренкова он мог обмануть, но не мог обмануть *самого себя*.
    Burenkov he could deceive, but he could not deceive himself.

Often *сáм* does not agree with *себя́* in case, and instead appears in the nominative case, even though it is still positioned next to the reflexive, *сáм себя́*, or immediately in front of a preposition, *сáм с собóй* 'with himself', *сáм по себе* 'by itself', *сáм за себя́* 'for himself'. When *сáм* remains in the nominative, it contrasts the surprising fact that the event occurred at all with the possibility that it might not have occurred. In [336], the surprise is that the change in the individual has occurred at all, when one might expect no change.

[336] За одну неделю *сам на себя* стал непохож.
    Over the course of a week he became unlike himself.

The difference, then, is that *самого себя́* creates a contrast based on the individual – it is noteworthy that Self is affected, when other individuals are not. *Сáм себя́*, with nominative, creates a contrast based on the polarity of the event: it is surprising the event occurred at all, when it might not have.

4.7.12 Retrospective on reflexives

Reflexive pronouns are one of the devices that Russian (and many other languages) use to keep track of an individual. On most domains, choosing between a reflexive and non-reflexive seems automatic, inasmuch as the distribution follows the principle of complementary reference: a reflexive pronoun points to the same individual that is the subject (or, rarely, with special predicates, some other argument), while a non-reflexive indicates an individual distinct from the subject. But there are also contexts in which complementarity of reference is not entirely strict. Complementarity breaks down when the domain containing the pronoun site and antecedent is not cohesive, or when the antecedent is less than a full-fledged subject (passive agents, implicit subjects of infinitives). Moreover, first- or second-person antecedents do not obey the constraint of complementarity of reference with respect to possessive adjectives. In contexts in which both reflexive and non-reflexive pronouns can refer to the same individual, a non-reflexive pronoun indicates that the entity is defined independently. A reflexive pronoun insists that the reference of that entity is to be defined within

Table 4.15 *Retrospective on reflexive pronouns*

level	reflexive	non-reflexive
essence	entity defined as essence by its relation to the antecedent	entity defined independently of the given predication
	смогу обновить свой репертуар 'I can renew [that which would be] my repertoire'	*остановиться на этом факте моей личной жизни* 'pause on this matter of my personal life'
individual	the same individual as opposed to other possible individuals	unique individual, no consideration of other possible individuals
	развести пьяных по своим судам 'distribute the drunks back to their ships'	*проводив Сережу до его комнаты* 'accompanying Serezha to his room'
time-worlds	the entity defined relative to one time-world	the entity independent of time-worlds
	я искал свой репертуар 'I sought out [what would be] my repertoire'	*получил письмо от одного из читателей моей книги* 'I received a letter from one of the readers of my book'
speaker perspective	from the perspective of one subject as opposed to other possible subjects	from the perspective of the timeless and unique speaker
	по важному для себя вопросу 'with respect to an-important-for-him issue'	*непривычные для него слова* 'unusual-for-him words'

the given predication, by its relation to the subject. Some of the (not exclusive) senses of the opposition are presented in Table 4.15.

4.8 Quantifying pronouns and adjectives

4.8.1 Preliminaries: interrogatives as indefinite pronouns

Pronouns which now function as interrogative or relative pronouns in the contemporary language were historically indefinite: *кто́* 'who, someone', *что́* 'what, something', *где́* 'where, somewhere', etc. In their earlier indefinite meaning, they combined with a variety of particles (or words or small phrases) to form indefinite existential pronouns and negative pronouns.[73] Possible combinations are listed in Table 4.16.

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[73] Veyrenc 1964, 1976, Rybák 1965, Bogusławski and Karolak 1970, Růžička 1973, Sheliakin 1978, Ponomareff 1978, Kobozeva 1981, Fontaine 1983:188–231 (source of examples [350], [351], [352], [364], [365], [367]), Paducheva 1984, 1985:219–21.

Table 4.16 *Combinatorics of pronouns and particles*

	ни-	нé- (negative)	нé- (indefinite)	-то	-нибудь	-либо	кое-
кто	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
что	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
когда	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
где	√	√	†	√	√	√	√
куда	√	√	*	√	√	√	√
откуда	√	√	*	√	√	√	√
какой	√	*	√	√	√	√	√
как	√	†	†	√	√	√	√
сколько	√	*	√	√	√	√	*
чей	√	*	*	√	√	√	†
который	†	*	√	†	†	*	*

√ = occurs normally
* = (hardly) occurs
† = infrequent, stylistically restricted (or archaic)

Most combinations are possible, although some, stylistically marked as archaic or folksy, are less frequent than others.[74] The prefixes *ни(-)*, negative existential *нé(-)*, and *кое-* are placed before primary prepositions: *ни с чем* 'with nothing', *не с кем* 'there is no one with whom', *кое с кем* 'with someone or another'. The prefix *не-* forms two types of compounds, listed separately in Table 4.14: an indefinite pronoun (for example, *я некогда был там* 'I was there once') or a negative existential pronoun with the special syntax of the free (dative-with-infinitive) construction (*им$_{<DAT>}$ теперь некогда бывать$_{<INF>}$ в офисе* 'these days there is no time for them to be in the office'; *есть$_{<INF>}$ будет нечего* 'there'll be nothing to eat'). To the set of indefinite pronouns in *нé* should be added the adjectival *нéкий* 'a certain' (*как из программы без особых усилий открыть некий URL или отправить кому-либо по электронной почте письмо* 'how to open a certain URL or send an e-mail without special efforts'). The indefinites in *нé(-)* are more lexicalized, in that the prefix does not precede a preposition: *с нéсколькими* 'with several', *с нéким* 'with a certain'.

These pronouns, especially *ктó* and *чтó*, can still be used as indefinites without a particle in certain contexts, such as: distributive contexts ('some fit one description, others do not'):

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[74] Levin 1973, Pereltsvaig 2000, http://mt.nightmail.ru/russian/pronoun.htm (28.04.2002). Some combinations not mentioned in these sources can be found on the web.

[337] Удивительную мы представляли группу. *Кто* в военной форме, *кто* в импровизированном рабочем костюме, *кто* в затрепанном штатском . . .
We made for a motley picture: here and there was someone in military garb, another in an improvised worker's uniform, somebody else in ragged civvies . . .

In conditions, which, like distributive contexts, contrast different types of individuals:

[338] Если *кто* богат, то богат как Крез, если беден, то и церковная мышь – в лучшем положении.
If someone is rich [in Brazil], then he'll be as rich as Croesus, if he's poor, a church mouse is better off.

Or in concessive contexts, with the particle *ни* next to the verb and *бы* next to the pronoun:

[339] *Какие бы* мысли *ни* возникали в голове человека, они могут возникнуть лишь на базе языкового материала.
No matter what thoughts come into a person's mind, they can arise only using linguistic material.

Each of the five sets of pronouns (leaving aside the negative existential and indefinites in *né-*) has its own zone of contexts in which it is likely to be used. Together, the form and the context create a characteristic scenario. As in other cases, it is difficult to say how much is in the meaning of the individual word, how much in the meaning of the context.

4.8.2 Negative pronouns in *ни-*

The negative *ни(-)* makes negative existential pronouns that deny that any entity exists that could fit in the event. *Ни(-)* combines with most pronouns: *никто́*, *ничéй*, etc. (*Никото́рый* is archaic.) Negative pronouns in *ни(-)* are used when the argument is within the same syntactic and semantic domain as a negated predicate. More than one such pronoun can occur in a given clause ([340]).

[340] *Никакие* меры *никогда* и *нигде* не могли помешать возникновению спекуляции в трудные времена.
No measures at any time or place could interfere with the appearance of speculation in difficult times.

Negative pronouns in *ни(-)* usually appear only if the predicate is also negated, though they can occur in elliptical fragments when there is no overtly negated predicate ([341–43]):

[341] Было весело, *забот никаких*, кормили всех жидкой пшенной кашей.
It was fun, no worries, everyone was fed with a thick wheat kasha.

[342] Фантастика, утопия? *Ничего* подобного.
  Fantasy? Utopian dreams? Nothing of the sort.

[343] Чем мы тогда занимались? Да *ничем*.
  And with what did we occupy ourselves? Well with nothing.

These negative pronouns are used with infinitives dependent on negated finite predicates:

[344] Он еще не успел *ничего* подумать$_{<\text{INF}>}$, решить$_{<\text{INF}>}$.
  He still had not had time to think over, to decide anything.

[345] Обязуюсь *никогда*, *никому*, даже самым близким родным *ничего* не рассказывать$_{<\text{IF}>}$ о данном строительстве.
  I agree never, to no one, even to my closest relatives, to tell anything about the aforementioned construction project.

The force of negation, however, does not reach into finite subordinate clauses that depend on negated predicates, when instead the pronoun in *-нибудь* is used: *Он не хочет, чтобы я обращался* {*ни к кому ~ *к кому-нибудь*} 'he doesn't want me to turn to anyone'.[75]

In complementary fashion, *-нибудь* pronouns usually do not occur when the predicate is negated: **Обязуюсь никому-нибудь, чего-нибудь не рассказывать*. Pronouns in *-нибудь* do occur, however, when the pronoun is protected from the force of negation. Thus *-нибудь* is possible in an infinitive that is not tightly bound to the main predicate ([346]):

[346] В голову ему не приходило *куда-нибудь* спрятаться от нее.
  It did not occur to him to hide anywhere from her.

(The *-то* series is not so restricted: *Кто-то не пришел, кто-то опоздал* 'Someone didn't come, someone was late'. See below for *-либо* and negation.)

The negative pronouns are not required when the force of negation is attenuated, as it is with expressions such as *чуть не* 'almost not', *пока не* 'until, for so long as not', *нельзя сказать, чтобы не . . .*'one couldn't say that . . .', or in questions ([347]):[76]

[347] После ужина все ходили смирные, вежливые и только прислушивались, не рычит ли *где-нибудь* «Борода» – так его прозвали.
  After supper they all moved meekly, just listening, whether "The Beard" (as they called him) was not snarling about somewhere.

Under conditions of epistemological doubt or dread (with *бояться, что(бы) не* 'be afraid lest' – [6.20]), both series are conceivable, with a different interpretation: with *-нибудь* the speaker fears there might be some dissatisfied readers; with *ни(-)* the speaker fears that all readers will be dissatisfied.

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[75] Comrie 1980[b]:109.
[76] Paducheva 1974[b]:148–50, 1985:218–19 (semantics), Brown 1999[a]:94–98, 1999[b] (distribution).

[348] Я боюсь, что мои рассказы {кому-нибудь ≠ никому} не понравятся.
　　　I fear ∼ that {someone wouldn't ≠ no one would} like my stories.

Though a negative pronoun in *ни(-)* denies any referent, it does create a position for an argument. Anaphoric and reflexive pronouns can point to negative existential arguments:

[349] Никто_{<i>} не хотел принять на себя_{<i>} ответственность за такое неприятное решение.
　　　No one wanted to take upon himself the responsibility for such an unpleasant decision.

That is, there exists no such *x* (*x* a person) such that *x* would make the decision.

4.8.3 *-То, -нибудь*

Pronominal compounds in *-то*, *-нибудь* (and also *-либо*, *кое-*) are said to be indefinite, but above all they are existential: they invite one to entertain the thought that there is an individual of some type that could fit in the event. The two series of pronouns, *-то* and *-нибудь*, differ in how they conceptualize the individual and hence in the contexts in which they are naturally used.

Compounds in *-то* establish the existence of an entity that has certain properties that make it different from other possible entities one might think of. The *-то* series is natural when the event is actual and known, as when the verb is a past perfective ([350]) or an imperfective reporting an activity ongoing in the present or past ([351]):

[350] Со звоном *что-то* упало на пол.
　　　With a noise something fell to the floor.
[351] Там в коридоре *что-то* {случалось_{<PST IF>} ∼ случается_{<PRS IF>}}
　　　In the corridor something {was going on ∼ is going on}.

Pronouns in *-то* are used when the event is actual, and the entity and its properties are fixed.

In contrast, *-нибудь* is used when the entity and its properties are in some way indeterminate. More specifically, *-нибудь* is used in the following contexts.

Epistemological uncertainty: Operators such as *возмо́жно* 'possible', *вероя́тно* 'likely', *мо́жет бы́ть* 'maybe' indicate that it is not certain whether the event occurred at all. Hence the existence of the entity is uncertain, its identity unknown:

[352] Может быть, просто отмечали *какое-нибудь* событие.
　　　Perhaps they were just celebrating some special event.

A question is sufficient to elicit *-нибудь*, even with a past perfective ([353]):

[353] Не завела *ли* ты там *какого-нибудь* кавалера?
       You haven't acquired some sort of beau there, have you?

-Нибудь itself can signal that the event is hypothetical – in [354], the bemused speaker imagines a plausible scenario to explain why a young girl failed to appear as expected:

[354] А-а-/ аферист / аферист *какой-нибудь* попался / *куда-нибудь* не туда увез / поехали
       на вокзал / продали билеты / он деньги себе взял
       A con man / con man turned up / led her off somewhere she's not supposed to be
       going / they went to the station / sold the tickets / he grabbed the money for
       himself

The particle *-то* would be used if [354] were intended as a factual, not a hypothetical, report.

Distributive (iterative) contexts: With *-нибудь* in distributive contexts, a different individual fits on each occasion:

[355] Нэпманы забирались к *какой-нибудь* нуждающейся старушке, давали за
       фамильные реликвии ничтожные суммы.
       The NEPmen would go to some old woman in need and give miserable sums for
       the family relics.

Potential contexts: Potential contexts include counterfactual ([356]), imperative ([357]), potential (future) conditional ([358]), and deontic ([359]) contexts:

[356] Если бы *что-нибудь* с дядей Мишей в дороге случилось, ты нам никогда нашей
       неосторожности не простил бы.
       If something had happened with Uncle Misha on the way, you would have never
       forgiven us for our carelessness.
[357] Позови *кого-нибудь* из старших.
       Call one of the senior people.
[358] Если *что-нибудь* окажется в Бразилии не по вкусу, они его возьмут обратно за
       работу.
       If something in Brazil should turn out not to his liking, they'll give him return
       passage in exchange for labor.
[359] И тут он вспоминал, что надо было бы привезти ей *что-нибудь*, *какой-нибудь*
       пустяк: чулки, кофе.
       And then he remembered that he ought to bring her something, some sort of
       trifle: stockings, coffee.

All these are contexts in which the event is less than certain or less than real, and the entities that are hypothesized to participate have a tentative, hypothetical existence.

Idiomatically, *-нибудь* is used when the specific properties are not important – *очереди каких-нибудь полчаса* 'a line of a half an hour or so' – and by extension to disparage something through indifference:

[360]   Редакторы говорили, что для читателя интересен Достоевский, а не *чья-нибудь* прабабушка.
   The editors said that for readers what was interesting was Dostoevsky, not somebody or another's great-grandmother.

The complementary distribution of *-то* in realis contexts, *-нибудь* in irrealis contexts is not watertight. Less-than-real contexts allow *-то*, for example, in questions when the speaker suspects the answer:

[361]   А у тебя *что-то* еще не доделано?
   [I take it] you've got something to finish off?

In a potential context, *-то* emphasizes the eventual uniqueness of the entity:

[362]   Но рассказ об его дальнейшей жизни – это новая книга, писать которую будет уже *кто-то* другой, наш преемник, идущий за нами следом.
   But the tale of his subsequent life – that's another book, which will be written by someone else, our successor who comes after us.

When that radiant future arrives, there will be a single unique individual, hence *-то*.

In iterative contexts, both types of pronouns are used. In such contexts, *-нибудь* makes a condition: whenever some situation arises, whenever an individual of a certain type exists, then something happens, as in [355] above. In iterative contexts, *-то* allows one to imagine a representative occasion and describe the occasion and the individual which is unique relative to that occasion. In [363], *-то* depicts an individual and his activity. On each of the many occasions, each a sequence of actions, one scene or person is presented:

[363]   Эллис сидел, между нас, порой вскакивал, представляя *что-то*, *кого-то*, и снова возвращался к нам, не прекращая рассказа.
   Ellis sat between us, he would occasionally hop up, portraying something or someone, and again return to us without interrupting the story.

It is even possible to combine *-то* and *-нибудь*. A set of hypothetical occasions can be established first by means of *-нибудь*, and then *-то* points to an entity that is unique relative to one occasion from the set (in [364], a victim's life):

[364] И ему казалась непомерной роскошью многомесячная трата времени на то, чтобы уменьшить срок наказания *какому-нибудь* мерзавцу, который загубил *чью-то* жизнь.

And it seemed to him an extreme luxury, this waste of months of time to shorten the prison sentence of some scoundrel who had extinguished someone's life.

In general: *-то* signals that there exists an entity sufficiently individuated that it could be distinguished from other possible entities. *-Нибудь* indicates that a possible individual exists that would fit in the event, but it cannot be differentiated from other possible individuals.

4.8.4 *Кое-*

Compounds with *кое-* seem similar to compounds in *-то*. *Кое-* invites one to think of a plural set of possible elements that could be involved in the event. Of this set certain entities fit while others might not. *Кое-* fits naturally in description as opposed to narrative:

[365] Расходились молча. *Кое-кто* косо поглядывал на меня. Рыбаков шел рядом, угрюмо помалкивая.

People dispersed in silence. Here and there somebody would glance at me sideways. Rybakov walked alongside, gloomily maintaining silence.

[366] *Кое-кто* остался за столом, другие разбрелись.

Somebody or another stayed at the table, others scattered.

-То, in contrast, is interested in whether at least one individual exists. *-То* fits in causal, sequential narrative. In [367], the hero was able to sit, and further events followed, because there existed at least one individual who made room for him.

[367] Никонов вошел. {*Кто-то* ~ ?*Кое-кто*} потеснился, он сел, запыхавшийся, сделался невидимым.

Nikonov entered. Somebody squeezed over to make room, he sat down wheezing and made himself inconspicuous.

-То and *кое-* then come close to each other's domains, but still differ: *-то* implies the existence of at least one relevant entity; no more is known about a set of possible entities. *Кое-* expresses existence and differentiation of some entities from others in the set.

4.8.5 *-Либо*

-Либо, like *-нибудь*, deals with a set of possible entities that might fit in a proposition. If with *-нибудь* it does not matter which entity is chosen, with *-либо* there is at least the possibility that some elements fit, others would not. Accordingly, *-либо* is used when alternative scenarios are differentiated. Four contexts can be distinguished.

Epistemological uncertainty: Though *-нибудь* is more usual, *-либо* can be used in contexts that comment on the speaker's indeterminate knowledge ([368]), doubt ([369]), incredulity ([370]), or hope ([371]):

[368]   Кто-то высказал мнение – может быть, дядя Миша умер от *какой-либо* болезни.
        Someone expressed the thought – maybe Uncle Misha died of some sort of disease.

[369]   Сомневаюсь, что *кто-либо* теперь сможет сделать *что-либо* подобное.
        I doubt that anyone now could do anything similar.

[370]   Рекорд вряд ли будет *когда-либо* побит.
        The record will hardly be broken anytime.

[371]   Хочу надеяться, что эта яркая серия будет *когда-либо* напечатана.
        I would like to think that, one day, this brilliant series will be published.

Potential occasions: In potential contexts – imperatives, future events, events dependent on modal predicates – the usual existential pronoun is *-нибудь*, which focuses on whether any element exists that would fit: *Спойте какую-нибудь хорошую песню* 'Sing some nice song'. *-Либо* is possible with the future, if there is epistemological uncertainty (see [370–71]), or with modals, if the context suggests multiple occcasions ([372]).

[372]   Для того, чтобы послать вам письмо, спамер должен *откуда-либо* узнать ваш e-mail.
        In order to send you a letter, a spammer has to find out your e-mail address from somewhere.

Iterative occasions: *-Либо* is used in iterative contexts, if it is of interest that, on various occasions, different elements with different properties would fit.

[373]   Приходили на свидание двое, на первую смену являлась его жена, на вторую – его отец или мать или *кто-либо* из его сестер.
        Two people came for the visits, his wife for the first shift, and either his father or mother or some one of his sisters for the second.

Negation of multiple alternatives: It has been noted that *-либо* is often used in contexts of weak or implicit negation. In such contexts *-либо* invites one to think: no matter which element is selected, the result will nevertheless be the same. *-Либо* is usual with the preposition *без* 'without' ([374]), with which it is more frequent than *-нибудь* by a ratio of 100 to 1. *-Либо* can also be used with comparatives ([375]) and summaries of failed occasions, on which some positive element might have appeared ([376–77]):

[374]   Все было организовано само собой, без *какого-либо* участия.
        Everything got organized by itself, without anyone's participation.

[375] Работа эта интереснее, чем *какая-либо* другая.
  This work is more interesting than any other [you might think of].
[376] Я отказался *что-либо* поесть.
  I declined to eat anything whatsoever.
[377] Принтер С80 в процессе установки не создал *каких-либо* трудностей.
  The C80 printer caused no problems of any sort in the process of installation.

In [377], *-либо* appears in a clause with a negated finite predicate, where *ни-* is more usual.

   -Нибудь and *-либо*, then, both invite one to think of a possible set of entities that might conceivably fit in the event. *-Либо* allows that there might be differences among entities, and it implies a process of sorting through possible entities to determine which might fit and which not. It is especially common in contexts of weak negation, when the possibility of differences is entertained and then rejected. *-Нибудь*, in contrast, asserts from the outset that it is indifferent which individual is selected. Any is as good as the next, and all that matters is that there be at least one such entity that would fit.

4.8.6 Indefinites *нéкоторый*, *нéсколько*

Some interrogative pronouns combine with the negative prefix *не-*, yielding lexicalized indefinites: *церковь*, *в которой некогда венчалась дочь Шаляпина* 'a church, in which Shaliapin's daughter once was married'. *Нéкоторый* and *нéсколько* are common. *Нéкто* is archaic, typically used modifying a name with a touch of irony: *некто Иванов* 'a certain somebody named Ivanov'. *Нéкий* 'a certain kind of' is likewise old-fashioned: *Она отправилась к некоему святой жизни старцу* 'She set off for some saintly elder'.

4.8.7 Summary

Table 4.17 paraphrases the meaning of the two widely used existential pronominal compounds in *-то*, *-нибудь*, *-либо*, and *кое-* and identifies preferred contexts. The meaning is given as a complex of different levels of reference: nature of reference (existential), the individual (in relation to other possible individuals), tense-aspect-modality, speaker perspective, and register.

4.8.8 Negative pronouns in *не-*

The other series of negative pronouns uses the stressed prefix *нé(-)*: *нéкому*, *нéчего*, *нéгде*, *нéкогда*, *нéкуда*, *нéоткуда*, . . . (unlikely: *нéчей*, *нéсколько*, *нéкакой*). *Нé(-)* pronouns are negative modal existentials: they deny any possibility of an individual that might fit in the event. Denying possibility is a modal act, and

Table 4.17 *Properties of -то, -нибудь, -либо, кое-*

	description	natural contexts
-то	indicates existence of at least one entity [existence of essence] that is potentially unique [individual] in situations understood as actual [modality] from an internal perspective [speaker]; neutral [register]	actual: *там в корридоре* **что-то** *случалось/случается* 'in the corridor something's going on' potential modality *if* entity unique: *книгу будет писать* **кто-то** *другой* 'the book will be written by someone else' iterative *if* entity unique on each occasion: *каждое утро он их* **куда-то** *водил* 'each morning he took them somewhere'
-кое	like *-то*, but: entities viewed as types, some might fit, some might not [individual]; informal [register]	actual *if* some one way, some another: **кое-кто** *остался* 'someone remained'
-нибудь	indicates the mere fact of existence [existence of essence] of any entity fitting the proposition [individual] that is hypothetical [modality], as viewed from an external perspective [speaker]; neutral [register]	epistemological uncertainty: *вероятно,* **что-нибудь** *случилось* 'probably something happened' hypothetical (deontic, potential, counterfactual, imperative) modality: *если бы* **что-нибудь** *с дядей Мишей случилось* 'if anything were to happen to Uncle Misha' iterative conditional: *если* **что-нибудь** *неприятное случалось* 'if something unpleasant happened'
-либо	like *-нибудь*, but: entities viewed as types, some might fit, some might not; bookish [register]	iterative, potential, *if* selection of some vs. others: *или* **кто-либо** *из сестер* 'or someone of the sisters' implicit negation: *отказался* **что-либо** *поесть* 'refused to eat anything at all'

negative existentials are used with the special syntax of the free dative-with-infinitive construction (§5.10.5).

Many combinations have become elliptical and idiomatic: *мне некогда* 'I don't have the time to do it'; *нечего делать* 'nothing can be done'; *нечего* 'there's no cause to', as in *Нечего заимствовать технику с гнилого Запада!* 'There's no reason to borrow technology from the putrid West!'

4.8.9 Universal adjectives

The four adjectives *всё, всякий, каждый, любой* presume a set of entities and then assert that the activity or state could, in principle, extend to any or all

elements in the set. These universal adjectives differ in how possible entities are selected and in the modality of events.[77]

With plural *всé* 'all', the whole group is undifferentiated: the ships all have the same destination in [378]:

[378] Не было парохода, который шел бы во Францию или в Италию. *Все* пароходы шли только до Константинополя.
There was no steamship that went to France or Italy. All steamships went only as far as Constantinople.

Всé is natural in both general statements and unique past events ([378]).

In the singular, with a concrete noun, *весь* (FEM *вся*, NT *всё*) indicates that all parts of a whole are involved (*через все кладбище* 'through the whole cemetery') or, with an abstract noun, that the quality is manifested in all respects, completely (*вся безвыходность ситуации* 'the whole (utter, complete) inescapability of the dilemma'). Thus, *весь* is exhaustive and collective (non-individuating).

With *кáждый*, the elements of the set are thought of as distinct individuals, and every individual member of the set could participate in the predication. *Кáждый* is used in contexts of actual, multiple occasions with present or past imperfectives ([379]), occasionally on a single occasion with a past (realized, actual) perfective ([380]):

[379] *Каждое* утро Наташу {отводят_{<IF PRS>} ∼ отводили_{<IF PST>}} в детский сад.
Every morning [they] {take ∼ used to take} Natasha to kindergarten.

[380] Мать положила_{<PF>} перед *каждым* по куску хлеба.
Mother set one piece of bread each in front of every person.

Кáждый is then exhaustive (distributive over all members), individuating, and actual.

Любóй selects one individual from the set who could participate in a potential activity. Only one member of the set – it is indifferent which – need be chosen. *Любóй* is then not concerned with multiple, actual situations, but with a single, potential situation. *Любóй* is naturally at home in statements of potential developments or conditions, expressed as an imperative ([381]), a perfective non-present ([382]), or a modal with an infinitive ([383]):

[381] – Спросите_{<IMV>} *любого* шофера-профессионала, кого он больше всего боится, и непременно услышите: собратьев по работе.
Just ask any professional driver, who he fears most, and you'll hear without fail: the others in the trade.

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[77] Bogusławski and Karolak 1970:272–73, Ponomareff 1978, Fontaine 1983:232–37 (source of [379], [381], [382], [383], [387], sometimes modified).

Table 4.18 *Summary of* вéсь (всé), кáждый, вся́кий, любóй

	вéсь (всé)	кáждый	любóй	вся́кий
sense of individual entity	bounded set ($\sqrt{}$ *из*) of non-individuated entities taken as a whole	bounded set ($\sqrt{}$ *из*) of individuated entities, all of which actually fit	bounded set ($\sqrt{}$ *из*) of individuated entities, from which a single representative entity is chosen	open set (*из) of entities viewed as potentially different types
natural aspectual-modal context	actual, repetitive imperfective; single past perfective	actual, repetitive imperfective	potential (perfective non-past ~ modal ~ imperative ~ repetitive imperfective)	general, potential situation (imperfective)

[382] Если видит, что мне хочется с ним поболтать, отложит_{\<PF PRS\>} *любую* работу.
If he sees that I'd like to chat with him, he'll put down any work.

[383] *Любую* сложную работу можно разбить_{\<PF INF\>} на простейшие операции.
Any difficult task can be broken down into simpler operations.

Любóй is individuating and representative rather than exhaustive of the set (unlike *всé* or *кáждый*), and potential.

Вся́кий counters the lingering doubt that perhaps not all members of the set would participate: rather, any possible member of the set, with whatever properties one might choose to name, would be appropriate: 'no matter which *x* is chosen, still <. . .>'. *Вся́кий* is unlikely to be used with *из*, which restricts the set. *Вся́кий* often occurs with negation, actual or imputed: *не всякий покупатель* 'not every customer', *без всякого ограничения* 'without any limit', *сверх всякой меры* 'without any limit', *вдали от всякой цивилизации* 'far from any civilization' ≈ 'without any of the amenities of civilization', *с меня были сняты всякие подозрения* 'all suspicions about me were removed'.

Вся́кий implies a static, unchanging situation. Used with imperfectives, it implies the same (negative) result over many occasions, whether actual ([384]) or potential ([385]):

[384] *Всякую* мысль о новой работе встречал_{\<IF PST\>} с раздражением.
He greeted any sort of thought of a new job with annoyance.

[385] Цензоры получили инструкцию тщательно вычеркивать_{<IF INF>} *всякое*
упоминание о Фрейде.
Censors received instructions to meticulously cross out any sort of reference to
Freud.

Used with a past perfective, *всякий* points to a resulting state – in [386], the
future absence of any contact with dangerous friends:

[386] Владимир прекратил_{<PF PST>} *всякие* сношения с иностранцами.
Vladimir stopped all contacts with foreigners.

While each of these universal adjectives has its preferred context, there are
contexts that allow more than one of the adjectives, though with different
readings:

[387] Работали моряки дружно. Молоденький лейтенант сам охотно сбрасывал_{<IF>}
офицерский китель и брался_{<IF>} за {*каждое* ∼ *любое* ∼ *всякое*} дело.
The sailors worked in a friendly fashion. The young lieutenant himself threw off
his officer's cape and would undertake {every ∼ any ∼ any manner} of task.

Most natural here is *любóе*, since the context suggests a condition ('if and when
a task arose'). *Всякое* suggests the presumption that some tasks might not be
performed ('no matter how unpleasant the task'), and *кáждое* fits as a factual
generalization about past behavior ('this is what happened on every occasion
when a task arose').

The relationship of the four adjectives is summarized in Table 4.18.

Predicates and arguments

5.1 Predicates and arguments

5.1.1 Predicates and arguments, in general

Argument phrases, which include nouns, pronouns, phrases consisting of nouns and adjectives or quantifiers and nouns, and prepositional phrases, establish entities for discussion.[1] Predicates, which include verbs and non-verbal predicates such as *на́до* '[it] is needed', *хорошо́* '[it] is good' and predicative adjectives such as *свобо́дны* 'free', report on the properties of entities established by argument phrases and the relations among entities.

[1] Во второй половине дня мы были свободны. Сережа Сахаров и я отправились обозревать окрестности. *Подошли* к берегу реки Пшехи. Мы решили переправиться на ту сторону вброд. *Разулись*, сапоги взяли под мышки и пошли. И тут меня сшибло течением, сапоги *поплыли*. Счастье, что Сережа их *поймал*.

We were free in the second half of the day. Serezha Sakharov and I set off to look at the environs. We approached the Pshekha River. We decided to ford the river. We took off our boots, stuck them under our arms, and set off. And then I was knocked off my feet by the current; my boots sailed off. Fortunately, Serezha caught them.

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[1] Valence patterns – combinations of arguments and predicates – have been well studied in Russian (Apresian 1967, 1974). In general linguistics, the burden of description has been put on the arguments' "thematic roles," conceived of as exclusive, binary properties. We emphasize here the semantics of predicates and their relations to arguments. Critical is the idea of PREDICATE HISTORY, a description of how a predicate presents change, responsibility, and information. The notions of agent and theme are extended to general notions of responsibility and aspectuality, which are neither binary nor exclusive. With predicate histories, it is possible to make explicit similarities between transitive and intransitive valences (both can combine with prepositional phrases expressing domains of change), to introduce some semantic correlates of case (not unlike Jakobson 1936/1971[b], Wierzbicka 1980), and to make connections between aspect and valence.

The discussion here blurs certain familiar distinctions, such as the distinction between governed arguments (recently, "configurational" cases) and ungoverned adverbial complements. For a rigorous treatment of valence with tests for government, see Schmidt and Lehfeldt 1995.

In [1], for example, protagonists are introduced – the speaker, his companion, their boots, the river – and various properties, many of them changing, are reported – their movement (*подошлй*), the fate of the boots (*поплы́ли*), a new relation with the errant boots (*пойма́л*).

Argument phrases can mention a wide range of things, and predicates can describe a wide range of possible situations and changes of situations. A given predicate generally occurs with its arguments expressed consistently in the same cases; for example, *подойти́* 'approach' takes a nominative subject and a goal phrase expressed by the preposition $к_{<\backslash\text{DAT}>}$. Some predicates can take different cases, but variation in case government is quite circumscribed: nominative or genitive with negated intransitive existential predicates (§5.3), accusative or genitive with negated transitive predicates (§5.4), nominative or instrumental of the predicative complement (§5.2), instrumental as opposed to another case to express synecdoche (§5.6). Overall, the VALENCE patterns of predicates are limited, stable, and conventionalized.

When different predicates use the same cases to mark arguments, the relations of these arguments to their predicates are similar. A predicate uses the accusative (or dative or instrumental) because the relation of that argument to the predicate is similar to other accusative (or dative or instrumental) arguments of other predicates, more similar than to arguments expressed in other cases. For example, all arguments in the dative case are goals, although what it means to be the goal differs depending on the predicate. The dative with *да́ть/дава́ть дéньги емý$_{<\text{DAT}>}$* 'give money to him' is the goal of the transfer of the money; the dative with *подо́бно емý$_{<\text{DAT}>}$* 'similar to' is the goal of a static relation of similarity; with *помо́чь/помога́ть* 'help', it is the recipient of the verbal activity (the help); with *на́до* 'necessary', the dative is the individual to whom obligation is directed.

Because the behavior of any given predicate is largely stable, it is possible to construct a typology of predicates according to the arguments with which they occur. Such typologies can in principle be finer, as is the typology of eighty-four kernel valence patterns of Apresian 1967, or they can be coarser, as is the typology below, where seven classes of predicates are distinguished. Before developing the typology proper, it will be useful to introduce basic concepts relevant for describing predicates: tense-aspect-mood and information. Both are relevant on two levels, on the level of the predicate itself (its semantics and interaction with arguments) and on the level of context.

5.1.2 Predicate aspectuality and modality

Predicates report states, situations, and more than that, they describe HISTORIES of states. These histories are temporal, in the sense that they are grounded in

time, and they are aspectual, in the sense that the states can change over time. (In the following, the temporal and aspectual character of histories is compressed to a single idea of ASPECTUALITY.) Predicate histories are also MODAL, in the sense that the states interact with other states and other alternative states.

The change, or aspectuality, reported by a predicate history is often concentrated in one argument, the subject of an intransitive (in [2], the pack of cigarettes is lying in a certain position) or the object of a transitive verb (in [2], the cigarette or the match which are moved).

[2]   – Курите! – неожиданно он предложил мне папиросу_{\<ACC\>} из пачки, лежащей на столе_{\<LOC\>}, сам зажег свою, поднес мне спичку_{\<ACC\>}. Я закурил, взглянул на него.
    – Have a smoke! – unexpectedly he offered me a cigarette from a pack lying on the table; he lit up one himself and offered me a light; I lit up and glanced at him.

When aspectuality is concentrated in one argument, it can be termed the ASPECTUAL argument.

Change is by its nature a modal concept. In [3],

[3]   Мать мыла пол. Верхнюю юбку она сняла, рукава *засучила* почти до плеч.
    Mother was washing the floor. Her outer skirt she removed, her sleeves she rolled up almost to her shoulders.

the change in the sleeves – the aspectual argument – is associated with different modal possibilities. In the initial, descended position, the affected entity is vulnerable to *possible* contact with soap and water, while after the change in configuration, the entity is presumed to be out of harm's way. Thus *засучúть* reports not only change in physical position, but also changes in *possibilities*.

Aspectuality is not always concentrated in a single argument. Often it is more abstract. Sometimes it has to do with the status of activity; for example, in [2], *взглянýл* reports a change in the status of gazing – gazing comes into existence – more than a change in a concrete entity. There is more than one layer of aspectuality. In [2], the event of lighting (*зажёг*) both affects a specific entity (a cigarette) and, at the same time and more abstractly, brings into existence a process (of burning). Thus aspectuality is not always concentrated in a single argument, and in the long run, aspectuality should be viewed as a property of the predicate history rather than of a single argument.

The aspectuality of a predicate – its states and changes of state over time – exists or occurs in spaces of possible states, or DOMAINS. Oblique cases and prepositional phrases can explicitly name domains – or rather, critical landmarks within the domain.[2] For instance, [1] above mentions the goal of the heroes'

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[2] Jackendoff 1976.

motion, *к бе́регу реки́* 'to the shore of the river', and the final goal of ascension of the boots, *взя́ли под мы́шки* 'took up under our arms'. Because aspectual arguments are objects of transitives and subjects of intransitives, domains in effect state where the motion of these arguments will occur. For this reason, for many of the intransitive valence patterns described in Apresian 1967, there is an analogous transitive combining with the same case or prepositional phrase. For example, Apresian's intransitive pattern 17 *привста́ть с ме́ста* 'stand up from a place' and transitive 57 *сорва́ть ра́мы с око́н* 'remove the frames from the windows' both have a domain phrase with the preposition *с* describing the source of motion of the aspectual argument; in the same way, intransitive 20 *подойти́ к столу́* 'approach the table' parallels transitive 60 *жать проти́вника к реке́* 'squeeze the enemy against the river'.

The lexical history of a predicate is not only aspectual but at the same time modal. It is concerned with possibilities and with responsibility – why the world is the way it is. A specific entity is responsible to the extent that the reported situation is the way it is because the entity is what it is; if the entity had different properties, what one could say about the world would differ. An argument that is responsible in the sense of having certain properties that determine why the world is the way it is can be termed the MODAL or AGENTIVE ARGUMENT (using "agentive" here in the sense of "responsible," but not necessarily "willful" or "conscious"). The subject argument is usually, perhaps always, a modal argument. A subject is obviously responsible when it is an animate being that willfully initiates an activity, such as dispenser of cigarettes in [2]. But subjects can also be responsible when they are not intentional or energetic actors. The subject of *ждать* is responsible by virtue of remaining "in a state of readiness," anticipating that "there must, or may, occur a certain event" (*Slovar′ sinonimov*). Or consider the subject X of *боя́ться* 'fear', who holds the opinion that "the realization of an event Y, undesirable for X, is highly likely, while X is incapable of counteracting Y, and X would like to act in such a way as to avoid Y" (*Tolkovo-kombinatornyi slovar′*). This X is responsible in multiple ways. X is responsible for the opinion about the impending event, for the desire to act, but also for the inability to counteract the impending event.

In some instances responsibility can be displaced to an argument that has some other role in the predicate history, for example, the dative argument of *на́до* is responsible and, at the same time, the goal of the imposed obligation; the instrumental in *меня́ сшибло тече́нием* 'I was caught by the current' in [1] obliquely names a phenomenon of nature as the responsible force.

The limiting case of responsibility is the subject of existential predicates like BE. The subject of BE is not agentive in the usual sense of engaging willfully in an activity. Yet it is possible to apply modal operators such as *ведь* 'after all',

несомне́нно 'undoubtedly', and the validity of these evaluations depends on the subject – for example, on the subject's talents in [4].

[4]   А ведь *сдособности* к рисованию у меня несомненно были.
         But some talent for drawing there certainly was by me [≈ I had some talent].

In this sense even the subject of existential BE is responsible. The modal argument should be construed in broader terms than the idea of conscious or intentional agency.

Predicate histories are then both aspectual (they are concerned with change over time) and they are modal (they are concerned with possibilities and contingencies). Modality and aspectuality are often concentrated in specific arguments, but ultimately these are broad, layered concepts that belong to the whole predicate, not exclusively linked to specific arguments.

5.1.3 Aspectuality and modality in context

When a predicate is used, its lexical history is embedded in specific time-worlds, namely the here and now of speech, the connected narrative of events in the past, or a projected future. For example, in [1] above, the initial stative predicate establishes a time and a world (*во второ́й полови́не дня*), and makes possible the subsequent decision (*отпра́вились обозрева́ть окре́стности*). During the extended (imperfective) process of viewing, a sequence of (perfective) actions occurs one after the other, each in consequence of the preceding (*подошли́*, *разу́лись*, *поплы́ли*). In this embedding of lexical histories in time-worlds, we see the familiar lexico-grammatical categories of tense, aspect, and mood.

A predicate history is located in time (past, present, future); the world in which it occurs can be presented as actual (realis mood) or desired by the speaker of the addressee (imperative) or hypothetical but not actual (irrealis mood). The categories of tense, aspect, and mood are treated together here, and separately from predicates and arguments (§5).

As a predicate is used in context, the time-world of a predicate can be left implicit, to be determined from context, or it can be spelled out: by prepositional phrases (*во второ́й полови́не дня*, *в ху́дшем слу́чае* 'in the worst case') or by adverbs (*тогда́* 'then', *ча́сто* 'often', *постепе́нно* 'gradually') or by certain noun phrases without prepositions (*два́ часа́* '(for) two hours', *таки́м о́бразом* 'in such a fashion'). In a loose sense, these phrases expressing information about time and possibility can also be called arguments, though in comparison to subject or object arguments, they are less specific to the particular verb. These adverbial temporal-aspectual-modal arguments, however, are not completely unrestricted. For example, the bare accusative of duration only occurs with imperfective verbs (*Демонстра́ция шла́ це́лых два́ часа́ подря́д* 'The demonstration went two whole

hours') and with certain prefixed perfectives; adverbs or prepositional phrases describing the mode of progress of an action only combine with verbs expressing a process; adverbs expressing frequency occur almost exclusively with imperfective verbs; the prepositional phrase *за (две недéли)* 'within (two weeks)' occurs most naturally with perfective verbs which, furthermore, express the idea of overcoming an obstacle. Thus there is some justification for extending the concept of argument to aspectual and modal phrases as well.

5.1.4 Predicate information structure

At the same time that predicates locate states in time-worlds, they shape and rank the information they present, in two ways.

First, they influence how arguments, specifically aspectual arguments, are understood. On the one hand, a predicate can describe a property of an entity presuming that the entity is known as an individual with well-defined properties. For example, in [1] above we are introduced to two protagonists, the speaker and his companion Serezha, and we gradually learn more about them. This type of reference can be termed INDIVIDUATED, and predicates that impose this sense on their arguments (specifically the aspectual argument) can be termed INDIVIDUATING PREDICATES.

In contrast, predicates are sometimes interested in an entity only for its quantity – for how much there is of something. Existence is minimal quantification: either there is some of an entity or there is none. The entity is often a token of a type, the instantiation of an essence; reference is not INDIVIDUATED, but ESSENTIAL.

[5]   Я предстал перед комиссией в костюме Адама, а среди ее членов *были две молодые женщины*. Председатель успел задать лишь один вопрос: – Вы где учились?
Его прервал врач и сказал:
– Давайте его сперва взвесим. При моем росте – 180 см во мне *оказалось* всего *55 кг* весу.
I appeared before the commission in my birthday suit, and among its members were two young women. The chair managed to ask just one question: – Where did you study?
He was interrupted by a doctor, who said:
– Let's weigh him first. For all my height – 180 cm – there turned out in me [≈ I weighed] just 55 kg.

In [5] the past tense of BE (*бы́ли*) asserts the existence of the two members of the committee; then *оказа́лось* gives a measurement of kilograms, a number without individual characteristics. Predicates that are concerned with quantity, including EXISTENTIAL predicates, are QUANTIFYING predicates. The difference

between individuation and quantification is one way in which predicates shape information about arguments.

A second way in which predicates shape information is that they rank and hierarchize the information. Any predicate can be viewed as a predication about the entities in the predicate and the universe of discourse at the time. In [1] above we learn something about the two travelers but also about a town and a river, about the author's boots. In the choice of a predicate with its valence pattern, the participants and their properties are in effect ranked, and generally one participant is chosen as subject. The subject is a kind of synecdoche for the whole predicate; the subject's properties are taken to be most informative and REPRESENTATIVE of the world as a whole.

5.1.5 Information structure in context

In speech and writing, the predicate and its arguments have to be put in linear order, and (in speech) given an intonation contour. Each predicate, as a lexical convention, has a preferred linear order. For example, a transitive verb such as *оберну́ть* 'wrap' is likely to have the order nominative subject, verb, accusative object, and domain (ˢ*я́* ᵛ*оберну́ла* ᵒ*кни́гу* ᴰ*в бума́гу* 'I wrapped the books in paper'), while *оказа́ться* 'turn out to be' in an existential sense is likely to have its domain come first in the clause and its subject after the verb (ᴰ*та́м* ᵛ*оказа́лось столо́вое* ˢ*серебро́* 'in that place there turned up silver plate'). But with most predicates, other orders are possible; for example, the object can be made more the topic by putting it at the front of the sentence:

[6]   ᵒКни́гу ˢя ᵛдолжна́ оберну́ть ᴰв бума́гу.
       The book I was supposed to wrap in paper.

And various intonation contours are possible. At the level of discourse, by varying word order, the relationship of the predicate and its arguments can be presented in different ways, and through intonation and sentence stress, different elements can be selected as focal. These modulations of information – how the speaker presents the information of predication in sequence, for the benefit of the addressee – deserve a separate discussion (§7).

5.1.6 The concept of subject and the concept of object

The two threads discussed above – the modal argument and the representative argument – come together in the concept of the subject. The subject, in terms of tangible morphological and syntactic properties, is an overt argument phrase expressed in the nominative case, with which a finite predicate agrees for the features of gender–number (past tense) or person–number (present tense) (§5.9). There are various situations in which predicates do not actually have an

argument in the nominative. In discourse, once a certain individual is identified, it can often be reconstructed from context and need not be named as an argument with each new predicate; note *подошли* 'approached', *разулись* 'took off shoes' above in [1]. Occasionally the expected position of a subject expressed in the nominative case is filled instead by a prepositional phrase expressing approximate quantity: *набралось до сотни арестованных* 'there gathered upwards of a hundred people who were under arrest'. Even in these instances, the predicate is such that there *could have been* a nominative subject. Similarly, non-finite predicates necessarily lack any constituent in the nominative functioning as the subject in the same clause, though the referent of the missing subject can be supplied from context. Thus "subject" refers not only to arguments actually expressed as nominative nouns, but also to virtual arguments – to arguments that would be overt nominative subjects of a finite predicate, were it not for certain other (quite specific) considerations.

Is there any meaning, any positive value, to being the subject in the nominative case? In recent years, the subject has come to be defined only negatively, as the argument that fails to have any positive qualities. Possibly, however, the nominative subject has a positive value, as used to be assumed in an earlier tradition of grammar.[3] The subject is the argument in which the two major strands come together: the subject is the modal argument – it is the argument that is held responsible – and the informational argument par excellence – it is the argument whose properties represent the whole situation of the world.

It is then clear why subjects have special, positive, properties. Inasmuch as the subject is the informational argument, the identities and properties of other arguments are naturally defined relative to the subject – as reflexive pronouns are (§4.7). Because subjects are the arguments most representative of the world, whole predicates can be turned into properties of the subject. Accordingly, it is through the subject that non-finite verb forms (participles, infinitives, adverbial participles) are integrated with the larger clause. For example, the noun modified by a participle (*монах* in [7]) is the subject of the participle (*вышедший*),

[7]   Нас окликнул откуда-то *вышедший* молодой *монах*.
        We were hailed by a young monk who had come out from somewhere.

and the subject of an adverbial participle (*будучи* in [8]) is identified with the subject of the finite verb (*отец* in [8]):

[8]   Мой *отец, будучи* больным, вообще никуда не ездил.
        My father, being ill, did not go anywhere at all.

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[3] See Kozinskii 1983, Chvany 1996, on properties of subjects in Russian. Halliday 1970 pointed out that subjects are the focus of modal operations.

Passives present the argument that might otherwise be the accusative object as the nominative subject. Being the "derived" subject of a passive allows that argument to function, for example, as the subject of the modal *мóчь*; the validity of the possibility hangs on the subject.

[9]   Чувство не может быть забыто.
        The feeling cannot be forgotten.

These are familiar facts, but they serve to remind us that there is some value to being the subject: it is the argument which is most responsible for the state of the world and the argument whose states are representative of the whole world. It is for this reason that – if need be, under certain conditions – the picture of the world reported by the predicate can be reduced to a property of the subject.

Something similar could be said about the direct object. The direct object, which is expressed in the accusative, is expressed in the accusative because its properties are in some way contingent, dependent, subject to change. This is true both when the object is significantly affected, such as the footwear in [1] *сапоги́ мы́ взя́ли под мы́шки*, and also when it is merely held static in a dependent state, such as the instruments in *музыкáнты держáли под мы́шками инструмéнты* 'the musicians held their instruments under their arms'. Thus the object (when there is one) is an aspectual argument – an entity whose states are contingent and subject to change. Arguably other entities could be subject to change, as, for example, the hospital in *Пóсле инцидéнта генерáла тýт же умчáли в больни́цу* 'Right after the incident they whisked the general off to the hospital'. But such loci are subject to change exactly because the direct object is subject to change; their change depends on the change in the object. The aspectual properties of the direct object – its potential for change – are the most informative and representative of the aspectuality of the predicate, of the possible change of the predicate. If the subject is the argument whose properties best define responsibility for the world, in the object we see the entity whose changes best represent the change of the world.

5.1.7 Typology of predicates

With these concepts in hand, we can construct a typology of predicates as follows. The typology is relevant for valence in the strict sense – the arguments and their cases that occur with given predicates – and also for other patterns of behavior (agreement with quantified subjects, or use of a reflexive *свóй* in reference to an argument other than a nominative subject, to name two examples).

(a) IMPERSONAL: Impersonal predicates – one of the distinctive characteristics of Russian syntax – arise by suppressing the possibility of a subject argument. In [10], responsibility is presented as indirect, displaced, and there is no subject

argument; in [11], responsibility is not attributed to anything:

[10]   Дорогу *залило* водой.⁴
       There occurred flooding over of the road by water.

[11]   На Крымском мосту я долго стоял, смотря в мутные волны, меня *тошнило*,
       домой еле добрался.
       On the bridge I stood for a long time staring at the muddy waves, it made me
       sick, I hardly made it home.

Or a predicate can be impersonal by suppressing the expression of any possible
aspectual argument. Thus with certain verbs stating discomfort in the domains
of a person and a body part of the person, there is no aspectual argument.
Aspectuality is absorbed in the predicate:

[12]   У меня *царапает* в горле, *трещит* в ушах.
       I have a scratchiness in my throat, a ringing in my ears.

And some verbs reporting adverse effect leave that effect unnamed:

[13]   Как тогда *влетело* Ягоде от самого Сталина.
       Just as Iagoda caught it from Stalin himself.

When the predicate is impersonal, it adopts the neuter singular in the past
tense, the third-person singular in present-tense forms.

The term "impersonal" is applied to sentences which necessarily lack a subject,
but not to sentences in which the subject argument happens to be omitted by
ellipsis (for example, the omitted subject of *разу́лись* in [1]) or to unspecified
third-plural agents (*Меня уверяли, что никаких мальчишек на балы не пускают*
'I was assured that they were not admitting any young boys to the balls') or
generic addressees (*тише едешь, дальше будешь* 'go quietly, you'll get further').

(b) Quantifying (existential, modal): The verb be and similar predi-
cates establish the existence of an entity in a domain.

[14]   В лесу лежал глубокий снег.
       In the forest lay deep snow.

As a rule, the domain argument, expressed as a dative or some prepositional
phrase ($в_{<\backslash LOC>}$, as in *в лесу́*; *у* plus genitive is a favorite), is well-defined. The
entity whose existence is established is the aspectual argument (*снеѓ*). That ar-
gument is generally the nominative subject. That argument can be genitive if
the predicate is negated or if the predicate is one of the lexical quantifying pred-
icates, such as *хвати́ть* 'to be sufficient' (§5.3). In this way quantifying predicates
can also be impersonal.

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⁴ Babby 1994.

(c) I n t r a n s i t i v e : Intransitives are predicates with a sole major argument, the nominative subject. That argument can combine all the characteristic properties of subjects to some or another degree. Thus in *поезд умчался* 'the train dashed off', the subject argument *поезд* 'train' is the most informational argument (its movement defines the world); it is the modal argument (it is responsible, even if not conscious); and it is the aspectual argument (its position changes). Intransitives often use oblique phrases or prepositional phrases to specify the domain of states over which the aspectual argument changes, for example, the tunnel of *поезд умчался в туннель* 'the train dashed into the tunnel' or the shore in [1] (*Подошли к берегу реки*).

(d) R e f l e x i v e   i n t r a n s i t i v e : Many intransitives are related to a transitive predicate by the addition of the "reflexive" affix *-ся* (*-сь*): *отдалиться/ отдаляться* 'remove oneself' (*отдалить* 'remove, send something away'), *подняться/подниматься* 'rise' (*поднять* 'raise something'), *устроиться/ устраиваться* 'get settled' (*устроить* 'settle someone'). Whereas in a transitive the roles of responsible argument and aspectual argument are separated, reflexive intransitives merge these roles, and present a change or relation as not arising from an external source.

(e) S e m i - t r a n s i t i v e s : With some predicates, the aspectuality – change or potential for change – is not localized to an argument expressed in the accusative case. Because there is no accusative object, the predicates are not, strictly speaking, transitive. Yet there is an argument other than the subject that is involved in the change; in this respect they are something more than intransitive. Such predicates might be termed s e m i - t r a n s i t i v e . There are different groups, depending on the case governed by the predicate: genitive, expressing quantification or partial contact (*избежать неприятностей*_{<GEN>} 'avoid difficulties'); dative, expressing a goal (*помочь/помогать* directs succor to its dative goal); or instrumental expressing metonymy (*управлять страной*_{<INS>} 'govern the country', *двигать локтями* 'to move with the elbows').

(f) T r a n s i t i v e s : A transitive predicate has a nominative subject and an accusative object. The nominative subject is responsible for the state of the object or changes in the object. The accusative object is the aspectual argument, or p a t i e n t : its states are subject to change and dependent on the flow of the predicate history and, ultimately, dependent on the subject. The object can undergo actual change, as do the instruments of *в коридоре пятеро ребят от восьми до четырнадцати настраивают инструменты* 'in the corridor five children from eight to fourteen are tuning their instruments', or be held in a relationship in which its location or existence is contingent, such as the instruments of *музыканты держали под мышками инструменты* 'the musicians held their instruments under their arms'.

Like intransitives, transitives can be enriched with phrases expressing the domain of change of the object. Thus *под мышки* is the goal of the boots' movement in [1].

(g) PREDICATIVES: with the predicate BE – that is, the absence of an overt predicate in the present tense or forms of *был*, etc., in the past and *буду*, etc., in the future – an adjective or noun predicates a property of an entity, as in [1] *Во второй половине дня мы были свободны* 'in the afternoon we were free'; *запись оказалась точной* 'the transcript turned out to be accurate'. The subject argument is modal (responsible) and aspectual – any changes are changes in its properties, as in *два футболиста оказались свободными перед воротами* 'two players got free in front of the goal'. The subject is individuated and representative. The domain is the values of the state.

The predicate types listed above can be hierarchized according to the parameter of quantification – viewing the world and its participants as existing or not, as tokens of types – as opposed to individuation – viewing the world in terms of properties of distinct individuals. At one extreme are existential predicates, in which the nominative subject is not individuated and the domain argument is rather the most individuated argument. (Similar are modal and quantifying predicates.) At the opposite end are predicatives, whose subject is necessarily individuated. Transitives are close to predicatives. Intransitives cover a wide range. Among intransitives, verbs of position and motion most easily allow an existential reading.

The individuation of the predicate shows up in: (a) which argument is referentially more prominent, and can therefore serve as the antecedent to reflexives and other reference operations (§4.7.4); (b) the likelihood of using the genitive of negation (§§5.3, 5.4); (c) the likelihood of plural agreement as opposed to singular agreement, when the subject is a quantifier phrase (§5.9); (d) preferred patterns of the order of predicate and its arguments (§7.3).

5.2 Predicative adjectives and nouns

5.2.1 General
Like verbs, adjectives can predicate properties of entities, as in [15–17].

[15]   Мой брат Владимир похож$_{<PV>}$ на дядю.
       My brother Vladimir looks like our uncle.
[16]   Она сегодня одушевленная$_{<NOM>}$, живая$_{<NOM>}$, нарядная$_{<NOM>}$.
       Today she is animated, lively, elegant.
[17]   Она вообще чаще была веселой$_{<INS>}$, ровной$_{<INS>}$, покладистой$_{<INS>}$, чем
       недовольной$_{<INS>}$, злой$_{<INS>}$.

In general she was more often cheerful, even, obliging, than she was dissatisfied, nasty.

The adjective establishes a property that holds of the subject argument, which is individuated and responsible, inasmuch as the subject's unique identity determines the validity of the predication. The subject argument is aspectual: if there is change in the property, it is a change in that entity. The subject argument is informative: its property is what is at issue. Adjectives in this construction can appear in one of three forms: the predicative, or "short" form ([15]), the nominative, a "long" form ([16]), or the "long" instrumental ([17]) (§§5.2.5, 5.2.6). In the present tense, no form of a verb is needed to make an adjective serve as a predicate; the adjective itself makes the predication. The corresponding sentences in the past or future use a past or future form of the verb *быть* 'be' that agrees with the subject: *Маша*<\FEM> *была*<PST> *веселая* 'Masha was cheerful', *Маша*<\FEM> *будет*<FUT> *нарядная* 'Masha will be elegant'; adjectives can be used as predicates with forms of *быть* in the imperative (*будь*<IMV> *веселой*) and in various non-finite verbs of *быть* (adverbial participle in [8] *будучи больным* 'being ill'). It is useful to refer to the whole set of these copular constructions in various tenses and moods as constructions with the verb BE, and include in that designation predicate adjectives in the present tense which do not have an overt verb form of BE.

In parallel fashion, nouns can predicate:

[18]   – Он мой старший брат<NOM>!
      He's my older brother!

As with adjectives, predicative constructions with nouns can appear in all tenses and moods. Again, no overt form of *быть* is needed in the present tense. As predicatives, nouns can in principle appear in the nominative or instrumental (§5.2.5). A noun used as a predicative is interpreted as a property – it states something about the subject – in one of a number of ways: as a *relation* ([18]), as a *description* (*Он был милый человек* 'He was a nice person'), as a *classification* into a group (*Он был монархистом* 'He was a monarchist'), as a *function* (*Он был начальником той лаборатории, в которой работал муж моей сестры* 'He was the head of the laboratory where my sister's husband worked').

Passive participles ([19]) and prepositional phrases ([20]) also function as predicatives:

[19]   Арбуз торжественно съеден<PSS>.
      The watermelon was consumed triumphantly.
[20]   Владимир был в морском бушлате.
      Vladimir was [dressed] in a navy jacket.

Table 5.1 *Typology of predicative constructions*

construction	meaning	examples
copular	predicative reports property of subject	*Учитель был новый.* 'The teacher was new.' *Он мой старший брат.* 'He is my older brother.'
copular, aspectual-modal	host predicate reports property of subject, subject to change over time-worlds	*Дело оказалось удивительным.* 'The matter turned out surprising.' *Он оказался лучшим учеником.* 'He turned out to be the best student.'
co-predicate, aspectual relation to host predicate	predicative reports state of aspectual argument contingent on host predicate	*Они вернулись успокоенные.* 'They returned comforted.' *Я вернулся седым стариком.* 'I returned a gray-haired old man.'
co-predicate, modal relation to host predicate	predicative states condition for truth of host predicate	*И спящий он опасен.* 'Even asleep he is dangerous.' *Я знал его ребенком.* 'I knew him as a child.'

Active participles, at least those that are well on their way to being lexicalized as adjectives, occasionally appear in predicative constructions ([21]):

[21]   Обстоятельства преступления были явно отягчающими_{<PCL>}.
       The circumstances of the crime were obviously aggravating.

Constructions analogous to those with BE can be formed with other, more meaningful HOST predicates. Four broad groups of predicative constructions can be distinguished according to the context (host predicate) with which the predicative is used (Table 5.1).[5]

The four groups can be ranked according to the relative autonomy of the predicative, from copular constructions in which the adjective or noun acts as an autonomous predication (there is no predicate other than past or future BE) to those in which the predicative is a CO-PREDICATE with an independent, autonomous HOST predicate. The four groups will be discussed in greater detail below, in reverse order of Table 5.1.

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[5] The typology of constructions is based on Nichols 1981.

5.2.2 Modal co-predicates

In one type of predicative construction, the situation expressed by the predicative is taken as a given, as a condition, for the event expressed by the host predicate. The coincidence of two states is noteworthy, often because it runs counter to expectations, as does the condition of attire during sleeping in [22]. Common are qualifiers such as *и* 'even', *еще* 'still', *уже* 'already', *уже не* 'no longer', which comment on the unexpected fact that the two events overlap.[6] An adjective or participle is nominative, not instrumental ([22]):

[22]   Он иногда бросается на кровать и спит одетый_{<NOM>}.
      He occasionally throws himself onto the bed and sleeps dressed.

An adjective or participle can be used to state a property of an object, when it will be accusative ([23]):

[23]   Настене и спящую_{<ACC>} ее держать доставляло удовольствие.
      For Nastena it was a pleasure to hold her even [while she was] asleep.

Nouns ([24]) and nominal adjectives (*взро́слый* in [25]) use the instrumental:

[24]   Ребенком_{<INS>} я всегда стремился побыстрее смыться от взрослых.
      As a child I always tried to sneak away from the grownups as quickly as possible.
[25]   Уже взрослой_{<INS>} Цветаева часто видела умершего Александра Блока живым_{<INS>}.
      Even as a grownup Tsvetaeva often [imagined she] saw the deceased Alexander Blok alive.

A special construction is one in which the predicative adjective, in the nominative or instrumental, refers to ordering of elements: *пе́рвый/пе́рвым* 'first', *после́дний/после́дним* 'last'. The nominative is temporal: the entity who is *пе́рвый* is earlier than anyone else:

[26]   Именно Жданов первый_{<NOM>} ввел массовые аресты коммунистов.
      It was specifically Zhdanov who first introduced massive arrests of Communists.

The instrumental is implicitly nominal. It characterizes an individual in a sequence of individuals, each of which has a distinct role, such as the wedding attendants in [27]:

[27]   Первым_{<INS>} держал венец над невестой ее брат Саша, вторым_{<INS>} – я.
      The first holding the wreath over the bride was her brother Sasha, the second was I.

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[6] Exceptionally the predicative can be hosted by a noun with implicit predication: *над его письменным столом висит фотография матери еще девушкой*_{<INS>} 'Above his desk there hangs a photograph of his mother as a girl'.

5.2.3 Aspectual co-predicates

Predicates reporting the position or motion of an aspectual argument in some space can host a predicative referring to the aspectual argument.[7] Nouns state in what capacity the individual moves (*qua* what) and are instrumental ([28]):

[28] Он приехал в Москву и попал на свадьбу шафером_{⟨INS⟩}.
      He came to Moscow and wound up an attendant at a wedding.

With adjectives and participles, both nominative and instrumental are used. The nominative reports a continuing state that overlaps the main action. Hence nominatives combine with imperfectives stating habits ([29]) or events in progress ([30]), and with perfectives expressing a background (episode-initial) state ([31]) or an episode's final static scene ([32]):

[29] Благодаря очередям на наших улицах люди ходят хмурые_{⟨NOM⟩},
      озабоченные_{⟨NOM⟩}, готовые_{⟨NOM⟩} из-за любой мелочи разразиться бранью.
      Because of the queues on our streets people walk gloomy, preoccupied, ready to
      break out cursing over any trifle.
[30] Он в этот момент шел уверенный_{⟨NOM⟩}, холодный_{⟨NOM⟩}, собранный_{⟨NOM⟩}.
      At that moment he was walking confident, cool, collected.
[31] Был такой случай: пришел я из Академии голодный_{⟨NOM⟩}, затопил
      «буржуйку», и стал варить кашу.
      Here's what happened once: I came home from the Academy hungry, heated up
      the stove, and started to cook some kasha.
[32] Я вернулся грустный_{⟨NOM⟩} в Москву.
      I returned gloomy to Moscow.

The instrumental case reports a change in the property coinciding with the change reported by the host predicate, usually a perfective stating the result of an episode ([33]):

[33] Я вернулся в Париж еще более расстроенным_{⟨INS⟩}.
      I returned to Paris [having become] even more distraught.

With a transitive verb, it is the object that moves or is situated, and it is the subject of the predicative. The instrumental, suggesting change and causation, is more usual ([34]), but the accusative (or ACC=GEN) is possible if the very property is critical ([35]):

[34] Его привезли тяжело больным_{⟨INS⟩} в больницу.
      They brought him [having become] seriously ill to the hospital.
[35] Его посадили голого_{⟨ACC⟩} на осла.
      They seated him naked on an ass.

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[7] Timberlake 1986. Nikunlassi 1993 reports on extensive and meticulous work with informants documenting the effect of various factors on the choice of case.

The adjective in *видела Блока живым*_{<INS>} ([25]) is an instance of this construction.

5.2.4 Aspectual and modal copular predicatives

Some verbs are copular, but indicate additionally that the predicative relation changes over some boundary. With *стáть/станови́ться* 'become', the state changes from one time to another. With *остáться/оставáться* 'remain', the state continues past a certain time despite the possibility it might not. With *казáться* 'seem, appear' or *яви́ться/явля́ться* 'seem, appear, turn up', the state holds in the speaker's world of perception, though it might not hold everywhere. With these host predicates, the predicative is valid only in certain times or worlds; it could differ in other times or worlds. Because the validity of the state is limited, nouns ([36]) always use the instrumental, adjectives ([37]) generally do:

[36] Он стал известным театральным критиком_{<INS>}.
      He became a famous theater critic.

[37] Песок оказался совсем сырым_{<INS>}.
      The sand turned out to be completely wet.

The predicative (short) adjective fits if the adjective is restricted by a complement ([38]):

[38] Она осталась довольна_{<PV>} моими ответами.
      She in the end was satisfied with my answers.

The nominative adjective, used rarely, emphasizes the continuation of a state, either a prior state ([39]) or a resulting state analogous to an English perfect ([40]):

[39] Метод распространения газеты оставался вчерашний_{<NOM>}.
      The method of distributing the newspaper was to be the same as the day before.

[40] Вот какой_{<NOM>} у нее стал сын!
      Just look at what her son has become!

5.2.5 Copular constructions: instrumental

In copular constructions with BE, an option for both nouns and adjectives is the instrumental.[8]

With adjectives, the instrumental implies a contrast between two polarities of the state in two time-worlds: in one, the state holds; in another, it does not. Accordingly, in the present tense, where only one value of the state is in view,

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[8] A long tradition sees the instrumental as signaling a difference in the value of the state over a boundary (Mrázek 1961, 1964). Ueda 1992 establishes that the frequency of the predicative (short) form and the nominative depend in a complementary fashion on the referentiality of the subject; the instrumental is neutral (and hence treated separately here).

predicative adjectives do not appear in the instrumental. They appear in the instrumental case in the future tense (approximately a third of the time) or the past tense (approximately a fifth of the time).[9] The instrumental is used when a state is canceled ([41]) or initiated ([42–43]):

[41] Какими они были веселыми_{<INS>}, эти узкие монгольские глазки! И какие они тусклые и покрасневшие сейчас . . .
How joyful they were, those narrow Mongolian eyes! And how they are dim and reddened now . . .

[42] Встреча была опять же безрезультатной_{<INS>}.
And this meeting as well was [≈ turned out to be] without result.

[43] Я надеялся, что все же мое письмо будет полезным_{<INS>}.
I hoped that, nevertheless, my letter would be [≈ prove to be] effective.

The change can be change in an observer's perception as much as change in the real world. In [44], the fragments of Greek marble did not change in time, but, once examined, they turned out to be more attractive than expected.

[44] Эти обломки были необычно привлекательными_{<INS>} как по форме, так и по своей оригинальной структуре.
These fragments were unusually attractive both in form and in original structure.

In the present tense, nouns normally use the nominative and not the instrumental (unless the predicative means to function in a certain capacity: *она здесь агрономом_{<INS>}* 'she's here as an agronomist'). Outside the present tense, nouns normally use the instrumental. The instrumental is used if there is any hint of a *change* in the state over time, whether cancellation ([45] – he is no longer young) or inception ([46]):

[45] Его дед знал государя, когда тот еще был мальчиком_{<INS>}.
His grandfather knew the tsar when the latter was still a lad.

[46] Изгнание Владимира было первым моральным ударом_{<INS>} по нашей семье.
The expulsion of Vladimir became the first moral blow struck at our family.

The instrumental is used with a noun stating a *function* of acting in a certain capacity (in [47], as a coach for two winters running):

[47] Брат две зимы подряд был в Туле репетитором_{<INS>} у мальчиков Лопухиных.
Brother worked two winters in a row in Tula as the coach for the Lopukhin boys.

[48] С 1974 по 1977 год он был членом_{<INS>} Центрального комитета.
From 1974 through 1977 he was a member of the Central Committee.

The instrumental is also used when the predicative noun is used to define the subject: as a member of a group ([49]), in relation to another individual ([50]), or as a unique individual satisfying a formula ([51–53]):

[9] Ueda 1992.

[49]   Он доказывает, что Пушкин в последние годы жизни был монархистом_{<INS>}.
        He attempts to show that Pushkin in the last years of his life was a monarchist.

[50]   Он был сыном_{<INS>} известного лесовода, Федора Карловича Арнольда.
        He was the son of the famous forester Fedor Karlovich Arnold.

[51]   Ланселот был самым храбрым рыцарем_{<INS>} из тех, кто собирался за Круглым столом.
        Lancelot was the bravest knight among those who gathered at the Round Table.

[52]   Последним родственником_{<INS>}, кто нас разыскал, был дядя Алеша.
        The last relative who searched us out was Uncle Alesha.

[53]   Их задачей_{<INS>} был выбор основных направлений разработки изделий.
        Their task was the selection of the basic directions of the preparation of models.

Used in this sense, the predicative noun often appears in initial position ([52–53]).

The instrumental is likely whenever negation is involved: when the predicate is irrealis or overtly negated ([54]):

[54]   Он, собственно, был коммунист, но у него не было партийного билета. Он не был членом_{<INS>} коммунистической партии.
        He, actually, was a communist, though he didn't have a party card. He was not a member of the Communist Party.

In short, with nouns, the instrumental is used when there is any hint of limiting the state in time-worlds or any concern with defining an individual – of indicating that this individual, not others, fits a certain definition. The nominative is used only when the subject is presumed known and the predicative noun contributes little, the communicative weight being carried by the adjective (talented in [55], virtuous in [56]).

[55]   Он был всесторонне талантливый человек_{<NOM>}.
        He was a man of many and varied talents.

[56]   Был он очень милый, простой, очень скромный молодой человек_{<NOM>}.
        He was a very nice, simple, very modest young person.

[57]   Ведь он был член_{<NOM>} Политбюро.
        After all he was a member of the Politbureau.

The nominative is also possible if the communicative import of the sentence is the fact of the identity ([57]: 'that he was a member is true').

5.2.6 Copular adjectives: predicative (short) form vs. nominative (long) form

If an adjective is not instrumental, it can appear in either the nominative (long) form or the predicative (short) form.[10] The choice is partly lexical, partly

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[10] Shvedova 1952, Tolstoi 1966, Gustavsson 1976, Ueda 1992 (on text usage). There is a long-standing view (Isachenko 1963, but see Bogusławski 1964) that the long form is an attributive modifier of

Table 5.2 *Adjectives preferring the predicative (short) form*

	semantic field	examples
(a)	measure	*велúк* 'large', *далёк* 'far', *пóлон* 'full', *мáл* '(too) small'
(b)	attitude	*довóлен* 'satisfied', *соглáсен* 'agreed', *убеждён* 'convinced', *увéрен* 'confident', *рáд* 'pleased'
(c)	manner of characterization	*свóйствен* 'characteristic', *присýщ*, 'intrinsic', *харáктéрен* 'characteristic', *склóнен* 'inclined', *похóж* 'similar to'
(d)	modality	*возмóжен* 'possible', *дóлжен* 'obligated', *намéрен* 'intending', *необходúм* 'essential', *нýжен* 'necessary', *обя́зан* 'obligated'
(e)	perception	*вúден* 'visible', *слы́шен* 'audible'
(f)	variable conditions	*виновáт* 'guilty', *гóлоден* 'hungry', *готóв* 'ready', *знакóм* 'familiar', *спосóбен* 'capable', *рáвен* 'even', *сы́т* 'satiated'
(g)	modal adjectives	*невéдом* 'unknown', *неоспорúм* 'indisputable', *ощутúм* 'perceptible'
(h)	evaluative, diminutive	*великовáт* 'largish', *маловáт* 'smallish', *радёшенек* 'pleased', *радёхонек* 'pleased'

contextual. Moreover, the use of adjectives has evidently been changing; the predicative form is little used in conversation, and is therefore a marker of the written register. Written usage is the primary concern below.

Certain adjectives (Table 5.2) require, or almost require, the predicative form. With these adjectives, the property is contingent and variable depending on the time-worlds.

The predicative form is used when the only argument is a clause.

[58]   Исправить этот недостаток мне было очень трудно_{‹PV›}.
       To fix that deficiency was very difficult for me.

Passive participles are generally in the predicative (short) form:

[59]   Нам было предоставлено_{‹PV›} купе.
       A compartment was made available to us.
[60]   Возле плотины был построен_{‹PV›} деревянный двухэтажный дом.
       Alongside the dam there was built a wooden two-story house.

In contrast, certain other adjectives use the long form exclusively or preferentially. A productive type is adjectives that describe a property of having or manifesting a substance. An entity either has the substance or does not; there is no question of degrees or contingent manifestations of the property.

a dummy pronominal head – that is, *нарядная* in [16] *она нарядная* would have the structure: [NP [N′ [MODP [ADJP [ADJ⁰ *нарядн*]]] [N′ [N⁰ ∅]]]] (here as in Bailyn 1994; see also Babby 1975[a], 1999). Pereltsvaig 2001 notes that the difference between two kinds of adjectives, short and long, cannot be expressed if all adjectives are labeled simply as [-N, -V].

Table 5.3 *Adjectives preferring the general (long) form*

type	example
(a) substance {-sk-}	*сéльский* 'village', *брюссéльский* 'of Brussels'
(b) substance {-ov-ój}	*зерновóй* 'of seed'
(c) other substance	*тумáнный* 'cloudy', *деревя́нный* 'wooden', *швéдский* 'Swedish', *молóчный* 'of milk', *бумáжный* 'of paper', *буржуáзный* 'bourgeois', *сúний* 'blue', *кáрий* 'brown', *белокóжий* 'white-skinned', *морщúнистый* 'wrinkled', *двухкóмнатный* 'two-roomed'
(d) relational	*всесторóнний* 'all-sided', *дáвний* 'long-ago', *срéдний* 'middle', *пóздний* 'late', *внéшний* 'outside', *прéжний* 'former'

Aside from the adjectives listed in Tables 5.2 and 5.3, which have little freedom of choice (though that lack of freedom is semantically motivated), there are many adjectives that are used in either form, predicative or nominative. Each form has a preferred context and sense.

The nominative (long) form is used when the concern is with characterizing the essential as opposed to the accidental properties of the subject. The nominative is thus used when the subject is a hypothetical individual ([61]) or something that is defined as an essence (in [62], 'whatever we had by way of food'). At issue is whether the characteristic holds or not, not under what conditions or to what degree it holds.

[61] Если хозяйка хитрая_{<NOM>}, злая_{<NOM>}, то и корова у нее со временем становится очень на нее похожей.
 If the housewife is sly, nasty, then her cow with time will become very similar to her.

[62] Чем мы тогда питались, откуда доставали продукты – не помню; еда была невкусная_{<NOM>}.
 What we ate, where we got provisions, I don't remember; the food was bad-tasting.

If the subject is a well-defined individual, the nominative form describes that individual as a token of a type, often as a general, timeless description ([63]):

[63] Зина – грубая_{<NOM>}, плоская_{<NOM>}.
 Zina is crude, flat.

But such a description can be localized to a specific time ([64–65]):

[64] За чаем Анна Андреевна была почти веселая_{<NOM>}.
 At tea Anna Andreevna was almost cheerful.

[65] Когда я проважала ее домой в такси, она снова была печальная_{<NOM>} и
серьезная_{<NOM>}.
When I took her home in a taxi, she was back to being sad and earnest.

To sum up, the nominative (long) form presents the subject as instantiating an
essence and the property as a necessary rather than an accidental one.

A predicative (short) form is used when the subject is a well-defined individual,
and the property is an accidental property that could vary in different time-
worlds ([66]):

[66] Отец всегда был в таких случаях спокоен_{<PV>}, приглашал кагэбэшников
выпить чайку, но, когда дело касалось принципов, был очень тверд_{<PV>}.
Father in such circumstances was always calm, he invited the KGB to have some
tea, but as far as matters of principle were concerned, he was firm.

When an adjective is specified by a circumstance or perceiver, as in [67], the
predicative form is almost obligatory (97% in one count).[11]

[67] Она {недовольна_{<PV>} ~ *недовольная_{<NOM>}} – и Ольгой и книжкой.
She's dissatisfied – with Olga and with her book.

When no modal complement is stated, the predicative form imputes a restriction
([68]):

[68] Все были довольны_{<PV>}.
Everyone was satisfied [with the turn of events].

Because of this concern with contingency, the predicative form fits naturally in
discourse that is concerned with causality. Thus this form is used for properties
which have consequences ([69–70]) or which themselves are the consequences of
other situations ([71]).

[69] Тогда же я поняла, что русский язык настолько красив_{<PV>}, что стоит его
изучать, и стала изучать славистику.
At that point I understood that Russian is so exquisite that it deserves to be
studied, and I began to study Slavistics.

[70] Выглядит он отлично: загорелый, красивый. И от того, что он красив_{<PV>} и
молод_{<PV>}, печать трагедии проступила еще явственнее.
He looks wonderful: tanned, handsome. And because he is handsome and young,
the stamp of tragedy showed through even more clearly.

[71] Он из тех, кто не может быть сытым_{<INS>}, когда голодны_{<PV>} другие.
He is the kind of person that cannot be full when others go hungry.

In such explicit contexts, the predicative form was selected regularly in a pilot
study with half a dozen young educated speakers.

[11] Ueda 1992.

It has been said that the predicative (short) form is used when the property is temporary (as in [67]), while the nominative states a timeless characteristic of an individual ([63] above). There is a certain truth to this. But the nominative can be localized to a single time ([64–65] above), and, conversely, the predicative form can be used in timeless characterizations of individuals ([72]):

[72] Борис никогда в женщинах ничего не понимал. Первая жена, Евгения Владимировна, мила_{<PV>} и интеллигентна_{<PV>}, но она воображала себя великой художницей.
Boris never had any understanding of women. His first wife, Evgeniia Vladimirovna, was pleasant and cultured, but she imagined herself a great artist.

Here the predicative forms focus on how certain properties interact with others; the properties *милá и интеллигéнтна* would be harmless if they were not combined with pretense. Thus the predicative form means not so much that the state is literally temporary as that it is contingent and therefore potentially variable.

In speech, younger speakers use the predicative form less frequently than do written texts, especially in discussions of people. Quite possibly, the pervasiveness of the long form represents an instinct to speak about people as representing types.

5.2.7 Residual *есть, суть* in copular constructions

Copular constructions in the present tense usually do not have any overt verb form. Nevertheless, relics of third-person present-tense forms of be can be used for emphasis. The relic form *éсть*, etymologically the third singular present, is used in predicative constructions to insist that it is worth making the definition, even if it is tautological.

[73] Но чемпионат мира *есть* чемпионат мира.
But the world championship is the world championship.

[74] Может я и *есть* тот маленький винтик без которого ничего не вертится.
Perhaps I am that small screw without which nothing turns.

Éсть is common in the idiom *э́то и éсть*; for example, *э́то и éсть су́ть маркси́зма* 'that is precisely the essence of Marxism'. The negation of *éсть* is *не éсть*:

[75] Было это не формальное, а – подлинное сходство, которое *не есть* сходство черт.
That was no formal similarity, but a genuine similarity, which is not merely a similarity of features.

The historical third-plural form *су́ть* can be used in scientific definitions, when the terms of the definition are plural.

[76] Эти модели обладают своей силой не благодаря каким-то внутренним свойствам, но потому что они *суть* традиционные части культуры.

These models have force not by virtue of some intrinsic properties, but because they are traditional components of culture.

5.2.8 *Это был . . .*

The demonstrative *это* equates its referent (something in the text or the speech context) and a predicative noun. In the past or future, the copula agrees with the noun:

[77] Это была$_{<FEM\ SG>}$ бывшая секретарша$_{<\backslash FEM\ SG>}$ Крупской.

That was the former secretary of Krupskaia.

[78] Это был$_{<MSC\ SG>}$ весьма замкнутый мирок$_{<\backslash MSC\ SG>}$.

That was a very closed world.

If the applicability of the equation is restricted by a circumstantial argument, the noun goes into the instrumental, and the copula agrees with *это* (that is, neuter singular):

[79] Это$_{<NT\ SG>}$ было$_{<NT\ SG>}$ для всех большим событием$_{<INS>}$.

That was for us all a great event.

5.2.9 Predicatives in non-finite clauses

Predicatives with non-finite verbs tend strongly to appear in the instrumental. With *будучи*, the adverbial participle of ʙᴇ, the instrumental is always used with nouns ([80]), usually with adjectives ([81]), and regularly with passive participles ([81]):

[80] Мать Толстого, будучи {*серьезная хозяйка$_{<NOM>}$ ~ серьезной хозяйкой$_{<INS>}$}, сделала подробную опись.

Tolstoy's mother, who was a dedicated housewife, made a detailed description.

[81] Он вышел из союза, будучи $\begin{Bmatrix} \{?недольный_{<NOM>} \sim недовольным_{<INS>}\} \\ \{оскорбленный_{<NOM>} \sim оскорбленным_{<INS>}\} \end{Bmatrix}$ Романовым.

He withdrew from the coalition, being $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{dissatisfied with} \\ \text{insulted by} \end{Bmatrix}$ Romanov.

With infinitives whose implicit subject corresponds to the subject of the main clause, the instrumental is obligatory with nouns ([82]), usual with adjectives, though the predicative form is possible for certain adjectives ([83]), and possible for passive participles ([83]), especially as the main verb increases in semantic weight ([84]):

[82] Он может быть {*серьезный хозяин$_{<NOM>}$ ~ серьезным хозяином$_{<INS>}$}

He could be a dedicated landlord.

[83]   Он может быть $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\{\text{недоволен}_{<\text{PV}>} \sim \text{недовольным}_{<\text{INS}>}\} \\ \{\text{оскорблен}_{<\text{PV}>} \sim \text{оскорбленным}_{<\text{INS}>}\}\end{array}\right\}$

    He might be $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{dissatisfied} \\ \text{humiliated}\end{array}\right\}$.

[84]   Человек любит быть {*оскорблен$_{<\text{PV}>}$ ∼ оскорбленным$_{<\text{INS}>}$}.
    Man loves to be humiliated.

In the dative-with-infinitive construction, adjectives in earlier Russian used to be in the dative ([85], from *The Igor Tale*), but now only the instrumental is used (as in the modern translation of [85] in [86], or [87]):

[85]   Луце жъ бы потяту$_{<\text{DAT}>}$ быти неже полонену$_{<\text{DAT}>}$ быти.
    It would be better to be stretched out dead than to be captured.

[86]   Уж лучше иссеченным$_{<\text{INS}>}$ быть, чем в неволю достаться.[12]
    It would be better to be hacked to bits than to fall into captivity.

[87]   Как не быть обманутым$_{<\text{INS}>}$ при покупке кассеты?
    How not to be deceived while buying a cassette?

A special construction that has attracted attention in the recent literature is the case used by the adjectives *са́м* 'self' and *оди́н* 'alone'. In reference to the subject of a finite verb or a dependent infinitive, they are nominative, and agree with the subject in gender–number:

[88]   Она$_{<\text{FEM SG}>}$ {поехала ∼ решила поехать} сама$_{<\text{FEM SG NOM}>}$ туда, чтобы прояснить ситуацию.
    She {went ∼ decided to go} there herself in order to clarify the situation.

When the implicit subject corresponds to a dative or accusative in the main clause ([89]) or the dative of a dative-with-infinitive construction ([90]), *са́м* is dative. It agrees with the implicit subject in gender–number:

[89]   Она {приказала мне$_{<\backslash\text{MSC SG DAT}>}$ ∼ умоляла меня$_{<\backslash\text{MSC SG ACC}>}$} поехать самому$_{<\text{MSC SG DAT}>}$.
    She {ordered me ∼ beseeched me} to go myself.

[90]   Почему бы тебе$_{<\backslash\text{MSC SG}>}$ не поехать самому$_{<\text{MSC SG DAT}>}$?
    Why not go yourself?

The dative in [89] might be thought to show that *са́м* agrees in case with the implicit – dative! – subject of the infinitive.[13] But the dative is not used with subject-controlled infinitives ([88]), and the dative is not always used with infinitives whose implicit subject is an accusative object:

[91]   Я заставил Ивана$_{<\text{ACC}>}$ пойти туда одного$_{<\text{ACC}>}$.
    I made Ivan go there alone.

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[12] [86] from Jakobson 1948/1966:134, [87] Jakobson's translation (p. 165).
[13] Comrie 1974, Babby 1998.

Table 5.4 *Summary of predicative constructions*

	adjective PV ("short")	adjective NOM	adjective INS	noun NOM	noun INS
copular: present tense	√	√	*	√	*
copular: past, future tense	√	√	±	±	√
aspectual-modal copular	±	?	√	*	√
aspectual co-predicate	*	√	±	*	√
modal co-predicate	*	√	*	*	√

The dative is used with infinitives dependent on nouns: *возможность поехать самому*\<MSC SG DAT> 'the possibility of going alone'. It appears that the "second dative" of *сáм* and *одúн* is an idiom based on the dative in the free infinitive ([90]).

5.2.10 Summary: case usage in predicatives

The basic types of predicative constructions and the forms they prefer or allow are listed in Table 5.4. Each form has its preferred distribution, and each type of predicative construction has its own properties. Evidently there is a divide between copular constructions (both the basic copular relation BE and its enrichments such as *остáться* 'remain', etc.) and constructions in which the predicative is a secondary predication, or co-predicate, overlaid on an independent predication; the latter do not allow the predicative ("short") form of adjectives.

Nouns go into the instrumental the moment there is the slightest restriction on the state – in time (past or future tense), modality (imperative, subjunctive) – or any sense that the predicative noun describes in what capacity, *qua* what, the predicative relation holds. For this reason, predicative nouns used as co-predicates always go into the instrumental.

With adjectives, the instrumental is used less than with nouns, and only when there is a pronounced boundary. Adjectives present an interesting contrast between the predicative (short) form and the nominative (long) form. The layered conditions involved in the contrast between these forms (Table 5.5) relate to: the subject; the property itself; the occasions (time-worlds) on which the property holds; and the function of the predicative in context. In idealized terms, the predicative (short) form states one contingent, accidental property of a known individual, among other possible properties. It occurs in copular constructions and marginally with aspectual-modal hosts (*остáться*). The (long) nominative presents the subject as an entity that embodies a necessary property – an essence – unconditionally.

Table 5.5 *Predicative (short) form vs. nominative (long) form*

	predicative ("short") form	nominative ("long") form
subject entity	defined individual	token of type or defined individual
property	manifested by degrees, opposed to other possible properties or values of the property	manifested in binary (either-or) fashion
time-worlds	accidental property, which is potentially different depending on circumstances	necessary property, which holds at any time, in any circumstance
speaker	property observable by any speaker	judgment of current speaker
context	property interacts with (conflicts with, causes, is caused by, exists despite) other states or events	no attention to interaction with other properties
register	mark of written register, less frequent in speech	mark of colloquial register

5.3 Quantifying predicates and genitive subjects

5.3.1 Basics

Russian has various constructions that involve quantification – arguments can be quantified and predicates quantify arguments. Quantifying predicates are those that measure quantity against an implicit standard: they report some as opposed to none, or none as opposed to some, or quite a bit relative to what was expected. With certain predicates, arguments that correspond to nominative subjects of intransitive verbs can appear in the genitive.

5.3.2 Clausal quantifiers and subject quantifying genitive

It will be useful to place genitive subjects in the broader context of quantifying expressions and quantifying predicates. Explicit quantifiers – from numerals such as *три* 'three', *сорок* 'forty' through approximates such as *много* 'much', *сколько* 'how much', *меньше* 'less' – participate in a network of related constructions. The more indefinite the quantifier, and the more the focus is on the quantifier, the more the verb is likely to use neuter third-person singular agreement (§5.9).

Quantifiers can combine with a noun to make an argument (§4.2). Quantifier arguments can occur in most argument positions – as subjects, as indirect

objects, as temporal adverbs, and so on. Quantifier arguments are especially frequent as the aspectual argument of existential predicates – ʙᴇ in its existential sense ([92]) or prefixed perfectives reporting the accumulation of a quantity of something ([93–94]):

[92] *Было* много знакомых из городских жителей.
      There were many acquaintances from among the inhabitants of the city.
[93] *Понаехало* много журналистов, ожидая обычных откровений.
      There arrived many journalists, anticipating the usual revelations.
[94] На третьем курсе *набралось* всего четыре студента.
      There gathered only four students for the third year.

The quantifier and noun can be separated on opposite sides of the verb, in either order:

[95] *Монахов* осталось всего *пятеро*.
      Of monks there remained only a group of five.
[96] *Много* у нас было черных *дней*.
      Many were our rainy days.
[97] *Студентов* на третьем курсе набралось всего *четыре*.
      There gathered only four students for the third year.

A noun that is split from a paucal numeral must be genitive plural, not singular (§4.2). Another sign of the partial autonomy of noun and quantifier is that the split quantifier can itself contain a generic classifier noun:

[98] Добровольцев набралось 504 человека.
      Of volunteers there gathered 504 people.

Quantifier arguments formed with comparatives or certain prepositions (distributive *по*, approximate *до* 'up to', *óколо* 'around', *под* 'coming up on') can be used as subjects ([99]) or objects ([100]), especially with quantifying predicates ([101]):[14]

[99]   В каждое усаживалось *по двенадцать* взрослых.
       In each coach would sit a dozen adults.
[100] А всего 58-я статья погубила, согласно подсчетам западных историков, *более двадцати миллионов* невинных людей . . .
       And in all Paragraph 58 caused up to 20 million innocent people to perish, according to the counts of Western historians.
[101] Набежало *более двадцати* этих старушек.
       There gathered more than twenty of those old ladies.

Other kinds of phrases or nouns have been impressed into service as quantifiers:

[14] Babby 1984, Garde 1989.

[102] Народу на горы толпилось *полным-полно*.
     People crowded the mountains full up.

[103] Народу {набралось_{<NT>} / набралась_{<FEM>}} *тьма-тьмущая*.
     Of people there gathered legions.

In this construction, a verb can be in the neuter singular, failing to reflect the etymological feminine gender of *тьма́-тьму́щая* 'legions', *про́пасть* 'abyss'.

5.3.3 Subject quantifying genitive without quantifiers

The extreme form of quantifying constructions is that in which there is no explicit quantifier and the argument corresponding to a subject is expressed in the genitive. Bare genitives occur with verbs stating accumulation or distribution of quantities ([104–8]):

[104] Наползло всякого люда_{<GEN>} в город Азов.
     There crawled into the city of Azov all manner of people.

[105] Понаехало журналистов_{<GEN>}.
     There arrived many journalists.

[106] А народу_{<GEN>} на улице все прибывало.
     There kept being more and more people on the street.

[107] В последнюю неделю снегу_{<GEN>} подсыпало.
     Over the past week some snow has sprinkled down.

[108] Если б генерал видел, что вас_{<GEN>} тут набилось, как сельдей в бочке, он бы никак не разрешил такое катанье.
     If the general had seen how you had been stuffed like sardines in a barrel, he would never have allowed the excursion.

Though similar to the construction with an overt quantifier, the construction with a bare genitive subject without a quantifier focuses more on the existence of the quantity beyond expectations. The subject is usually essential in reference (in [105], 'there arrived a quantity of that which can be defined as journalists'). For this reason, the subject does not readily support grammatical operations requiring an individuated entity, such as an adverbial participle ([109], unlike [93] above with an overt quantifier) or reflexive pronouns ([110]):[15]

[109] ? Понаехало журналистов, ожидая_{<DEE>} обычных откровений.
     [There arrived many journalists, anticipating the usual revelations.]

[110] ? Гостей понаехало на своих машинах.
     [There came many guests in their cars.]

A bare genitive subject can be used with existential BE to assert a surprising quantity of a noun, in a folksy construction with a distinctive intonation (IC[6]) that rises sharply on the mass noun and remains high ([111–12]):

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[15] Polinsky 1994 ([110]).

[111] И народу_{<GEN>} было, и смеху_{<GEN>} было!

     There were many people, much laughter!

[112] – Ну белых-то там у нас вообще нет.

     – Тут было белых_{<GEN>}!

     – Well white ones [mushrooms] we didn't have any of these.

     – Oh, there were white ones all right!

[113] Может, мне свободы_{<GEN>} осталось лишь на месяц.

     Possibly, for me there remained freedom only for a month.

Thus given quantification in the context, the subject can be expressed as a bare genitive. It is important to note, however, that the construction with the bare genitive has an idiomatic character, and is less frequent than these examples might suggest. The bare genitive is used much more with certain nouns (notably *наро́д* 'people, folk') than others. Even with the quantifying predicates illustrated above, it is more common to use overt quantifiers. To indulge in an anecdotal comparison with Czech: Karel Čapek's *R.U.R.* at one point comments on the legions of robots, using a bare genitive with a quantifying verb: *jich_{<GEN>} přibylo* 'so many have come'. Russian translations use an overt quantifier: *си́лы небе́сные, ско́лько их!* 'heavens above, how many of them there are!'.

There is a small set of quantifying predicates – *хвати́ть/хвата́ть* 'be sufficient', *доста́ть/достава́ть* 'become available to someone', and non-verbal *доста́сточно* 'be enough' – that regularly take the genitive.[16] A dative or *у_{<\GEN>}* can specify the domain or sphere of influence on which quantity is evaluated.

[114] Этих пустяков_{<GEN>} мне хватило на всю жизнь.

     Of such trifles I've had enough for a lifetime.

[115] "Молчишь? – спрашивали ее глаза. – Молчи, молчи . . . Посмотрим, насколько тебя_{<GEN>} хватит."

     So you're silent? – asked her eyes. – Go ahead, don't say anything . . . We'll just see for how long you'll endure.

[116] У него не было никого, о ком бы достало желания_{<GEN>} размышлять.

     He had no one about whom there might come any desire to wonder.

[117] Для сообразительного читателя вполне достаточно таких данных_{<GEN>}, чтобы найти требуемый материал.

     For a resourceful reader, such facts are completely sufficient to allow him to find the requisite material.

[118] Овощей_{<GEN>} должно хватить на всю зиму.

     The vegetables are supposed to suffice for the whole winter.

The need for a genitive subject can be passed through a modal auxiliary (*должно́* 'should be' in [118]). In a pinch, an active participle ([119]) or adverbial participle

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[16] *Доста́ть* also has a transitive valence, with a nominative agent and accusative patient, as in *Мать доста́ла журнал* 'mother got the magazine', and a reflexive intransitive based on the transitive, as in *сапоги доста́лись ему* 'the boots came to him'.

([120]) can be formed, showing that the genitive argument of quantifying predicates is analogous to a nominative subject ([119–20]):

[119]   Он просит у меня три копейки, не хватающих_{<PCL>} на кружку пива.

Он просит у меня три копейки, не хватающих~~PCL~~ на кружку пива.

He begs me for three kopecks, not sufficing for a mug of beer.

[120]   Такие данные, будучи~~DEE~~ достаточными для принятия решения прокурором, <. . .>

Such facts, being sufficient for a prosecutor to make a decision, <. . .>

Thus there is a network of constructions involving quantifiers, quantifying predicates (and existential ʙᴇ), and the genitive case. Quantifiers combine with nouns to make argument phrases used in a variety of constructions. Quantifiers themselves can predicate, and they combine and form interesting constructions. The genitive case is used for nouns that are in construction with overt quantifiers. If the predicate itself is sufficiently quantifying, the genitive can be used without there being a quantifier constituent. The genitive fulfills a role analogous to that of a nominative subject, though it is less individuated than the typical subject.

5.3.4 Existential predication and the subject genitive of negation: basic paradigm

Many predicates situate an aspectual argument in a domain, whether physical space or the perception of the speaker.[17] In principle such predications can be interpreted in two different ways, as individuating or existential. The difference in meaning and syntactic properties is especially clear with the predicate ʙᴇ. (The term is convenient for the pattern, even though no form of *быть* is used in the present tense.)

The individuating interpretation assumes a well-defined individual, some of whose properties are known independently. The current predication concerns another property of that individual, namely location in some domain. The word order is normally S V Dom.

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[17] Chvany 1975 drew the sharp distinction between the existential use of ʙᴇ and its predicative function. Babby 1980 argued that the genitive occurs when the relevant argument is included in the scope of negation, where scope is defined in terms of functional sentence perspective (modified in Babby 2001 to the claim that both subject and object genitives result when the argument is in the scope of verb-phrase negation). Guiraud-Weber 1984 examines the functional differences between genitive and nominative constructions (*Я не был в Москве*). Robblee (1991, 1993[a], 1993[b], 1996) posits a hierarchy of predicates from existential (and modal and quantifying) through individuating intransitives to transitives. I have relied on this latter body of work here. Paducheva (1992, 1997) establishes the limits of use of the genitive of negation, layered from regular to occasional to non-existent, as a function of predicate semantics. Ultimately the "semantic invariant" proposed for the construction with the genitive is: "*X* does not exist in the World/Place," where the place can be "the perceptual space of the Subject of consciousness." Here the exposition emphasizes the difference in structuring of information: the nominative is a statement of a property of an individual, among alternatives; the genitive is a statement about the world.

[121]

$$\text{Маленький принц} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{был} \\ - \\ \text{будет} \end{Bmatrix} \text{на маленькой планете.}$$

$$\text{The Little Prince} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{was} \\ \text{is} \\ \text{will be} \end{Bmatrix} \text{on the small planet.}$$

When an individuating predication is negated, nothing happens to the structure of the clause, and negation is the usual negative particle *не* in the present tense:

[122]

$$\text{Маленький принц} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{не был} \\ \text{не} \\ \text{не будет} \end{Bmatrix} \text{на маленькой планете.}$$

$$\text{The Little Prince} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{wasn't} \\ \text{isn't} \\ \text{won't be} \end{Bmatrix} \text{on the small planet.}$$

The individuating interpretation is forced if different possible locations are contrasted ([123]) or if the predicate is contrasted with another predicate sharing the same subject ([124]):

[123] Он был не в Москве, а в Париже.
      He was not in Moscow, but in Paris.
[124] Он не был в Москве, а следил за событиями издалече.
      He was not in Moscow, but still kept track of events from afar.

Thus, individuating predicates (including BE) have ordinary syntactic properties.

In contrast, with the existential interpretation, the predicate establishes a state of the world, which is the presence or absence of some entity in a domain. The entity is often understood in essentialist terms, as the token of a type. The domain is presumed known. If no domain is actually named, it can be the world in general, or some more specific domain known in context. The word order is normally Dom V S (though see [127]).

[125]

$$\text{На планете} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{были} \\ \{- \sim \text{есть}\} \\ \text{будут} \end{Bmatrix} \text{только глубоководные жители}_{<\text{NOM}>}.$$

$$\text{On the planet there} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{were} \\ \text{are} \\ \text{will be} \end{Bmatrix} \text{only deep-water inhabitants.}$$

The present tense of the existential construction has either no overt form of a verb or, occasionally, the residual particle *есть* (§5.3.12).

When an existential predication is negated, the entity whose presence in the world is denied is expressed in the genitive.

[126]
На планете больше { не было$_{<NT\ PST>}$ / нет / не будет$_{<3SG\ FUT>}$ } людей$_{<GEN>}$.

On the planet there { were / are / will be } no longer any people.

In the present tense, negation is marked by *нет* (colloquial *нéту*). When an existential predication is negated and the subject is expressed in the genitive, the predicate no longer agrees with any argument, and becomes "impersonal": it appears in the neuter singular (past) or third-singular (present, future). The neutral order is Dom V S, but other orders occur: *A* ^{s}*людей* ^{D}*на планете больше не* ^{V}*будет* 'As for people, there will no longer be any'.

Some other predicates can also be used in both individuating and existential senses, for example, *остáться/оставáться* 'remain':

[127] На планете остались в живых только экипажи$_{<NOM>}$ космических станций.
On the planet there remained alive only the crews of the space stations.

[128] На всей планете не осталось ни одного живого человека$_{<GEN>}$.
On the whole planet there did not remain a single person.

A domain expressed by the preposition $y_{<\backslash GEN>}$ establishes a sphere of control or influence of an animate entity.

[129]
У меня всегда { были / — / будут } планы$_{<NOM>}$ наполеоновские.

I always { had / have / will have } Napoleonic plans.

[130]
У меня никогда { не было / нет / не будет } планов$_{<GEN>}$.

I never { had / have / will have } any plans.

By asserting the existence of an entity in the sphere of influence of an animate being, this construction corresponds to transitive predicates of the type of English *have* (on *имéть*, see §5.3.11). The possessive construction can be considered

a special case of existential BE constructions. It has the same use of case, notably genitive when the whole situation of possession is negated.

The predicate BE can function as a copula – as a linking verb – when it is combined with a predicative noun or adjective (§5.2). A predicative (or copular) construction is necessarily individuating. Its communicative force lies in asserting (or denying) that one property as opposed to another holds of a known entity; it is then a statement about an entity, rather than a statement about the world as a whole. No matter how one tries, the genitive cannot be used for the subject argument when a predicative is negated:

[131] Никто$_{<NOM>}$ не был безразличным к судьбе.
No one was indifferent to fate.

[132] *Никого$_{<GEN>}$ не было безразлично к судьбе.

[133] Еще ни одна утрата$_{<NOM>}$ не была так тяжела для него.
No prior loss was so hard for him.

[134] *Еще ни одной утраты$_{<GEN>}$ не было так тяжело для него.[18]

[135] В таком городишке ничто$_{<NOM>}$ (*ничего$_{<GEN>}$) не остается секретом.
In such a town nothing remains a secret.

[136] Ничто$_{<NOM>}$ (*ничего$_{<GEN>}$) не {свято ~ вечно}.
Nothing is {holy ~ eternal}

Thus, constructions involving an aspectual argument and a domain expression can be interpreted as individuating or existential, and there is a significant difference in morphosyntax when the predicate is negated. Although the sense of a predication as existential or individuating is a holistic reading, how likely the existential reading is – and how likely the genitive case is under negation – depends on three considerations: (a) the predicate; (b) the reference of the nominal argument; and (c) the context of the predication.

5.3.5 Existential predication and the subject genitive of negation: predicates

It was implicit in the discussion above that BE is virtually in a class by itself (perhaps to be joined by modals *надо*, *ну́жно* that can take an accusative or genitive even when not negated). BE would normally take the genitive when negated, even with aspectual arguments whose reference is strongly individuated (pronouns, proper nouns). After BE, the quintessential existential, there is a score or so of predicates that can take the genitive of negation (Table 5.6).[19] These fall into recognizable semantic subgroups. All these verbs comment on existence, but each adds something over and above merely asserting existence. With perceptuals, existence is determined relative to the field of perception of

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[18] Yet Trubetzkoy (1975:268) wrote, *Ничего не готово* 'There is nothing ready'.
[19] List based on Robblee 1991, Paducheva 1997.

Table 5.6 *Semantic classes of existential predicates*

predicates	semantics
заме́тно 'noticeable', *ви́дно* 'visible', *слы́шно* 'audible', *чу́вствоваться* 'be felt', *доноси́ться* 'carry', *ви́деться* 'be seen'	*perception*: possibility of existence of state in perceptual space
оказа́ться 'turn out', *обнару́житься* 'show up', *после́довать* 'follow', *появи́ться* 'appear', *найти́сь* 'be found'	*inception of perception*: inception of existence of state in perceptual space despite expectation of non-state
тре́боваться 'be needed'	*modality*: existence of situation of necessity (obligation, possibility)
ста́ть 'become', *име́ться* 'exist', *случи́ться* 'occur', *попа́сться* 'happen', *произойти́* 'occur', *встре́титься* 'be met with', *возни́кнуть* 'arise'	*occasion*: inception of existence of state despite possibility of non-state
сохрани́ться 'be preserved', *оста́ться* 'remain'	*preservation*: continued existence of state despite possibility of non-state
вы́йти 'come out', *вы́работаться* 'get produced', *образова́ться* 'be formed', *прийти́* 'arrive'	*production*: coming into existence of state despite possibility of non-state

an observer. With other verbs, what is added is a sense of *change* in the status of existence, from non-existence to existence. This aspectual sense of change is flavored by the modal expectation that, if it were not for unusual circumstances, the original situation of non-existence would have continued. As a general rule, a strong modal sense of expectation to the contrary inhibits the use of the genitive. The modal sense is weak with *ста́ть* 'become' or *произойти́* 'occur', stronger with *попа́сться* 'to come on the scene suddenly, haphazardly, unexpectedly' or with the verbs of production, e.g., *вы́работаться* 'to get produced overcoming obstacles'. Verbs of preservation (*оста́ться* 'remain', *сохрани́ться* 'get preserved') assert continuing existence despite a clear and present danger of non-existence. *Оказа́ться* 'turn out to be' combines emergence and perception. Thus there is a set of predicates that deal with existence but, at the same time, they are weaker assertions of existence than BE, because they keep in mind alternative possibilities.

The predicates of Table 5.6 tend to occur with common nouns that are understood in essentialist terms, as tokens of a class, and when they are negated, can use the genitive:

[137] Она поискала, не осталось ли ягод_{<GEN>}.
       She verified whether there did not remain berries.

[138] Всех ценных зверей распугали, соболей_{<GEN>} почти не осталось.

      All valuable animals had been frightened off, almost no sables remained.

Individuated arguments (pronouns, proper nouns) are unlikely to be used with these predicates, and unlikely to appear in the genitive,[20] except for the perceptuals ([139]) and *стáть*, in an idiomatic sense ([140]):

[139] Вани {не видно ~ ? не оказалось ~ ? не осталось} на улице.

      Vania {was not to be seen ~ didn't turn up ~ did not remain} on the street.

[140] Вани не стало.

      Vania is no more [has died].

With predicates other than those of Table 5.6, an existential reading (and the genitive of negation) are unusual, although examples, often constructed, are cited in the linguistic literature. With verbs of position, the genitive is used with time expressions or with an emphatic operator: *не прошло и двух часов* 'not even two hours passed'; *на гетто не пало и тени подозрения* 'not a hint of suspicion fell on the ghetto'; *ни одной бомбы не упало* 'there did not fall a single bomb'. With verbs that specify something about the manner of position, the genitive is labored: *на заборах не висело мальчишек* 'on the fence there did not hang any lads'; *между бревнами не скиталось прусаков* 'among the logs skittered no roaches' (Gogol). With PHENOMENOLOGICAL verbs – verbs reporting phenomena that can be perceived – the genitive is conceivable in an exercise of modifying lines of poetry: *свечи на столе не горело* 'there did not burn a candle on the table'; *не белеет парусов на горизонте* 'there do not show white any sails on the horizon'.[21]

In practice the genitive with negated positional or phenomenological verbs is very infrequent. In one count only four examples were found among 198 tokens of negated verbs of position and motion, and no examples of genitive with negated phenomenological verbs (130 tokens) or negated activity verbs. By way of contrast, for the verbs listed in Table 5.6, the percentage of genitive was in the vicinity of two-thirds genitive under negation.[22]

The likelihood of using the genitive, then, depends in part on the semantics of the predicate. The genitive can be used most freely with verbs that report existence in a domain, where the fact of existence is the communicative force of the predicate. It is less likely with verbs that describe the manner of the activity, since attention to manner presupposes the existence and identity of the individual.

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[20] Paducheva 1997.   [21] Paducheva 1997.   [22] Robblee 1993[a]:222.

5.3.6 Existential predication and the subject genitive of negation: reference

In addition to predicate semantics, the naturalness or likelihood of using the genitive depends on the reference of the argument.

Pronouns, proper nouns, and singular nouns as a rule refer to individuated, animate entities, and discourse is often organized around such entities rather than generalized states of the world. Statistically, pronouns are less likely to be put in the genitive even with BE. One study documents a hierarchy of increasing likelihood of using the nominative with negated BE as one moves away from common nouns (only one nominative in 595 tokens, or more than 99% genitive) through third-person pronouns and proper nouns (84% genitive) to first- and second-person pronouns (only 59% genitive).[23]

With common nouns, the use of case correlates with the sense of the nominal in context. Nouns with individuated reference, such as the sounds of jazz in [141], appear in the nominative. Nouns with essential reference – in [142], 'anything that would qualify as sounds' – are genitive, and the predicate has impersonal syntax.

[141] Вдоль тротуаров стояли негусто запаркованные автомашины. Сюда не доносились звуки_{‹NOM›} джаза.
Along the sidewalks cars were parked here and there. The sounds of jazz did not carry here.

[142] Из палаты Маэстро звуков_{‹GEN›} не доносилось.
From the Maestro's tent no sounds carried.

For a given predicate, the existential reading will be more natural if the noun is affected by emphatic operators such as *ни* 'not even', *и* 'even', *никакой* 'no such'. With a perceptual predicate, the genitive is regular if negation is emphatic ([143]), but the nominative is normal with a bare noun ([144]):

[143] Никаких сдвигов_{‹GEN›} незаметно.[24]
No advances whatsoever are noticeable.

[144] Незаметны сдвиги_{‹NOM›}.
Advances are not noticeable.

Emphatic operators make a genitive possible with verbs that would normally not take the genitive. The genitive is unlikely in ? *не уцелело нашего фундамента*_{‹GEN›} or ? *не провзучало выстрела*_{‹GEN›}, but possible in [145–46]:

[145] От нашей хибары в Новороссийске не уцелело *и* фундамента_{‹GEN›}.
From our hut in Novorossiisk there did not survive even the foundation.

[146] Не провзучало *ни* выстрела_{‹GEN›}.
There did not sound even a single shot.

[23] Robblee 1996.   [24] Paducheva 1997, [143], [144].

With emphatic operators, the speaker imagines and ranks possible entities that might fit in the positive predication, but then categorically eliminates all of the possibilities.

5.3.7 Existential predication and the subject genitive of negation: *никого, ничего*

The negated pronouns *никого* 'no one' and especially *ничего* 'nothing' can be used with a much broader range of predicates than other argument expressions.[25] With moderate existentials such as *остаться/оставаться*, both the nominative *никто* and the genitive *никого* occur. The genitive *никого* reports complete and utter absence of any members of an open class ([147]). In [148], the class is delimited, and we entertain the counterfactual possibility that one of this class might have remained alive.

[147] Все наши расстреляны, *никого* не осталось в живых.
All our people were shot, no one has remained alive.

[148] *Никто* из них не остался в живых, и подробностей этого разговора я сообщить не могу.
Not one among them remained alive, and details of that conversation I cannot report.

Ничего occurs widely. It is used regularly with: moderate existential predicates:

[149] Оказывается, что *ничего* не произошло, конец света не наступил.
It turns out that nothing happened, the world did not come to an end.

With reflexive predicates related to transitives:

[150] *Ничего* больше не выяснилось.
Nothing further was clarified.

[151] Почти *ничего* с детства не запомнилось.
Almost nothing from childhood stayed in memory.

[152] *Ничего* не изменится.
Nothing will change.

With many intransitives ([153–55]) and semi-transitives ([156–57]) that otherwise would not take a genitive subject:

[153] *Ничего* не болит.
There is nothing hurting.

[154] – Да, – согласилась Сарра. – только *ничего* не гремит и не взрывается.
– Yes, – agreed Sarah. – It's just that there is nothing thundering and exploding.

---

[25] Examples and discussion in Guiraud-Weber 1973, 1984:124–33, Robblee 1993[a]:229–30.

[155] *Ничего* почти не выгорело.

Almost nothing burned.

[156] Тем, кто шагал под конвоем, уже *ничего* не угрожало.

Nothing threatened those who were in the convoy any longer.

[157] *Ничего* не помогает.

Nothing helps.

Ничего́ can even be used with certain transitives, those that express a relation:

[158] Его *ничего* не {интересует ∼ удивляет}.

There is nothing that {interests ∼ surprises} him.

[159] <. . .> но меня уж *ничего* не могло испугать.

<. . .> but now there was nothing that could frighten me.

[160] *Ничего* не остановило бы, даже дети.

Nothing would stop [her], not even the children.

[161] *Ничего* не соединяло нас.

Nothing united us.

The genitive is *not* used with more agentive intransitives ([162]) or transitives ([163]):

[162] Ничто$_{<\text{NOM}>}$ (*ничего$_{<\text{GEN}>}$) с вьюгой не соперничало.

Nothing engaged in competition with the blizzard.

[163] Ничто$_{<\text{NOM}>}$ (*ничего$_{<\text{GEN}>}$) не нарушало покоя.

Nothing disturbed the peace.

Ничего́ is possible with some non-verbal predicates that are perceptuals or experientials, predicates that look almost like predicative adjectives:

[164] После смерти матери мне уж *ничего* не страшно.

After my mother's death, there is nothing terrifying to me.

[165] О пребывании Тургенева в пансионе почти *ничего* не известно.

About Turgenev's stay in the pension almost nothing is known.

[166] *Ничего* не было понятно ему.

Nothing was comprehensible to him.

[167] Но *ничего* не могло быть иначе.

Nothing could be otherwise.

Ничего́ is not used with unambiguous predicatives, as in [131–36] above.

5.3.8 Existential predication and the subject genitive of negation: predicates and reference

Usage can be stated as a cline (Table 5.7) ranging from genitive to nominative, with an area of variation in the middle. Two hierarchies are reflected: one based on reference of the aspectual argument (in the order from likely to use genitive

Table 5.7 *Predicate hierarchy and case under negation*

type of predicate	*ничего*	emphatic operator	essential reference	individuated reference
BE	G | *N	G | *N	G | *N	G |± N
perceptual: *ви́дно* 'be visible'	G | *N	G | *N	G | *N	G | N
weak existential: *оста́ться* 'remain', *вы́йти* 'come out'	G | *N	G | *N	G | N	?G | N
intransitive position/motion: *стоя́ть* 'stand', *пройти́* 'go through'	G | N	±G | N	?G | N	*G | N
phenomenological: *красне́ть* 'turn red', *горе́ть* 'burn'	±G | N	?G | N	?G | N	*G | N
semi-transitive: *помога́ть* 'help'	±G | N	*G | N	*G | N	*G | N
relational transitive: *интересова́ть* 'interest'	±G | N	*G | N	*G | N	*G | N
affective transitive: *наруши́ть* 'disturb'	*G | N	*G | N	*G | N	*G | N
predicative: *бы́ть секре́том* 'be a secret'	*G | N	*G | N	*G | N	*G | N

± = acceptable, not preferred
? = acceptable but restricted
* = (nearly) impossible
shading = context of variation

to avoiding genitive): *ничего́* ≥ *никого́* ≥ emphatically negated argument ≥ plural ≥ singular abstract ≥ singular inanimate count ≥ animate ≥ pronoun, and another a hierarchy of predicate semantics.

5.3.9 Existential predication and the subject genitive of negation: context
When a given combination of predicate and argument can in principle use both constructions – nominative (and agreement) or genitive (with no agreement) – the choice is determined by (or imputes) additional semantic nuances or discourse considerations. The aspectual and modal quality of the predication is relevant. Although BE itself does not distinguish aspect, BE can be used with different aspectual senses, such as momentary state, inception of a state, or endurance of a state over time.

The genitive is usual in statements about the world at a punctual time ([168]):[26]

[168] Брата_{\<GEN\>} {утром ~ в три часа} не было дома.
Brother wasn't home {in the morning ~ at three o'clock}.

---

[26] Observation of Itskovich 1974.

[169] Брат_{<NOM>} {после этой споры ∼ с прошлой весны} не был дома.
      Brother hasn't been home {since that quarrel/since last spring}.

In contrast, a durative context ([169]) is a statement about an individual, who is subject to expectations about his behavior: in [169], the person "did not come when he should have done so, or when it was natural for him to come."[27] The nominative is usual. Similarly, the speaker's presence was expected in [170]:

[170] Я_{<NOM>} не был на его похоронах.
      I did not attend his funeral.

Thus, in a negated sentence it is possible to use the nominative if the non-presence of the entity – a person was not at home, not at the funeral – is implicitly contrasted with the positive alternative – a person should have been home, might well have been at the funeral.

   Modality is relevant with weaker existential verbs.[28] In [171], with genitive, there is no evidence of anything deserving of the name sound.

[171] Звуков_{<GEN>} с улицы не доносилось.
      Sounds from the street did not carry in.
[172] Звуки_{<NOM>} с улицы не доносились сквозь двойные рамы.
      Sounds from the street did not carry through the doubled frames.

In [172], by adding the restriction *сквозь двойные рамы*, the speaker contrasts two alternative histories: sound does not carry under these conditions, but might be expected to otherwise. Example [172] is, then, about this contrast, not a simple denial of existence (as in [171]). Similarly, in [173], there is no evidence of Masha at all:

[173] Маши_{<GEN>} не видно.
      There is no sign of Masha.
[174] Маша_{<NOM>} не видна.
      Masha isn't visible.

Example [174] communicates a property of Masha: speaking of Masha, the property that characterizes her is a lack of visibility at the moment, though she could otherwise be visible. Masha is then much like the River Don in [175], which can be discussed despite its lack of visibility:

[175] Сам Дон_{<NOM>} не виден, он за полосой леса, протянувшегося по его берегу.
      The Don itself is not visible [from here, under these circumstances, but only because] it is beyond the strip of forest extending along its banks.

[27] Paducheva 1992:57.   [28] Examples from Guiraud-Weber 1984, Paducheva 1997.

Case also relates to the function of the sentence in the discourse. The genitive is appropriate when the topic is the whole world ([176]):

[176] {Их долго не было ~ ? Они долго не были}, потом совсем близко раздалось несколько выстрелов, и Кольцев вернулся, неся на плечах одного из бойцов.
There was no sign of them for a long time, then right near there rang out several shots, and Koltsev returned, carrying on his shoulders one of the soldiers.

[177] {? Его долго не было ~ Он долго не был} в России, и естественно, не знаком с нашей действительностью.
He had not been in Russia for a long time, and naturally is not familiar with our reality.

With the nominative, the world is viewed in terms of the individual. In [177], the fact that he was absent explains another fact, his lack of knowledge.

5.3.10 Existential predication and the subject genitive of negation: summary

In summary: Certain predicates discuss the presence of an entity in a domain, which can be physical space or a speaker's perceptual field. In principle such combinations can be interpreted in two different ways: as a statement about an individual or as a statement about the world and its contents. In the former case, interest is focused on the individual, who is otherwise known, and on the properties of that individual. In the latter case, the communicative force of the sentence is merely to establish or deny the presence of some entity in some domain, the entity often being understood as an essence. When such predicates of location are negated, the entity whose existence is negated appears in the genitive. The choice between an individuating and an existential interpretation and, therefore, the use of the genitive under negation, depends on (a) the semantics of the predicate; (b) the reference of the entity, whether individuated or essentialist or emphatically essentialist (*ни одного́*, *ничего́*); (c) the modal and aspectual sense of the predicate in context – consideration of alternative realities undermines the existential reading; (d) the function of the proposition in context, whether the predicate informs merely of the polarity of existence (genitive) or the location as a property of the individual (nominative).

5.3.11 *Иметь* and existential possessive constructions

The existential construction with a domain expressed by the preposition $y_{<\backslash \text{GEN}>}$ is the usual way of asserting or denying possession of concrete nouns.[29] Russian also has a transitive verb *име́ть*, used especially in idioms in which the noun is an abstract noun ([178]):

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[29] Safarewiczowa 1964, Isačenko 1974.

[178] *име́ть* {*отноше́ние* 'relation' ~ *успе́х* 'success' ~ *значе́ние* 'significance' ~
возмо́жность 'opportunity' ~ *пра́во* 'right' ~ *де́ло* 'issue' ~ *поня́тие* 'idea,
conception' ~ *влия́ние* 'influence' ~ *смысл* 'sense' ~ *ме́сто* 'place'}

The idioms can be expanded by adjectives (*иметь большой успех* 'have great
success') or conjoined (*иметь счастье и наслаждение* 'good fortune and pleasure').
Negated, *име́ть* takes the genitive: *к водке увлечения*_{<GEN>} *он не имел* 'he had
no interest in vodka'.

   Even with concrete nouns whose possession would ordinarily be expressed by
$y_{<\backslash GEN>}$, *име́ть* can be used if possession is viewed as a property of the subject.
Thus, *име́ть* is appropriate if possession is one of a series of properties of the
subject:

[179] Оставшись старой девой, тетя Надя не *имела* прямых наследников и
неожиданно для моего отца завещала свои драгоценности ему.
An old maid, Aunt Nadia did not *have* any direct descendants and unexpectedly
for him, she left her valuables to my father.

(Usually: *У нее не было наследников*.) *Име́ть* defines individuals:

[180] Многие из наших, кто *имел* в городе квартиры, перешли на работу поближе от
дома.
Many of our friends, whoever had apartments in the city, moved to work closer to
home.

(Usually: *У меня была квартира* 'I had an apartment'.) *Име́ть* must be used when
the possessor is the implicit subject of a participle or infinitive:

[181] Он упомянул моего брата – талантливого художника, к тому же *имеющего*
троих маленьких детей.
He mentioned my brother – a talented artist, who, furthermore, had three small
children.

[182] Она собиралась шить и чинить обувь на заказ, чтобы *иметь* свой заработок.
She wanted to take orders to sew and repair shoes, in order to have her own
income.

(Usually *У него было трое детей* 'He had three children'; *У нее заработок
крохотный* 'She has a modest income'.) Thus *име́ть* insists that possession is
a property of the subject.

   Име́ть has a related reflexive form *име́ться*, used as a more explicit and
bureaucratic equivalent of existential BE.

[183] На Гавриловополянском участке {имелся парторг_{<NOM>} ~ не имелось
парторга_{<GEN>}}
There {was ~ was not} a party organizer at Gavrilopoliansk.

5.3.12 *Есть* and existential possessive constructions

Russian, it is said, has no verb 'to be' in the present tense, and it is true that it does not use a conjugated verb in the present tense of either predicative or existential sentences.[30] Still, *éсть*, the etymological third-person singular present of *быть*, is sometimes used in existential and possessive sentences. *Éсть* is appropriate when the import of the utterance is whether or not any token of a type exists at all. *Éсть* is omitted when it is already presumed that something from a general type exists, and the communicative concern is with the existence of one particular variety of the type. There are recognizable contexts in which usage is predictable.

Éсть is normally omitted in the following contexts. When a sentence describes the body parts of an individual – hair, nose, legs – the body parts are assumed to exist; the sentence differentiates one subtype from others. Such descriptions lack *éсть*:

[184]   У Лиды более красивое лицо, чем у Тони.
        Lida has a prettier face than Tonya.
[185]   У него морская походка.
        He has a seaman's walk.
[186]   У него седые волосы.
        He has gray hair.

Identifying a disease or condition that afflicts the possessor presupposes that there is some sort of medical or psychological condition to begin with. *Éсть* is not used.

[187]   На следующий день врач определил, что у нее молниеносная саркома.
        The next day the doctor determined that she had acute sarcoma.
[188]   В том, что у них роман, я не сомневаюсь.
        That they have a romance going on I have no doubts.
[189]   В комнате страшный шум.
        There is a horrible din in the room.

When a noun is modified by a superlative adjective, the communicative concern is with selecting the proper individual from a set of entities, namely the individual manifesting the greatest degree of the property; the set, such as a set of rooms ([190]), is presumed to exist:

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[30] Seliverstova 1973, Isačenko 1974, Chvany 1975, Mehlig 1979 (focusing on the known-ness of the possessed entity), Paillard 1984 (28–123, focusing on cases in which the usage is the opposite of the usual), Kondrashova 1996. Except for [196], [198], [199] (from conversation), examples here are taken from Sofia Pregel′, *Moe detstvo*, vol. I (Paris: Novosel′e, 1973), a pseudo-naive memoir of childhood conveniently written in the present tense with many possessive sentences.

[190] У нее самая лучшая комната.
      She has the best room.

Quantifying the noun generally means presupposing the existence of some tokens of this type of entity, and the communicative concern is with the quantity (small, large, etc.):

[191] Я хочу заплатить за билет, у меня восемьдесят пять копеек.
      I want to pay for the ticket; I have 85 kopecks.

Mentioning a body part along with the possessor presupposes a scenario in which different objects might be located in different sub-locations at various times, hence no *éсть*:

[192] В правой руке у него букет.
      In his right hand he has a bouquet.

Descriptions of garments and outfits lack *éсть*:

[193] Валя придет на короткое время. У нее костюм подснежника из костюмерной
      мастерской, где шьют артистам.
      Valia will come for a short time. She's got a snowflake costume from the costume
      shop where they sew things for performers.

Éсть is not used in all these contexts, in which a token of a type is presupposed to exist, and the predicate asserts which subtype of entity is possessed.

In contrast, *éсть* is used when no tokens of a type are presumed to exist, and the sentence is concerned with establishing the existence of a token of a type in some domain as opposed to its possible non-existence. The fact of existence is presented as if unrestricted in time or condition. *Éсть* is common when a geographical location, with its contents, is described:

[194] На площади *есть* старые деревья.
      On the square there are old trees.

Éсть is used with adjectives and *что́-то*; the question is whether any of some abstract essence is present at all:

[195] А я нахожу, что в Лиде *есть* что-то загадочное.
      I think that in Lida there is something mysterious.

Éсть is commonly used in negotiations that verify whether something exists at all,

[196] *Л*: На дачу уезжаете сегодня?   Are you going to your dacha today?
      А: Сегодня или завтра с утра.   Today or tomorrow, sometime in
                                         the morning.
      Л: У вас участок *есть* там, да?   You have a plot there, yes?

А: *Есть* участок. Растет что-то в нем.   We have a plot. Things are growing
Мать занимается . . .   there. Mother tends it . . .
Л: Помидоры уже *есть?*   Do you have tomatoes already?

or in conditions, when the condition hinges on whether something exists,

[197] У нас в гимназии звонят родителям, если у них *есть* телефон. А если нет, . . .
At our school they telephone the parents, if they have a telephone. And if not, . . .

[198] Иногда . . . да нет, иногда можно и купить. Если что-то подходит, если *есть* деньги.
Sometimes . . . Well yes, sometimes I do buy something. If there's something suitable, if I have any money.

or in contexts in which existence is emphatically asserted:

[199] Н: Нет, у него нету машины.   No, he doesn't have a car.
И: Нюша сказала, что *есть* у них теперь   Niusha said that they now have a
машина. Бабушка отдала им старый   car. Grandma gave them an old
фольксваген.   VW.

[200] Катя купила мне Робинзона Крузо. У меня *есть* Робинзон, но я
сделала вид, что не имею ни малейшего понятия об этой книжке.
Katia bought me *Robinson Crusoe*. I already have *Robinson*, but I pretended
that I didn't have the slightest idea about this book.

Éсть is commonly used with *и* 'even', *тóлько* 'only', *всё-таки* 'even so', *ещё* 'even more', *дáже* 'even', *другóй* 'another', operators which focus on the positive polarity of possession:

[201] У нее *есть* другое шелковое платье, его она носит по субботам.
She has another silk dress, she wears it on Saturdays.

[202] У нее *есть* даже несколько белых воротничков.
She even has several white collars.

[203] У меня тоже *есть* юмор.
I also have a sense of humor.

    Although there are many contexts in which the use of *éсть* is predictable, there are others in which *éсть* may or may not be used. A familiar and straightforward contrast is:[31]

[204] У него старинная мебель.
He has antique furniture [≈ the furniture he has is antique].

[205] У него *есть* старинная мебель.
He has [at least some] antique furniture.

---

[31] Isačenko 1974:57.

Éсть is used when the context deals with the state of the world, when the speaker paints a picture in which the possession of some entity is in some relation to other states of the world – a relation of cause and effect, of principle and illustration, or of overlapping states.

[206] Библиотекарши встретили меня с восторгом. Книги мои у них *есть*, ребята читают их.
The librarians greeted me ecstatically. They have my books, children read them.

In [206], the relation is causal: the provincial library has the books, therefore children read them. In [207], having a notebook with a French title is a de rigueur consequence of taking music lessons:

[207] Но ходить на уроки полагается, и у меня, конечно, *есть* нотная папка, где по-французски написано «мюзик».
But it's expected that I go to music lessons, and of course, I have a folder for sheet music, on which is written in French, "musique."

Thus in context, *éсть* establishes the existence of something, in the face of possible non-existence, where the existence of that entity affects other states of the world. In contrast, *éсть* is omitted if the sentence is used to characterize the possessor rather than to establish the polarity of existence:

[208] Бабушка красавица, но скупая. У нее ключи от кассы.
Grandmother is a beauty, but she is stingy. She has the keys to the moneybox.

[209] У него другая специальность: он начинает декламировать очень длинные стихи, и учитель готов поставить ему любую отметку, лишь бы он замолчал.
He has another specialty: he starts declaiming a long poem, and the teacher is ready to give him any grade if only he will shut up.

Thus [208] describes the possessor (her possession of keys goes along with her other character traits), while [209] explicates where the boy's true talent lay.

5.4 Quantified (genitive) objects

5.4.1 Basics

The genitive can be used instead of the accusative for the object argument of transitive predicates under one of the following conditions: (a) individual verbs govern the genitive, now usually alongside the accusative; (b) the genitive can be used in place of the accusative in a partitive, or METRIC, meaning; and (c) the genitive is still frequently used in place of the accusative object of transitive verbs that are negated. These contexts are different enough from each other to merit separate discussion. Still, there are similarities. The genitive presents the

Table 5.8 *Semantic classes of predicates governing object genitive*

predicates	semantics
искáть 'seek, search for', *ждáть* 'await', *трébовать* 'demand', *(по)слýшаться* 'heed, listen to', *дождáться/дожидáться* 'wait for', *желáть* 'desire', *хотéть* 'want'	*potential*: contact is potential, but unrealized
достúчь/достигáть 'reach', *добúться/добивáться* 'achieve, acquire', *касáться* 'touch on'	*tenuous*: actual contact in the face of possible non-contact
боя́ться 'fear', *избежáть* 'avoid', *опасáться* 'be wary of', *берéчься* 'be wary of'	*avoidance*: possible contact is avoided

situation more as a state of the world than as a property of a specific entity. At the level of the argument, the genitive is used for nouns that are essentialist rather than individuated in reference ('this is a token of the kind of thing defined as . . .').

5.4.2 Governed genitive

The genitive has long been used for the objects of certain verbs (Table 5.8).[32] Verbs that can take the genitive at all present a scenario in which the object is *potentially* affected by the subject, but the potential effect (or the potential contact between the two entities) is less than complete: contact is only potential, not actual; or the contact is attenuated because non-contact was a real possibility; or contact is avoided.

The verbs of Table 5.8 all used to take the genitive regularly, but over the course of the twentieth century it became increasingly possible to use the accusative. Among the common verbs, the genitive is still usual with the highly modal *трébовать* (over 90%), but now infrequent with *искáть* (less than 30% genitive), with *ждáть* 'wait' intermediate. The accusative has made such progress with these verbs that *RG 1980* recognized the accusative as a stylistically neutral option in two contexts: with nouns referring to persons (in the singular of Declension$_{<II>}$ or Declension$_{<III>}$ – otherwise the animate accusative would be invoked), as in [210], and with nouns referring to known entities, as in [211]:

[210] Я пошел искать свою мать$_{<ACC>}$.
I set off to look for my mother.

[211] Ему нужна одна книга, которая у нас есть. Я пошел искать книгу$_{<ACC>}$.
He needed a certain book that we had. I went to look for the book.

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[32] Matthews 1997.

In fact, the accusative is used more broadly with *искáть* and *ждáть*. The accusative can be used for non-individuated objects if the eventual result is envisioned ([212–13]):

[212] Отец ежедневно уходил искать квартиру_{<ACC>}.
        Every day father would go out to search for an apartment.

[213] Она послала телеграмму, стала ждать ответное письмо_{<ACC>}.
        She sent a telegram and began to wait for the letter of reply.

The accusative is used for repeated activities, each of which is successful,

[214] Каждый день я отправлялся на лыжах то в одну сторону, то в другую, искал делянки_{<ACC>}, где густо росли сосны и пихты, потом вел туда лесорубов и намечал дороги для вывозки бревен.
        Every day I set out on skis in one direction or another, and located dense stands of pine and fir, then I brought the lumberjacks there and marked out roads for taking out the logs.

Or for an activity that is confined to a delimited interval of time:

[215] Обыск продолжался до рассвета. Поднимали половицы, искали оружие_{<ACC>}, читали письма, опять искали, ничего не находили.
        The search lasted until dawn. They lifted up the floorboards, they searched for guns, they read letters, they searched some more, they found nothing.

The generalization is that the accusative is used when the event is bounded.

In contrast, the genitive is used when the event is not limited. In [216], the speaker engages in the activity of waiting while, concurrently, observing another activity; [217] reports an open-ended process.

[216] Я ждал на вокзале поезда_{<GEN>} с билетом в кармане и наблюдал, как два носильщика вылавливали в толпе подозрительных и вели их за ту маленькую дверку.
        I waited at the station for a train with a ticket in my pocket and observed how two porters would pick out suspicious types from the crowd and lead them behind that small door.

[217] Он подал апелляцию в ЦКК и терпеливо ждал решения_{<GEN>} своей судьбы.
        He had put in an appeal to the Central Committee and was waiting patiently for the resolution of his fate.

In both [216–17], the object is defined in essentialist terms: 'that which would be a train', 'that which would be the resolution of his fate'. This context – open-ended activity, essentialist reference of the argument – is the last refuge of the governed genitive.

Unpaired reflexive verbs (*боя́ться* 'fear', etc.) still take the genitive, but have begun to allow the accusative in the colloquial register with objects naming unique individuals:[33]

[218] Тараканы не боялись дядю Васю$_{<ACC>}$.
       The roaches did not fear Uncle Vasia.

5.4.3 Partitive and metric genitive

The genitive case can be used for the object in what is often termed a PARTITIVE sense. The partitive sense presupposes a mass that is homogeneous (any portion is equivalent to any other), the total quantity of which is open-ended (there is always more where that came from). In the partitive usage, this formless mass is given shape: as a result of a bounded event, an unspecified but delimited quantity is created. In [219],

[219] – Постой, соуса$_{<GEN>}$ возьми, – сказал он, удерживая руку Левина, который
       отталкивал от себя соус$_{<ACC>}$.
            Левин покорно положил себе соуса$_{<GEN>}$, но не дал есть Степану Аркадьичу.
       – Hold on, take some sauce, – he said, restraining Levin's hand, who had been
       pushing the sauce away.
            Levin obediently took some sauce, but wouldn't let Stepan Arkadich eat.

Levin responds to a request to create some delimited quantity of sauce (twice genitive), but manipulates the whole quantity of sauce (accusative).

The possibility of using a partitive genitive depends on the noun, on the verb, and on the context. The partitive genitive is most likely with nouns that refer to undifferentiated masses, especially comestibles. It is less frequent, but possible, with plural nouns ([220]).

[220] Он купил папирос$_{<GEN>}$ и пошел назад к мосткам.
       He bought cigarettes and went back to the platform.

The partitive is most natural with those predicates that report a situation in which the act itself creates a quantity, as happens with interpersonal, domestic acts of transfer (purchasing, serving, or giving), consumption, or accumulation (Table 5.9).

Using the genitive in its partitive sense depends in part on the aspectual-modal quality of the situation. Because the quantity is created by the event, the partitive sense is most natural in contexts in which completion of an action has occurred or is anticipated – a perfective imperative (recall [219]), a past perfective ([221]), or a purpose clause or infinitive ([222]):

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[33] Butorin 1966.

Table 5.9 *Predicates taking partitive and metric genitive*

verbs of	examples	typical objects
TRANSFER: quantity defined by moving some quantity away from source location to new location	*дáть/давáть* 'give', *купи́ть/покупáть* 'buy', *прислáть/присылáть* 'send', *взя́ть/брáть* 'take' [rare], *заня́ть/занимáть* 'borrow' [rare]	domestic products, money
CONSUMPTION: quantity defined by act of consumption	*съéсть/съедáть* 'eat up', *глотну́ть/глотáть* 'swallow', *вы́пить/выпивáть* 'drink up'	liquids, foodstuffs
ACCUMULATION: quantity defined by act of accumulation, especially increase over prior amount	*набрáть/набирáть* 'gather', *нали́ть/наливáть* 'pour', *прибáвить/прибавля́ть* 'add to', *добáвить/добавля́ть* 'add'	liquids; particulate mass; abstracts (in idioms)

[221] Грешница, я дала_{<PF PST>} ей свое пальто и денег_{<GEN>} на дорогу до Москвы, куда она поехала хлопотать о восстановлении.
Sinner that I am, I gave her my coat and money for the trip to Moscow, where she was going to see about her rehabilitation.

[222] Ни одного дня не провел он в праздности, совсем забыл музыку, рассылая по всем губерниям письма с просьбой прислать_{<PF INF>} семян_{<GEN>} и саженцев_{<GEN>}, еще камня_{<GEN>}, еще лесу_{<GEN2>}, ругаясь с подрядчиком.
He didn't spend a single day in idleness, completely forgot music, sending out letters to every province asking them to send additional seeds and seedlings, stone, and lumber, cursing at the contractor.

The genitive is not used as partitive for imperfective actions in progress, as in *она как раз наливала мне* {*чай*_{<ACC>} /**чая*_{<GEN>}} 'she was just pouring out some tea', inasmuch as the quantity becomes defined only as a result of a finished action.[34] The partitive is not used with imperfectives reporting generalized activities:

[223] Музей стал создаваться лет тринадцать назад, когда туризм начал давать деньги_{<ACC>}.
The museum was founded about thirteen years ago, when tourism began to produce money.

The partitive genitive can be used with imperfectives that report a series of separate events, each of which is completed; in [224], he was given a quantity of money on each visit:

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[34] Russell 1986.

[224] Поездки эти я очень любил, в гостях меня угощали, а кроме того, бабушка
давала_{<IF PST>} мне денег_{<GEN>}, чтобы я купил у трамвайной кондукторши
билеты.

I loved those trips, as a guest I got treats, and furthermore, grandma used to give
me money so that I could buy tickets from the tram conductor.

Declension_{<I>} has an alternate ending in the genitive singular, {-u} instead of
{-a}. This "second genitive" (GEN2) is most usual in the partitive function (§5.5).

Archaically in folk texts, the partitive genitive could be used if the time was
understood as partitive – as a delimited quantity – even if the object itself was
a concrete object:[35]

[225] Дай мне твоего ножа!

Give me your knife [for a moment]!

Related to the partitive genitive is what might be termed the M E T R I C genitive,
the use of the genitive for the object of verbs that measure the quantity of
the affected entity against some implicit standard of sufficiency. The prefix *на-*
derives verbs that do this. They normally govern the genitive ([226]), except when
the object is headed by a quantifier or a noun that itself is a measure ([227]):

[226] Я наделал глупостей_{<GEN>}.

I did a lot of stupid things.

[227] Я наделал {много_{<ACC>} (*многих_{<GEN>}) ∼ кучу_{<ACC>} (*кучи_{<GEN>})} глупостей.

I did {many ∼ a pile of} dumb things.

5.4.4 Object genitive of negation

Objects of negated transitive verbs regularly appear in the genitive, although the
accusative is not infrequent.[36] In memoiristic prose written by mature writers
in the 1960s through the 1990s, the genitive was used in about two-thirds to
three-quarters of all instances.

Among the various factors or contexts, one can distinguish (a) those relating to
the force of negation; (b) the temporal-aspectual-modal qualities of the predicate
in context; and (c) properties of the argument itself.

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[35] Jakobson 1936/1971[b]:n. 6.

[36] Timberlake 1975 lists factors that favor or retard the use of the genitive of negation. Following the
statistical work of Mustajoki 1985, Ueda 1992 documents a dozen factors that have statistically
meaningful effects (individuation, aspectuality-modality, etc.). Some factors mentioned earlier in
the literature are apparently illusory: imperatives; exclamatives; word order in which the object
precedes the verb. Percentages here are taken from Ueda 1992, the conceptual framework from
Ueda 1993. Certainly the object genitive of negation must be related to the subject genitive
of negation (Babby 2001); the genitive of negation, and more broadly, the use of the genitive
with quantifying predicates applies to the aspectual argument. Though the subject and object
phenomena are related, each "rule" has its own characteristics and requires its own description.

Force of negation: The genitive is used with a negated verb only if the force of negation extends over the predicate and its object. The accusative is used if any of the following hold. The specific predicate is conjoined or contrasted with another predicate:

[228]   Создают форму социализма, когда не наказывали, а поощряли
инициативу_{<ACC>}.
A form of socialism is being created, when initiative was not punished, but encouraged.

[229]   Я искала и не находила его «Опавшие листья»_{<ACC>}.
I looked for but did not find his "Fallen Leaves."

Or the negation is applied to the object, which is contrasted with another object:

[230]   Немцы не такие города_{<ACC>} берут.
It is not such cities that the Germans capture.

The negative particle with the verb applies to some of the entities in the class but not all. In [231], it is specifically the serious decisions that were not changed, leaving open the possibility that the less weighty decisions might be changed:

[231]   Свои серьезные решения_{<ACC>} он никогда не менял.
His serious decisions he never changed.

Negation is weakened in phrases such as *чу́ть не* 'almost', *пока́ не* 'only for so long as', *едва́ не* 'almost', which presuppose that the event might occur (three-quarters accusative):

[232]   В Хахалах я чуть не купил лодку_{<ACC>}, задумал в одиночку за двое суток
спуститься по Керженцу до самой Волги.
In the village of Khakhaly, I almost bought a boat; I had thought I might take a two-day trip by myself down the Kerzhenets to the Volga itself.

Negative questions, which open up the possibility that the positive state of affairs holds, prefer the accusative ([233]); rhetorical questions are especially likely to use the accusative ([234]):

[233]   Ты не знаешь эту семейку_{<ACC>}?
You don't know that family?

[234]   Джек Потрошитель! Кто не помнит это страшное имя_{<ACC>}!
Jack the Ripper! Who does not remember that horrible name!

Thus, any semantic operation that undermines the force of negation elicits the accusative. At the opposite extreme is emphatic negation with *ни*. Emphatic negation in effect says to the addressee, even though you might think that the polarity would be positive for at least some element in this class, in fact for

every one you imagine, the polarity of the predicate is still negative. With *ни*, the genitive is used almost exclusively (95%). *Ни* is so strong that it even imposes the genitive on nouns referring to unique animates ([235]).

[235] Во все те зимние дни я не помню ни папы$_{<GEN>}$, ни Лёры$_{<GEN>}$.
      Throughout all those winter days I remember neither Papa nor Laura.

Predicate aspectuality-modality: The accusative tends to be used when, in context, the positive version of a given situation is expected.[37] In [236], the speaker admits to the absence of a memory that she should have, given that her sister does recall it.

[236] Жалею, что не помню упомянутый Мариной поднос$_{<ACC>}$, нами преподнесенный папе.
      I regret that I can't recall the tray which we had presented to Papa that Marina mentioned.

Counterfactual constructions undermine the force of negation by juxtaposing two worlds in which the predicate history has the opposite polarity. The accusative is used regularly in counterfactuals (65% of the time, as opposed to 34% among other constructions).

[237] Он стал бы замечательным актером, если бы не предпочел профессию$_{<ACC>}$ юриста.
      He could have become a remarkable actor, had he not preferred the legal profession.

Thus when the alternative, positive state of affairs is in view, the accusative is likely to be used. In contrast, the genitive is used when alternatives are precluded. Participles presuppose the truth of the situation they report, without opening the door to alternatives. Negated, they often use the genitive:

[238] Не играя этой роли$_{<GEN>}$ более 12 лет, Елена Митрофановна согласилась сыграть спектакль «Волки и овцы».
      Not having played the role for more than 12 years, Elena Mitrofanovna nevertheless agreed to do the play "Wolves and Sheep."

Aspect exercises at least a statistical influence on the choice of case. Perfective aspect of the verb encourages the use of the accusative (43% accusative with perfectives vs. 29% accusative with imperfectives). With a perfective, the accusative focuses on the failure of the event at the past time when the event *might have been expected* to occur:

[37] Keil 1970.

[239] Торопясь, я не сняла грим$_{<ACC>}$ и не переоделась.
       Because I was in a hurry, I did not remove my makeup and did not change clothes.

The genitive, when it is used with a perfective verb, focuses on the continuing negative existence that results from a failed event.

[240] Только тут Маша вспомнила, что она не сняла плаща$_{<GEN>}$ и берета$_{<GEN>}$.
       It was only then that Masha recalled that she had not removed her coat and beret.

Individuating vs. existential predicates: Although the distinction between existential and individuating predicates is most evident with BE and intransitive predicates, there is a comparable distinction among transitives. The extreme cases are the following. *Имéть* is a transitive existential, and it usually interprets its object, often idiomatic abstract nouns like {*прáва ∼ дéла ∼ отношéния*}, as essential in reference – in [241], 'that which would qualify as a token of navy-jacket-ness':

[241] Я не имел матроски$_{<GEN>}$.
       I did not have a navy jacket.

Negated, *имéть* takes the genitive almost obligatorily, over 95 percent of the time. Predicates that report perception or cognition (*вúдеть* 'see', *знáть* 'know') are weakly existential, in that they report the presence of something in a person's cognitive space. They are more likely to use the genitive than other verbs (85% genitive, as opposed to 60% with other verbs).

At the opposite extreme, predicates like *считáть когó-либо кéм* 'consider someone as someone (something)', *назвáть/называ́ть* 'call', *назна́чить/назнача́ть* 'appoint, designate' are in effect transitive copular predicates. Like other predicatives, they presume the existence and individuation of the entity. If negated, they use the accusative.

[242] Теперь мы уже больше не считаем наши просторы$_{<ACC>}$ бесконечными, а наши богатства неисчерпаемыми.
       Now we no longer consider our expanses endless, or our riches inexhaustible.

These verbs do use the genitive in senses other than the predicative: *если не считать единственного образца*$_{<GEN>}$ *стекла* 'if one does not count the lone example of this glass'.

Argument individuation: Arguments that are individuated in reference are more likely to occur in the accusative, while arguments with essential reference prefer the genitive. At this point it will be useful to refer to a small sample of fifty-one examples of the context *не пóмню* 'I don't recall' in one memoir

Table 5.10 *Genitive of negation/не помню*

	ACC	GEN	% GEN
animate (proper), without *ни*	3	2	40
singular concrete	5	12	71
singular abstract	0	7	100
plural	0	11	100
ни	0	11	100
total	8	43	84

(Table 5.10). Since the verb – a transitive existential – is held constant, case depends primarily on the referential properties of the argument.[38]

Proper nouns and common nouns referring to unique animate beings are likely to use the accusative (around 90%, as opposed to 30% for common inanimate). In the sample corpus, three of five tokens of animate objects (without *ни*) are accusative:

[243] В эти дни я совсем не помню Андрюшу_{<ACC>}.
   I have no memory of Andriusha at all during those days.

The two tokens with genitive have essential reference – in [244], 'no memory of a person fitting the description of a teacher'.

[244] Я училась дома. По школьным предметам не помню учительницы_{<GEN>}.
   I studied at home. For academic subjects I don't remember having any teacher.

At the opposite extreme, abstract nouns and event nouns are very likely to use the genitive, as are plural nouns (in this sample, exclusively):

[245] И никто, кроме меня, ее полублизнеца, не помнит тех лет_{<GEN>} ее жизни.
   No one, except me, her near twin, remembers those years of her life.

The one context of variation in this sample (Table 5.10) is singular concrete inanimate common nouns. The genitive is used when there is no memory of singular entities that have essential reference – in [246], there is no memory of whatever the color of the binding was:

[246] Цвета_{<GEN>} моей обложки не помню, было издано их разных цветов – малиновых, синих, зеленых.
   The color of the binding I don't remember, it was published in various colors – raspberry, blue, green.

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[38] A. Tsvetaeva, *Vospominaniia* (Moscow, 1971).

The genitive is more usual, but the accusative is possible if there is partial memory. Example [247] contrasts the one fact the speaker fails to recall (the name) with the positive memory of other facts about the individual (background, interests).

[247] В одном из антикварных магазинов Москвы великий князь, – его имя$_{<ACC>}$ не помню, – знаток гравюр, он искал там чего-нибудь для своей коллекции – рассмотрел недоуничтоженные признаки принадлежности гравюр Румянцевскому музею.

In one of the antique stores in Moscow a grand prince (his name I don't remember – he was a connoisseur of engravings, he was looking for something for his collection) – discovered the still not completely obliterated traces of the fact that the engravings had belonged to the Rumiantsevsky Museum.

5.4.5 Genitive objects: summary

Negation always allows the possibility that the alternative possible state of affairs could be envisaged, but the alternative can be more or less prominent. When a transitive verb is negated, the genitive is appropriate to the extent that the import is to negate the whole event unconditionally. For this reason, the genitive is appropriate when the opposite polarity of the predicate is irrelevant or precluded. Emphatic negation entertains but dismisses alternative states of affairs; in gerunds and participles, the currently reported property is presupposed, positive alternatives being deemed irrelevant. At the level of argument reference, the genitive is appropriate when the object has essential reference – when it cannot be defined independently of the currently reported property, as is the case with abstract and plural nouns, and all there is to say about the object is that something fitting the definition of being a such and such does not participate in the event.

The accusative is appropriate with negated transitive verbs to the extent that the opposite, positive, polarity of the predicate is entertained or implicitly asserted, as it is with certain phrases (*чу́ть не*) or with modalities in which the opposite polarity is kept in view (in questions, counterfactuals, expectations in context). When the current negated situation is not the only situation that might be reported of the world, the communicative focus goes to the contrast of polarities, and the negation of the event (and the failure of the object's participation) are no longer unconditional. At the level of the argument, the accusative is appropriate to the extent that the reference of the argument is individuated. When the object is individuated, it is relevant to the text in ways that go beyond the current negative proposition, and the negative situation being reported can be viewed as a property of the individual named by the object, rather than as a property of the verb and object as a whole. For this reason, proper names and

nouns referring to animates are generally accusative. In the most general terms, the accusative is appropriate to the extent that the negated situation is only one among many things that might be said about the object entity.

5.5 Secondary genitives and secondary locatives

5.5.1 Basics

For most nouns of Declension$_{<IA>}$ the genitive ends in {-a}. In addition to this "primary" genitive (or GEN1), certain nouns have the possibility of using a "secondary" genitive (or GEN2) that ends in {-u}.[39] Also, certain nouns of Declension$_{<IA>}$ use a secondary locative form (LOC2) ending in stressed {-ú} instead of the expected locative form {-e} (LOC1). For some nouns of Declension$_{<IIIA>}$ there is variation in the place of the stress in the locative case form. For the nouns that have the variation, the unstressed {-i} is used in the same contexts as the primary locative LOC1 of Declension$_{<IA>}$, while the ending with the vowel stressed {-í} is used in contexts analogous to those in which the LOC2 in {-ú} is used.

The uses to which the secondary case forms are put are among the regular functions of the genitive and locative cases: the secondary cases are indeed genitives and locatives. Both secondary case forms are restricted to a small number of lexical items. For some lexical items, these secondary forms are quite stable, for others less so. Over time, the secondary cases are gradually becoming more restricted.

5.5.2 Secondary genitive

Gen2 is used most freely with mass nouns designating solids or fluids, portions of which can be detached and manipulated – measured, purchased, consumed. It is used with appreciable frequency only with approximately a half-dozen such nouns, with less frequency with another dozen. Diminutives retain GEN2 well. With other nouns, GEN2 is residual.

[248] *Nouns in Declension$_{<IA>}$ using* GEN2
SUBSTANCES AND FLUIDS [more frequently]: *ча́й* 'tea', *са́хар* 'sugar' , *сы́р* 'cheese', *су́п* 'soup', *мёд* 'honey', *таба́к* 'tobacco', *ква́с* 'kvass'[40]

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[39] Overview and statistical information in Krysin 1974:165–73, 246–49 (GEN2), 174–79, 250–51 (LOC2).

[40] In the study of Krysin (1974:169), the commonplace comestibles *са́хар* and *ча́й* ranked lower than half a dozen other nouns: *ква́с* (75%), *творо́г* (59%), *таба́к* (51%), *ла́к* (50%), *сы́р* (49%), *во́ск* (48%), and only then *са́хар* (44%), *ча́й* (42%). The low rank reflects how the questionnaire was constructed. The first six were used only with the verb *купи́ть*, the most favorable context for GEN2. *Са́хар* and *ча́й* were tested in other contexts, some of which discourage GEN2 (*выпить стакан крепкого чаю*$_{<GEN2>}$ 'drink a glass of strong tea' – unfavorable; *промышленность выпустила больше сахару*$_{<GEN2>}$ 'industry produced more sugar' – very unlikely). In a contemporary search on the

SUBSTANCES AND FLUIDS [less frequently]: *во́ск* 'wax', *кипято́к* 'boiling water', *конья́к* 'cognac', *ко́рм* 'food, fodder', *шёлк* 'silk', *у́ксус* 'vinegar', *пе́рец* 'pepper', *поро́х* 'powder', *дёготь (дёгтю)* 'pitch, tar', *ла́к* 'lacquer', *кероси́н* 'kerosene', *творо́г* 'cheese'

DIMINUTIVES OF MASS NOUNS [frequent]: *медо́к* 'honey', *квасо́к* 'kvass'

ETHERS [unusual]: *во́здух* 'air', *просто́р* 'space'

EVENTS [residual]: *сме́х* 'laughter', *вздо́р* 'nonsense', *шу́м* 'noise', *стра́х* 'fear, terror'

Gen2 is occasionally used with borrowings ([249], on Washoe's sign language):

[249]   *Знак*: Пить | *Sign*: Drink
Описание: Рука сжата в кулак, большой палец касается рта. | *Description:* Hand balled into a fist, forefinger touching the mouth
Контекст: Просит воды, лекарства, лимонаду_{<GEN2>}. Прося лимонаду_{<GEN2>}, часто комбинирует со знаком «сладкий». | *Context:* Asks for water, medicine, lemonade. Asking for lemonade, often combines with the sign for "sweet".

The extension to borrowings such as *шокола́д* 'chocolate', *джéм* 'jam', or *лимона́д* 'lemonade' suggests that GEN2 has been mildly productive, but overall, its use is being curtailed. Very recent borrowings such as *йогу́рт* 'yogurt' are unlikely to develop GEN2.

The possible contexts in which GEN2 appears are these: (a) in the partitive sense of the genitive, with verbs reporting transfer (*купи́ть* 'buy', *предложи́ть* 'to offer') or consumption (*вы́пить* 'drink down', *съе́сть* 'eat up'); (b) with negation, often emphatic, especially negation of the same verbs that could elicit GEN2 in its partitive sense; (c) with approximate quantifiers and quantifying predicates (*сто́лько* 'so much', *хвата́ет* 'suffices'); (d) domestic measures of quantity (*сахару*_{<GEN2>} *клюнут самую крошечку* 'of sugar they put in a small pinch'; *дала ей кусок пирога и чашку чаю*_{<GEN2>} 'she gave her a piece of pie and a cup of tea'; *поллитровая банка меду*_{<GEN2>} 'a half-liter tub of honey'; *белый ломтик сыру*_{<GEN2>} 'a white chunk of cheese'; exceptionally *привез целый чемодан отборного, душистого и крепчайшего табаку*_{<GEN2>} 'I brought a whole suitcase's worth of select, pungent, dark tobacco'); (e) with specific quantifiers (*пять килограмм табаку*_{<GEN2>}); and (f) residually, as idioms with prepositions (*со страху*_{<GEN2>} 'from fear', stylistically marked, *без сахару*_{<GEN2>} 'without a dose of sugar', and certain fixed phrases, *и́з дому*_{<GEN2>} 'away from home' vs. *из до́ма*_{<GEN1>} 'from out of the building of the house'. Descriptive modifiers reduce the likelihood of using GEN2: *вы́пил чаю*_{<GEN2>} is nearly universal (97%) while *вы́пил крепкого чаю*_{<GEN2>} is not

web (<02.XI.02>) of collocations with the infinitive *купить*, *чаю* and *табаку* scored well over 50 percent; *сахару* and *сыр* were around 50 percent; other nouns occurred too infrequently to allow even impressionistic judgments about frequency.

(55%).[41] Contexts that are then excluded from using GEN2 are prepositions (except some residual idioms), transitive verbs other than verbs reporting transfer or consumption when they take the genitive under negation, and adnominal genitives: *пятна чая*_{<GEN1>} 'spots of tea', *беседа за питьем чая*_{<GEN1>} 'a conversation while drinking tea', *уютный запах табака*_{<GEN1>} 'the pleasant aroma of tobacco'.

It is often said that GEN2 can always be replaced by GEN1, and in a sense that is true. GEN2 forms are above all genitive; these contexts are all contexts in which GEN1 can be used. Yet when GEN2 is possible, it contributes an extra nuance. GEN2 is most natural in contexts in which the predicate detaches and defines a recognizable quantum of the mass; the event creates a dose, a portion – with the intention or result that the dose of the mass can be manipulated in a conventional, domestic way. For this reason, GEN2 is most frequent in collocations such as *попи́ть ча́ю*_{<GEN2>}, understood as a ritualized event:

[250] Хорошо переодеться в сухое, позавтракать, попить чаю_{<GEN2>}, отдохнуть.
It would be good to change into dry clothes, have breakfast, drink some tea, relax.

In [251], the purchase defines the portion and its function (to be eaten):

[251] Захотелось есть, и он купил супу_{<GEN2>} и пристроился рядом с двумя красавицами.
He wanted to eat, and so he bought some soup and set himself up next to two beauties.

GEN1 is used for the partitive sense if the idea of conventional portion is lacking, as in [252], where the mushroom-gatherer imagines buying types of things, not doses:

[252] Она придет первой в лес, наберет полную корзину самых лучших грибов, продаст их на рынке, купит белого хлеба_{<GEN1>} и сахара_{<GEN1>}.
She'll be the first in the forest, she'll collect a full basket of the best mushrooms, sell them at the market, and buy some white bread and sugar.

With negation, GEN2 is used when the corresponding positive sentence would otherwise use GEN2: *выпили чаю* 'they drank some tea, engaged in the ritual of tea-drinking', *не выпили чаю* 'they did not have a chance to engage in the ritual of tea-drinking'. With *не́т*, GEN1 denies the universal availability of sugar ([253]), while GEN2 denies the existence of the requisite dose of sugar ([254]):

[253] Не было сахара_{<GEN1>}, и с трудом, за большие деньги доставалась соль.
There was no sugar, and it was only with difficulty, for a lot of money, that salt could be acquired.

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[41] Whole web, <02.XI.02>.

[254] Она мне предложила чай, но извинилась, что у нее нет сахару_{<GEN2>} и хлеб
черствый.
She offered me tea, but apologized that she did not have sugar and the bread was
stale.

With quantifiers and quantifying predicates, GEN2 is used again for actions
that create conventional portions or conventional events: *напиться вечером*
*горячего чаю*_{<GEN2>} 'drink all one wants of hot tea in the evening'; *налила ему*
*чаю*_{<GEN2>} 'she poured him (a portion of, a cup of) tea', or doses of domestic
comestibles:

[255] Хлеба – кусочек, а сахару_{<GEN2>} совсем немножко, с чайную ложечку.
Of bread, there was a small piece, and of sugar, very little, about a teaspoon's
worth.

Наро́д 'people, folk', unusual as a mass noun in that it refers to animate
beings, is widely used as GEN2 – with an explicit quantifier ([256]) or even as
subject genitive ([257]):

[256] Много народу_{<GEN2>} провожало молодых.
Many people accompanied the young people.
[257] На десять лет народу_{<GEN2>} хватит.
There are enough people for ten years.

To review: GEN2 is most natural in events that report that a quantity of the
mass is detached and manipulated in a conventional, even specifically a domes-
tic, fashion.

5.5.3 Secondary locative

Loc2 in stressed {-ú} is used only with the two locative prepositions *в* and *на*,
but not with *о*, *по*, *при*, prepositions that govern the locative case but whose
meaning is less spatial. Less than two dozen nouns in Declension_{<IA>} use LOC2
([258]):

[258] *Nouns in Declension*_{<IA>} *using* LOC2
ве́тер 'wind', *грунт* 'soil', *ду́б* 'oak', *зу́б* 'tooth', *крю́к* 'hook', *ле́с* 'forest', *мёд*
'honey', *мо́х* 'moss', *мы́с* 'cape', *о́тпуск* 'leave', *пи́р* 'feast', *сне́г* 'snow', *со́к* 'juice',
сто́г 'haystack', *хле́в* 'livestock shed', *хо́лод* 'cold', *це́х* 'workshop', *ча́н* 'vat', *ча́й* 'tea'

The nouns listed in [258] use LOC2 with different frequency. In the sociolin-
guistic survey conducted in the 1960s (Krysin 1974), the use of LOC2 in *в снегу́*
'in the snow' remained constant at 97 percent for speakers from the oldest
cohort to the youngest. For other nouns, the percentage of speakers who used

Table 5.11 *Usage of* LOC2

noun	oldest cohort[α] (%)	youngest cohort[α] (%)	tokens {-u}[β]	total LOC SG[β]	percentage {-u}[β]
в снегу	97	97	1050	1053	100
в цеху	41	37	91	321	28
в меду	35	22	47	68	69
в отпуску	25	17	68	658	10

α = Krysin 1974
β = http://www.lib.ru <04.VI.02>

LOC2 declined slightly from the oldest to the youngest cohort (Table 5.11). The frequency of usage was checked on a website with extensive contemporary Russian texts (www.lib.ru) for four nouns (Table 5.11). The frequencies of usage are comparable to the figures recorded a quarter of a century ago, except with the idiom *в меду́*.

With *снёг*, LOC2 is used almost exclusively. It specifies the kind of medium or location in which a state or activity is situated ([259–60]):[42]

[259] Он с трудом брел в снегу$_{<LOC2>}$ часа два.
　　　He wandered through the snow with difficulty for two hours.
[260] И ему почему-то тяжелее было представить себе тех трех человек, которые
　　　лежали на снегу$_{<LOC2>}$.
　　　It was for some reason more difficult to imagine those three people lying on the
　　　snow.

At the opposite extreme, with *о́тпуск*, LOC1 is now almost universal; it describes an official status ([261]). Loc2, when it is used, is an informal, less bureaucratic variant ([262]).

[261] Положение у нее было трудным. Мать с отцом в отпуске$_{<LOC1>}$, бабушка еле
　　　ходит . . .
　　　She has a difficult situation. Mother and father are on leave, grandma can hardly
　　　walk . . .
[262] – Садись и отдыхай – Ты ведь в отпуску$_{<LOC2>}$.
　　　– Sit down and rest – after all you're on leave.

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[42] Loc1 can be used with *снёг* if the noun is understood as an abstract repository of various properties manipulated by mental processes, as in Jakobson's (1936/1971[b]) constructed example, *Живописности в снеге нет* 'there is nothing picturesque in snow'.

With *край*, loc2 has become idiomatic; it is basically restricted to unique locations that have characteristic properties – familiarity ([263]), remoteness ([264]), or extremeness ([265]):

[263] в нашем краю_{<loc2>}   in our region
[264] в самом далеком краю_{<loc2>}   in the most remote region
[265] в таежном краю_{<loc2>}   the taiga region

In contrast, loc1 is used, for example, to differentiate one region from another (*в Краснодарском крае*_{<loc2>} 'in the Krasnodar region'). In a similar fashion, *в мозгу́*_{<loc2>} 'in the brain' is used for the brain as seat of consciousness, *в мо́зге*_{<loc1>} for the physiological organ. *В кругу́*_{<loc2>} 'in the circle' means a context for something (*в кругу*_{<loc2>} *его интересов* 'in the confines of his interests'), especially a social context (*в семейном кругу*_{<loc2>} 'in a family environment', *в кругу*_{<loc2>} *танцующих* 'among those who were dancing'). *В кру́ге*_{<loc1>} describes the geometric figure (*с нарастающей скоростью вращается в круге*_{<loc1>} 'he spins in a circle with ever increasing speed'). In these three instances, the difference is very much lexical; *краю́* and *кругу́* evoke different senses of the nouns from *кра́е* and *кру́ге*.

Цех 'shop' is one of the few nouns which has real variation in usage. Loc2 *в цеху́*, less bureaucratic than loc1, presumes that the properties of this locus are known and serves as a background for other events ([266]):

[266] Прошло немного времени, и Оля вдруг почувствовала, что беременна <. . .> В цеху_{<loc2>} женщины сразу поняли в чем дело.
A little time passed, and Olia suddenly became aware that she was pregnant <. . .> In the shop the women understood right away what was up.

(Understood in generic terms, as a type of livelihood, *в цеху́*_{<loc2>} can also characterize a person: *жизнь в цеху прошла* 'she had passed her life in the shop'.)

[267] Все они работали в экспериментальном цехе_{<loc1>}, где строились модели.
They all worked in an experimental shop where models were built.

*В це́хе*_{<loc1>} is used as focal information, for example, to differentiate workshops ([267]).

For nouns of Declension_{<IIIA>}, the difference between loc1 and loc2 is one of stress: loc1 *о кро́ви* but loc2 *в крови́*. Stress on the ending in the locative case has begun to yield to stress on the stem, to judge by warnings in manuals of usage. As the stress changes, the stressed and unstressed variants can acquire different senses analogous to the senses of *в кругу́* vs. *в кру́ге*, etc. As shown in

Table 5.12 *Loc2 in Declension*<IIIA>

	bare noun and preposition	novel collocation	comment
(a)	*в глубú* 'at a depth', *в далú* 'at a distance', *в кровú* 'in the blood', *в грязú* 'in filth', *в сенú* 'in the shade', *на цепú* 'on a chain', *на осú* 'on the axis', *в ночú* 'in the night'	*в необыкновéнной далú* 'at an unusual distance'	consistent end stress, all contexts
(b)	*в/на печú* 'in/on a stove', *в тенú* 'in the shade'	*в дóменной пéчú* 'in a blast furnace'; *в электропéчи* 'in an electric oven', *в полутéнú* 'in half-shade'	end stress in bare noun, some variation in novel collocations
	в степú 'in the steppe'∼ не *в стéпи* [3 sources]	*в раскúнувшейся стéпú* 'in the flung-out steppe'	
	в связú 'in connection' [5 sources] ∼ *в свя́зú* [1 source]	*в неразры́вной свя́зи* 'in unbroken contact' [2 sources]	
(c)	*в сетú* 'in the network' [1 source] ∼ *в сéтú* [3 sources] ∼ *в сéти* [1 source]	*в англоязы́чной сéтú* 'on the English-language net'	stem stress common in novel collocations, occasional in bare noun [substandard]
	в щелú 'in the slit' [4 sources]∼ *в щéлú* [2 sources]		
(d)	[only] *áнгел во плотú* 'angel in the flesh' ∼ [usual] *в плóти* 'in the flesh'	*в человéческой плóти* 'in human form'	end stress only in idioms

сéтú, etc. = variation in the position of stress

Table 5.12,[43] there is a gradation of possibilities: nouns that still have the end stress of LOC2 consistently; nouns that have LOC2 without modifier but occasional variation in novel collocations with modifiers; then nouns with variation between LOC1 and LOC2 in novel collocations, sometimes even in phrases with no modifiers; and nouns that have generalized LOC1 (stem stress) except in fixed phrases. Over the very long term, the use of LOC2 is on the decline, but each noun has its own preferences. Among nouns of Declension<IA>, LOC2 is still close to automatic with *снéг* and *лéс*, but is little used now with most of the other nouns listed in [258]. LOC2 is also on the wane among nouns of Declension<IIIA>. When both variants are possible, LOC1 is used for novel combinations that define a new individual on the spot, while LOC2 presumes that the entity and its properties are familiar.

[43] Sources: Rozental′ and Telenkova 1976, Ageenko and Zarva 1967, Gorbachevich 1973, Avanesov and Ozhegov 1959, Ozhegov 1989, Zalizniak 1977[a].

5.6 Instrumental case

5.6.1 Basics
The instrumental is the one case other than the genitive that is used in a wide range of contexts. Though heterogeneous, these contexts have some similarities and connections.[44]

5.6.2 Modal instrumentals
Closest to the use of the instrumental for predicatives (§5.2) is the use of the instrumental to state a simile, *выть волком* 'howl like a wolf' or to name a function of an individual, *работать инженером* 'work as an engineer'. In both uses, the construction identifies the subject entity as being like unto a certain type ('wolf', 'engineer') in some respect, but stops short of saying that it is to be identified completely as belonging to that type.

Certain idiomatic phrases with the instrumental case describe the medium of an event – the location ([268]) or time ([269–70]).

[268] Дорога шла то лесом_{<INS>}, то полями_{<INS>}, через деревни и села.
The road went through the forest, over fields, through villages and settlements.

[269] Поехали продотрядовцы куда-то в уезд доставать хлеб, и их спящих ночью_{<INS>} убили.
The provision brigades went off into the hinterlands to get grain, and then they were killed at night as they slept.

[270] А в Великий четверг после службы двенадцати евангелий звездной ночью_{<INS>} мы несли зажженные свечи.
And on Maundy Thursday after the service of the Twelve Gospels we carried lit candles through the starry night.

The instrumentals identify a type of medium in which a certain activity is appropriate – a type of road in [268], a type of time (nighttime, with overtones of mystery in [269–70]).[45]

5.6.3 Aspectual instrumentals
A characteristic feature of Russian is the use of the instrumental with predicates that describe activities in which a human agent moves a body part of the subject or an immediate extension of the body: *махнуть {рукой ~ тряпкой}* 'wave {with the hand ~ a rag}', *трясти {головой ~ рукой ~ пистолетом}* 'shake with

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[44] The contexts discriminated by Jakobson 1936/1971[b], 1958/1971[b] have been decomposed into syntactic structures by Worth 1958, restated by Wierzbicka 1980, and translated into cognitive grammar by Janda 1993.

[45] Giusti Fici 1989:64: the instrumental "est fonctionnel par rapport au mouvement de passage en soi, et [. . .] il sert à le caractériser."

{the head ∼ hand ∼ a pistol}'. The body part is synecdochic to the aspectuality (change) of the predicate. When the mobile entity is a separate, external entity, rather than a body part or an extension of a body part, these predicates are transitive and use the accusative for the mobile entity:

[271] Одни целовали ее, другие молча трясли руку_{ACC}.
     Some kissed her, others silently shook her hand.

Many of these predicates are intrinsically cyclical, and so form semelfactive perfectives in {-nu-}: *махáть* 'wave [continuously, repeatedly]', *махнýть* 'give a single wave'. Some have reflexive transforms in which the mobile entity is the subject: *руки трясутся* 'hands shake', *мы тряслись* 'we shook'. The full range of constructions is attested with *двúгать(ся)* 'move'. It uses the instrumental for synecdochic parts ([272]), the accusative for separate entities ([273]), the reflexive transform for spontaneous motion of body parts ([274]) or autonomous agents ([275]):

[272] Я двигал локтями_{INS} в бока.
     I moved (with) my elbows into people's sides.

[273] Кто-то стал плясать, двигали с шумом мебель_{ACC}.
     Some started to dance, they moved the furniture noisily.

[274] Его щеки_{NOM} быстро двигались.
     His cheeks moved quickly.

[275] Она_{NOM} зажгла уже свечи и теперь двигалась к столу.
     She had already lit the candles and now was moving towards the table.

Other predicates use the instrumental in a similar fashion, although they do not have the same range of options as *трястú(сь)*, *двúгать(ся)*. Some predicates occur only with a synecdochic body part, and therefore consistently use the instrumental: *мигать\мигнуть глазами* 'blink with the eyes'. Verbs reporting the emission of a sensory signal express the locus of the signal in the instrumental, *скрипели воротом* 'they squeaked with the winch', *копыта блестели подковами* 'the hoofs gleamed with the horseshoes', *блестит лаком новенькая балалайка* 'the new balalaika gleams with lacquer', or else the locus of the signal is nominative, *скрипели колеса* 'wheels squeaked', *зубы блестели* 'her teeth gleamed'. Similar is *пáхнуть* 'smell'. Its instrumental is metonymic to the general aspectuality of the predicate, which is the emission of a smell: *пахнет {дымом ∼ овцами ∼ свежестью ∼ медом ∼ сеном}* 'it smells of {smoke ∼ sheep ∼ freshness ∼ honey ∼ hay}'.

A small set of verbs that report launching projectiles (*метáть\метнýть* 'toss', *брóсить/бросáть* 'throw', *швырять\швырнýть* 'chuck') can take either the accusative ([276–77]) or the instrumental ([278]):

[276] Из почтового вагона кидали мешок_{<ACC>} с письмами и газетами.
      Out of the postal car they would toss a bag with letters and newspapers.

[277] Не способных бросать камни_{<ACC>} детей вороны никогда не боялись.
      Children incapable of throwing stones were never feared by crows.

[278] Женщины ругали кота, ребятишки кидали камнями_{<INS>}.
      The women cursed the cat, the lads chucked stones.

The accusative reports a directed change in the aspectual argument, the instrumental a type of activity affecting the missile, such as the pelting with stones that befell the tomcat ([278]).

And there are also instrumentals that specify the nature of the mobile entity that affects an (accusative) patient of a transitive predicate, as in *снабди́ть/снабжа́ть* 'provide': *она способна снабжать электроэнергией_{<INS>} город* 'it is capable of providing a city with electrical energy', *снабжение ферм техникой_{<INS>}* 'provision of farms with technology'. This is the normal valence of this verb and of verbs like *забúть*: *забивали рыбой бочки_{<INS>}* 'they stuffed barrels with fish', or [279]:

[279] Гимнастерки застегнули на все пуговицы и набили соломой_{<INS>}.
      They buttoned their coats all the way up and stuffed them with straw.

This and similar verbs sometimes use an alternate valence, in which the mobile entity is accusative and the domain is a (directional) prepositional phrase: *надо забить в гнезда деревянные пробки_{<ACC>} и вновь прикрутить шурупами петли* 'you have to drive wooden plugs into the holes and screw in the hinges again'.

5.6.4 Agentive instrumentals

Consistent with its name, the instrumental case is used to express instruments – that is, metonymic extensions of the subject's agentivity:

[280] А. Карпов перешел линию шахматного экватора вторым своим конем_{<INS>}.
      A. Karpov crossed the chess equator with his other knight.

The instrumental case can be used (though in practice infrequently) to express the displaced agent of a passive construction (§5.8). The instrumental is used in a construction somewhat like a passive, in which a transitive verb in the neuter singular lacks a subject and reports an act of nature that affects the patient, expressed in the accusative. The instrumental expresses the metonymic force of the event's agentivity:

[281] Комнату залило водой_{<INS>}.
      The room got flooded by water.

[282] Меня сильно ударило током_{<INS>}.
      I got a hard shock.

Table 5.13 *Types of instrumental constructions*

context	example	interpretation
predicative	*быть привлекательным*_{INS} 'be attractive'; *прийти разочарованным*_{INS} 'arrive disillusioned'	property holds in one predicate history, fails to holds in a parallel history in another time-world
simile	*выть волком*_{INS} 'howl like a wolf'	predicate history holds in imagined world of comparison, though not in actual world
medium (location / time)	*ехать {лесом*_{INS} ∼ *ночью*_{INS}*}* 'travel {through the forest ∼ at night}'	medium in which event, as type, is embedded
manner	*говорить резким тоном*_{INS} 'speak in a harsh tone'	entity characteristic of activity as type of activity
aspectual	*трясти рукой*_{INS} 'shake a hand', *блестеть умом*_{INS} 'shine by means of the mind', *бросить камнями*_{INS} 'throw stones', *снабжить город энергией*_{INS} 'provide the city with energy'	entity synecdochic to aspectuality
instrument	*перейти линию конём*_{INS} 'cross the line with the knight'	entity synecdochic to agentivity
pseudo-passive of natural force	*комнату залило водой* 'the room got flooded by water'	entity synecdochic to agentivity
passive agent	*берега захвачены дачной публикой*_{INS} 'the shores were occupied by the dacha-goers'	entity synecdochic to agentivity

An instrumental is often used to express the *manner* of an activity:

[283] Г. Каспаров четкими маневрами_{INS} фигур вынудил размен и отбил атаку.
G. Kasparov with precise movements of the pieces forced a trade and repelled the attack.

Here the instrumental seems to be intermediate between an instrument in the strict sense and a circumstantial instrumental like *ночью* 'at night'.

5.6.5 Summary

The basic uses of instrumental are summarized in Table 5.13, with examples. In predicative constructions (§5.2) the instrumental case imputes two alternative predicate histories. In one the property holds, in another, the property does not. More broadly, the instrumental can be said to manipulate two situations. It both differentiates them and also connects them as part of a larger picture. In

the contexts listed in the second half of Table 5.13, the entity expressed by the instrumental is tangentially involved in the progress of the event; the entity is in a relationship of synecdoche to some other more central agent or aspectual element, or to the general idea of agentivity or aspectuality. For example, the contribution of the instrumental entity as agent or aspectual argument is only partial, incomplete; it is connected to agentivity or aspectuality, but that entity is not identified completely as the primary agent or aspectual argument. In the middle of Table 5.13 are constructions in which the instrumental is used in adverbial functions. They describe a history that has one shape – harsh-speaking or forest-traveling at night (through the medium of forest) – and that shape is linked to but differentiated from other imaginable types of histories. If there is a unity in the constructions employing the instrumental, it is the way in which two alternatives are proposed, where the asserted history is viewed as a synecdochic part of a larger history.

5.7 Case: context and variants

5.7.1 Jakobson's case system: general

In two studies twenty years apart, Roman Jakobson developed an analysis of the case system of Russian that is both of historical and continuing interest.[46] The analysis, formulated in the spirit of the structuralist intellectual climate of the period between the two world wars, consists of the following interlocking claims.

Invariant meaning (Gesamtbedeutung): Jakobson proposed that each case has a consistent meaning, or value. That value is present in all contexts in which a case is used – with verbs, with prepositions, with adjectives or nouns.

Binary feature analysis: Collectively, the cases form a tightly structured system in which each case can be specified by positive or negative values of a minimal number of binary features. Over the whole system, the features are utilized as fully as possible.

Markedness: The binary features are asymmetric: for each binary feature, one value is marked (more narrowly defined and restricted in usage), the other un-marked (broader in definition and usage).

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[46] For useful translations of Jakobson 1936/1971[b], 1958/1971[b], see Jakobson 1984. Commentary and application: Neidle 1988.

NOM	ACC	GEN	**[−PERIPHERAL]**
INS	DAT	LOC	**[+PERIPHERAL]**
[−DIRECTIONAL]	**[+DIRECTIONAL]**		
[− QUANTIFYING]		**[+QUANTIFYING]**	

Fig. 5.1 Jakobson's feature analysis of Russian case

Maximalization: Jakobson included in his analysis the two secondary cases. (Fig. 5.1 and the discussion below ignore the second genitive and locative.)

Syncretism and iconicity: The binary feature analysis of case predicts the occurrence of syncretism (the same morphological expression of different case endings). Syncretism occurs between cases that are similar and share features; that is, similarity in value is matched in an iconic fashion by similarity of morphological form.

5.7.2 Jakobson's case system: the analysis

Jakobson's analysis of the six basic cases can be represented as in Fig. 5.1.

Nominative and accusative are [−PERIPHERAL], inasmuch as these cases are used for the major arguments of predicates. The distinction of [±PERIPHERAL] fits with contemporary theories of syntax that distinguish between syntactic cases (= [−PERIPHERAL]) and semantic cases (= [+PERIPHERAL]), except that in contemporary theories, syntactic case is automatically derived from a syntactic structure and is thereby devoid of meaning, whereas Jakobson exactly wanted to argue that all cases in all contexts have value. Even if the features of Jakobson are utilized in a contemporary approach as notational devices analogous to phonological features, the spirit in which the features were intended differs radically. The accusative and dative are a class and share the feature value [+DIRECTIONAL], since they express the direct and indirect objects; both can be said to occur with arguments to which activity of the predicate is directed. The locative is transparently [+PERIPHERAL]. It is less than obvious in what sense the locative is [+QUANTIFYING].

The genitive and instrumental (§5.6) are the cases where the issues of invariance and binary features come to the fore. Both are used in a wide range of contexts.

The genitive is used with prepositions, with verbs, with quantifiers, and as internal arguments of noun phrases. These uses, claims Jakobson, all reflect a restricted quantity of participation by the argument marked with the genitive case.

This formulation makes sense with contexts which measure the quantity in some way – with quantifiers and verbs that govern the genitive. Quantifying verbs like *хвати́ть* 'be sufficient', *насоли́ть* 'salt up a whole lot of', *насмотре́ться* 'look at to one's heart's content' measure quantity of participation against an implicit standard. The partitive usage is quantifying (*вы́пить ча́я*_{\<GEN1\>} 'drink some tea,' §5.5). The genitive of negation could be viewed as restricted participation (§§5.3, 5.4). What this formulation means with respect to the internal arguments of noun phrases – possessors – is less clear, unless one takes this to mean that the possessor participates only by virtue of serving in a limited role relative to another entity – the head noun of a noun phrase. But this is a rather different sense of limited participation from the genitive used with quantifiers.

In a similar fashion, the uses of the instrumental can be seen as related. The instrumental of simile and the predicative instrumental propose that an identity or property holds of something, but only partially (§§5.6, 6.2). Similarly, the agentive instrumental (true instruments, instrumental in pseudo-passives) and the aspectual instrumental (in *трясти рукой* 'shake [with] one's hand', *швырять камнем* 'throw [with] a stone', *пахнуть овцами* 'smell of sheep') identify an entity that participates in the event in a certain way – as agentive or aspectual – while at the same time the entity is synecdochic to agentivity or aspectuality in general (*меня ударило током* 'I was hit with a shock', *махать рукой* 'wave with the hand'). What really characterizes the instrumental, then, is synecdoche: it indicates an entity that is part of the larger agentivity or aspectuality of the predicate. As Jakobson defines the instrumental, it is positively defined for the feature [+PERIPHERAL], and it is negatively defined for other features. The definition is not sufficiently refined to get at what is involved in the instrumental: an entity is part of the whole, but not the whole story.

Whether these various contexts of the genitive, and the various contexts for using the instrumental, reduce to a single invariant meaning (*Gesamtbedeutung*) is ultimately a question of how one conceptualizes grammar. Jakobson seems to assert complete unity, but does so exactly by exhibiting the heterogeneous contexts in which a case is used – for example, the contexts of the instrumental case listed in §5.6. No matter what, a grammatical description will have to contain a list of the various contexts in which a case is used. Wierzbicka's exposition (1980), intended as a defense of Jakobson, does exactly this; it recognizes a set of contexts and gives somewhat different paraphrases for each. Inevitably one comes to a network model, a model that describes a set of partially distinct but partially related contexts or constructions. Once the network of contexts is spelled out, the question of whether there is an invariant meaning (*Gesamtbedeutung*) fades in importance.

Where Jakobson's definitions of case have some special insight is in contexts in which there is synchronic variation. For example, saying that the genitive is quantifying does get at something of the variation between accusative and genitive in the context of the genitive of negation: the genitive is indeed used when the utterance denies participation – that is, when participation of an entity is quantified negatively.

The assessment is then mixed. The various constructions or contexts (*Sonderbedeutungen*) of each case have to be distinguished and described in some way, as partially distinct constructions. The fact that there is some similarity is inevitable, since the various constructions have developed from common historical sources. If one attempts to generalize over all contexts, the resulting overarching, Platonic definition will be vague. Yet an invariant value proves useful as a way of interpreting the sense of ad hoc variation of cases in contexts in which there is active variation.

5.7.3 Syncretism

While Jakobson formulated his analysis primarily in order to account for the meaning (value) of cases, he also attempted to demonstrate that SYNCRETISM matches meaning – that is, that cases which have the same morphological expression have similar meanings, and specifically that all instances of syncretism – the same (or similar) morphological expression for different cases – occur between cells that are adjacent in Fig. 5.1.[47] Similarity in form occurs only when there is similarity in meaning. For example, nominative and accusative form a class because they merge in the singular of inanimate nouns of Declension$_{<I>}$; this small class can be defined as [−PERIPHERAL, −QUANTIFYING]. When the genitive and locative plural of (inanimate) adjectives merge – Jakobson's *пивных*$_{<GEN=LOC\ PL>}$ 'alehouses' – that syncretism can be described simply as the merger of [+QUANTIFYING, +PERIPHERAL] cases. In this way syncretism appears to be ICONIC of meaning.

While it is true that all instances of syncretism occur between cells that are adjacent in the pictorial representation, it turns out to be difficult to define that concept of "adjacent cells" in terms of features; complex manipulations are needed. For example, accusative and genitive are merged in animates. To state this, one has to say, as in [284](a): among [−PERIPHERAL] cases, [+QUANTIFYING] (genitive) syncretizes with [−QUANTIFYING] if the [−QUANTIFYING] case is also [+DIRECTIONAL] (accusative), but not if it is [−DIRECTIONAL] (nominative).

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[47] On case geometry and Fig. 5.14, see Chvany 1982, 1984, 1986, McCreight and Chvany 1991.

[284]   *syncretism*   *featural statement*

(a)   ACC = GEN

(/animates)

$$\begin{bmatrix} [-\text{peripheral}] \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+\text{quantifying}] \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} [-\text{quantifying}] \\ [+\text{directional}] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\} \end{bmatrix}$$

(b)   DAT = LOC

(/Declension$_{<\text{II}>}$)

$$\begin{bmatrix} [+\text{peripheral}] \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+\text{quantifying}] \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} [-\text{quantifying}] \\ [+\text{directional}] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\} \end{bmatrix}$$

(c)   GEN = LOC = DAT

(/Declension$_{<\text{III}>}$)

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+\text{quantifying}] \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} [+\text{peripheral}] \\ [-\text{quantifying}] \\ [+\text{directional}] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\}$$

(d)   GEN = LOC = DAT = INS

(FEM SG ADJ; numerals)

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+\text{quantifying}] \\ [+\text{peripheral}] \end{array} \right\}$$

A similarly complex statement has to be used with the DAT and LOC, which merge in the singular of Declension$_{<\text{II}>}$: the [−QUANTIFYING] case syncretizes only if it is also [+DIRECTIONAL] ([284](b)). A disjunction of features is required to state the syncretism of the set {GEN, LOC, DAT}, which occurs in the singular of Declension$_{<\text{III}>}$ ([284](c)), or the syncretism of the set {GEN, LOC, DAT, INS}, which occurs in feminine singular adjectives and some numerals ([284](d)).

Thus the patterns of syncretism between cells adjacent in Fig. 5.1 are not actually predicted directly and transparently from the feature definitions; extra statements are needed. In fact, it has been pointed out that, if the six basic cases (not the secondary cases) are arranged in the linear order: NOM, ACC, GEN, LOC, DAT, INS, then only cells that are adjacent in this one-dimensional list tolerate syncretism, as marked by shaded cells in Fig. 5.2.[48] This linearization makes it clear that the patterns of syncretism have their own logic that is not directly tied to the *featural* definitions of Fig. 5.1.

5.7.4 Secondary genitive and secondary locative as cases?

Jakobson included in the discussion the secondary genitive and locative. Jakobson's inclusion of the two secondary cases has attracted some attention, the more so since he changed the featural definitions of these cases from the first study in 1936 to the second in 1958. In 1936, to characterize the distinction of two genitives and locatives, Jakobson invoked a special feature not otherwise used; GEN2 and LOC2 were said to be marked as [+SHAPING] with respect to GEN1 and LOC1. (In Jakobson's language, GEN2 and LOC2 indicate "etwas Gestaltendes oder

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[48] Chvany 1982.

context	INANIMATE Declension$_{<I>}$ (*стол, море*)	ANIMATE Declension$_{<IA>}$ (*человек*)	ADJ PL (*пивных*)	Declension$_{<III>}$ (*кости, пути, времени*)	ADJ FEM SG (*молодой*)
NOM	▤▤▤▤				
ACC	▤▤▤▤▤▤				
GEN		▤▤▤▤▤▤▤▤▤▤▤▤			
LOC			▤▤▤▤▤▤▤▤▤		
DAT				▤▤▤▤▤▤	
INS					▤▤▤▤

Fig. 5.2 Syncretism and linearization of Russian cases

zu Gestaltendes," meaning that GEN2 shapes a mass quantity and LOC2 serves as a container, thereby shaping something else.) In 1958, the analysis was changed, and GEN2 and LOC2 became [−DIRECTIONAL], like NOM and INS, while GEN1 and LOC1 became [+DIRECTIONAL], like ACC and DAT.

As has been noted, the revised analysis of 1958 is the less appealing.[49] GEN1 and GEN2 are equally directional or non-directional, since both can equally be used for objects of predicates in the partitive meaning (*купить сахара*$_{<GEN1>}$ ~ *caxapy*$_{<GEN2>}$). In the older two-dimensional figure, some features, specifically [±SHAPING], were of limited utility. Now in the revised analysis, the system of eight units makes a cube in which all features are used to the maximum. The 1958 analysis seems motivated less by patterns in language than by the desire to produce an elegant geometric figure.

Are GEN2 and LOC2 separate cases?[50] Perhaps the question is misguided. Perhaps we should not be forced to declare either that they are cases (if so, why are they so limited?) or that they are not cases (if not, why is there nevertheless some small difference in meaning between the secondary and the primary cases, some of the time?). It might be preferable not to put the question in terms that require one to choose yea or nay.[51] What these secondary cases are is alternate morphemes for the basic genitive and locative cases used under some conditions, with elusive semantic and stylistic overtones, with certain lexical items. Here, as in other instances of change, the older form is retained in the older, idiomatic, abstract uses, the newer form is employed for novel combinations not learned

[49] Worth 1984, 1998.
[50] See Comrie 1986[a], 1991 on the theoretical problem of defining cases.
[51] Despite Mel'chuk's pronouncement (1986:56): "One cannot, however, talk about 'variants of a case 2' or about 'case allomorphs that differ semantically' (as is sometimes done): these expressions are logically absurd."

as conventional phrases. This picture of the dynamic development is lost if one is forced to answer a binary question.

5.8 Voice: reflexive verbs, passive participles

5.8.1 Basics

Most verbs take the same cases in their arguments in all contexts in which they occur. In the few instances in which one verb allows arguments in different cases – accusative and genitive for objects of negated verbs, accusative or instrumental (*швырну́ть* {*ка́мень*<ACC> ∼ *ка́мнем*<INS>} 'toss a stone ∼ engage in stone-tossing') – the verb has the same form; only the case of the argument differs.[52] There are, however, two productive patterns for modifying valence in which the verb changes shape: reflexive verbs and passive participles of verbs.[53]

5.8.2 Functional equivalents of passive

The passive constructions of Western European languages do several things at once. The agent, which in the active construction would be the (nominative) subject, is downgraded to an oblique case, if it is mentioned at all; more commonly, it is not mentioned. The patient, which in the active construction would be the (accusative) object, is given more prominence in its new role as the (nominative) subject. Together, these two criteria amount to a re-weighting of the two arguments of a transitive predicate. In addition, a passive construction often has different aspectual connotations from the active; in particular, a participial passive reports a resulting state rather than an event.

Something of the effect of a European (specifically English) passive is achieved by other means in Russian. To avoid assigning explicit responsibility for an event, Russian uses the third-person plural form of the verb, whether transitive or intransitive:

[285] Я его хорошо помнил, его схватили<PL> прямо на базаре.
    I remember him well, [they] seized him right there at the bazaar.

[286] Маша отказывалась, ей грозили<PL> арестом.
    Masha refused, [they] were threatening her with arrest.

The construction fails to specify the identity of the individuals responsible for the event, even if something more specific could be said. In [287], the woman speaks of being observed in general, though her grounds are that she knows that one individual is observing:

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[52] Apresian 1974. For a broad conceptualization of valence, see Kholodovich 1970, Růžička 1986.

[53] The exposition here makes use of Hudin's (1990) analysis of the functions of the three passive (or passive-like) constructions (and examples [287], [298], [307]).

[287] Обернулась. Перед ней стоял мужчина, высокий, худой.
— Он [=остров] давно открыт, ответила она и сутулясь, неуклюже, зная, что за
ней наблюдают_{<3PL>}, вошла в воду.
She turned. In front of her stood a man, tall and thin.
— It's been discovered for a long time, she answered, and stooping,
uncomfortably, aware that she was being watched, got in the water.

The construction with unspecified third plural, then, establishes the existence
of individual(s) responsible for an event, but refuses to name them. In this con-
struction the object is often placed before the verb (§7.3.6), where it is linked to
the prior discourse ([285]). This has the effect of foregrounding the object, an-
other typical function of the passive.

5.8.3 Reflexive verbs

Many verbs include a morpheme descended from the historical enclitic reflexive
pronoun, *-ся* in its fuller form (after consonants, but after both consonants and
vowels in active participles), *-сь* in reduced form (used after vowels, except in
active participles). There is a number of recognizably distinct, albeit related,
types of reflexive verbs.[54]

Reflexivum tantum: Some verbs are only reflexive, *боя́ться* 'fear', *слу́шаться*
'listen to' (though related to other verbs from the same root), *боро́ться* 'fight, to
struggle', *смея́ться* 'laugh', *надéятся* 'hope'. The verbs tend to be semi-transitive;
there is often another argument that is involved in the activity, similar to a direct
object, but less directly affected. Historically the argument could not occur in
the accusative. In recent years, these verbs that formerly governed the genitive
(*боя́ться, слу́шаться*) have begun to allow the accusative ([218]).

"True" reflexives: Certain verbs seem to be literally reflexive, in that the subject
acts on the self. Such verbs are now limited to conventionalized, domestic activi-
ties involving contact with the self's inalienable body: *мы́ться* 'wash (oneself)',
бри́ться 'shave (oneself)'. As a rule, except for this small set of verbs, an action
performed on the self is expressed by an argument pronoun *себя́*. Where both
reflexive verbs and reflexive objects with *себя́* exist, they differ in meaning.
Мы́ться is an intransitive activity, not directed at an object, whereas *мы́ть себя́*
is an activity directed at an entity, which could be any thing (such as a horse),
but in context happens to be the same entity as the subject:

[288] Я был в бане. Я мыл себя щетками, как коня.
I was in the bathhouse. I scrubbed myself with brushes, like a horse.

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[54] For the basic typology, see Ianko-Trinitskaia 1962, Gerritsen 1990.

Certain common reflexive verbs have acquired the sense of engaging in an activity intensively with the self and all parts involved: *бро́ситься* 'throw oneself, to lurch'; *би́ться* 'beat against (for example, snow against a window)', not the same as *бить себя в грудь* 'beat oneself on the breast'.

Reciprocal reflexives: A number of actions that portray individuals (or groups) mutually acting one on the other are expressed as reflexive verbs: *дра́ться* 'engage in fighting each other', *мири́ться* 'reconcile'.

Habitual reflexives: With a very small number of verbs, the reflexive implies a predisposition to an activity, the classic collocations being *собака кусается* 'the dog bites', *корова бодается* 'the cow butts', *крапива жжется* 'the nettle stings'.

Phenomenological reflexives: Some intransitive verbs report a manifestation of color and its perception:

[289]   А внутри Кремля поднимался высокий белый столб колокольни, рядом
        белели два пятиглавых собора.
        Inside the Kremlin there raised up a tall white bell tower, alongside showed
        white two cathedrals with five domes.

The corresponding reflexive attenuates the manifestation of color and its perception. It is partial, or is visible through obstacles, or is unstable and runs the risk of disappearing:[55]

[290]   Возница показал нам кнутом: – А вон и Кириллов *белеется*.
        Our driver pointed with his knout: – Over there Kirillov is just beginning to show
        white.

To this type belong: *зелене́ть(ся)* 'become (show) green', *темне́ть(ся)* 'become (show) dark', *сине́ть(ся)* 'become (show) blue', *красне́ть(ся)* 'become (show) red'. In practice the reflexive forms are not frequent.[56]

Modal impersonal reflexives: Some intransitives form a reflexive that treats its argument as a domain to which some attitude or inclination to perform an activity is ascribed, often an inclination that is negative or inhibited: *(мне) не спится* 'it isn't sleepy to me, I don't feel sleepy', *не работается* 'doesn't feel like working', *(не) хочется* 'it isn't appealing to'.[57]

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[55] Ianko-Trinitskaia 1962:227, Gerritsen 1990:40–46.

[56] On the web (<01.XI.02>), non-reflexive past-tense forms of *беле́ть* outnumbered the reflexive forms by a ratio of 96 to 1, those of *красне́ть* by a ratio of 153 to 1.

[57] Mrázek 1971.

[291] Панов совсем дремлет. Зато Попову не *сидится* на месте.
       Panov is very drowsy. In contrast, Popov can't sit still.

This type of reflexive verb is formed mostly from intransitives, and so the resulting valence is impersonal. But some verbs occur with a clause that has the role of an argument: *хочеться верить* 'one would like to believe'; *думается, что* 'one is inclined to think that'; *не верится, что нет тебя со мной* 'I don't want to believe that you're not here with me'.[58] *Хочется* can even take a nominal argument: *ничего ему уже не хочется* 'he no longer wants anything'; *мне тоже хочется счастья* 'I also would like happiness'.

Quantifying reflexives: In combination with certain prefixes, the reflexive affix focuses on the quantity of the subject's participation. The productive formations in *на-* . . . *-ся* – such as *наговориться* 'speak much, to one's heart's content', *наесться (досыта)* 'eat one's fill', *наотдыхаться* 'rest fully' – assert that the quantity of the subject's participation reaches some limit of satisfaction or sufficiency:

[292] Столько он пыли *наглотался* ночью!
       How much dust he swallowed during the night!

The formation in *раз-* . . . *-ся* means intense involvement by the subject exceeding a norm ([293]), *до-* . . . *-ся* activity that leads up to a boundary signaling a change in the world ([294]):

[293] При чужом человеке она *разыгралась, развеселилась, разговорилась*.
       In the presence of a stranger, she became thoroughly playful, merry, talkative.
[294] Родман опять *доигрался*, уволен из клуба «Даллас Маверикс».
       Rodman again has fooled around [to that point that he has been] released from the Dallas Mavericks.

Intransitivized reflexives: The most productive function of the reflexive affix is to make intransitive verbs from transitive verbs. A transitive, by definition, has a subject (an argument responsible for change or imbalance) distinct from an object (an aspectual argument whose change or imbalance is reported). Detransitivized reflexive verbs formed from transitives lack a distinction of responsible and aspectual arguments. They report a change that befalls the sole participant: *прекратиться* 'cease', *отвлечься* 'be distracted', *начаться* 'begin', *совместиться* 'coexist, overlap', *измениться* 'change', *ограничиться* 'be restricted', *улучшиться* 'get better', *сохраниться* 'be preserved'. The interpretation of individual verbs varies depending on whether the sole argument is inanimate, in which case the event is spontaneous ([295]), or animate, in which case the event can be

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[58] Gerritsen 1990:153–60.

understood as instigated by the subject ([296]):

[295] Наступит мировая революция, и все шедевры вновь к нам *вернутся*.
Once the world revolution arrives, all the masterpieces will return to us.

[296] В конце августа мы *вернулись* в Москву.
At the end of August we returned to Moscow.

Reflexive passives: When, for a given verb, the roles of modal and aspectual argument cannot be understood as merged and the change is induced externally, the reflexive intransitive verb might be called "passive." The passive sense of imperfective reflexive verbs presents an activity as a generic situation that is the property of the aspectual argument:

[297] У многих известных мне политзаключенных многие месяцы подряд
конфисковывались все письма.
Among many of the political prisoners I knew, all letters used to be confiscated for many months at a time.

In [297], the reflexive passive presents a static fact as a property of the letters – they persist in the state of inaccessibility; using the third plural (*конфисковывали*) here would focus on the active participation of the unnamed agents. Exceptionally, the responsible party is actually expressed in the instrumental case ([298]):

[298] Эти сигары *курились* моим дядей<INS> всю жизнь.
These cigars used to be [= were of the type that were] smoked by my uncle all his life.

The passive use is related to the detransitivizing function of reflexive predicates mentioned above, but differs in certain respects. The detransitivized reflexives presume that change can occur spontaneously without an external agent, and they are formed from both aspects: *совмести́ться/совмеща́ться* 'be compatible with', *измени́ться/изменя́ться* 'change', *ограни́читься/ограни́чиваться* 'be limited'. The passive sense presumes that change would not occur without an external agent (in [299], the room needs an agent to instigate ventilation), and it is only formed from imperfectives.

[299] Если в помещении много людей и оно длительно не *проветривается*,
содержание в воздухе угарного газа увеличивается.
If there are many people in a dwelling, and it fails to be aired out for a long time, the content of carbon dioxide in the air increases.

Since Fortunatov (1899), there has been an impulse to see a unity in the overall group of reflexive verbs: they have reduced valence.[59] While there is

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[59] For a notational account, see Babby 1975[b]; for a semantic account, see Schenker 1986.

some uniformity, there is considerable lexical diversity among reflexive verbs. There are recognizable groups that have distinct meanings and properties and different degrees of productivity (compare the productive intransitives such as *успокóиться/успокáиваться* 'calm down' with the residual true reflexives *мы́ться* or the restricted reflexive of proclivity *собáка кусáется*).

5.8.4 Present passive participles

A present-tense passive participle is formed from the present stem of imperfective transitive verbs with the formant {-m-}, to which are added adjectival endings. These passives in {-m-} can be used as attributive modifiers (*большинство произведений, тогда безудержно расхваливаемых* 'the majority of works, praised at that time without restraint') or as predicatives, as in [300], which conjoins a present participle with a past passive participle:

[300] Хромосомы могут быть четко индивидуализированы и опознаваемы_{<PRS PSV>} с помощью достаточно простых методов.
Chromosomes can be clearly differentiated and recognized through rather simple methods.

This construction belongs to technical, journalistic, or bureaucratic styles.

The suffix {-m-} forms derivatives that are used as ordinary adjectives, with a modal connotation of possibility or proclivity to be involved in an activity: *неумолúмый* 'implacable' describes an individual who cannot be mollified; thus also *любúмый* 'beloved', *невообразúмый* 'unimaginable', *неисправúмый (оптимúст)* 'incorrigible (optimist)', *неуловúмый* 'ineluctable', *незабывáемый* 'unforgettable'. These derivatives can be formed from perfectives as well as imperfectives: *невозмутúмый* 'imperturbable' from *возмутúть*_{<PF>} 'bother, perturb'.

5.8.5 Past passive participles

Past passive participles, or simply passive participles, are formed from the past-infinitive stem of perfective verbs by means of a formant ({-n-} or {-ón ∼ ın} or {-t-}), to which adjectival endings are added. As a verbal adjective, the passive participle can be used in the positions in which one expects to find adjectives: as a preposed attributive modifier ([301]), as a postposed modifier ([302]), or as a predicative in a transitive construction ([303]):

[301] <. . .> в строго регламентированном_{<PSV>} объеме
<. . .> in a strictly regimented volume
[302] <. . .> со своими двумя братьями, тоже осужденными_{<PSV>} по тому же делу
<. . .> with his two brothers, who were also sentenced in the same matter
[303] По перрону его провели скованным_{<PSV>} наручниками с охранником.
They led him along the platform bound with handcuffs with a guard.

But above all, the passive participle is used as a predicative with BE. The participle is the predicating element, and it agrees with the subject (*книга* in [304]):

[304] Книга_{<\FEM SG>} «Рыцари Круглого стола» оставлена_{<PSV FEM SG>} в Москве.
The book *Knights of the Round Table* got left in Moscow.

As in other predicative constructions (§5.2), the participial passive distinguishes three tenses; no overt forms of BE are used in the present. Because perfectives have only two tenses but predicative constructions distinguish three, the participial passive cannot be derived simply by transforming an active sentence structure into a passive one.[60]

In some respects the predicative construction with a passive participle is not entirely analogous to a predicative construction with an adjective. The sole argument of a passive participle can be affected by quantifying operations, such as the genitive of negation ([305]) or approximate quantification ([306]):[61]

[305] Нам объявили, что никаких полевых нагрузок_{<GEN>} не положено_{<PSV>}.
We were informed that no extra pay for being in the field had been established.

[306] Было расстреляно_{<PSV>} *человек сорок.*
There were shot some forty people or so.

Such constructions with adjectives are inconceivable (*никаких полевых нагрузок не высоко* [as if: 'no field salary was high']; *было живо и здорово человек сорок* [as if: 'were hale and hearty some forty people']). Unlike predicative adjectives, then, passive participles tolerate quantification, and the subject of a passive is not necessarily individuated.

When is the predicative construction with a passive participle used? Passive participles describe states that characteristically result from prior perfective events. In context, the idea that a specific event is the source of the current state can be more or less prominent. Often, in descriptions of scenes, no specific event is understood to be the source for the state, though the subject has a property that characteristically arises from an event ([307]). Sometimes, however, the state can be understood to derive from a specific event ([308]):

[307] Земля, воздух, месяц, звезды скованы_{<PSV>} вместе, склепаны_{<PSV>} морозом . . .
The earth, air, moon are forged together, riveted by frost . . .

[308] Все вышли проводить его в прихожую, поцеловались. Он ушел. На другой день С. Ковалев был арестован_{<PSV>}.
We all accompanied him out, took leave. He left. On the next day S. Kovalev was arrested.

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[60] See Babby and Brecht 1975, further Brecht and Levine 1984, Babby and Franks 1998.
[61] Lobanova 1975.

Table 5.14 *Properties of passives and near-passives*

	reflexive imperfective passive (*конфисковывались, проветривается*)	perfective passive participle (*уволены, разорван*)	non-specified third plural (*схватили, увозили, грозили, за ней наблюдают*)
expression of agent	extremely rare (3%)	rare (9%)	—
view of event	repeated activity presented as stative property of patient/subject	event presented as stative resultative property of patient/subject	responsible agent asserted to exist, but remains unnamed

Common to all uses of the passive participle is that a potential event is presented as a static property of the subject. Accordingly, the passive participle is used in description or summary rather than narrative (as in [309]). The unspecific third plural, in contrast, presents a pure event – in [310], one event in a narrative series.

[309] Более половины их оказались нарушителями дисциплины. Многие из них уволены_{<PSV>} за прогулы.
More than half of them turned out to be violators of discipline. Many of them were removed for absenteeism.

[310] Замешанные в "дело" вызывались на допросы, им угрожали. Одного из них присудили к принудительным работам. Нескольких уволили_{<PST PL>}.
Those who were mixed up in the "affair" were called in for interrogation, they threatened them. They sentenced one of them to forced labor. They removed several from work.

5.8.6 Passives and near-passives
Use of passive and near-passive constructions is summarized in Table 5.14.

5.9 Agreement

5.9.1 Basics
Finite verbs agree with their subjects.[62] Verbs express gender–number in past–tense forms and person–number in present-tense forms (including the present-tense forms of perfective verbs). In [311], the past-tense verb is feminine, in agreement with the overt subject, a feminine singular noun.

[62] See Crockett 1976, Corbett 1979[a], Corbett 1983[a], 1983[b], 1988[b], Robblee 1993[b].

[311]   Бабушка Юля_{<\FEM SG>} уехала_{<FEM PST>} в Париж.
      Grandma Iulia left for Paris.

If the subject is not expressed as an overt argument phrase, the predicate expresses the features of the implicit referent of the subject, as in the continuation of [311] as [312]:

[312]   <. . .> и прожила_{<FEM PST>} там более десяти лет.
      <. . .> and lived there for more than ten years.

If the sentence is impersonal – that is, lacks the possibility of a subject – the verb appears in the neuter in the past ([313]) or in the third-person singular in the present ([314]) and future:

[313]   Меня тошнило_{<NT PST>}, домой еле добрался.
      Nausea overcame me, I hardly made it home.
[314]   Меня тошнит_{<3SG PRS>}, домой не доберусь.
      I'm overcome by nausea, I won't make it home.

5.9.2 Agreement with implicit arguments, complications

Agreement is largely without problems in Russian, but there are some contexts of interest.

Collectives: Subjects that are nouns cause little uncertainty. Even singular nouns with collective sense elicit singular number, with the gender appropriate for the noun (FEM SG for *команда* in [315]):

[315]   Команда_{<\FEM SG>} была_{<FEM>} достаточно сильна_{<FEM SG>} и хорошо
      подготовлена_{<FEM SG>}.
      The team was quite strong and well-prepared.

The subsequent context maintains the singular number (*подготóвлена*) unless the individual members of the collective are explicitly named (for example, *игрокú* 'players'). Plural is not used in Russian, unlike in varieties of English: *The Barcelona player said his side were not prepared for the vociferous support given by Korean fans.*

Implicit gender of personal pronouns: When the subject is a first or second person, a past-tense verb reflects the gender of the referent of the pronoun, though the pronouns themselves do not distinguish gender:

[316]   Ты не можешь себе представить, какую хорошую весть ты мне передала_{<FEM>}.
      You cannot imagine what good news you've given me.

Universal second-person singular: Second-person singular agreement in the predicate is used without any overt subject noun phrase in a universal sense of any possible addressee:

[317] После войны я узнал, что был там устроен лагерь для заключенных. Да, место выбрали подходящее – глушь, бездорожье, кругом леса и болота. Не убежишь_{<2SG>}.

After the war I learned that a prison camp had been built there. Yes, they picked a good place – wilderness, no roads, nothing but forests and swamps all around. You won't escape.

Formal second-person plural: The second-person plural pronoun *вы* is used in formal address to a single individual (the formal "ℬ-form": §4.6). In agreement with formal *вы*, verbs are second-person plural, and predicative ("short") adjectives are plural ([318]):

[318] – Ирина, вы молоды_{<PL>}, красивы_{<PL>}, много играете_{<2PL>} и, наверное, ощущаете_{<2PL>} себя достаточно комфортно.

– Irina, you are young, beautiful, you get many roles, and no doubt you live rather comfortably.

Used as predicatives, long-form adjectives reflect the referential gender and number of the subject – singular when a single person is addressed by formal ℬ, even as the verb is plural:[63]

[319] Почему же вы были_{<PL PST>} {такой грустный_{<MSC SG>} ∼ такая грустная_{<FEM SG>}}?
Why indeed were you such a sad one?

[320] Вы {первый_{<MSC SG>} ∼ первая_{<FEM SG>}} начали_{<PL PST>}.
You started it first.

Other predicatives, such as *пе́рвый* 'first' ([320]), are likewise singular if the addressee is singular ([320]). If the addressee is plural, predicatives are plural: *вы пе́рвые_{<PL>} начали* 'you (all) started it first'.

5.9.3 Agreement with overt arguments: special contexts

With overt subject arguments, agreement is unproblematic most of the time: singular agreement is used with a singular noun, plural with plural. Complications arise in three contexts. All three contexts have subject phrases that could be understood as referring to multiple entities. Though there are differences among the three contexts, there are also general principles that apply to all

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[63] Comrie 1975:408, 410.

Table 5.15 *Agreement of conjoined nouns,
animacy, and word order*

	SV order (%)	VS order (%)
animates	100	84
inanimates	85	28

three. In general, singular agreement in these contexts indicates that the group of elements is understood as a whole, as a unit, and the fact of the existence of some number of things is more significant than the activities of the individuals involved. Plural agreement means that the elements that make up the group are viewed as potentially distinct individuals. At the level of the argument phrase, animates are more likely to be individuated, and occur with plural, than inanimates; abstract nouns are unlikely to be individuated, and unlikely to trigger plural agreement. At the level of the predicate, since existential predicates are interested in the fact of existence, they are more likely to occur with singular agreement than individuating predicates such as transitive verbs or predicative constructions. At the level of discourse, the word order in which the subject is postposed is the order used for establishing the existence of a situation. Accordingly, a verb that precedes its subject is more likely to have singular agreement than a verb that follows its subject.

The three specific contexts are the following.

5.9.4 Agreement with conjoined nouns

With noun phrases composed of two or more conjoined singular nouns, the verb can appear in either the singular or the plural. (If any of the conjoined nouns is plural, agreement is plural.) As can be seen from Table 5.15,[64] plural agreement is preferred with nouns that refer to animates. Also, plural agreement is usual when the subject precedes rather than follows the verb, as is especially visible with conjoined nouns referring to inanimates.

When variation is possible, plural is appropriate when the conjoined elements are distinct entities, and the predicate is independently valid for each. Entities can be distinct if they are different kinds of things ([321]) or two distinct individuals of one type ([322]):

[321] Поразили$_{<PL>}$ его красота$_{<\backslash FEM\ SG>}$ изб и затейливость$_{<\backslash FEM\ SG>}$ резьбы.
The charm of the huts and the intricacy of the carving amazed him.

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[64] Corbett 1983[b]:181. For conjoined nouns, Corbett 2000:207 cites 67 percent plural agreement in literature, 96 percent in press (there without differentiating animacy or word order).

[322] Ее собственная жизнь_{<\FEM SG>} и жизнь_{<\FEM SG>} века складывались_{<PL>} таким образом, <. . .>

Her own life and the life of the era had taken shape such that <. . .>

Singular agreement assumes that the elements are not distinct and are intrinsically associated; the predicate applies to all the elements together. The entities can amount to a higher order abstraction – life and reason together define a universe ([323]):

[323] Внутри каждого электрона спрятана вселенная, где существует_{<3SG>} жизнь_{<\FEM SG>} и разум_{<\MSC SG>}, как в нашей.

In each electron is hidden a universe, where there exists life and reason just as in ours.

Or one element can be understood as a concomitant of the other:

[324] <. . .> осталась_{<FEM>} жена_{<\FEM SG>} и мальчик_{<\MSC SG>}.

[After he died] there remained his wife and boy.

Or two abstract ideas are (nearly) synonymous:

[325] Наступило_{<NT>} успокоение_{<\NTSG>} и душевная тихость_{<\FEM SG>}.

There came a calm and spiritual quiet.

When singular agreement is used in the past tense, thereby expressing gender, the question arises as to which noun supplies the gender. It depends in part on word order. When the subject precedes the verb, as in [326], gender can be taken from either the first noun, which is typically the more significant, or from the second, which is nearer to the predicate.

[326] Проектирование_{<\NT SG>} и подготовка_{<\FEM SG>} к строительству {заняло_{<NT>} ~ заняла_{<FEM>}} едва ли не 15 лет.

The planning and preparation for construction took up virtually fifteen years.

[327] {Заняло_{<NT>} ~ ?Заняла_{<FEM>}} едва ли не 15 лет проектирование_{<\NT SG>} и подготовка_{<\FEM SG>} к строительству.

Almost fifteen years were taken up by the planning and preparation for construction.

When the subject follows ([327]), the gender of the verb is that of the first conjunct, which is both more significant and closer to the verb.

If pronouns of different persons are conjoined, first person outranks second (*я и ты сейчас едем*_{<1PL>} 'I and you are going now') and either outranks third (*я и он сейчас едем*_{<1PL>} 'I and he are just now going', *ты и он сейчас едете*_{<2PL>} 'you and he are just now going').

5.9.5 Agreement with comitative phrases

To talk about two people acting together, Russian can use either of two constructions. Two nouns can be conjoined: *Ольга и Вадим*. Or one entity can be made more prominent and the other attached to it by means of the comitative preposition *с* 'with': *Ольга с Вадимом* 'Olga with Vadim', *Федор Иванович с женой и двумя мальчиками* 'Fedor Ivanovich with his wife and two boys'. When one of the conjuncts is a pronoun, there are three options: conjunction, *он и Влад* 'he and Vlad', *я и моя сестра Маша* 'I and my sister Masha'; a comitative construction with a singular pronoun, *он с Владом* 'he with Vlad', *я с Машей* 'I with Masha'; or a comitative construction with a plural pronoun, *они с Владом* 'they, including Vlad', *мы с Машей* 'we, including Masha'.

True conjunction emphasizes that the individuals are separate and parallel. It is very likely to take plural agreement. With pronouns the comitative constructions are more usual, and the plural form is preferred. With third-person pronouns, the plural *они с женой* was used in 69 percent of tokens; with first-person pronouns, though the singular is possible (*Так и вернулся я с женой* 'and so I returned with my wife'), the plural form *мы с женой* is by far the more usual (88%).[65]

When the pronoun is plural, a verb that agrees will obviously be plural: *они<PL> с Владом ходили<PL> к ней учиться английскому языку* 'they – he and Vlad – used to go to study English with her', *мы с Машей ходили<PL> к ней учиться английскому языку* 'we – Masha and I – used to go study English'. But with a singular pronoun (or noun) in the comitative construction, either singular or plural agreement in the verb is possible.[66] Plural is appropriate: if the individuals are known; if they act separately but in parallel; and if the new information is the way in which the activity proceeded:

[328]   Брат с сестрой все делали<PL> с улыбкой.
          Brother and sister did everything with a smile.

[329]   В его комнате не были настелены полы, и он с женой прыгали<PL> с балки на балку.
          In his room there were no floorboards, and he with his wife hopped from beam to beam.

Singular is appropriate when the participation of the comitative noun is secondary and incidental relative to the participation of the first ([330]), and if attention is focused on the fact that the event took place at all ([331]).

[330]   И ей не нравился рассказ Сережи о том, как он с Владом ходил<SG> в психиатрическую клинику.
          She also didn't like Serezha's story of how he went with Vlad to the psychiatric clinic.

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[65] On www.libr.ru <01.XI.02>.   [66] Urtz 1999.

[331] В другой комнате поселился_{<SG>} Лукин с женой и двумя мальчиками.
    In another room there settled in Lukin with wife and two boys.

Overall, singular and plural are about equally likely with subject comitative phrases.[67]

5.9.6 Agreement with quantifier phrases

When the subject is a quantifier phrase, the verb can appear in either the (neuter) singular or plural. The singular presents the subject as a mass of undifferentiated things, and the fact that a certain quantity exists is more significant than the activities of the entities making up the group. Accordingly, singular is appropriate: with inanimate entities that are not known as individuals; with large or approximate quantifiers; with predicates that are existential; and with the word order in which the subject follows the verb (the word order used to present the world as a holistic situation). Note the shift in agreement and word order in [332]:

[332] В пляску ^vвступило_{<SG>} ^sмножество жонглеров. ^sМножество жонглеров
    ^vкидают_{<PL>} десятки тысяч шаров, летящих к нам один за другим.
    A group of jugglers broke into dance. A group of jugglers is tossing tens of
    thousands of balls that fly to us one after another.

Conversely, using the plural reports a property of entities that can be differentiated as distinct individuals. Plural is then favored: by small quantifiers; by individuating predicates – those that report properties that can be ascribed to individuals (rather than predicates that report the existence of situations); and by the word order in which the subject precedes the verb (as in [332]). Plural is likely to be used if the entities are known already or are identified in the subsequent context.

The choice of number is especially sensitive to the semantics of predicates, following the hierarchy of predicates from existential to transitive and predicative. With paucal numerals (*двá/двé*, *трú*, *четúре*), usage is that of Table 5.16.

As in Table 5.16, paucals prefer plural with most predicates. Singular, used primarily with existential predicates or verbs of position and motion, is reserved for contexts that do no more than present a scene; thus the singular in Table 5.16(c) presents three small houses on the banks of the Volga as part of a traveler's view of a certain town. Plural is used if there is any discussion of the individual entities in the following context; as, for example, the three reasons in Table 5.16(a) and the three photos in 5.16(c).

Usage with approximate quantifiers is illustrated in Table 5.17. Approximate quantifiers use singular with all predicates except transitives and predicatives.

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[67] Corbett 2000:207 cites 44 percent plural in literature, 50 percent in press.

Table 5.16 *Agreement with paucal numerals*

	predicate type	paucal quantifier: examples
(a)	*existential*	На Спиридоновке было_{<SG>} три комнаты.
		'At Spiridonovka there were three rooms.'
		К тому были_{<PL>} три причины. первая <. . .>
		'For that there were three reasons. The first reason <. . .>'
(b)	*weak existential*	На следующий день явились_{<PL>} еще две семьи.
		'The next day there appeared two more families.'
(c)	*position/motion*	На правом берегу волги стояло_{<SG>} два-три домика.
		'On the right bank of the Volga there stood two or three little houses.'
		На стенах висели_{<PL>} три фотографии – дочери Ксении, сыновей Бориса и Юрия.
		'On the walls hung three photos – of daughter Kseniia and sons Boris and Iury.'
(d)	*reflexive intransitive*	За стенами высовывались_{<PL>} две-три главки белых церквей.
		'Beyond the walls there protruded two or three tops of white churches.'
(e)	*intransitive*	Три монаха отдыхают_{<PL>} под елью.
		'Three monks are resting under a fir.'
(f)	*passive participle*	Так были_{<PL>} созданы_{<PL>} три международные организации.
		'And so three international organizations were set up.'
(g)	*transitive*	Заняли_{<PL>} очередь две тети, с виду рыночные торговки.
		'Two women, by appearances market women, took places in line.'
(h)	*predicative*	Три его шафера тоже были_{<PL>} грузины.
		'His three attendants were also Georgians.'

Table 5.18 summarizes the general preferences for paucals and approximate quantifiers. Lower general numerals (*пять* 'five', *восемь* 'eight', *двенадцать* 'twenty', *тридцать* 'thirty', etc.), not exemplified, are intermediate. Shading marks the areas of active variation.

Table 5.18 suggests something of the way in which specific quantifiers and predicate semantics interact. In terms of predicates, transitives and predicatives presume that their subjects are individuated, and are likely to take plural agreement. At the opposite extreme, existentials and weak existentials take singular agreement. In between, verbs of motion and position and reflexive intransitives are sensitive to the quantifier involved, and they can be quite variable in their interpretation, ranging from an existential interpretation (*в комнате в густом дыму сидело*_{<SG>} *несколько человек* 'in the room in thick smoke there were sitting several people'), in which singular is used, to real activities, in which plural is more appropriate (*поднялись*_{<PL>} *на второй этаж несколько человек*

Table 5.17 *Agreement with approximate quantifiers*

	predicate type	approximate quantifier: examples
(a)	*existential*	В Богородицке было_{<SG>} несколько врачей.
		'In Bogoroditsk were several doctors.'
(b)	*weak existential*	Одновременно прибыло_{<SG>} несколько эшелонов.
		'Simultaneously there arrived several echelons.'
(c)	*position/motion*	Там сидело_{<SG>} много женщин, были обвиняемые в спекуляции.
		'There many women were sitting, they were accused of speculation.'
		Несколько молодых людей ходили_{<PL>} туда и сюда.
		'Several young people walked here and there.'
(d)	*reflexive intransitive*	Много парней вокруг нее увивалось_{<SG>}.
		'Many fellows were hanging around her.'
(e)	*intransitive*	У двери несколько человек подслушивало_{<SG>}.
		'At the door several people were eavesdropping.'
(f)	*passive participle*	Несколько переводчиков было_{<SG>} арестовано_{<SG>}.
		'Several interpreters were arrested.'
(g)	*transitive*	Много русских людей оставили_{<PL>} после себя воспоминания.
		'Many Russians left memoirs after their death.'
(h)	*predicative*	Несколько секвой остались_{<PL>} живыми свидетелями двадцатого века.
		'Some sequoias have remained living witnesses of the twentieth century.'

'several people went up to the second story'). Intransitive verbs tend to an activity interpretation, but an existential interpretation is also possible for some predicates (*туда ходило_{<SG>} много бабушкиных знакомых* 'many of Grandma's acquaintances used to go there').

Each quantifier has a characteristic usage. Paucals treat entities as individuated, with plural agreement in the predicate; singular is used regularly only with existential predicates. Approximate quantifiers discourage an individuated interpretation, and use singular with most predicates except transitives. Large round numerals (*сто́, ты́сяча*) are similar. Other numerals are intermediate. Numerals larger than paucals – from *пя́ть* through the low decades – are close to paucals, but use singular agreement more freely.

Certain specific contexts prefer one or the other interpretation. The modifiers *все́* and *э́ти* before the quantifier presuppose that the members of the group are known as individuals, and require plural agreement. Constructions with distributive *по* as subject strongly prefer singular, since the quantity is of primary interest (§4.3.11). Expressions of the passage of time (years, seconds, months) are viewed as a mass, and use singular agreement.

Table 5.18 *Predicate type and predicate agreement: quantifier subject*

predicate type	paucal numeral	low general numeral (*восемь, двадцать,* etc.)	approximate quantifier
(a) *existential, modal*	SG ≈ PL	SG | ?PL	SG | *PL
(b) *weak existential*	±SG | PL	SG | ?PL	SG | *PL
(c) *position/motion*	?SG | PL	±SG < PL	SG ≥ ±PL
(d) *reflexive intransitive*	*SG | PL	±SG < PL	SG ≥ ±PL
(e) *activity intransitive*	*SG | PL	*SG | PL	SG ≥ ±PL
(f) *passive participle*	*SG | PL	*SG | PL	SG ≈ PL
(g) *transitive*	*SG | PL	*SG | PL	*SG | PL
(h) *predicative*	*SG | PL	*SG | PL	*SG | PL

5.10 Subordinate clauses and infinitives

5.10.1 Basics
Infinitives, adverbial participles (*деепричастия*), and adjectival participles are less articulated than finite predications, in two respects: morphologically, they do not inflect for the full range of tense and mood as finite predicates, and syntactically, they cannot have their own nominative subject in the clause. The implicit subject is (usually) understood to be the same as some major argument of the main predicate. Each type of non-finite form has a distinct occurrence and function. Adjectival participles act as adjectives (§4.4.3).

5.10.2 Finite clauses
Finite clauses introduced by conjunctions can be used in a wide range of functions that correspond approximately to arguments, in the extended sense used here (§5.1). Clauses introduced by *когда́* 'when', *е́сли* 'if', *пока́ (не)* 'until', *в то́ вре́мя* '(at a time) while', function as adverbial arguments (on tense: §6.3.2). Clauses introduced by *что* (or under more specialized circumstances, *чтобы* 'in order to') report the content of speech and analogous mental operations of thought, belief, memory. Such clauses can have a role analogous to that of the subject ([333]) or to that of the object ([334–35]):

[333] Мне было досадно, *что* мой двоюродный брат со мной не играет.
It was annoying to me that my cousin did not play with me.

[334] Вскоре рабочие поняли, *что* работают они, в сущности, бесплатно.
Soon the workers understood that they were working, in essence, for no pay.

[335] Он добавил, *что* против нас есть один весьма существенный пункт.
He added that there was one very substantive point against us.

And in other instances, the clause has a role analogous to that of an oblique argument, a relation often marked by a placeholder demonstrative in the main clause:

[336] Мой брат Владимир гордился (*тем*), *что* был похож на своего дядю.
My brother Vladimir was proud of the fact that he was similar to his uncle.

[337] А в чем признаются? *В том, что* хозяйка лжеартели их эксплуатировала.
And in what should they confess? In the fact that the manager of the pseudo-guild had been exploiting them.

The placeholder is more or less frequent depending on the verb: *гордился тем, что* '[he] took pride' 205/308 xx = 67 percent but *удивился тому, что* '[he] was surprised' 157 | 726 xx = 22 percent, *сомневаюсь в том, что* 'I doubt' 124 | 1914 xx = 6 percent.[68] Modal arguments introduced by prepositions, however, require the demonstrative: *Курникова подает иск на Penthouse за то, что полуобнаженной сняли не ее* 'Kurnikova is suing Penthouse for the reason that they photographed someone else half-naked'.

Finite clauses can be attached to event nouns ([338]):

[338] В газетах начали появляться статьи, *что* рынок – это мелкобуржуазная отрыжка.
In the newspapers there began to appear articles [saying] that the free market – that was a petty bourgeois belch.

In these finite subordinate clauses, the most widely used conjunction is *что* 'that' (tense in reported speech: §6.3.3). Among the kinds of "reported speech," in the broad sense, are indirect questions, which have the same form as other questions that are not subordinated.

5.10.3 Adverbial clauses and adverbial participles (*деепричастия*)

Adverbial participles are the predicates of clauses that function as adverbial arguments.[69] They lack an overt subject, but are understood to have an implicit subject that corresponds to a known entity, almost always the subject of the main predicate (in [339], *мáть*):

[339] А моя мать, убедившись$_{<DEE>}$, что ее дети хорошо устроены, со спокойной душой вернулась в Москву.
And my mother, having become convinced that her children were well settled, returned with a calm heart to Moscow.

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[68] Site www.libr.ru <10.X.02>.
[69] The issues of "control" (matching the implicit subject to an argument of the main clause) and exceptions to the usual relationship have long been a concern: Babby 1975[c], Babby and Franks 1998.

Sentences are sometimes cited in which the implicit subject of the adverbial participle (indexed "<j>") corresponds to a significant argument of the main predicate other than the subject: the unexpressed (or "∅") dative domain of a modal ([340]), the domain of an experiential predicate ([341]), the passive agent ([342]), or even direct objects of verbs of emotion ([343]):[70]

[340] Целуясь<j> ∅<DAT> можно бесконечно признаваться в любви без слов.
       Kissing, it is possible to constantly declare one's love without words.

[341] Слушая<j> этот рассказ, мне<j> было страшно.
       Listening to the story, it became terrifying to me.

[342] Развивая<j> навыки вождения, водителями<j> будут изучаться меры
       предосторожности.
       While [they are] developing driving techniques, safety measures will be learned by
       drivers.

[343] Войдя<j> в комнату, Колю<j> поразил безпорядок.
       On entering the room, the disorder astounded Kolia.

It is difficult to determine the status of such sentences. They are cited by linguists (including Russian speakers) as "grammatical"; sometimes differences in acceptability are mentioned. (Those in which the argument is the dative domain of a modal predicate with a dependent infinitive, as in [340], are the most acceptable.) Yet such sentences are infrequent in texts, and many educated speakers do not consider them standard.

While the adverbial participle itself does not show agreement, a predicative or appositive in the clause reflects the gender and number of the implicit subject (FEM SG in [344]):

[344] Женщины освободились, каждая<FEM SG> из них вернувшись
       встревоженная<FEM SG> к своей семье.
       The women were freed, each returning agitated to her own family.

And reflexive pronouns within the clause refer to the implicit subject (*свой* in [344]).

The events of adverbial participles are understood to occur in time-worlds contiguous with those of the main clause. In [345], the speaker's return occurs at the same time as the return, and is caused by the return; in [346], the expectation is embedded in the same time-world as the approach.

[345] Вернувшись с войны, я твердо решил стать писателем.
       On returning from the war, I firmly decided to become a writer.

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[70] Itskovich 1974 ([342]), Yokoyama 1980, Rappaport 1980 ([341]), Legendre and Akimova 1994 ([343]), and Kazenin 2000 cite examples of adverbial participles not anteceded by the subject of a finite predicate.

[346] Подходя к воротам, я каждую секунду ожидала окрика: «стой!»

As I approached the gate, every second I expected to hear the shout: "stop!"

5.10.4 The free infinitive construction (without overt modal)

In general, infinitives lack overt subjects but are interpreted as having an implicit subject. Infinitive clauses are generally attached to main predicates (though not always), and the subject of an infinitive can often be identified with a major argument of the main predicate. Infinitives present events with a modal coloring, as possible or desired or imposed.

An exception to the rule that infinitives are attached to matrix predicates is the DATIVE-WITH-INFINITIVE construction, or, since there is no main finite predicate, the FREE INFINITIVE.[71] This construction is responsible for some of the most famous apodictic pronouncements of older Russian:

[347] А Игорева храбраго плъку не крѣсити_{<INF>}.

Igor's brave regiment is not to be resurrected.

[348] <. . .> два убо Рима падоша, а третии стоит, а четвертому_{<DAT>} не быти_{<INF>}

<. . .> and two Romes have fallen, while the third still stands, and a fourth is not to be.

The construction, as a syntactic idiom, has a strong modal sense. Among other values, it can predict an inevitable result or, when negated, the impossibility of an event (as above). The dative is the goal of the modality and, implicitly, the subject of the infinitive (in [348], it is incumbent on the fourth Rome never to exist). The infinitive itself is not dependent on any overt matrix predicate – the construction as a whole has modal value. Indeed, it is not clear how to reconcile this construction with contemporary models of syntax that derive constructions by composition of elements.

The construction illustrated above still occurs in the modern language; the modern Russian translations of [347] and [348] use the free infinitive construction, and other examples are found in modern Russian:

[349] Гореть мне, Таня, в геенне огненной.

It is for me, Tanya, to burn in the fire of Gehenna.

[350] В общем, не мне тут судить.

But in general, it's not for me to judge in these matters.

But this construction is used less pervasively than in earlier times; constructions such as [349–50] have an epic ring to them. The free infinitive is still used freely in decrees:

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[71] See now Fortuin 2000 for a comprehensive treatment of the construction.

[351] Уже на следующий день вышел новый закон: обвиняемых в терроризме
судить быстро, следствие заканчивать за десять дней.
On the following day there appeared a new law: those accused of terrorism were
to be judged quickly, the process to be finished within ten days.

[352] Одна графская ложка до сих пор у меня хранится. Если взять ее в рот,
чувствуется противный вкус меди.
I still have one of those aristocratic spoons. If one were to put it into one's mouth,
one senses the unpleasant taste of copper.

[353] Да и где взять материалы и деньги?
And where can one get the materials and the money?

The construction is stylistically neutral and extremely frequent in conditions and
questions ([352–53]). A search for the phrase *Как попасть* 'How can one reach'
produced an impressive 19,400 hits on the web (<10.X.02>).

5.10.5 The free infinitive construction (with negative existential pronouns)

As a specialized development, infinitives can be used with interrogative-
indefinite pronouns to establish the existence of a possible entity that would
fit in the event ([354]):[72]

[354] Защищать было от *чего*.
There was indeed something from which to defend them.

[355] Уж ему-то было о *чем* задуматься.
Now he really had what [something] to think about.

The lack of possible existence of an entity is expressed using a special series of
negated indefinite-interrogative pronouns of the type *не́где* '(there is) nowhere',
не́ с кем '(there is) no one with whom', etc.

[356] Теперь в церкви (было) служить некому.
Now to hold services there is (was) no one.

Only the pronoun carries negation. The infinitive and BE (when it is used) are
not negated.

As in other instances of the free infinitive, the implicit subject of the infini-
tive is often universal in reference and omitted ([354]), but can in principle be
expressed as a dative ([355], [356]). As in other instances of the free construction,
the time reference is likely to be universal and present, but other tenses can be
formed by using the appropriate past or future form of BE. The present tense
of the positive construction with indefinite-interrogative pronoun uses *есть*, but
the negative existential construction has no trace of BE.

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[72] Mrázek 1971, Garde 1976, Rappaport 1983, Babby 2000.

[357] Вам $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{было} \\ \text{есть} \\ \text{будет} \end{Bmatrix}$ что терять.

For you there $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{was} \\ \text{is} \\ \text{will be} \end{Bmatrix}$ what [something] to lose.

[358] Мне просто негде $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{было} \\ - \\ \text{будет} \end{Bmatrix}$ творить.

There simply $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{was} \\ \text{is} \\ \text{will be} \end{Bmatrix}$ no place for me to work creatively.

5.10.6 The dative-with-infinitive construction (overt modal)

From the historical source of the free dative-with-infinitive construction with no overt matrix predicate has developed the use of the infinitive with certain non-verbal predicates: *на́до* 'necessary', *мо́жно* 'possible', *возмо́жно* 'possible', *нельзя́* 'impermissible, impossible'. As in the free infinitive construction, the implicit subject can be expressed in the dative, by virtue of being the goal of modality of the main predicate.

[359] Ему надо подкормиться.
He needs to build himself up a bit.

If no dative argument is overt, the modality is understood to apply to any or all people; in [360] anyone could write such a story:

[360] На этот сюжет можно было бы написать потрясающий рассказ.
On that theme it would be possible to write a stunning story.

The infinitive is tightly bound with these non-verbal predicates; thus negation of the main predicate (*нельзя́* 'not permissible, impossible') used to elicit the genitive in a transitive infinitive, though that usage has now faded except with emphatic negative pronouns:

[361] Нам нельзя было доверять никаких общественных работ_{GEN}.
It was not possible to entrust any social projects to us.

This construction can be formed with the neuter singular predicative (short) form of a variety of adjectives that comment on the modality of the event in a weaker form, by evaluating its desirability for someone (*хорошо́* 'it's good for one to') or its difficulty (*трудно́* 'it's difficult for one to'), and so on. A variation

on this construction is used with a set of "occasional" verbs, that is, with verbs that talk about the occurrence or success of an event against the expectation that the event might not occur: *удáться* 'succeed in', *повезтú* 'be fortunate to', *прийтúсь* 'have occasion to'.

With *нáдо* 'necessary' and *нельзя́* 'not permissible', the attached clause can be finite (subjunctive with *чтобы*) if what must be is a whole event not under the control of the argument in the main clause:

[362] Нельзя, чтобы они становились жертвами.
        It is impermissible that they should become victims.

[363] Обязательно надо, чтобы музыка была.
        It's absolutely necessary that there should be music.

Мóжно 'possible' prefers infinitives.

5.10.7 Infinitives with modal hosts (nominative subject)

The most versatile modal in Russian is the verb *(с)мóчь* 'may, might, can'. Russian uses an old adjective *дóлжен* 'obligated' (*должнá*, *должнó*, *должны́*) with an infinitive to express obligation. These modals differ from the impersonal modals exactly by making the responsibility personal, whereas the impersonal modals present obligation as universal, even if in a particular case it is directed to the dative domain (§6.2.8).

5.10.8 Infinitives with hosts of intentional modality (nominative subject)

A variety of verbs talk about an individual who tries to create a state of the world that does not exist. The host verbs characterize various attitudes with respect to changing the world: volition (*хотéть* 'want', *решúть* 'decide to'), attempt (*старáться* 'try', *пытáться* 'make an attempt', *стремúться* 'strive'), success (*посчастлúвиться* 'have the good fortune', *ухитрúться* 'to be clever enough'), or habit (*любúть* 'love', *предпочитáть* 'prefer').

[364] Я решил сделать пресс-конференцию.
        I decided to hold a press conference.

The individual who formulates the desire is the individual who will accomplish the event.

The infinitive is moderately cohesive with the main predicate. Negating the main verb once used to evoke the genitive in the object of the infinitive, but no longer. As a rule, intending or attempting to create a world is a perfective event ([364], *сдéлать*_{<PF>}). Habits, however, are imperfective (§6.5.9).

If the individual responsible for creating the new world is *not* the same as the individual who wills the creation, the conjunction *чтобы* is used.

[365] Родители не хотели, чтобы он уезжал.
       His parents did not want that he should leave.

Russian has no construction similar to the English "raising" construction: corresponding to *His parents did not want him to leave*, there is no **Родители не хотели его уехать*.

5.10.9 Infinitives with aspectual hosts (nominative subject)

Infinitives are used with a small set of predicates that describe transitions in the status of an activity – beginnings (*начáть/начинáть* 'begin', *стáть/становúться* 'get involved in'), continuations (*продолжúть/продолжáть* 'continue'), endings (*кóнчить/кончáть* 'end', *перестáть/переставáть* 'stop'). The infinitives are always imperfective. Historically, the future imperfective with *бýду*, etc., is of the same type.

   An unusual construction that may be related is the use of an imperfective infinitive with a nominative subject but without any overt host predicate. The construction is used in stylized imitations of folk style, such as the doggerel about the bee in [366]:

[366] Был на пасеке у деда,   Once at grandpa's beehive
       Там увидел я зловреду   I saw an evildoer
       Я бежать – она за мной   I take to running – she, after me
       И подруг зовет с собой   Calling her friends to come

The construction suggests an action closely related to other narrative events that is attempted but incomplete (as is the escape in [366]). Because the infinitive is imperfective, it is likely that the construction developed historically from an aspectual construction by eliding the host predicate (whether *стáть*, *бýду*, *давáй*, or another host can no longer be determined), but by now it is a distinct, albeit stylistically and pragmatically quite idiosyncratic, construction.

5.10.10 Infinitives with hosts of imposed modality (accusative or dative object)

Another construction involving infinitives is that in which the subject of the host predicate transfers modality (obligation, possibility) to another individual, who is put under the obligation, or given the opportunity, to carry out the event. There are two types. The event can be imposed on or permitted of an individual expressed as the dative: *дáть/давáть* 'give, let', *приказáть/прикáзывать* 'give an order', *велéть* 'order', *позвóлить/позволя́ть* 'allow', *предложúть/предлагáть* 'offer':

[367]
$$\text{Мне}_{<\text{DAT}>} \begin{cases} \text{приказали} \\ \text{дали} \\ \text{позволили} \end{cases} \text{выезжать во Владимир в ту же ночь.}$$

Table 5.19 *Types of infinitive constructions*

	impersonal model *надо* 'be necessary'	personal modal *мочь* 'be able'	volitive *хотеть* 'want'	transferred modality *приказать* 'order'	transferred modality *попросить* 'ask'
implicit subject of infinitive = argument of main predicate	DAT domain [goal]	NOM subject	NOM subject	DAT goal	ACC object
modality	necessity directed to goal	obligation/ possibility as function of subject	subject intends to create world	subject imposes obligation (possibility) of creating world	subject imposes obligation (possibility) of creating world
cohesion of infinitive with main predicate	close	close	intermediate	loose	loose
finite variants	*(чтобы)*	—	*чтобы*	*чтобы*	*чтобы*

$$
\text{They} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ordered} \\ \text{let} \\ \text{allowed} \end{array} \right\} \text{me to leave that very night for Vladimir.}
$$

Or the individual can be affected by the imposition of obligation (possibility, invitation), and the argument is expressed in the accusative: *заставить/заставлять* 'force, make', *(по)просить* 'ask', *убедить/убеждать* 'persuade', *побудить/побуждать* 'incite', *пригласить/приглашать* 'invite'.

[368] $\text{Она} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{просила} \\ \text{заставляла} \\ \text{побуждала} \end{array} \right\} \text{меня}_{<\text{ACC}>} \text{ добыть книжку сказок.}$

$\text{She} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{asked} \\ \text{tried to force} \\ \text{encouraged} \end{array} \right\} \text{me to get a book of tales.}$

In such constructions, the infinitive is loosely attached to the main predicate. Since there are in effect two subjects, reflexives can in principle refer either to the implicit subject of the infinitive (in reference, the same as the dative goal or the accusative object) or to the matrix subject (§4.7.9). The imposed event is likely to be viewed as a potentially complete event, not merely an activity, and

the perfective is usual in the infinitive. Negating the main verb will not evoke the genitive in the object of the infinitive.

Many verbs that describe acts of speech can be used to impose an order on someone else, by using the conjunction *чтобы* ([369]):

[369] Утром мать сказала ему, *чтобы* он уходил.
In the morning mother told him that he must leave.

[370] Мать успела шепнуть тете Саше, *чтобы* отец ни в коем случае не шел.
Mother had time to whisper to Aunt Sasha, that under no circumstances should father go.

5.10.11 Final constructions

Infinitives are used in FINAL constructions, to name the intended result of an activity. Final infinitives are normally preceded by *чтобы* or the more explicit *для того, чтобы*.

[371] Молчи, *чтобы* дружбу не потерять.
Be quiet, so as not to ruin our friendship.

In final constructions, there is normally an agentive subject in the main predicate that wills and controls the eventual, final, result. Final constructions can have *чтобы* and a finite predicate, if the implicit subject of the final predicate is not the agent of the main predicate:

[372] Двое раненых попросили, *чтобы* их койки пододвинули поближе к окнам.
Two of the wounded asked that their cots be moved up closer to the windows.

While infinitives can be used in English as relative clauses, as in *a difficult role to perform*, they cannot in Russian: **трудная роль исполнить* [as if: 'a difficult role to fulfill']. Infinitives can, however, be attached to modal nouns: *возмóжность* 'possibility' (*возможность расколоть православие* 'the possibility of splitting Orthodoxy'), *необходúмость* 'necessity' (*необходимость чертить карты* 'the necessity of drawing maps').

5.10.12 Summary of infinitive constructions

Infinitive constructions attached to main predicates are summarized in Table 5.19.

The constructions here are arranged in order of increasing autonomy of the infinitive clause. The infinitive is tightly bound to "impersonal" modal predicates (*нáдо*, etc.). The modality of the main predicate applies to the whole event

named by the infinitive, and is directed to a dative goal, who is then the implicit subject of the infinitive. At the opposite extreme, the subject of the main predicate transfers control to another individual (expressed as dative goal of the transfer or the accusative site of transfer) who is the implicit subject of the infinitive. Intermediate are constructions in which the subject of the main predicate controls the development of the event named by the infinitive.

<div style="text-align: right;">**6**</div>

Mood, tense, and aspect

6.1 States and change, times, alternatives

All predicates report histories – narratives, scenes, hopes, orders – as do the predicates in [1], which relate the narrative of a journey of the Aksakov family:

[1]   В середине зимы 1799 года приехали_{<PF>} мы в губернский город Казань. Мне было_{<IF>} восемь лет. Морозы стояли_{<IF>} трескучие.
In the middle of winter in 1799 we arrived in the regional capital of Kazan. I was eight. There was crisp frost.

The stories or scenes are elaborated around some time and world (set of circumstances) that the speaker deems immediately relevant to the ongoing dialogue or narrative; it might be termed the CONTEXTUAL TIME-WORLD or the CONTEXTUAL OCCASION.[1] The contextual time-world can be localized in relation to the here-and-now of speech, and that is what the category of TENSE does. Thus in [1], the adverb phrase establishes a contextual occasion in the winter of 1799, which is prior to the time of speech (writing), and the verbs are all past tense.

The states reported by predicates can be static, as are the speaker's age and the weather in [1], or the states can change, as does the location of the Aksakov family in [1]. The concern with change and possible change around the contextual time is ASPECT. As is well known, verbs in Russian can be classified into two moieties, perfective and imperfective, that differ by the kind of history they report (§6.4).

Predicates provide information not just about states of the actual world. They also invite comparison to alternatives, to what might have been or what might come to pass. In [2], the narrator, a young boy, describes more about the journey of [1]:

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[1] In the spirit of Reichenbach 1947 ("reference time"), Smith 1983, 1991 ("viewpoint"), Declerck 1991 ("orientation time"), Klein 1992, 1995, Paducheva 1996 ("time of report"). On limitations of the approach of Reichenbach, see Comrie 1981, Timberlake 1985[a].

[2]   Прикрытый_{<PSV>} сверх одеяла лисьим салопом, я согрелся_{<PF>}, уснул_{<PF>} и
       проснулся_{<PF>} на другой день здоровым.
       Covered by a fox coat over the quilt, I warmed up, fell asleep and awoke the next
       day healthy.

The mother of the narrator feared that her boy might fall ill as a result of the chill he experienced during the journey. Here in [2] the narrator describes how he awoke in a state of health, a fortunate result that runs counter to the future that his mother anticipated. Therein is the real information value. The information is not only the state that is asserted to hold, but the evaluation of that state against alternatives that had been anticipated. Broadly, MODALITY is any concern with alternatives that are mediated by an authority.

Predicates, then, report histories, which can be static or changing around a contextual occasion (aspect) relative to expectations (modality); the history and the contextual occasion are positioned with respect to the time of speech (tense).

The discussion below is oriented around the categories of tense, aspect, and mood that are explicitly expressed by means of morphology, but at the same time, it is to be understood that they fit into larger, and interconnected, notions of aspectuality, temporality, and modality.

6.2 Mood

6.2.1 Modality in general

Modality, in general, is a consideration of alternatives, as viewed by some authority or speaker. Alternative realities are legion. There are various reasons for considering alternatives in addition to the world we take to be real.

(a) MODALITY OF EPISTEMOLOGY: Although the speaker seems to be the ultimate authority for knowledge, the speaker in a sense is the addressee of external stimuli, memory, other speakers. The speaker is not always an omnipotent authority, and may indicate some uncertainty or attenuation of knowledge about the world. Included under modality of epistemology are verbs of seeming, appearance, and the phenomenon of reported speech.

(b) MODALITY OF RESPONSIBILITY: As speakers we believe that the world is not just the way it is accidentally, spontaneously, but that the world is the way it is because of some responsible authority. Authority can be layered. For example, in using an imperative, there are two layers: the speaker acts as authority to decide how the world should be, and then cajoles or implores the addressee to become an authority and change the world from its current state. In deontic modality (etymologically, the modality of "binding"), expressed by modal

predicates such as *на́до* 'necessary', *прийти́сь* 'have occasion to', *лу́чше* 'better', *до́лжен* (*должна́*, etc.) 'is obligated', there are likewise two layers. The person to whom the obligation is directed is 'bound' to take responsibility for the world. And that responsibility derives from a higher authority, a generalized code of possibility and obligation.

(c) SITUATIONAL MODALITY: When speakers and addressees are not acting as authorities, one is left with modality in which one situation of the world interacts with another: one situation is consistent with another (despite expectations), or causes another, or excludes another. All narrative is about one event making another possible; argumentation involves demonstrating how one fact makes another fact necessary. Situational modality is often implicit; it becomes explicit in conditional structures.

These are the general types of modality. Morphologically, Russian can be said to distinguish three moods: REALIS MOOD (past and present and future tenses), IMPERATIVE, and an all-purpose IRREALIS (subjunctive) modality. The infinitive, although it is non-finite, could also be considered a mood. Irrealis mood is expressed not by inflectional morphology, but by means of the particle *бы*. This particle most often follows immediately after the verb, and a finite verb must be in the past tense:

[3]   Будь Сережа жив, он сочинил_{<PST>} *бы* о нашем сборище смешной рассказ.
       Were Serezha still alive, he would write a droll story about our gathering.

Put after the verb, *бы* focuses on the alternative states of the world, on what might happen. But the particle need not occur directly after or attached to the verb; it can be used with a conjunction or an argument (both in [4]):

[4]   Если *бы* я был_{<PST>} Блоком, я *бы* сочинил_{<PST>} про нее «Незнакомку»
       If I were Blok, I would write "The Stranger" about her.

When *бы* is put after an argument, the alternative realities that are entertained depend on properties of that argument; thus [4] hangs on the identity of the speaker.

Although *бы* requires the past tense when it is used with a finite verb, it does not require the past tense when it is used to attenuate the force of modality, in the free infinitive construction (*Мне бы извиниться* 'perhaps I should apologize') and with non-verbal predicates (*лу́чше бы* 'would be better', *на́до бы* 'would be necessary', *мо́жно бы* 'perhaps' – *обо всем этом можно бы написать новеллу* 'about that one might write a whole novella'). The particle has long been used together with the conjunction *что* 'that', resulting in a univerbated irrealis conjunction *чтобы*. *Чтобы* occurs either with finite verbs, which must appear in the past tense, or with infinitives.

6.2.2 Mands and the imperative

By using an imperative, the speaker acts as an authority and requests the addressee to become an authority and take responsibility for making the future world match the speaker's wishes.

Perfectives predominate in positive imperatives, since in using imperatives the speaker as a rule asks for a definitive change of the world:

[5]   Возьмите_{<PF IMV>} роман Золя «Чрево Парижа» и почитайте_{<PF IMV>}.
       Take Zola's novel *Ventre de Paris* and read it.
[6]   Зайдите_{<PF IMV>} через три дня!
       Come back in three days!
[7]   Ой, бумажки, да они пригодиться могут, ты их засунь_{<PF IMV>} в коробочку.
       Oh, the papers – they might come in handy, stick them in this box.

Also by general rule, negative imperatives are normally imperfective:

[8]   Но если моего мужа и моего сына отправят далеко, нам не на что будет жить,
       мы табакерку продадим. *Не* берите_{<IF IMV>} ее, пожалуйста.
       But if my husband and son are sent off, we won't have anything to live on, and
       we'll sell the snuff-box. Don't take it, please.
[9]   *Не* ставьте_{<IF IMV>} пустую бутылку на стол!
       Don't put an empty bottle on the table!

While this is the usual distribution of aspect in the imperative, the opposite, chiasmic, combinations occur. A negated perfective imperative indicates a warning against an event the speaker considers imminent: unless alternative strategies are adopted, the speaker expects the undesirable positive result to develop:[2]

[10]   – У вас есть пистолет? *Не* вздумайте_{<PF IMV>} застрелиться!
       – So you have a pistol? Don't even think of shooting yourself!
[11]   Провожая меня, Владимир сказал:
       – Смотри *не* осрамись_{<PF IMV>}, наберись_{<PF IMV>} нахальства, в случае чего ври, а
       меня *не* подведи_{<PF IMV>}.
       As he accompanied me, Vladimir said:
       – Watch you don't do something shameful, act with impudence, if there's a
       problem, lie, and don't give me away.

Imperfectives can be used as positive imperatives to express the usual senses of the imperfective, for example, a generalized action (*ври* in [11]) or habit ([12]):

[12]   По утрам открывай_{<IF IMV>} окно.
       Please open the window in the morning.

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[2] Kučera 1985.

Imperfective imperatives can also be used in certain pragmatic situations in which the speaker has in mind a single occasion, not a generalized activity.[3] The speaker can use an imperfective imperative to issue an invitation:

[13] Заходите<IF IMV>, раздевайтесь<IF IMV>!
    Come on in, take off your things.

Or to grant permission, when the addressee hesitates;

[14] – Можно я приду?   – Perhaps I might come over?
    – Приходи<IF IMV>.   – [Indeed, do] come.

Or to insist on an activity, when the addressee hesitates and there is a clear and present danger that the activity might not be performed:

[15] Берите<IF IMV>, не сомневайтесь<IF IMV>!
    Go ahead and take some, don't hesitate!

[16] *И*: Они же уезжают. Может, они машину   They are moving away. Maybe
       продадут?   they'll sell their car?
    Н: Наверное, они ее будут продавать.   No doubt they'll try to sell it.
    И: Наташа, продавайте<IF IMV> ее мне.   Natasha, sell it to me.

[17] Суп готов. Снимай<IF IMV>!
    The soup is ready. Remove it.

These contexts are alike in that, in all, the speaker anticipates that a certain activity is already established as a possibility, but is nevertheless not a certainty. What is at issue for the speaker is first and foremost whether the activity will occur at all, as opposed to not occurring. The imperfective is motivated by the focus on the binary question of the existence of the activity rather than on change and result.

Imperatives, self-evidently, are oriented to the addressee, and so are implicitly second person. Something like first-person imperatives can be formed by using the present form with a hortative intonation; the affix *-те* makes an inclusive plural ([18]):

[18] – Идемте<1PL+2PL PRS> с нами в кино, говорят, очень интересный фильм.
    – Come with us to the movies, they say, there's an interesting film.

Other constructions similar to imperatives can be formed by combining certain frozen imperative forms with verbs (often present-tense perfective) in any person.

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[3] Paducheva 1996 ([12], [13], [14], [15], [17]) first distinguishes three parameters: initial phase, immediacy, and contextual dependence, and then lists specific pragmatic situations. The general condition is insistence on the existence of the activity in the face of uncertainty (Timberlake 1998).

Дава́й(те) 'give, let' ([19]) or, less usually, *да́й(те)* ([20]) assume the addressee is the authority:

[19]   *Дава́йте* выберем_{<1PL PF PRS>} новый принтер для вашего офиса.
       Let's select a new printer for your office.

[20]   *Да́йте* я попробую_{<1SG PF PRS>}.
       Let me have a go at it.

With *пу́сть* 'let', the proposed event depends on the situation rather than on the addressee:

[21]   Вот пойду сейчас в милицию заявлю! *Пусть* приедут_{<3PL PF PRS>} да
       заберут_{<3PL PF PRS>}.
       I'll just go right now to inform the police. Let them come and take them off.

[22]   В подвале они какой-то магазин хотят открыть. Мало ли чем они там
       занимаются. Вечером приеду домой, позвоню в милицию. *Пускай*
       приедут_{<PF PRS>}, проверят_{<PF PRS>}.
       In the basement they want to open a store. There's hardly anything there're not
       into. This evening I'll go home, call the police. Let them come, check it out.

With *пуска́й*, less frequent by a ratio of at least five to one, the expectation is more tentative.

6.2.3 Conditional constructions

In their most explicit form, conditionals in Russian have a condition (PROTASIS) introduced by a conjunction such as *е́сли* 'if' (or *когда́* 'when') and a consequence (APODOSIS); the apodosis can be marked with the particle(s) *(a) то́* 'or else, and then'.[4] To be a conditional, a situation needs some degree of uncertainty about whether the condition and then also the consequence will be fulfilled. Four cardinal types of less-than-certain situations can be distinguished.

Epistemological conditions: The condition can be considered less than certain if the speaker's knowledge about an event is uncertain. EPISTEMOLOGICAL conditionals state that in the speaker's opinion, knowledge, or worldview, if the protasis is true, the truth of apodosis follows. The relation is not causality in the usual sense, whereby one state of the world is responsible for the existence of another state of the world; the sequence is in the speaker's epistemology. Tense, aspect, and mood are open.

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[4] On conditionals in Russian, see Kubík 1967 ([33]), Ueda 1998, and now Hacking 1998. A relevant general study is Dancygier 1998.

[23] Если раньше преобладало_{IF PST} сочувствие, то теперь у некоторых возникло_{PF PST} чувство, которое марксисты называют «классовой ненавистью».
If earlier a feeling of sympathy predominated, then now some have begun to experience the feeling that Marxists call "class hatred."

General (iterative) conditions: In repeating situations, some uncertainty of the protasis comes from the fact that the condition is not in force at every moment, but arises from time to time. In such general or iterative conditions in Russian, the verbs of both clauses are almost always imperfective. General conditions hold across time, and are naturally expressed in the present tense and realis mood ([24]), though they can be moved into the past ([25]) or the future or to counterfactual worlds. The conjunction is often *когда́* 'when' ([25]) rather than the quintessential conditional conjunction *е́сли* 'if'.

[24] *Если* кто-либо из учителей заболевал_{IF PST}, она его заменяла_{IF PST}.
If anyone of the teachers fell ill, she replaced him.
[25] *Когда* мы берем_{IF PRS} извозчика, он меня подсаживает_{IF PRS}, как будто бы я была гимназисткой пятого класса.
When we take a carriage, he seats me as if I were a gymnasium student of the fifth form.

Occasionally iterative conditionals can have a perfective protasis (instead of imperfective), emphasizing that the hypothesized condition is a result of an unpredictable event:

[26] А уж если какой гвоздь погнулся_{PF PST}, так не выкидывать_{IF INF} его, а непременно выпрямлять_{IF INF}.
And if some nail has managed to get bent, do not throw it out, rather, straighten it out.

Hypothetical: The speaker may invite the addressee to consider a world the speaker knows is not real. In such counterfactual conditions, both clauses use the particle *бы* and, accordingly, the past tense of a finite verb:

[27] *Если бы* они встретились_{PF PST} лет пять назад, то все *бы* уже давно кончилось_{PF PST}.
If they had met five years ago, then everything would have ended long ago.

Hypothetical situations often lie in the past ([27]), but they can hold in the present ([28]):

[28] Замечу лишь, что Хусейн, наверное, обиделся_{PF} *бы*, если *бы* его назвали_{PF} альтруистом.
I would only say that Hussein would most probably be offended if he were to be called an altruist.

Potential: Some conditions are uncertain in that they deal with potential states – states that are not actual at this moment but which might still come to pass. Potential conditions, which often lie in the future, are expressed by present-tense perfective forms or the imperfective futures.

[29]   У меня жар, он пройдет_{<PF PRS>}, если я найду_{<PF PRS>} банку с вареньем. Но ее спрятали, так как Вова и я все берем без спроса.
    I have a fever, it will pass, if I can just find the jar with the jam. But they've hidden it, because Vova and I keep taking from it without asking.

[30]   *Если* журналисты не дадут_{<PF PRS>} своего согласия, просто вырежет_{<PF PRS>} их статьи и будет_{<IF FUT>} наклеивать без гонорара.
    If the journalists won't give their permission, he'll simply cut the articles out and put them up without paying for them.

[31]   *Если* я не выучу_{<PF PRS>} всех глав, от первой до последней, мне будет_{<IF FUT>} плохо.
    If I do not learn all of the chapters, from the first to the last, it'll be bad for me.

The cardinal patterns discussed are summarized in [32].

[32]	*type*	*prototypical tense-aspect and mood*
	epistemological	any; realis
	general	past ~ present imperfective; realis
	hypothetical	past perfective; irrealis
	potential	present-tense perfective ~ imperfective future; realis

If the condition is hypothetical, then the irrealis mood with *бы* is used. If iterative, then imperfective is used.

In the usual case, the protasis and apodosis represent the same degree of reality – both are potential or hypothetical – and are expressed with the same or comparable tense and mood. (The imperfective future and perfective present are comparable in both referring to events in the future.) In iterative conditionals, aspect also matches in the two clauses. Mismatches in mood (or "hybrid" conditionals) require special semantic conditions. The least unusual hybrid is that in which the protasis is in the irrealis mood and the apodosis in the indicative; this condition is possible if *бы* is understood as concessive and the apodosis reports a negative result ('no matter what, there will be no result'):

[33]   Если бы_{<IRR>} я, например, попробовал разводить овощи или еще что-нибудь полезное, – ничего не выйдет_{<PF PRS>}.
    Even if, for example, I were to try to grow vegetables or do something else productive, – still, nothing will come of it.

Conditionals can also use imperatives in the protasis, and not only with second persons:

[34] Пожелай_{<PF IMV>} он, они *бы* в Москву переехали_{<PF>}.
     If he had just wished it, they could move to Moscow.

[35] Живи_{<IF IMV>} мы с Вами в англосаксонских странах, фонологическое описание мира было *бы* уже готово.
     Let us live in Anglo-Saxon countries, the phonological description of the world would already be done.

The imperative as protasis has been idiomatized: *бýдь егó вóля* 'if he could have his way'. The apodosis can also be imperative:

[36] Правительство издало строжайший закон: опоздал_{<PF PST>} на работу более чем на двадцать минут – катись_{<IF IMV>} ко всем чертям.
     The government issued an extremely strict law: if you're late to work by more than twenty minutes, go to the devil.

   The protasis may be a free infinitive not governed by any overt modal predicate:

[37] Если взять_{<INF>} ее в рот, чувствуется_{<IF IMV>} противный вкус меди.
     If you put the spoon in your mouth, you get the unpleasant taste of copper.

The protasis may be a negated nominal:

[38] Если бы *не* революция, будущий брак между двумя знатнейшими родами считался бы исключительно удачным.
     If it were not for the revolution, this future marriage between two very eminent clans would have been thought to be extraordinarily successful.

The syntax of this phrase is a puzzle: it seems to be a negative existential, yet the argument is nominative, not genitive.

   Conditionals can be defective, with only one clause explicitly stated. A protasis used without an apodosis leaves the consequence to the imagination:

[39] Вот *если* б кто-нибудь принес лимонное мороженое, стаканчик за три копейки, набитый дивным мороженым . . .
     And think what if somebody were to bring lemon ice cream, a three-kopeck container filled with amazing ice cream . . .

The protasis can be stated in compressed form (*в такóм слýчае* 'in that case' = 'if the condition just under discussion is fulfilled') or derived from the context ([40–41]):

[40] Хорошо, что Боря не видит этих книг. Он *бы* презирал меня за отсутствие интересов.

It's a good thing Boria doesn't see these books. [If he were to see them] He would despise me for an absence of interests.

[41] Теперь тем книгам цены *бы* не было.

Now such books would be priceless [if they could be found].

There is also a sense in which the use of *бы* in a single clause could be understood as inviting a conditional interpretation (§6.2.7).

6.2.4 Dependent irrealis mood: possibility, volitive, optative

Clauses with the conjunction *чтобы* are used as complements of various predicates describing necessity ([42]) or the speaker's will ([43]) or wishes ([44]). These matrix predicates can take infinitives when the subject of the imposed event matches the argument of the main clause on whom the obligation is imposed. *Чтобы* is used when the subject of the embedded clause is *not* the same as the matrix argument.

[42] Обязательно *надо*, *чтобы* музыка была и *чтобы* пели.

It's absolutely necessary that there be music and singing.

[43] Родители не *хотели*, *чтобы* он уезжал.

Our parents didn't want that he should leave.

[44] Владимир *хлопотал*, *чтобы* ему журналы заказывали.

Vladimir tried to arrange that they should order journals for him.

The irrealis mood is justified in that the situation is not actual; rather, it is deemed necessary or desirable by some authority.

6.2.5 Dependent irrealis mood: epistemology

Certain matrix predicates comment on the nature of the information reported by an embedded predicate: some indicate how certain the information is (*казáться* 'seem', *извéстно* 'known', *совершéнно невéрно* 'completely untrue') or how strong the speaker's commitment to the information is (*сомневáться* 'doubt', *не вéрится* 'it's hard to believe', *знáть* 'know', *считáть* 'think, consider') or what the speaker's attitude to the information is (*рáдоваться* 'be pleased', *боя́ться* 'be afraid', *восхити́ться* 'become ecstatic'). Other predicates indicate that the information derives from the speaker's observation (*ви́деть* 'see', *слы́шать* 'hear', *наблюдáть* 'observe'). Information can be passed on by the primary (external) speaker from a secondary (internal) speaker. In all these instances, the internal history of the embedded clause is epistemologically less than completely certain.

In such clauses Russian generally uses the conjunction *что* with the indicative mood, but *чтобы* can be used if the matrix clause is laden with negation (*нельзя*

сказать, чтобы 'it would impossible to say that') or dread (*бояться, чтобы не* 'be afraid, lest'):

[45]   На Сенной площади я что-то *не помню*, *чтобы* продавалось сено.
      On Haymarket Square, I somehow don't recall that any hay got sold.

[46]   Вырастала она *нельзя сказать чтобы* красавицей.
      She grew up to be what you couldn't call a beauty.

[47]   Никогда *не поверю*, *чтобы* Катя была стукачкой!
      I will never believe that Katia could have been an informer!

[48]   Я всегда *боялся*, *чтобы* мать где-нибудь и кому-нибудь *не* пожаловалась на меня.
      I was always afraid lest mother complain about me somewhere and to someone.

When *чтобы* is used, it indicates the primary speaker's profound doubt or fear about the embedded history. *Что* is a more universal and neutral way of formulating the information.

6.2.6 Dependent irrealis mood: reference

A relative clause turns a predication into a property of an argument. That property can be descriptive of an entity whose identity is already established or it can be definitional of an entity not yet established in the discourse as a known individual. In a definitional relative clause, the particle *бы* signals that the entity is quite hypothetical:

[49]   Сейчас уже никого не осталось, кто знал *бы* так близко Леонида Борисовича в повседневной жизни, как довелось мне.
      Now there is no one left who might have known Leonid Borisovich as intimately in his daily life, as I had the chance to.

6.2.7 Independent irrealis moods

The particle *бы* can be used in independent clauses, in two ways.[5]

First, *бы* can be used in independent clauses in combination with predicates that are already modal – predicates that comment on possibility, ability, necessity, desirability, epistemology.

[50]   Я хотела бы$_{<IRR>}$ заткнуть уши, но не решаюсь.
      I wanted to stuff my ears, but I can't make up my mind.

The particle has the effect of softening the modality. Usually the situation is counterfactual: in [50], the girl does not actually dare to stuff her ears.

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[5] See Garde 1963, which deals exhaustively with all uses of *бы* ([51], [52]).

Second, the irrealis mood can be used without any overt support from the context: in [51], to express a suggestion; in [52], to express a deliberation, a wish.

[51] Вы *бы* отдохнули, тетя Рая.
      You ought to rest a bit, Aunt Raia.
[52] Честное слово, я, не задумываясь, убила *бы* этого типа.
      Honest to God, I'd kill that guy without giving it a second thought.

This independent usage seems restricted and infrequent in the twentieth century.

The independent irrealis mood expressing a wish has become idiomatized with phrases such as *то́лько бы* 'if only' or *ли́шь бы* 'if only':

[53] Он начинает декламировать очень длинные стихи, и учитель готов поставить ему любую отметку, *лишь бы* он замолчал.
      He starts declaiming very long poems, and the teacher is ready to give him any grade, if only he'll shut up.

6.2.8 Syntax and semantics of modal predicates

The syntax and semantics of the small set of predicates that have modal content deserve further study, but their core properties can be outlined as follows.

There is a basic syntactic difference splitting these predicates, and that syntactic difference is correlated with a semantic difference. *На́до* 'be necessary', *нельзя́* 'be impossible, inappropriate', and *мо́жно* 'possible' are all impersonal. The modality they report is a fact about the world in general, and the modality would have force for anyone who happened to be in the situation. The force of this general modality may be directed to a specific individual in context, expressed in the dative as a domain (a goal) for the force of the obligation.

[54] Я сбился с дороги. Начало темнеть. Тяжелый рюкзак оттягивал плечи. А идти *надо* было обязательно. И продукты принести, и явиться вовремя.
      I lost my way. It began to get dark. The heavy backpack tugged on my shoulders. And yet it was absolutely necessary to go. To bring the goods, to appear on time.

In [54], the obligation is a general rule, though it applies to a specific individual: to achieve a certain goal (delivering the goods), anyone would have to act in a certain way.

Мо́жно, which also has impersonal syntax, is concerned with the conditions under which something is possible. The possibility is universal – it could apply to anyone:

[55] На гору *можно* вскарабкаться пешком, но *можно* ехать и на трамвае.
      It is possible to scramble up on foot, but it is also possible to go on the tram.

[56] Освоение жанра *можно* найти еще в «Сладкой жизни».
It's possible to see the mastery of the genre already in *La dolce vita*.

Возмо́жно 'possible' is concerned with whether the possibility exists at all ([57]).

[57] Их освоение *возможно* только при высокопрофессиональном подходе.
Mastery of them is possible [at all] only with a thoroughly professional approach.

In contrast to these impersonal predicates, *до́лжен* and *мо́чь* are personal: they usually have a subject in the nominative case. They report an obligation (*до́лжен*) or possibility (*мо́чь*), which is presented not as a universal obligation or possibility, but as a function of the individual who is the subject. In [58],

[58] Если меня вызовут, я *должен* немедленно возвращаться в Москву.
If they call me, I have to return to Moscow immediately.

the obligation is not a general law, but a specific constraint that binds the speaker. *До́лжен* is an individuated obligation that arises from specific circumstances; it is negotiated, discussed, adjusted to a given individual. *До́лжен* is also used for predictions:

[59] Пароход *должен* прийти через два часа.
The steamship was due to arrive two hours later.

Мо́чь is a possibility that arises for a given individual because of the properties of that individual, under specific circumstances: in [60], if the speaker takes a certain route, then some unpleasantness might arise:

[60] Ближе всего было идти по Воронежской, но там я *мог* встретить знакомых, мальчишки *могли* меня засмеять.
It was closer to go by way of Voronezh Road, but that way I might meet acquaintances, and the boys might make fun of me.

Мо́чь 'can, may', the only true verb among these modal predicates, has a perfective partner *смо́чь* 'come to be able, permitted', which reports the inception of possibility over a restricted occasion. Thus *до́лжен* and *мо́чь*, which are personal rather than impersonal in their syntax, treat modality as a function of the individual rather than as a general rule.

The interaction of negation and modality is elusive in any language. Under negation, *не на́до* 'not necessary' states absence of necessity of an activity, or even more, that the event should not occur in the present or should not have occurred in the past ([61]). *Нельзя́* categorically prohibits an event that was anticipated to be possible ([62]):

[61]   *Не надо* было ей уезжать за границу.
       She shouldn't have left the country.

[62]   Один из них сказал, что дальше мне ехать *нельзя*, я замёрзну.
       One of them said that I could not travel further; I'd freeze.

[63]   На трамвае нам было *невозможно* ехать.
       On the tram it was impossible for us to go.

Невозмо́жно serves as the negation for both *возмо́жно* and *мо́жно* ([63]).

6.3 Tense

6.3.1 Predicates and times, in general

Predicate histories are ultimately anchored in the here and now of speech. Every predicate history has to be accessible to the addressee. As Augustine informed us, "there are three times, the present of things past, the present of things present, and the present of things future."[6] That is to say, Augustine believed that discussing the world in time presupposes an operation to get from the here and now of speech to the "present" we want to discuss. To do so, the speaker constructs a path (a vector, a linkage) from the speech moment to a contextual time-world, which can be in the present (accessible by intuition and observation) or the past (accessible by memory, says Augustine) or the future (accessible by anticipation).

Tense is the grammatical device for constructing a path from the present of the speech moment to the contextual occasions over which the histories take place.[7]

[64]   Пишу$_{<IF\ PRS>}$ тебе в маленькой комнате с наглухо закрытыми ставнями. Горит$_{<IF\ PRS>}$ камин и свистят$_{<IF\ PRS>}$ поезда. Часа четыре назад мы приехали$_{<PST>}$ наконец в Ньюкастл, по дороге набрались$_{<PST>}$ страху, так как немцы нас разыскивали$_{<PST>}$ но капитан изменил$_{<PST>}$ курс. Завтра в 4 будем$_{<FUT>}$ в Лондоне и завтра же начнутся$_{<PF\ PRS>}$ банкеты и осмотры, а через неделю поедем$_{<PF\ PRS>}$ на фронт. Нам обещают$_{<IF\ PRS>}$ показать немцев шагах в 50-ти. Затем повезут$_{<PF\ PRS>}$ осматривать флот. Ньюкастл произвёл на меня очень сильное впечатление, – это город верфей, кораблей и каменного угля.
       I'm writing you in a small room with shutters closed up tight. A fireplace is burning and trains whistle. Just four hours ago we finally arrived in Newcastle, on the journey we had a scare, because the Germans were searching for us, but the captain changed course. Tomorrow at four we'll be in London and tomorrow the

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[6] Augustine 1960:XI.20.

[7] On Russian tense, see in general Bondarko 1971, additionally Comrie 1985. Gvozdanović 1994 is a crisp presentation of the relationship between tense and aspect in Russian.

banquets and inspections begin, and then a week later we head for the front.
They are promising to show us Germans at fifty paces. Then they'll take us to
inspect the Navy. Newcastle made a great impression on me – this is a city of
shipyards, ships, and coal.

When the speaker uses the present tense (here, *пишу́* 'I write', *гори́т* 'burns',
свистя́т 'whistle', *обеща́ют* 'they promise'), the speaker remains in the same
world as the present of the moment of the speech. Past-tense forms of the verb
construct a path to a contextual occasion in the past. In [64], there is more
than one layer of past: the recent arrival (*прие́хали*), from which the speaker
leads the addressee to an earlier time during the prior journey (*на́с разы́скивали*;
измени́л); in context, the task of constructing linkages can be complex, recursive,
even though there is only one morphological form of the verb expressing past
tense. To guide the addressee to a world lying in the future from the present of
speech, the speaker uses either the periphrastic future, if the verb is imperfective
or anaspectual (in [64], *бу́дем в Ло́ндоне*) or the present-tense perfective form
(*начну́тся*, *пое́дем*).

The general picture for Russian is that there are three types of contextual
occasions, as has long been assumed: past, present, future. By and large, these
are signaled by the morphology of tense in straightforward ways, as in [64]. As
far as the grammatical forms are concerned, the only complication is that per-
fective verbs have forms analogous to present-tense forms among imperfectives,
but these forms are used for events that will be completed in the future. In-
teresting complications arise when the path from the speech moment to the
history becomes more complex in one way or another. One complication is the
use of tense in embedded (syntactically subordinate) clauses. The other is the
historical present, the use of the present in narrating an event understood to
have occurred in the past.

6.3.2 Tense in finite adjectival and adverbial clauses

Finite verbs in subordinate clauses introduced by conjunctions are marked with
tense, as befits finite verbs. Four types of clauses can be distinguished: adjecti-
val, or relative, clauses (usually formed with *кото́рый* 'which'); adverbial clauses
(introduced by *когда́* 'when', *ка́к* 'as', *е́сли* 'if'); argument clauses that express
information – speech or thought or belief or perception or regrets or hopes;
and argument clauses that express modality. The last type uses the conjunction
что́бы 'in order that', and takes the past tense automatically (§6.2.4).

Adjectival and adverbial finite clauses treat tense in a similar fashion. Tense
in such clauses is determined in relation to the here and now of speech rather
than the time of the main clause. Consider a relative clause attached to a main

clause whose verb is a perfective past. A perfective event in the relative clause that occurs about the same time as the main event is expressed as past, because it is past relative to the time of speech:

[65]   Я случайно подслушал один разговор, который меня заинтересовал_{\<PF PST>} чрезвычайно.
I accidentally overheard a conversation that interested me tremendously.

If need be, adverbs can be added to localize a perfective event in relation to the main clause, as earlier ([66]) or later ([67]):

[66]   Однажды явился к нам в аудиторию один активист, у которого *недавно* вышла тоненькая повестушка «Белые волки».
Once a certain activist came to talk to us in the auditorium, who not long ago had had a thin tale called "White Wolves" come out.

[67]   Там, в Вологде, я написал первые строфы стихотворения, которое дописал *уже позже*.
There, in Vologda, I wrote the first lines of a poem that I would finish only later.

If the embedded verb is imperfective past (e.g., *игрáл*), it can have any temporal relation to the main predicate: prior ([68]), simultaneous ([69]), or subsequent ([70]), but will be expressed as past, if the event is past relative to the here and now of speech.

[68]   Я встретила у Вали артиста, который когда-то играл_{\<IF PST>} Чацкого.
At Valia's I met an actor who had once played Chatsky.

[69]   Я встретила у Вали артиста, который играл_{\<IF PST>} Чацкого в местном театре.
At Valia's I met an actor who played Chatsky in the local theater.

[70]   Он нажил болезнь, которой страдал_{\<IF PST>} всю последующую жизнь.
He acquired a disease, from which he suffered all the rest of his life.

If the situation mentioned in the relative clause is simultaneous with the here and now of speech, the present tense is used ([71]). If the situation is future, it is expressed by the imperfective future tense ([72]) or the morphological present of perfectives.

[71]   Его ближайшим начальником был инженер Камзолкин, о котором мой отец упоминает_{\<IF PRS>} в своих воспоминаниях.
His immediate supervisor was an engineer named Kamzolkin, whom my father mentions in his memoirs.

[72]   Он стал директором вновь создаваемой фирмы, которая в Карелии будет_{\<FUT>} вырабатывать гранитный камень.
He became the director of a newly formed company that will extract granite in Karelia.

The behavior of tense with adverbial clauses, specifically embedded clauses introduced by *когда* 'when', is similar. With *когда*, the events of the embedded clauses as a rule occur in the temporal vicinity of the event of the main clause, whether it is a perfective ([73]) or an imperfective ([74]):

[73] Я очень обрадовался, когда увидел_{PF PST} сосны по сторонам дороги.
I was thrilled when I saw the pines along the side of the road.

[74] Прежде, когда она за мной ухаживала_{IF PST}, она носила платья, похожие на институтские.
Earlier, when she used to take care of me, she wore dresses like school uniforms.

If the event of the main clause is present, the event of the *когда* clause will also be present ([75]); and if the main verb is future, the *когда* event will be as well ([76]):

[75] И теперь, когда я слышу_{IF PRS} по радио эту серенаду, то всегда вспоминаю_{IF PRS} Артемия.
And nowadays, when I hear that song on the radio, I always recall Artemy.

[76] Вова у велосипедной девочки и кодга он вернется_{PF PRS}, он будет_{FUT} очень недоволен.
Vova is visiting the bicycle girl and when he comes back, he'll be very displeased.

The conjunction *пока* 'while, for so long as' differs from *когда*.[8] If the event of the *пока* clause is imperfective, it overlaps an imperfective ([77]) or frames a perfective event ([78]):

[77] Пока поднимались_{IF PST} по лестнице, дежурные нас торопили_{IF PST}: «Скорее, скорее!»
While we were climbing, the dezhurnye were hurrying us along: "Faster, faster!"

[78] Пока одевался_{IF PST}, в дверь постучали_{PF PST}.
While I was getting dressed, they knocked at the door.

But if the verb of the *пока* clause is negated and perfective, *пока* sets limits: the state or activity of the main (imperfective) predicate continued or will continue only until the perfective event in the subordinate clause with *пока* occurs. The whole situation can be grounded in the past ([79]) or the future ([80]):

[79] Пока не стемнело_{PF PST}, все любовался_{IF PST} Окой и ее берегами.
Until it got dark, I admired the Oka and its banks.

[80] Будем_{FUT} шагать, пока не надоест_{PF PRS}.
We'll keep walking until we get tired of it.

In summary, in finite subordinate relative clauses and adverbial clauses, embedded events often occur in the vicinity of the time-world of the main event.

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[8] The analysis here owes much to Barentsen (1979) (with simplifications).

Grammatical tense in the subordinate clause is determined with respect to the time of speech.

6.3.3 Tense in argument clauses

The third group of subordinate clauses are those that fulfill the functions of nominal arguments. They can be subjects: {*ясно* ∼ *мне казалось* ∼ *меня возмутило (то)* ∼ *стало известно*} *что* '{it is clear ∼ it seemed to me ∼ it upset me ∼ it became known} that'. Or they can be objects: {*знаю* ∼ *считаю* ∼ *говорю* ∼ *верю* ∼ *доложил*}, *что* 'I {know ∼ consider ∼ say ∼ believe ∼ reported} that'. In these instances the main verb reports speech in an extended sense: speech, thought, attitudes, beliefs, knowledge, perceptions, representations. Clauses of embedded speech (in this generous sense) can be said to have two layers of speech and speakers: the speech of the primary, or EXTERNAL, speaker, as opposed to the speech of the secondary, or INTERNAL, speaker. In such situations of nested speech, the internal speaker is closer to the event reported; the external speaker has access to that information only by virtue of being the addressee of the internal speaker. This fact influences how tense is used in such clauses.[9]

The most general conjunction is *что* 'that'. With *что*, there are five possibilities of tense-aspect forms in the subordinate clause. Assume that the main verb, which names the act of reporting internal speech, is in the past tense. (a) Then a PAST PERFECTIVE refers to an event completed earlier than the time of internal speech ([81] *похоронил*):

[81] Едик рассказал<PF PST>, что похоронил<PF PST> жену, и заплакал.
      Edik told that he had buried his wife, and began to cry.

(b) A PAST IMPERFECTIVE refers to a state or activity that occurred prior to the time of the internal speech (in [82], a prior conversation is discussed on the way home):

[82] По дороге он рассказал мне, что в кабинете у Савинкова речь шла<IF PST> о какой-то третьей России.
      On the way he told me that the discussion at Savinkov's had been about the so-called Third Russia.

(c) An event expressed as a PERFECTIVE PRESENT is future relative to the time of internal speech ([83]), (d) as is a FUTURE IMPERFECTIVE ([84]):

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[9] The variation has been recognized and documented by Boeck (1957, 1958, source of [94]) and more recently Barentsen (1996) (especially for clauses with *как*). For other (not identical) views, see Brecht 1975, Comrie 1986[b]. Declerck's analysis of English tense (1991) can be adapted to Russian.

[83] Ася была уверена, что моя мама не согласится_{<PF PRS>}.
Asia was convinced my mother would not agree.

[84] Тогда я дала себе слово, что больше салфеток вышивать не буду_{<FUT>}.
At that time I promised myself that I would never embroider napkins again.

(e) The fifth tense-aspect form is the PRESENT-TENSE IMPERFECTIVE, which refers to an event that holds on the occasion (time and world) of the *internal* speech:

[85] Вскоре все рабочие поняли, что работают_{<IF PRS>} они, в сущности, бесплатно, только за паек.
Soon all the workers understood that they were working, in fact, for no pay, just for rations.

[86] Куприн дремал перед пустой бутылкой, а может быть, притворялся, что дремлет_{<IF PRS>}.
Kuprin dozed in front of an empty bottle, or possibly, pretended that he was dozing.

In [85], the work includes the time of understanding, and in [86], the dozing overlaps the secondary speech event (Kuprin's dissimulation). It might be noted that, according to the "sequence of tense rule," the embedded verb in English would have an additional mark of past tense, reflecting the fact that the internal speech is embedded under a past verb.

Indirect questions determine tense relative to the time of the matrix clause in a similar fashion. In [87] the present-tense question concerns a situation at the same time as the question was posed. In [88], the questions are localized relative to the time of imagination.

[87] Любовь Михайловна спросила, как ему живется_{<IF PRS>} в Томске.
Liubov Mikhailovna asked how he was getting along in Tomsk.

[88] Не могли представить себе – кого они увидят_{<PF PRS>}, какой он стал_{<PF PST>}?
They could not imagine – who would they see, how had he changed?

The same principle – tense in the subordinate clause is determined with respect to the time of the internal speech event – holds when the matrix verb is a subjunctive or future. In [89], the pin-swallowing is predicted to occur after the shouting begins, and this projected act is expressed by a perfective present referring to the future.

[89] Если б я взяла булавку в рот, со всех сторон стали бы_{<IRR>} кричать, что сейчас я проглочу_{<PF PRS>} ее и мне придется_{<PF PRS>} делать операцию.
If I should put a pin in my mouth, they would cry out from all sides that I am just about to swallow it and I'll have to have an operation.

[90]   Когда близнецы узнают$_{<PF\ PRST>}$, что появился$_{<PF\ PST>}$ какой-то Бобик, они будут
рычать.
      When the twins find out that some Bobik has appeared, they'll growl.

In [90], Bobik's appearance is past tense because it occurs before the future
awareness of it.

Thus, as a rule, clauses conveying speech (intelligence, speech, knowledge,
etc.) – those introduced by *что* or indirect questions with no conjunction –
determine tense in the embedded clause in relation to the time at which the
internal speech occurs rather than in relation to the here and now of the primary
speech.

In addition to *что*, Russian also uses the interrogative *как* 'how' as a conjunc-
tion specifically with verbs of perception: *наблюдать, как* 'observe how'; *видеть,
как* 'see how'. Verbs of perception are also verbs of speech, in the broad sense:
the external speaker has access to information about the world only through
the observations and perceptions of the internal speaker. But with *как*, unlike
with *что*, the time of the secondary speech is tightly constrained; whatever is
observed must hold at the time of observation. Thus a past perfective event is
encompassed by the interval of observation:

[91]   Я видела, как он в коридоре ущипнул$_{<PF\ PST>}$ в одно место глупую Катю.
      I saw how he pinched stupid Katia in a certain place.

The interesting fact is that imperfectives in the subordinate clause introduced
by *как* can be either past or present. The present tense reports an activity that
is viewed from the perspective of the internal speaker (the observer), as it is in
progress; what is of interest is *how* the activity proceeds, such as how the horse
moved ([92]):

[92]   И она увидела, как по дороге от леса довольно ходко едет$_{<IF\ PRS>}$ лошадь.
      She saw how a horse was going at a good clip on the road out of the forest.

In contrast, the past imperfective with *как* focuses on the fact that the event
occurs at all. It is appropriate if the interval of observation encompasses the
event ([93] – they kiss for a while but stop) or if the event of observation is
displaced to the distant past ([94]).

[93]   Я видела, как они целовались$_{<IF\ PST>}$.
      I saw how they kissed.
[94]   Они знали, что пленный хорошо понимает русский язык, многие слышали,
      как его допрашивал$_{<IF\ PST>}$ командир полка.
      They knew that the prisoner understood Russian well, many of them had heard
      how the regiment commander had interrogated him.

With *как* embedded under verbs of observation, the past imperfective is quite frequent, as much as half of the tokens for some authors.

In fact, the past imperfective can also be used with the conjunction *что*. Although the present tense is usual, a past imperfective is possible if the event is localized to a specific moment in the past ([95]) or the whole situation lies in the remote past ([96]):[10]

[95]   Он понял, что в этот момент Петров не слушал$_{<\text{IF PST}>}$ его.
       He understood that at that moment Petrov wasn't listening to him.

[96]   Могла ли я знать, что как раз в те дни был$_{<\text{PST}>}$ предан суду и ожидал$_{<\text{IF PST}>}$ смертного приговора обвиненный в подготовке покушения на жизнь Николая II инженер Зильберберг, родной брат моей героини?
       Could I possibly have known that exactly in those days an engineer named Zilberberg (the brother of my heroine) was in the hands of the court and was awaiting the death sentence in connection with the attempt on the life of Nicholas II?

In [96], the narrator takes two steps into the past: from the present (when she writes) to her memories of émigré life in Paris in the twenties, and from there back further in time to the turbulent life of 1906; the memory is buried deep in the past.

The past imperfective is usual when the internal speech (observation) repeats ([97–98]):

[97]   Иногда заходил Саша. Он с восхищением посматривал на Наталку, и Серега замечал, что она при этом опускала$_{<\text{IF PST}>}$ глаза.
       Sometimes Sasha would drop in. He would look with admiration at Natalka, and Serega would notice that she would lower her eyes at this.

Iterative contexts presuppose that there is a series of discrete sub-events. Each sub-event involves a definitive change and, as a single event, would be expressed as the past perfective (*Серега заметил, как она опустила$_{<\text{PF PST}>}$ глаза* 'Serega noticed how she lowered her eyes').[11] This past is carried over when the situation is iterated.

Table 6.1 summarizes the conditions for using the present imperfective as opposed to past imperfective for events understood to be simultaneous with past-tense verbs of speech. Generalizing, we can say that the past is possible (with *как*, likely) when the external speaker presents a past situation as limited in validity to a time and world that is anterior to – and more than that, is distinct from – the time and world of the external speaker. Using the past imperfective

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[10] Boeck's observation (1957, 1958), labeled "synchronization" in Timberlake 1982.
[11] Boeck (1957), Timberlake (1982).

Table 6.1 *Tense of imperfectives, simultaneous activity*

condition	past tense	present tense
temporality of embedded history	temporally restricted (to specific moment; or over a durative interval)	temporally extended (the quality of a specific activity; universal truth)
quantification of embedded history	iteration of discrete sub-events	single continuous state or activity
linkage of embedded history to internal speech	*как* (restricts activity to interval of observation)	*что*, indirect questions (free temporal reference)
temporality of internal speech	retrospective, displaced	on main narrative line
linkage of internal speech to primary speech	subject clause (more factual)	object clause (more subjective)
linkage of internal speech to primary speech	perspectives of two speakers differentiated	perspectives of two speakers not differentiated

makes clear the disjunction between speakers, and makes explicit that there is a complex linkage involving two distinct steps from the time of external speech event to internal speech event, and from there to the reported history.

By using the present imperfective (the more frequent choice with *что*), the speaker fails to differentiate the external here and now of speech and the time-world of the internal event of speech.[12] The external speaker may cede the point of view to the internal speaker, or the points of view of the two speakers, external and internal, may blend into one.

Table 6.2 gives a summary of some of the possibilities with standardized examples.

6.3.4 Shifts of perspective in tense: historical present

To narrate stories of events that have already occurred, speakers normally use the past tense. The past tense signals that the contextual occasions around which the events occurred lie in the past, and it establishes a link from the here and now of speech to those past contextual occasions. There is an alternative mode of narration, termed the HISTORICAL PRESENT. Once the linkage from the here and now of speech to the contextual time-world has been established, the speaker can shift the perspective to the contextual time-world and use that time as if it were the here and now of speech, and from the perspective of that time, narrate events using present-tense imperfective verbs.

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[12] Barentsen (1996:43).

Table 6.2 *Tense in object argument clauses of speech*

pattern	example	interpretation
PST *что* {PST PF}	*Он заметил, что она опустила*_{PF PST} *глаза.* 'He noticed that she lowered her eyes.'	definitive change prior to internal speech
PST *что* {PST IF}	*Он (иногда) замечал, что она (в этот момент) опускала*_{IF PST} *глаза.* 'He (often) noticed that (at that moment) she lowered her eyes.'	activity (state) not extending beyond internal speech
PST *что* {PRS IF}	*Он заметил, что она опускает*_{IF PRS} *глаза.* 'He noticed that she was lowering her eyes.'	activity (state) extending beyond internal speech
PST *что* {PRS PF}	*Он подумал, что она согласится*_{PF PRS}. 'He thought that she would agree.'	definitive change after internal speech
PST *что* {FUT IF}	*Он подумал, что будут*_{IF FUT} *танцевать.* 'He thought they would dance.'	event after internal speech
PST *как* {PST PF}	*Он заметил, как она опустила*_{PF PST} *глаза.* 'He noticed how she lowered her eyes.'	definitive change within observation
PST *как* {PST IF}	*Он (часто) замечал, как она опускала*_{IF PST} *глаза.* 'He (often) observed how she lowered her eyes.'	incomplete (or repeated) activity within observation
PST *как* {PRS IF}	*Он заметил, как она опускает*_{IF PRS} *глаза.* 'He noticed how she was lowering her eyes.'	incomplete activity extending beyond observation

As an example, observe the alternation between past perfectives and present imperfectives in [98], where the narrator tells of forcing a train to make an emergency stop.

[98] Один раз я даже затормозил_{PF PST} его у Фандерфлита// <...> Потому что мне сказал главный кондуктор что он остановится | а он не остановился_{PF PST} идет_{IF PRS} дальше | <...> я | так сказать | еще ... можно сказать ... стоял_{IF PST} уже на подножке чтобы выходить | схватил_{PF PST} этот тормоз | дернул_{PF PST} | и думаю_{IF PRS} что наверно он не затормозит || <...> Он так затормозил_{PF PST} что все полетели_{PF PST} с полок | там Бог знает что | багаж весь попадал_{IF PST} и все такое || А я схватил_{PF PST} свои вещички | вижу_{IF PRS} кусты рядом | скорей в кусты || (*смех*) <...> Там сел_{PF PST} и сижу_{IF PRS}

думаю_{<IF PRS>} что будет // Ну и вот проходит_{<IF PRS>} потом этот оберкондуктор и механик // механик ругается_{<IF PRS>} ужасно //

Once I actually stopped it at Fanderflit // <. . .> Because the head conductor had told me that he would stop / but he did not stop, keeps going / <. . .> I / so to say / well . . . you could say . . . was standing on the footboard in order to get out / grabbed that brake / jerked / and I'm thinking that it won't brake // <. . .> It braked so hard that everything went flying from the shelves / and God knows what / the baggage went falling and everything // And I grabbed my things / I see some bushes nearby / as quickly as possible into the bushes // (*laughter*) <. . .> I sat down there and I'm sitting thinking what's going to happen // Well then there goes by that head conductor and the mechanic // the mechanic is cursing terribly //

Here past-tense verbs, almost all perfective, advance the narrative sequence, while present imperfective verbs convey the perceptions of an internal observer/speaker. Accordingly, the onset of the historical present is common when speech or perception is explicitly introduced (*сел и сижу думаю* in [98]) or when an observer changes location (in [100]).

Stylistically, the historical present is versatile. Consistent with its name, it is used in popular writing about history, as in [99], perhaps more freely in Russian than in English.

[99] В княжение Андрея Боголюбского (1157–75) архитектура переживает_{<IF PRS>} период яркого и плодотворного подъема <. . .> Андрей порывает_{<IF PRS>} с Киевом <. . .> и уходит_{<IF PRS>} на север <. . .> Андрей Боголюбский выступает_{<IF PRS>} как непримиримый и энергичный борец за объединение Руси под сильной княжеской властью <. . .> Ему приходится_{<IF PRS>} вступить в неравную борьбу и с самой Византией <. . .>

In the reign of Andrei Bogoliubsky (1157–75) architecture experiences a period of brilliant and fruitful development <. . .> Andrei breaks with Kiev <. . .> and goes to the North <. . .> Andrei Bogoliubsky acts as an uncompromising and energetic warrior for the unification of Rus under firm princely power <. . .> He is forced to enter into an unequal battle with Byzantium itself <. . .>

At the far end of the stylistic spectrum, the historical present is a mark of oral storytelling ([98] above). It is then used in fiction to imitate the narrative of the oral raconteur. Example [100] is set up with past events, but then shifts to the present when the new character appears:

[100] Конференция состоялась в Политехническом институте. Я туда заехал_{<PF PST>}, побеседовал_{<PF PST>}. Через пять минут информация была_{<PST>} готова. Отдал_{<PF PST>} ее в секретариат. Появляется_{<IF PRS>} редактор Туронок <. . .> На этот раз возбужден:

– Вы допустили грубую идеологическую ошибку.
The conference took place in the Polytechnic Institute. I went there, talked a bit.
In five minutes the notice was ready. I handed it over to the secretariat. The editor
Turonok appears. <. . .> This time agitated.
– You've made a crude ideological mistake.

The historical present has some properties that are different from ordinary
present-tense imperfectives. For example, *приезжáть*_{<IF>} cannot ordinarily be
used in the present tense to refer to an event of arriving actually in progress,
but it can be used as a historical present:

[101] Когда мы приезжаем_{<IF PRS>}, оказывается, что нас сильно потрясло.
When we get there, it turns out that we have been thoroughly shaken up.

Also, *дóлго* 'long time' presumes that an activity has ceased (in order to ascertain
that its duration was lengthy), yet it combines with the historical present:

[102] Мы остановились на мраморном мостике. Облокотясь о балюстраду, Толстой
вычищает_{<IF PRS>} любимую трубку, долго ковыряет_{<IF PRS>} в ней.
We stopped on a marble bridge. Leaning on the balustrade, Tolstoy cleans his
favorite pipe, digs in it for a long time.

Thus, the historical present is a shift of perspective, not just a substitution of
verb forms, that narrates as if from the contextual occasion in the past, but at
the same time takes for granted a linkage from the here and now to the past.

6.3.5 Shifts of perspective in tense: resultative
A very specific use of tense is to exhort the addressee to bring about the result
of a past perfect verb: *покатáлись!* 'let's roll'; *пошлú!* 'let's be off'.

6.3.6 Tense in participles
Tense in adjectival participles and adverbial participles (*деепричастия*) is much
less robust than in finite verbs. The distinction is still viable among imperfective
participles. The present tense of imperfective participles presents situations as si-
multaneous with the time of the matrix clause; in [103], for example, ownership
overlaps the act of arrival:

[103] Я укатился к жилищу, отныне мне только принадлежащему_{<PRS PCL>}.
I rushed off to the living space, from that point on belonging only to me.

Past-tense imperfective participles are used for events confined to the remote
past ([104–5]):

[104] Жил он в старинном особняке, когда-то принадлежавшем_{<PST PCL>} Хомякову.

He lived in an old single-family house that had once belonged to Khomiakov.

[105] Мать подбадривала отца, проходившего_{<PST PCL>} унизительные медицинские комиссии.

Mother tried to keep father's spirits up as he went through demeaning medical review boards.

Adverbial participles of imperfectives, however, are now only present: *дýмая* 'thinking', *дýмав 'having thought'; *пúша* 'writing', *писáв 'having written'.

Perfective adverbial participles no longer distinguish tense. For most verbs, the form is built on the past-imperfective stem (ending in a vowel), to which the formant {-v} is added (*застáв* 'having found', *пры́гнув* 'having jumped'); dental-consonant stems, whose past-infinitive stem does not end in a vowel, use present morphology (*принеся́* 'having brought'). Perfective adverbial participles refer to events that are completed in the vicinity of the time of the main event, often before it ([106]), but occasionally at the same time ([107]):

[106] Однажды Соня, вернувшись_{<PF DEE>} из театра, сказала <. . .>

Once Sonia, on returning from the theater, said <. . .>

[107] Мы, воспользовавшись_{<PF DEE>} темнотой зрительного зала, пересели на другие места . . .

And we, by using the darkness of the hall, moved to other seats.

In a well-known and ever controversial proposal,[13] Roman Jakobson claimed that adverbial participles distinguished *three* tense forms in each aspect: the present, the usual past in {-v}, and a second past in {-vši}. Examples were formulated and semantic distinctions were assigned to these variants, essentially as in Table 6.3.

This rich and symmetrical paradigm of possibilities is no longer productive. By now, the present perfective form *встрéтя* is rare (just 2 tokens on www.lib.ru in poetry, against 1330 tokens of *втсрéтив*),[14] as are the past imperfectives *встречáв* (3 tokens against 881 *встречáя*) and *встречáвши* (no tokens!). There is more justification for a distinction between {-v} and {-vši} in perfective adverbial participles, a distinction which Jakobson claimed was current in "the Moscow speech of my generation." Although {-vši} is not frequent (only 6 distinct tokens of *втсрéтивши* against 1330 tokens of *втсрéтив*), when it is used, it does suggest causality. In [108], she came to her understanding as a result of reflecting:

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[13] Jakobson 1957[b]/1971[b]:140–41.

[14] <12.XII.01>. More tokens of *встрéтя* turned up on Google, including one from a contemporary chat room.

Table 6.3 *Forms of active participles*

	imperfective	perfective
present	Встречая_{IF PRS DEE>} друзей, он радовался. 'On meeting friends, he was happy.' *non-sequential*	Встретя_{PF PRS DEE>} вас, я не поверил своим глазам. 'On meeting you, I could not believe my eyes.' *non-sequential*
(first) past	Никогда прежде не встречав_{IF PST1 DEE>} актеров, он случайно познакомился с Качаловым. 'Not having ever met actors before, he accidentally became acquainted with Kachalov.' *accidental, sequential*	Встретив_{PF PST1 DEE>} Петра, он вскоре столкнулся еще с несколькими знакомыми. 'After meeting Petr, he soon bumped into some other acquaintances.' *accidental, sequential*
(second) past	Никогда не встречавши_{IF PST2 DEE>} актеров, он не знал, как говорить с ними. 'Never having met actors, he did not know how to talk with him.' *causal, sequential*	Встретивши_{PF PST2 DEE>} его, она густо покраснела. 'On meeting him, she blushed deeply.' *causal, sequential*

[108] Иногда думала, что это оттого, что нет детей. Но, подумавши_{PST DEE>} глубже, понимала – нет.

She used to think sometimes it was because she had no children. But then, once she had thought about it more deeply, she understood, no.

[109] Петя вздохнул, подумав_{PST DEE>} о скромных возможностях своего института.

Petia sighed as he thought about the modest resources of his institute.

The overwhelming more frequent form {-v} is neutral ([109]).[15]

6.3.7 Aspectual-temporal-modal particles

Forms of the verb BE have, in the course of history, become lexicalized as particles with temporal or modal functions. Most notable is *бы*, ultimately derived from a special counterfactual aorist form of BE in older Slavic. The particle *éсть*, etymologically the third-singular form of the present tense, is used optionally in existential (§5.3.6) and copular sentences (§5.2.7).

The neuter singular, past-tense form *бы́ло* can be used in combination with the past tense of a verb to indicate that an action was planned or even begun, but the event has not been followed to its conclusion, or that the expected

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[15] Writing to Jakobson in 1933, Trubetzkoy (1975:280) said that there was no difference between *гав* 'having given' and *гавши*.

results have not been achieved. The reversal of fortune is usually stated in the subsequent clause (often introduced by *но* 'but').

[110] Он пошел *было* прогуляться, но передумал.
He was going to go out carousing, but changed his mind.

[111] Елизаветою Петровною был *было* построен новый дворец, но в 1802 году и этот представлял собой развалины.
Elizaveta Petrovna had tried to construct a new palace, but that one as well just amounted to ruins in 1802.

Быва́ло, still used as the past tense of the iterative form of BE (*Це́лый ме́сяц дождя не быва́ло* 'For a whole month no rain came'), is used as a parenthetical particle (set off by commas) to establish a recurrent situation in the past. The main verb is past imperfective or perfective present tense in its exemplary sense (§6.5.9). An example:

[112] А они, бывало, в рояль доверху наливали_{<IF PST>} коньяк, поджигали_{<IF PST>} его, бросали_{<IF PST>} в пламя сотенные бумажки, и девушки должны были_{<PST>} эти бумажки выхватывать и брать себе.
And they, it would happen, would pour cognac into a piano, light it, throw into the flame hundred-ruble bills, and girls were supposed to snatch out the bills for themselves.

6.4 Aspect and lexicon

6.4.1 Aspect made simple

Aspect, its reputation notwithstanding, is really quite simple.[16]

All verbs report histories, histories of states of the worlds and changes in states of the worlds. Aspect is a classification of verbs based on the kind of history that a verb reports. These histories tend to polarize into two types. Some, termed PERFECTIVE, report definitive change over three phases of time: a prior phase in which a state or property does not hold, a phase of change, and a resulting phase in which the state or property resulting from the change is projected to continue indefinitely. Others, termed IMPERFECTIVE, do not report definitive change, but instead report continuity of states or processes over time. Verbs of each aspect are used for certain characteristic functions relative to the contextual time-world.

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[16] Notable in the rich tradition of Russian aspectology are: Maslov 1948, 1973, 1984[a]; Bondarko 1971 (and others); Forsyth 1970 ([139], from Chekhov; [140], from Tolstoy); Breu 1980; Flier and Timberlake 1985; Durst-Andersen 1992; Paducheva 1996; and now Zaliznjak and Shmelev 2000. Among general linguistic works, see Comrie 1976[b]; Dowty 1979; Dahl 1985; Binnick 1991. Consistent with this ongoing tradition, the present discussion emphasizes the interaction of lexicon (predicate histories) and context.

Morphologically, aspect is not wholly transparent, for there is no single, unique morphological expression of perfective or imperfective aspect in verbs (§§6.4.3–6.4.4). However, there is a limited number of strategies. They differ somewhat, but still have the effect of making verbs unambiguously perfective or imperfective.

As a rule, verbs come in pairs of perfective and imperfective. That is, for a given perfective verb, there is a corresponding imperfective with the same meaning (same except for aspect), and, conversely, for a given imperfective verb, there is a unique perfective with the same meaning. However, the nature of pairing depends on the morphological strategy. In recognition of that fact, relations among aspectual partners or near-partners are written in two forms below. The relation of prefixed perfective and secondary imperfective is written with the perfective first, as *до-писа́ть*_{<PF>}/*до-пи́сывать*_{<IF>} 'finish writing'. In contrast, the relation of a simplex imperfective to a prefixed perfective (near-) partner is written with the imperfective first, for example, *льсти́ть*_{<IF>}*польсти́ть*_{<PF>} 'flatter'. Similarly, semelfactive perfectives are treated as dependent on the base simplex, and are written as *маха́ть*_{<IF>}*махну́ть*_{<PF>} 'wave' (§6.4.5).

Aspect is not only lexical and morphological, it is also contextual. Whether there is definitive change is evaluated with respect to a CONTEXTUAL OCCASION, a time and world which the speaker deems relevant and worthy of discussion. In [113], the speaker names the contextual time explicitly.

[113] В конце июля ночью я вышел_{<PF>} из поезда на Ковровском вокзале.
Доносились_{<IF>} звуки отдаленной артиллерийской канонады, горизонт
освещался_{<IF>} вспышками выстрелов.
One night at the end of June I got out of the train at the Kovrovsky Station. There carried sounds of distant artillery fire, the horizon was lit up by the flares of shells.

In [113], the process of exiting from the train is bounded, definitive, in the sense that no further exiting, in this context, is expected. This definitive change is expressed by the perfective verb *вы́шел*. More generally, aspect in Slavic hangs on the notion of a limit in context. To use a perfective, there must be change that approaches and reaches a limit. The limit is such that, once it is reached at the contextual occasion, no further change is projected afterwards; only a static continuation of the state is projected.[17] Thus a verb that is perfective, when it is used in context, reports a definitive change with respect to some

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[17] Maslov emphasizes the importance of the "internal" or "intrinsic" limit (1948, 1973, 1984[b]). Dowty 1979 makes explicit the idea that aspect involves projecting the future from the contextual occasion – by anticipation, Augustine would say.

delimited contextual occasion. A verb that is imperfective reports continuity and absence of definitive change over an occasion or occasions. In [113], the sounds and flashes are perceived (*доносѝлись, освещѐлся*) at the contextual occasion, the point at which the narrator exits the train. They were perceptible before and will continue to be so afterwards. It is the extension of these perceptions beyond the contextual occasion that justifies using the imperfective in [113]. Example [113] illustrates one way in which a state or activity can fail to be a definitive change over a delimited occasion. There are other ways, and they result in somewhat different senses of imperfective verbs, such as the iterative or durative senses (§§6.5.4–6.5.8, 6.5.10).

The contextual side of aspect – its interaction with times and worlds – shades into the way in which aspect helps shape discourse and text. We might operate with a tripartite classification of discourse structures.[18] NARRATIVE presumes a dynamic whereby events follow each other in sequence. Each event starts from the prior situation and proceeds to a new result, which in turn becomes the starting point for the next subsequent event. Narrative, then, involves both temporal succession and modal causality. Narrative is ordinarily expressed by past-tense perfective verbs, unless the perspective is shifted (as in the "historical" use of the present tense). Language is used not only to narrate but also to talk about states of the world that overlap and coexist in time and circumstance. In this mode of language, DESCRIPTION, the focus is on the complexity of the world, on the coexistence of states, rather than (as in narrative) on the replacement of one state of the world by another. Description is by nature non-changing (hence characteristically imperfective) and coincident in time (hence present tense, or the equivalent of a present displaced to the past or future realm), and realis. And third, speakers use language not only to talk about what was or what is. Language is also used to understand what might be, to compare the reality of the here and now of speech with possibilities: with what alternative states of reality might be imagined instead of the current one, and with possible changes in the future. The third mode is prolepsis, anticipation, divination – in the broadest terms, MODALITY. This mode allows both aspects (though prefers perfective); it is future or irrealis modality.

These discourse or even cognitive categories are highly idealized. These three modes are not strictly temporal nor aspectual nor modal, but all three at once. The relation between these three modes of discourse and the category of aspect (and also tense and mood) is indirect. They are not expressed unambiguously by a single aspect or tense in a one-to-one fashion. There can be complex vectors; a present state can be attached to an event in the past, for example. In

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[18] Expanding from the bipartite division of Benveniste 1959, Weinrich 1964.

the discussion below, these modes are used as the fabric for the discussion of properties of aspect in context.

6.4.2 Tests for aspect membership

The most rigid distributional test for aspect is the interaction with tense. Only imperfectives form a periphrastic combination with the forms *бу́ду*, *бу́дешь*, etc.: *не бу́ду*$_{<FUT>}$ *наруша́ть*$_{<IF>}$ 'I will not disturb'. This combination is used to report incomplete events in the future. Thus imperfective verbs form three tenses: past, present, and future. In contrast, perfective verbs have only two tenses, the past and the (morphological) present. They do not combine with *бу́ду*, *бу́дешь*, etc: **не бу́ду*$_{<FUT>}$ *нарушить*$_{<PF>}$. Moreover, the present-tense forms of perfective verbs do not refer to events that occur at the here and now of speech, but to events that are anticipated, as viewed from the here and now, to occur in the future.

This test of three as opposed to two tenses is the most rigid and definitional test for aspect. There are in addition other tests and distributional properties of the two aspects, of greater or lesser rigidity and applicability. Only imperfectives occur as infinitival complements of PHASAL verbs *нача́ть/начина́ть* 'begin', *продолжа́ть* 'continue', *ко́нчить/конча́ть* 'finish'. Imperfectives are more usual as final complements of verbs of motion (*Зачем ты пошел навещать*$_{<IF\ INF>}$ *его?* 'Why did you go visit him?'), though perfectives do occur (*Наутро пошел навестить*$_{<PF\ INF>}$ *еще одного старого знакомого* 'In the morning I went to visit yet another old acquaintance'). Only perfectives occur freely as the complement of the perfective *уда́ться/удава́ться* 'manage to, to be successful at' (§6.5.10, with rare exceptions). As a rule (though with certain exceptions), only imperfectives can occur with an accusative specifying the duration of an interval over which an activity occurs (§6.5.6). As a rule, only perfectives occur with the temporal adverb *за*, since it implies a history in which an event occurs successfully within an interval of time, often against expectations: *за одни сутки избу сложили*$_{<PF>}$ 'they put together a hut within a day'. (Imperfectives are possible with *за* under specific conditions.) Thus these tests, above all the test of the periphrastic future, lead to an unambiguous and almost exhaustive partition of verbs into the two aspects.

6.4.3 Aspect and morphology: the core strategy

There is no single morphological unit that marks perfective or imperfective aspect. In this sense, the category of aspect is more a lexical classification than an inflectional category. But the number of morphological strategies is quite restricted, and they yield a common result: a sharp division of lexical items into perfective and imperfective.

The core pattern – the pattern which defines the Russian system, and which has been for a long time the most productive – is tripartite.[19] Many verbs in Russian do not have a prefix. Such SIMPLEXES report continuous situations. These situations may be entirely static and unchanging: *грустúть* 'be sad', *вúдеть* 'see'. Or they may involve some degree of gradual change and responsibility: *сидéть* 'sit', *рабóтать* 'work', *мотáть* 'wind', *льстúть* 'flatter', *крутúть* 'wind'. Simplex verbs as a rule are imperfective.

Simplex verbs combine with one or more prefixes. Examples of prefixes and their most regular senses are given in Table 6.4.[20] Prefixes impose a limit on the flow of states or activities in one of two ways. Many prefixes have two senses, qualitative and quantitative (or quantizing).

QUALITATIVE senses of prefixes present an activity as a series of continuous changes leading towards a limit. After the limit is reached, no more of the change can be contemplated (in context). Thus *от-крутúть* 'remove by twisting' defines a boundary, and indicates that some mobile entity is forced to move further away from the boundary:

[114]   Я открутил_{⟨PF⟩} по два болта слева и справа.
    I unscrewed two bolts each on the left and right sides.

The activity of twisting is gradual and continuous, but when the definitive limit of removal by twisting has been reached, that activity no longer continues. The change typically affects an entity named as an argument of the predicate, the aspectual argument: the object of a transitive (the bolts in [114]) or the subject of an intransitive (*При установке маховика нужно соблюсти момент затяжки болтов, дабы он не открутился* 'During the installation of the fly-wheel, it is necessary to monitor the torque of the bolts so that it will not come unscrewed'). Because the change proceeds continuously to a goal, or telos, prefixal derivatives of this type are commonly termed TELIC.

Leading up to the final limit are gradual phases of change. The final change does not occur in one fell swoop; there are multiple phases before the final limit is reached. For this reason, these prefixed perfectives with qualitative meaning allow SECONDARY imperfectives to be formed through the addition of a derivational suffix (secondary, as opposed to the primary, or simplex, imperfectives). Thus corresponding to the perfective *от-крутúть*_{⟨PF⟩}, there is a secondary imperfective *от-крýчивать*_{⟨IF⟩}. These secondary imperfectives maintain the idea of potential limit, or telos – *от-крýчивать* invokes a limit of removal – but in context undermine or contradict the idea of reaching the limit in one or another respect:

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[19] Kartsevskii 1927. In a similar vein, see Brecht 1984.

[20] On the semantics of prefixes, see Bogusławski 1963, Flier 1975, 1985, Gallant 1979, Janda 1986, and detailed studies in Krongauz and Paillard 1997.

Table 6.4 *Qualitative and quantizing prefixal derivatives*

	qualitative	quantizing
на-	ACCUMULATION onto a surface / на-крути́ть/на-кру́чивать 'twist onto'	ACCUMULATION of quantity, substantial relative to implicit standard / на-де́лать/на-де́лывать 'make large quantity of'
в-	INGRESS into the interior of a space / в-крути́ть/в-кру́чивать 'insert by twisting'; в-пита́ть/в-пи́тывать 'absorb nourishment'; в-топта́ть/в-та́птывать 'stomp into'	
при-	ARRIVAL at spatial limit / при-крути́ть/при-кру́чивать 'tie up to'; при-йти́/при-ходи́ть 'arrive'	
go-	APPROACH to spatial limit / go-скака́ть/go-ска́кивать 'hop up to'	APPROACH to limit of possible activity [with -ся] / go-игра́тьcя/go-и́грываться 'play to extreme consequences'
с-	DESCENT in space; CONJUNCTION (= rapprochement) in space / с-ле́зть/с-леза́ть 'climb down'; с-крути́ть/с-кру́чивать 'twist together'	RETURN to non-existence / с-ходи́ть/— 'make round trip'
раз-	DISPERSAL in space / рас-тесну́ть/рас-стёгивать 'unfasten'; рас-крути́ть/рас-кру́чивать 'wrap around; set spinning'	DISPERSAL in degree of activity [with ся] / рас-прости́тьcя/— 'take leave, extensively, in all manners and degrees'
из-	EXTRACTION from space / из-вле́чь/из-влека́ть 'extract'	EXTRACTION from existence of activity / из-му́чить/— 'thoroughly torment'; из-носи́ть/из-на́шивать 'wear out'; ис-коло́ть/ис-ка́лывать 'prick thoroughly, in many places'
от-	DETACHMENT from spatial limit / от-вяза́ть/от-вя́зывать 'untie'; от-крути́ть/от-кру́чивать 'remove by twisting'; ото-сла́ть/от-сыла́ть 'send off'; от-пря́нуть/от-пря́дывать 'yank away'	DETACHMENT from existence of activity / от-корми́ть/от-ка́рмливать 'feed thoroughly'; от-сиде́ть/от-си́живать 'finish sitting'; от-страда́ть/— 'finish suffering'; от-дыша́ться/— 'finish breathing'

Table 6.4 (cont.)

	qualitative	quantizing
вы́-	EGRESS from interior of space вы́-крути́ть/вы-кру́чивать 'wring out'; вы́-сыпать/вы-сыпа́ть 'sprinkle out'; вы́-грызть/вы-грыза́ть 'separate out by biting'; вы́-городить/вы-гора́живать 'fence off (thereby separating)'; вы́-мазать/вы-ма́зывать 'smear thoroughly'	EGRESS from existence вы́-пачкать/– 'thoroughly soil'; вы́-спаться/– 'sleep one's fill'
у-	TRANSCENDENCE of spatial threshold, from one domain into another у-те́чь/у-тека́ть 'flow, run away'; у-скользну́ть/у-скольза́ть 'slide away'; у-плы́ть/у-плыва́ть 'swim away'; у-пусти́ть/у-пуска́ть 'let slip away'; у-со́хнуть/у-сыха́ть 'dry out and diminish'	TRANSCENDENCE of the threshold of existence у-ви́деть/– 'catch sight of'; у-се́сться/у-са́живаться 'sit for a good spell'
по-	ATTENUATION over points in space по-ли́ть/по-лива́ть 'begin to pour'	ATTENUATION of quantity or duration of activity по-льсти́ть/– 'flatter somewhat'; по-грусти́ть/– 'be sad for a while'; по-лежа́ть/– 'lie for a bit'
о(б)-	CIRCUMVENTION around a circular space о-крути́ть/о-кру́чивать 'twist around'; обо-льсти́ть/обо-льща́ть 'flatter, deceive, seduce'; об-лиза́ть/об-ли́зывать 'lick around one's lips'; о-живи́ть/о-живля́ть 'bring to life'	CIRCUMVENTION of affect, along all parameters об-лета́ть/об-лётывать 'fly exhaustively'
пере-	TRANSGRESSION through space or occasions (= repetition) пере-крути́ть/пере-кру́чивать 'rewind'; пере-льсти́ть/пре-льща́ть 'bring around through flattery'; пере-чита́ть/пере-чи́тывать 're-read'	TRANSGRESSION of normative quantity пере-хорони́ть/– 'bury in large numbers'

про- SUFFUSION through space

про-крути́ть/про-кру́чивать 'twist, wind through'; *про-смотре́ть/про-сма́тривать* 'look through'; *про-ве́трить/про-ве́тривать* 'thoroughly air out'

SUFFUSION of possible degree of activity

про-спа́ть/— 'sleep through time interval'; *про-скака́ть/— (сто миль)* 'cover by jumping (a hundred miles)'

за- DEFLECTION from inertial path

за-крути́ть/за-кру́чивать 'twist around'; *за-йти́/за-ходи́ть* 'drop in'; *за-гляну́ть/за-гля́дывать* 'have a quick look at on the sly'; *за-ви́ть/за-вива́ть* 'wind around'

DEFLECTION from inertial state of non-existence (= INCEPTION)

за-льсти́ть/— 'initiate flattery'; *за-кури́ть/за-ку́ривать* 'begin to smoke'; *за-клуби́ться/—* 'begin to gust in clumps'; *за-бры́згать/за-бры́згивать* 'cover by splashing stuff'

под- SUBVENTION under surface

подо-йти́/под-ходи́ть 'come up on'; *под-ступи́ть/под-ступа́ть* 'step up to'

над- SUPERVENTION over a surface

над-ре́зать/над-реза́ть 'cut on surface'

вз- SUPERVENTION along a vertical dimension

вз-лете́ть/вз-лета́ть 'ascend'

for example, the activity is repeated, even though on each occasion it may reach the limit (*на каждой остановке он бросал в кассу монетки и откручивал*_{<IF>} *себе билет* 'at each stop he put money in the box and twisted himself off a ticket'); the activity with a potential limit is caught in progress (*гости молчали, ректор Кайзер старательно откручивал*_{<IF>} *пуговицу у смокинга* 'the guests were silent, Rector Kaiser was assiduously twisting off the button on his jacket'); the import is the existence of an activity or attempted activity (*Сергей откручивал*_{<IF>} *болт и потел* 'Sergei was trying to unscrew the bolt and was sweating'); or some details of the activity as it progresses are reported (*он не помнит, где он пробку откручивал*_{<IF>} 'he doesn't remember where he twisted the stopper out'). These prefixed perfectives that have a sense of continuous activity readily form secondary imperfectives, and the morphologically derived secondary imperfectives are particularly close in meaning to the corresponding perfectives. Together, qualitative perfectives and their secondary imperfectives are true aspectual pairs.

Other senses of prefixes place limits on the very nature of the activity; they treat the activity in discrete quanta. Such prefixed perfectives could be termed quantifying or even QUANTIZING, since they deal with discrete quanta of activity.[21] The activity either exists or not, or exists over a certain quantity of time, or leads to a certain measurable, quantitative result. For example, *за-грустúть* 'begin to be sad' talks about the inception of a state, where inception is quantitative, in the sense that the activity goes from none to some; *по-грустúть* 'be sad a bit' attenuates the duration of the state to a limited period; *на-слúшаться (всяких небылиц о нас TOLKIENистах)* 'listen to a sufficient quantity (of all kinds of nonsense about us Tolkien fans)' means that a large quantity of nonsense has been heard. Quantizing perfectives have an all-or-nothing quality to them. The quantum result is achieved only over a whole interval of time. For this reason, such perfectives form secondary imperfectives reluctantly. There are no regular secondary imperfectives associated with *за-грустúть*, *по-грустúть*, or *на-слúшаться*. When quantizing perfectives do form secondary imperfectives, the imperfective is often used only in a specific sense, the iterative sense of achieving the quantitative result over multiple separate occasions: *на-крúчивать*_{<IF>} is a possible imperfective, but only in the sense of repeated instances of preparing in quantity.

While prefixed perfectives and their corresponding secondary imperfectives form canonical aspect pairs, the status of simplex verbs is less transparent. Because (as a rule) simplex verbs simply name a state or activity, they have no intrinsic boundaries, and (as a rule) are imperfective. If a context demands a

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[21] Isačenko 1975 calls the distinction modificational vs. quantitative. E. Adger Williams (p.c.) suggested the term "quantizing" – operating with discrete quanta rather than scalar properties.

perfective corresponding to a simplex imperfective naming a state or activity, a perfective formed with a quantizing prefix can often be used. For instance, *по-льстить* is listed as the perfective corresponding to simplex *льстить*. But the relationship between simplexes and quantizing perfectives is not as clear-cut as the relationship of perfective and secondary imperfective. Quantizing prefixes impose an additional – quantizing – meaning, and the particular prefixed derivative used is not always unique. Thus *за-крутить* 'begin to twirl' and *с-крутить* 'roll' both are listed as perfectives for the simplex *крутить*. These prefixed derivatives add some meaning to the imperfective; for example, *за-крутить* introduces the idea of inception of the activity. In fact, both *за-крутить* and *с-крутить* also have secondary imperfective derivatives, *за-кручивать* and *с-кручивать*. Additionally, the semelfactive *крутнуть* 'twirl once' is also listed as a perfective to *крутить*. Thus the relationship between simplex imperfectives and perfectives is more complex than simple pairing: more than one perfective can be related to a given simplex, and the perfectives used for this purpose have an additional quantizing component of meaning.

In summary: Simplex imperfective verbs are prefixed and yield perfectives. Many of those perfectives – those that report a continuous process leading to a limit – can be suffixed and yield closely related secondary imperfectives that form unambiguous aspectual pairs. Prefixed verbs that discuss discrete quanta of the activity are less amenable to forming secondary imperfectives. Because simplexes ordinarily are imperfective, one or another of the prefixed perfectives will serve as the perfective counterpart to the simplex imperfective.

6.4.4 Aspect and morphology: other strategies and groups

Semelfactive suffixation: With simplex verbs that report a cyclical or intrinsically repetitive process, adding the suffix {-nu-} (in more explicit terms, {-nu-}$_{<PST, INF>}$ $\sim$ {{-n-}$_{<1SG,3PL>}$ $\sim$ {-n̦-}$_{<2SG \ldots 2PL>}$}) gives a perfective verb reporting a single occasion of the cyclical activity: *кричать*$_{<IF>}$*крикнуть*$_{<PF>}$ 'cry'; *махать*$_{<IF>}$*махнуть*$_{<PF>}$ 'wave', *глотать*$_{<IF>}$*глотнуть*$_{<PF>}$ 'swallow'.

Bi-aspectual, anaspectual verbs: A small number of verbs are said to be BI-ASPECTUAL. This group includes: life-cycle verbs *жениться* 'marry', *крестить(ся)* 'baptize', *родить* 'give birth to'; verbs of communication *велеть* 'order', *обещать* 'promise'; verbs of affect *ранить* 'wound', *казнить* 'punish'. For these verbs, one and the same form can be used in contexts where imperfectives are used and in other contexts where perfectives are used. For example, *жениться* 'marry' can make periphrastic futures and be used in iterative contexts, as is characteristic of imperfectives ([115]).

[115]   Гомосексуалисты со всего мира будут жениться_{<IF FUT>} в Праге.
         Homosexuals from the whole world will get married in Prague.

But the same verb can also be used as perfective, to refer to a single completed event in the past or the future: *Петя женился*_{<PF>} *вчера* 'Petia got married yesterday', *Петя женится*_{<PF>} *через три месяца* 'Petia will marry in three months'.

   Though the term "bi-aspectual" is widely used, it might make more sense to think of these verbs as ANASPECTUAL – that is, these are verbs that do not have a clear alignment in the aspect system. Rather than belonging to both aspects, they have no aspect, and accordingly can, to some extent or another, be used in contexts in which one would otherwise expect either perfective or imperfective. (A class of anaspectual verbs could include *быть* 'be', which is hard to classify as one or the other aspect.) Consistent with this, individual verbs are losing their dualistic behavior, and over time come to behave more as one aspect or the other.[22] *Родить(ся)* 'give birth to (be born)' is now usually used as a perfective, opposed to a regularly used imperfective *рождать(ся)*, but its older anaspectual quality is revealed in gnomic present-tense statements (*земля хорошо родит*_{<IF PRS>} 'the land is fecund'). *Ранить* 'wound' avoids being used as a past-tense iterative. *Обещать* 'promise' is more often imperfective than perfective; for the perfective sense, the unambiguous perfective *пообещать* is now usual. *Жениться*, as a perfective, has been superseded by *пожениться*, at least with plural subjects.

   An occasional verb seems to have made the transition from imperfective to perfective on the basis of being used frequently in contexts that normally call for perfectives. The verb *бежать*, in the particular sense of 'flee from confinement or danger', is used in narrative contexts that look perfective; *девать(ся)* 'place, put' is similar.

Old aspect pairs: Another old, residual layer is the set of verbs that differ in aspect and differ only in the classificatory suffix: *решить/решать* 'decide', *стать/становиться* 'become', *встать/вставать* 'stand up', *убедить/убеждать* 'convince, persuade'.

Borrowings: Foreign borrowings go through a life cycle of development towards pairing. In the first phase the verb is anaspectual. Then it can be prefixed, and one of the prefixed derivatives will serve as the perfective partner; prefixes commonly used in this function are *o-*, *за-*, *на-*, *с-*. The prefixed verb is an unambiguous perfective, which pushes the simplex towards imperfectivity. Examples: *моделировать*_{<IF>} 'model', *смоделировать*_{<PF>}; *регулировать*_{<IF>} 'regulate', {*от*,

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[22]   See Zalizniak and Shmelev 2000:71–76, who document that some collocations used in the nineteenth century are no longer usual.

за, у, под}*-регули́ровать*_{<IF>}; *лаки́ровать*_{<IF>} 'lacquer', {*за, на, под, пере, по*}-*лаки́ровать*. Sometimes a prefixed verb of this type can serve as the basis of an imperfective derived by suffixation: *плани́ровать* 'plan', *переплани́ровать*_{<PF>} 're-plan', *перепланиро́вывать*_{<IF>} 're-plan'. This recapitulates the core, tripartite system of Russian.

There is an alternative path of development, infrequent and now outmoded. The unprefixed borrowing *организова́ть* 'organize' was suffixed, giving *организово́вывать*. *Организова́ть* is used in the present tense to report ongoing or generic activities. The two forms are differentiated in the past, when *организова́ть* reports a single, completed event, and *организаво́вывать* is used as an imperfective for repeated actions. In the infinitive *организова́ть* has perfective force. This limited pattern is attested for *организова́ть* and *арестова́ть|аресто́вывать* 'arrest'.

Prefixed imperfectives: There is an exception to the rule that prefixes necessarily make perfective verbs, and that is the possibility of using the imperfectivizing suffix {{-iva-} ~ {-iva(j)-}} while adding certain prefixes to make unpaired imperfective verbs: *посве́чивать* 'shine off and on' (*свети́ть* 'shine'), *попа́хивать* 'smell a bit' (*па́хнуть* 'emit a smell'), *назва́нивать* 'keep on ringing' (*звони́ть* 'ring'), *пришёптывать* 'whisper while engaged in another activity' (*шепта́ть* 'whisper').

6.4.5 Aspect pairs

In the Russian aspect tradition, much emphasis has been placed on whether verbs are paired for aspect – whether for a given verb, there is one and only one corresponding verb of the opposite aspect that has the same meaning except for the difference in aspect.

An imperfective verb counts as the partner of a perfective if it is used to replace a perfective verb in contexts in which the event is iterated ([116] to [117]) or to transpose past narrative into the historical present ([118] to [119]):[23]

[116] Он вошел_{<PF PST>} в дом, поднялся_{<PF PST>} по лестнице, открыл_{<PF PST>} дверь, поставил_{<PF PST>} чемодан, зажег_{<PF PST>} свет, сел_{<PF PST>} в кресло и закурил_{<PF PST>} сигару.
He went in the house, climbed the stairs, opened the door, put down the suitcase, turned on the light, sat down in the chair, and lit a cigar.

[117] Он входил_{<IF PST>} в дом, поднимался_{<IF PST>} по лестнице, открывал_{<IF PST>} дверь, ставил_{<IF PST>} чемодан, зажигал_{<IF PST>} свет, садился_{<IF PST>} в кресло и закуривал_{<IF PST>} сигару.

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[23] Zalizniak and Shmelev 2000:47–52 ([116], [118]).

He would come into the house, climb the stairs, open the door, put down the suitcase, turn on the light, sit down in the chair, and light a cigar.

[118] Он вышел_{<PF PST>} во двор, поймал_{<PF PST>} бабочку и принес_{<PF PST>} ее домой.
He went out to the yard, caught a butterfly and brought it home.

[119] Он выходит_{<IF PRS>} во двор, ловит_{<IF PRS>} бабочку и приносит_{<IF PRS>} ее домой.
He goes out to the yard, catches a butterfly and brings it home.

A perfective verb counts as the partner of an imperfective if it is used to convert a description of overlapping scenes into narrative sequence ([120] to [121]):

[120] Пожилой китаец оглядывал_{<IF PST>} пустынный горизонт, молчал_{<IF PST>} и думал_{<IF PST>} о чем-то своем.
The old Chinese man surveyed the empty horizon, kept silent and was engrossed in his own thoughts.

[121] Пожилой китаец оглядел_{<PF PST>} пустынный горизонт, помолчал_{<PF PST>} и наконец принял_{<PF PST>} решение.
The old Chinese man surveyed the empty horizon, was silent for a while and eventually made a decision.

Prefixed perfectives and their secondary imperfectives, such as *дописа́ть/допи́сывать* 'finish writing', *огляде́ть/огля́дываться* 'look around', *откры́ться/открыва́ться* 'open', *наказа́ть/наказывать* 'punish', satisfy these criteria for pairedness. In this way, many verbs of Russian can be viewed as members of aspectual pairs.

Simplex verbs, which by nature are quite broad in their meaning, participate in aspectual relations that are somewhat different. As noted, simplex verbs are typically imperfective, and they can be associated with more than one prefixed perfective derivative. In many instances, there is one prefixed perfective derivative that can be used as the closest thing to a perfective partner that simplex verbs have. In some instances, the prefix seems to have lost its meaning (*писа́ть* 'write', *на-писа́ть*; *та́ять* 'melt', *рас-та́ять*; *твори́ть* 'make, create', *со-твори́ть*) but more commonly the prefixed derivative still has a trace of its own meaning. Thus prefixed derivatives in *за-* maintain the sense of inception (*тверде́ть* 'gradually become hard', *за-тверде́ть* 'harden'); derivatives in *по-* maintain the sense of small or unexpected change (*по-йти́* 'set off in new direction'; *по-боя́ться* 'experience a reaction of fear'; *по-соли́ть* 'add some salt'). The prefix *по-* is quite productive, and it is moving in the direction of becoming an all-purpose perfectivizing prefix. It sometimes happens that more than one prefixed form can be used, especially in borrowings; for example, Ozhegov lists as perfectives of *регули́ровать* derivatives in *у-*, *от-*, *за-*. Perhaps more to the point is that simplex imperfectives have wide ranges of senses and uses, wider than the prefixed derivations that might be considered to be their partners, whereas with prefixed perfectives and their

secondary imperfectives, the meaning of the second imperfective is dependent on the meaning of the prefixed perfective. In these respects, the relationship between simplexes and verbs impressed into service as perfective partners is less close and less determined than the relationship between prefixed perfective verbs and their corresponding secondary imperfectives. In short, secondary imperfectives are based on their prefixed perfectives, while simplexes provide the basis for their near-partners, formed with quantizing prefixes or {-nu-}.[24]

6.4.6 Intrinsic lexical aspect

It is common in studies of English and Western European languages to invoke a classification of lexical items according to their intrinsic semantics, or LEXI-CAL ASPECT, often the four-part classification proposed by Z. Vendler (1957).[25] One can adapt Vendler's system to Russian, but the insights are modest. Simplex verbs, as a rule, express states (*ви́деть* 'see', *слы́шать* 'hear', *грусти́ть* 'be sad') or processes/activities (*крути́ть* 'twist, twirl', *де́лать* 'do'), but Russian is not as concerned with this distinction as English, which forms the progressive from stative predicates less freely than from activities. Prefixed perfectives, as noted above, are likely to express activities that progress to a cumulative result: in Vendler's terms, these are accomplishments, or in Maslov's terms, predicates with a telos, or "intrinsic limit." In Russian, such "accomplishments" are likely to allow the formation of secondary imperfectives, which are then telic activities: they have something of accomplishments but they are activities. The Russian analog to Vendler's fourth class, achievements, includes changes of state – verbs reflecting changes from one polarity of a state to another (*уви́деть* 'see, catch sight of', *услы́шать* 'hear [suddenly, as opposed to not hearing]').[26] Such verbs do not form secondary imperfectives. Together with them might be grouped the various kinds of quantification (quantizing) discussed in connection with prefixes: of duration (*проспа́ть* 'sleep through'), of distance (*нае́здить* 'travel through'), of result (*насоли́ть огурцо́в* 'pickle [many] cucumbers'), of inception (*заходи́ть* 'begin to walk'). Quantizing verbs allow derived imperfectives freely only in an iterative sense.

There are, then, something like analogs to Vendler's four classes of predicates, but a Vendlerian classification does not do justice to the most characteristic

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[24] In the vocabulary of structuralism (though this is not the view of, for example, Roman Jakobson), simplex imperfectives are "unmarked" with respect to the perfectives with which they are associated, but secondary imperfectives are "marked" with respect to the prefixed perfectives.

[25] On the relationship of lexicon and aspect, see Maslov 1948, Forsyth 1970, Brecht 1984, Lehmann 1988, Paducheva 1996. On limitations of the approach of Vendler 1957, see Timberlake 1985[b].

[26] Lubensky 1985 notes that, unlike most perfectives, these verbs do not readily allow a resultative or perfect reading: – *Вы ви́дели этот фильм?* 'Have you seen that film?' will not be answered with *– Да, я давно увидел.*

feature of Russian aspect: secondary imperfectives that presume a limit (like Vendler's accomplishments) but insist on the failure to reach a limit (like Vendler's activities).

In connection with lexical aspect, it is useful to mention a specialized group of verbs whose imperfective reports a process, but the process is an attempt. Such CONATIVE verbs form the classic phrase: *я его убеждал*_{\<IF>}, *убеждал*_{\<IF>}, *и наконец убедил*_{\<PF>} 'I tried to convince him, tried to convince, and finally convinced him'.

6.4.7 Verbs of motion

A set of approximately a dozen verbs that describe physical motion in space have unusual properties with respect to aspect. Notably, these "verbs of motion" have two simplex imperfectives.[27] One set, INDETERMINATE simplex verbs such as *ходи́ть* 'walk', *бе́гать* 'run', are used to express: motion that is not directed to a single goal ([122]); a roundtrip on a single occasion ([123]); or the essentialist idea of a certain type of activity ([124]):

[122] Я шагал по Москве, ездил_{\<IF ID>} зайцем в трамваях, и все безрезультатно.
       I stepped throughout Moscow, took rides on trams without paying, all to no avail.
[123] Еще в начале лета в Москву ездила_{\<IF ID>} моя сестра Соня и, вернувшись, рассказала мне об этой девочке.
       At the beginning of the summer my sister Sonia went to Moscow and, once she returned, told me about this girl.
[124] Это Алина. Ей восемь месяцев. Она уже ходит_{\<IF ID>}.
       This is Alina. She's eight months old. She's already walking.

The other set of simplex verbs, for example, *идти́* 'walk', *бежа́ть* 'run', are DETERMINATE. They express motion that has a single direction towards a goal on a single occasion. Determinate verbs are used in the progressive ([125]) or durative sense ([126]:

[125] Помнится, ехали_{\<IF DT>} мы однажды большой компанией в Москву.
       I remember how once we were going in a large group to Moscow.
[126] Долго же вы ехали_{\<IF DT>}!
       You sure traveled a long time.

When motion is iterated, both types of verbs occur. Indeterminate verbs are used when the multiple acts are viewed as a habit, even if the acts have a goal ([127–28]):

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[27] Isačenko 1975:419–42.

[127] Каждую субботу мы большой компанией постоянно ходили_{‹IF ID›} в театр, столь же большой компанией ездили_{‹IF ID›} по воскресеньям к Осоргиным, катались_{‹IF ID›} там на лыжах.

Every Saturday a large group of us would go to the theater, in just such a group would go on Sundays to the Osorgins, and ski there.

[128] Она окончила школу, поступила к нам работать, раз в две недели ездила_{‹IF ID›} по выходным домой.

She finished school, came to work with us, once every two weeks on her days off would go home.

Determinate verbs are used when the individual sub-events attract attention, for example, if each token of motion is sequenced with respect to other events ([129]):

[129] Если было жарко, он шел_{‹IF DT›} на реку, раздевался_{‹IF›}, бросался_{‹IF›} в воду, доплывал_{‹IF›} до противоположного берега и обратно.

If it was hot, he would go to the river, get undressed, throw himself into the water, and swim to the opposite bank and back.

Verbs of motion have interesting properties when they are prefixed. To make qualitative perfectives, the prefix is added to the determinate. The stem for the corresponding secondary imperfective is selected or formed in one of four ways. In STRATEGY 1, the imperfective is formed by prefixing the indeterminate stem directly (6 roots, e.g. *зайти́*_{‹PF›}/*заходи́ть*_{‹IF›} 'drop in, deviate from inertial path towards a new destination', likewise *лете́ть*_{‹DT›} ~ *лета́ть*_{‹ID›}, *нести́*_{‹DT›} ~ *носи́ть*_{‹ID›}, *вести́*_{‹DT›} ~ *води́ть*_{‹ID›}, *везти́*_{‹DT›} ~ *вози́ть*_{‹ID›}, *гна́ть*_{‹DT›} ~ *гоня́ть*_{‹ID›}). In STRATEGY 2, the secondary imperfective uses the indeterminate stem, but is suffixed with the classificatory suffix {CVC-á- : CVC-áj-|e|} (3 roots, e.g., *перебежа́ть*_{‹PF›}/*перебега́ть*_{‹IF›} 'run across', *по́лзать*, *е́здить*, the last-mentioned with a new consonant grade C^J, as in *вы́ехать*_{‹PF›}/*выезжа́ть*_{‹IF›} 'ride out'). Under STRATEGY 3, the imperfective is made from the determinate stem by adding the same classificatory suffix {CVC-á- : CVC-áj-|e|} (3 roots, e.g., *сле́зть*_{‹PF›}/*слеза́ть*_{‹IF›} 'climb down', also *плы́ть*_{‹DT›} ~ *пла́вать*_{‹ID›} -*плыва́ть*_{‹IF›}; *брести́*_{‹DT›} (*бреду́*) ~ *броди́ть*_{‹ID›}, -*бреда́ть*_{‹IF›}). STRATEGY 4 consists of adding the productive suffix {-iva- : -ivaj-} to the indeterminate stem (2 roots, e.g., *втащи́ть*_{‹PF›}/*вта́скивать*_{‹IF›}, also *кати́ть*_{‹DT›} ~ *ката́ть*_{‹ID›}, -*ка́тывать*_{‹IF›}, and also from others in the colloquial register: *перелётывать*_{‹IF›}, *подпа́лзывать*_{‹IF›}).

Quantizing prefixes are applied directly to the indeterminate simplex: *походи́ть* 'walk a bit', *забе́гать* 'start running', *объе́здить* 'encompass all destinations in traveling', *расходи́ться* 'become engaged in extensive walking', *вы́ездить* 'train by riding', *отпла́вать* 'finish one's sailing days', *прое́здить* 'spend a whole

Table 6.5 *Verbs of motion*

gloss	determinate	indeterminate	qualitative perfective	secondary imperfective (strategy)	quantizing perfective
'walk'	идти́	ходи́ть	зайти́	заходи́ть (1)	заходи́ть
'ride'	е́хать	е́здить	перее́хать	переезжа́ть (2)	объе́здить
'run'	бежа́ть	бе́гать	добежа́ть	добега́ть (2)	набе́гаться
'fly'	лете́ть	лета́ть	влете́ть	влета́ть (1)	залета́ть
'swim'	плыть	пла́вать	уплы́ть	уплыва́ть (3)	напла́вать
'crawl'	ползти́	по́лзать	наползти́	наполза́ть (2)	заползать
'carry'	нести́	носи́ть	вы́нести	выноси́ть (1)	переноси́ть
'lead'	вести́	води́ть	отвести́	отводи́ть (1)	поводи́ть
'convey'	везти́	вози́ть	привезти́	привози́ть (1)	повози́ть
'drive'	гнать	гоня́ть	подогна́ть	подгоня́ть (1)	перегоня́ть
'drag'	тащи́ть	таска́ть	втащи́ть	вта́скивать (4)	натаска́ть
'climb'	ле́зть	ла́зить	сле́зть	слеза́ть (3)	прола́зить
'wander'	брести́	броди́ть	добрести́	добреда́ть (3)	поброди́ть
'roll'	кати́ть	ката́ть	вскати́ть	вска́тывать (4)	обката́ть

interval of time driving', *слета́ть* 'fly there and back', *нае́здить* 'cover great distance driving', *изъе́здить* 'exhaustively travel'. There is a potential for ambiguity. For some verbs, the quantizing perfective (for example, *заходи́ть*_{PF} 'begin to walk') is the same as the imperfective derived by STRATEGY 1 (*заходи́ть*_{IF}, imperfective of *зайти́*_{PF} 'drop by, deviate from path'). The motivation for using the indeterminate in this way is presumably that it expresses the sense of the essential activity, the activity in and of itself (§6.5.4); it is that sense which is quantified.

Table 6.5 lists verbs of motion with some representative derivatives. Intransitives are listed above transitives, with the more marginal members at the bottom.

The usage of aspect of *prefixed* verbs of motion is generally similar to other aspectual pairs. The perfective reports a single event, the imperfective is used, for example, for events in progress (*Когда мы только подходили*_{IF} *к этому самому древнему на севере городу, нас поразило количество храмов* 'As we were just approaching this most ancient northern city, we were astounded by the number of churches') or iterated events (*Нередко приходил*_{IF} *доктор Никольский* 'Not rarely, Dr. Nikolsky came'). Noteworthy is the fact that the perfective is used only when the aspectual argument (subject of intransitives, object of transitives) is still at the destination at the time when the next event occurs.

[130] Я зашел_{<PF>} в библиотеку и взял_{<PF>} книгу Стейнбека «Гроздья гнева».
I stopped by at the library and got Steinbeck's book, *The Grapes of Wrath*.

The imperfective is used when the mobile entity is no longer at the destination; in [131], the narrative immediately reports on Tolstoy's activities after he has returned from his trip:

[131] К нему в Богородицк разговаривать о вере приезжал_{<IF>} Лев Толстой и впоследствии описал имение, как имение Вронских.
To him in Bogoroditsk Lev Tolstoy once came to talk about faith and subsequently described the estate as the estate of the Vronskys.

The use of the imperfective here is similar to the use of the imperfective for reversed results: *я открывал*_{<IF>} *окно* 'I did open the window [though it is now closed]'.

6.5 Aspect and context

6.5.1 Preliminaries
As noted (§6.4.1), aspect is first of all a division of the lexicon into two groups, but beyond that, it is a series of expectations about the relationship between these lexical groups and context. Each aspect is used in characteristic contexts. Some contexts allow both aspects, some are inclined to require one or the other aspect.

6.5.2 Past "aoristic" narrative: perfective
In narrative in the past tense, events often follow each other in sequence.[28] Typically, at any point in the narrative, a preceding perfective event will have left us with a resulting state and expectations about what might happen in the future, relative to that time. In the narrative of [132], the act of hiding opens up two possible futures, in one of which mother and child remain hidden; in another, they might not, with all the unpleasant consequences that implies:

[132] Рассказывают, одна казачка во время разгрома спряталась_{<PF>} с ребенком в дупло столетнего дерева. Солдат шарил_{<IF>} штыком в дупле, изрешетил_{<PF>} его, ранил_{<PF>} ребенка. Но казачонок не заплакал_{<PF>}, и так они спаслись_{<PF>}.
They tell how a Cossack woman during an uprising hid with her child in the hollow in a hundred-year-old tree. A soldier poked with his bayonet around the hollow, stuck it full of holes, injured the child. But the little Cossack lad did not cry out, and so they were saved.

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[28] The fact that bounded aspects (aorist, perfective) are used for advancing sequential narrative has been known at least since Goodwin 1880/1965. For observations on specifically Slavic material, see Maslov 1984[a], 1984[b], Paducheva 1996.

After this initial event, other events follow. The thorough poking of the tree by the soldier follows from the previous hiding (the soldier must have been suspicious), and this act generates again the expectation that they might be discovered. This expectation is frustrated with the final negated perfective: the child failed to begin to cry when one might have expected it. This naive oral text illustrates how, in narrative, each event responds to prior possibilities and in turn generates new expectations (new future divinations).

It is a commonplace to observe that narrative is carried out by using perfective verbs, while, in contrast, description and commentary are expressed by imperfective verbs. It is common to see diagrams in which perfective events are located in sequence along one axis of a diagram, one after the other, and imperfectives are positioned on the other axis, simultaneous with other events. Indeed, in the brief narrative of [132], most of the verbs are perfective (*спря́талась* 'hid', *заплáкал* 'began to cry', *спаслúсь* 'be saved'). But one, *шáрил* 'fumbled around', is a simplex imperfective, and *рáнил* 'injured' is anaspectual, and they are put in sequence with other events. True, *шáрить* by itself does not state a definitive change, but names a kind of activity: there existed, for an indeterminate interval of time, an activity that can be identified by the name of poking. This imperfective requires some other verb to give us a new result, here *изрешетúть*. Evidently, imperfectives can be located in the temporal sequence of events, but they still do not implement the cycle of result and divination that is characteristic of narrative. Perfective verbs create narrative not only by putting events in temporal sequence, but also by leading to new results and new expectations. Narrative, then, has a rich cycle: there are inherited expectations; the current event that responds to these prior expectations, yielding a new result and new expectations. This cycle is sharper with perfectives, but imperfectives can participate to some extent.

In context, perfectives often (perhaps almost always) have certain overtones: action viewed as whole, singularity of action, and result.

6.5.3 Retrospective ("perfect") contexts: perfective and imperfective

While it may be usual for a narrative in the past tense to keep progressing in a series of perfective events, each following immediately after the other, it is nevertheless possible to look retrospectively back from the contextual occasion to some further time in the past. Such retrospective contexts in English would use the pluperfect or perfect. In Russian, events viewed retrospectively are expressed simply in the past.

[133] Она и раньше собиралась_{‹IF›} вернуться в Богородицк, посмотреть, как мы живем.

She even earlier had been planning to return to Bogoroditsk, to see how we were getting along.

[134] С Сергеем Истоминым я еще раньше подружился_{<PF>}.
With Sergei Istomin I had become friends even earlier.

There is no direct correlation between retrospection and aspect, though perfectives occur more often in this function, because they lead to a result that can be discussed ([134]), but imperfectives can be used as well ([133]). Also, perfectives are often used to summarize the cumulative results of a series of events; a summary perfective is then not in sequence with other events.

[135] Итак, мы совершили_{<PF>} краткий экскурс в историю взлетов и падений нашего героя.
Thus we have completed a brief excursus into the history of achievements and failures of our hero.

6.5.4 The essentialist context: imperfective

An imperfective history is one in which there is continuity over phases. There are many ways in which an imperfective history can express continuity and lack boundaries.

Often, without much context, the imperfective establishes the existence of an activity of a certain type, in opposition to the possible absence of activity or to the existence of other types of activity. This sense is analogous to essentialist reference of arguments, and could be termed the EXISTENTIAL or ESSENTIAL imperfective.

[136] Через деревню проходит_{<IF>} шоссе.
A highway ran through the village.

[137] Горел_{<IF>} магазин как раз под нашей квартирой.
The store right below our apartment was on fire.

To illustrate: what we can say about the village is that it is crossed by a highway ([136]); what we can say by way of explanation of the midnight disturbance is that there was a fire burning ([137]). In both instances, all that is relevant is that the world at this time includes states or activities of a certain type. The imperfective, then, can have the function of establishing the existence of a state or activity of a certain type.

The imperfective is appropriate, further, in contexts whose import revolves around the polarity of the event – whether it exists at all – even when a single event is under discussion. More specifically, the imperfective can be used to question whether an event exists:

[138] Папа уже вставал_{<IF>}?
       Has Papa already gotten up?

An imperfective can be used to insist emphatically that an activity has occurred, even if the consequences are uncertain:

[139] В этом году я уже брал_{<IF>} раз отпуск.
       I have already taken a leave this year.
[140] – Надо было заявить_{<PF>} тогда же, – сказал он.
       – Я заявлял_{<IF>}.
       – You should have made a statement at the time, – he said.
       – I did make a statement.

As in [140], the essentialist imperfective can be understood to include those instances described as "reversal of result" or the like. Some activity takes place that one might expect to lead to a certain result. Using a perfective would imply that the result has been achieved and the resulting state has continued. If the state is reversed or canceled, the imperfective can be used to indicate that some of a certain kind of activity has occurred, though it has not led to the expected permanent result. Prefixed verbs of motion show this behavior, as does *открыть/открывáть* 'open': *он открывал*_{<IF PST>} *окно* 'he opened the window' can be used when the window is no longer open. As in [140], this sense of the imperfective often reflects an attempt (CONATION).

The imperfective can also be used when a past event is negated, though the perfective is also an option. The difference revolves around the way in which the speaker conceptualizes the possible occasions for an event. In narrative, the perfective indicates that the possible time when the event might have occurred (even though it did not) is bounded and placed in sequence ([141]), while an imperfective leaves the door open to further change ([142]):[29]

[141] Неудача не остановила_{<PF>} мою мать. Ей посоветовали_{<PF>} организовать артель. Мать написала_{<PF>} письмо хорошей нашей знакомой, Анне Васильевне Бибиковой. И дело пошло_{<PF>}.
       This failure did not stop mother. They advised her to organize an atelier. She wrote to our friend, Anna Vasilevna Bibikova. And things took off.
[142] Часовой не останавливался_{<IF>}. До него оставалось_{<IF>} десять метров. Восемь. Пять.
       The sentry did not stop. There remained only ten meters. Then eight. Five.

In dialogue (specifically, in a negative response to a question with a perfective verb), the perfective is used if both interlocutors agree that the event was

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[29] Merrill 1985, with references [(142)].

expected to have occurred on some delimited occasion ([143]):[30]

[143] – Вы взяли_{<IF>} ключи?
     – Нет, не взял_{<PF>}.
     – Did you take the keys?
     – No, I didn't [though I acknowledge that I could have].

The imperfective would be possible (– *Нет, не брал_{<IF>}*) in order to deny the implicit obligation or to suggest that the matter is still open.

    By an extension of the concern with existence and polarity, an imperfective is appropriate when descriptive aspects of a situation are reported or questioned.

[144] Умирал_{<IF>} Борис Леонидович в сознании.
     Boris Leonidovich was conscious as he died.
[145] Кто писал_{<IF>} «Войну и мир»?
     Who wrote *War and Peace*?

Here the existence and the nature of the event are taken for granted, and the attention falls on particulars, on attendant circumstances rather than on the final result.

    Thus the imperfective can be used with little context to assert the existence of an activity, to comment on its polarity, or to provide descriptive detail about the flow of an activity. A perfective verb used in similar contexts would insist on change and result.

6.5.5 Progressive context: imperfective

Events can occur in sequence, or they can overlap on the same contextual occasion.[31] An event that overlaps others is typically expressed by the imperfective:

[146] Я уже вставал_{<IF>} с кресла, как зазвонил_{<PF>} телефон.
     I was already getting up from the chair, when the phone rang.

In [146], an imperfective (*встава́л*) is used to report an activity that is not definitively ended because it is in progress around the contextual occasion.

    The Russian imperfective used in this sense is analogous to the compound progressive tense-aspect of English. As is well known, almost all instances of English progressives will be translated into Russian as imperfective.[32] The converse does not hold: not every instance of a Russian imperfective will be translated into

[30] Chaput 1985, 1990.
[31] See the contrastive studies of Akimova 1984 and Kozintseva 1985.
[32] As an exceptional instance, Kozintseva 1985:68 cites *Those three – those three were coming in!*, which is translated as the perfective in *Те трое – те трое тоже вошли в кондитерскую*. The original context is quite specific – it is interior monologue predicting an imminent result.

an English imperfective. Iteratives (§6.5.7) and duratives (§6.5.6) are the obvious cases. In addition, essential (descriptive or existential) imperfectives do not translate to progressives in English (§6.5.4: [132], [144]). The English progressive is narrower in its range than the Russian imperfective.

6.5.6 Durative context: imperfective

If an activity is expressed by the imperfective in a past-tense narrative, it cannot reach its completion (otherwise it would be perfective); the imperfective establishes the existence of some activity with the implicature that the result was not reached and would not be reached in the immediate vicinity of the contextual occasion.[33] This implicature can be made explicit by adding to the sentence an accusative specification of the duration of the activity: the activity went on for this period of time, but then ceased, without reaching its conclusion.

[147]   После гибели Плотникова горстка бойцов до утра отбивала$_{<IF>}$ натиск
гитлеровцев. В последней рукопашной схватке все они погибли$_{<PF>}$.
After Plotnikov died a handful of soldiers repelled the pressure of the Hitlerites
until morning. In the final hand-to-hand combat they all perished.

[148]   Его увели$_{<PF>}$, я остался$_{<PF>}$ в той каморке один, пришел$_{<PF>}$ военный,
заставил$_{<PF>}$ меня раздеться, тщательно обыскал$_{<PF>}$, потом ушел$_{<PF>}$. Я
ждал$_{<IF>}$, наверное, часа два, вывели$_{<PF>}$ наружу, посадили$_{<PF>}$ одного в
крытый грузовик, провезли$_{<PF>}$ всего за полверсты на прославленную ужасами
Лубянку.
They took him away, and I remained in the place alone. A soldier came in, made
me undress, searched me carefully, then left. I waited about two hours, they led
me out, put me in a covered truck, and took me the half verst to the Lubianka
Prison, famous for its horrors.

To know that the activity has ceased without reaching a definitive result implies an external narrative perspective. (This is in contrast to the "progressive" use of the imperfective, when the contextual occasion is internal to the activity in progress.) Accordingly, durative imperfectives can easily be sequenced in narratives between perfective events. In [147] one phase of the battle lasted until morning, then another, fateful event occurred. In [148], the delimited interval of waiting is sandwiched between events in a highly sequential narrative. Because the contextual occasion must be closed to be measured, duratives

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[33] The familiar fact that explicit statements of duration require the verb to be imperfective (except for prefixed quantizing verbs in *про-*) needs to be repeated, for it shows that perfective aspect in Russian is not merely the end of an interval of activity; a perfective requires that no further activity be conceivable, from the perspective of the specific history at that contextual occasion. In fact, in its use of the imperfective for terminated events, Slavic is typologically unusual (Dahl 1985).

are nearly as sequential in force as perfectives. This is another instance in which the adage that perfective advances while imperfective retards narrative is incomplete.

A bare accusative of time normally occurs only with imperfective or anaspectual predicates. A systematic exception is perfective derivatives with the prefix *про-*, which use bare accusatives to measure a closed interval of time:

[149] Прибыл он в монастырь 5 февраля к вечерне. Патриарх прогостил$_{<PF>}$ пять$_{<ACC>}$ дней. Возвратился в Москву 11 февраля.
He arrived at the monastery on February 5 at vespers. The patriarch stayed five days. He returned to Moscow February 11.

[150] Проспал$_{<PF>}$ я двадцать два часа подряд.
I slept twenty-two hours straight.

[151] Вы знаете, что наш общий друг Б. С. Кузин, у которого я гостил$_{<IF>}$ десять$_{<ACC>}$ дней, резко отрицательно относится к Л. Толстому.
As you are aware, our mutual friend B. S. Kuzin, with whom I stayed for ten days, is very negatively disposed to L. Tolstoy.

These perfective derivatives in *про-* present the interval as closed, without the lingering possibility that the activity could continue; they normally place the event in narrative sequence with others. An imperfective would merely assert the existence of an activity: in [151], *гостил десять дней* 'he was a guest for ten days' – and could have been a guest for longer; *он спал два часа* 'he slept two hours' – he could have slept more.[34] Only exceptionally can other perfectives be combined with an accusative expressing duration, as in:

[152] Отдохнув$_{<PF>}$ часок, другой, мы вновь двинулись вперед, гонимые мучительной жаждой.
Having rested an hour or so, we again moved forward, driven by torturous thirst.

Except for such occasional deviations and the systematic exception of prefixed perfectives in *про-* and *по-*, the ability to occur with an accusative expression of duration is a test that positively identifies imperfectives.

6.5.7 Iterative context: imperfective

Imperfectives can be used to report general states or habits – situations that seem true at all times – and they are used to express an open series of actions that repeat, when each token of the series by itself might be perfective if it were expressed as a single event. Iterative contexts can be signaled by a variety of lexical adverbs (*часто* 'often', *изредка* 'only occasionally') and phrases (*по субботам* 'on Saturdays', *каждую неделю* 'each week'). Or, the use of an

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[34] Shakhmatov (1925) calls this "completion of the duration of the activity."

imperfective with conjunctions such as *когда́* 'when' can impute an iterative reading to the context.

[153]   По утрам к общежитиям {приходили_{\<IF PST>} ∼ приходят_{\<IF PRS>}} женщины из деревень, они {приносили_{\<IF PST>} ∼ приносят_{\<IF PRS>}} топленое молоко, я {покупал_{\<IF PST>} ∼ покупаю_{\<IF PRS>}} четвертинку каждый день на завтрак.
In the mornings women from the villages {came ∼ come} to the dormitories, they {carried ∼ carry} warm milk, every day I {bought ∼ buy} a quart for breakfast.

Iterative situations can be situated in the past or present ([153]) or the future ([154]):

[154]   Мы мечтали, как начиная с весны каждый день будем_{\<FUT>} получать по яичку.
We dreamed how, beginning in spring, each day we would get an egg.

Iteratives – particularly discrete iteratives, each of whose sub-events is completed – are mixed in terms of narrative function. As imperfectives, iteratives present a scene, a habit. But in a block of iterative imperfectives, each sub-event can be understood as sequentialized with respect to other sub-events. A rich example is [155], in which, further, a set of three perfectives (*отказа́лся, потре́бовал, ста́л*) in the middle creates a shift in the habits.

[155]   Дежурство на большой дороге было очень интересным занятием. Мы располагались_{\<IF>} на протяжении полутора километров по всей дороге. Хлопцы мерзли_{\<IF>} и подпрыгивали_{\<IF>} на снегу, перекликались_{\<IF>}, чтобы не потерять связи друг с другом, и в наступивших сумерках пророчили_{\<IF>} верную смерть воображению запоздавшего путника. <. . .>
При мне колонисты никогда не хулиганили_{\<IF>} и не пугали_{\<IF>} путешественников, но без меня допускали_{\<IF>} шалости, и Задоров скоро даже отказался_{\<PF>} от револьвера и потребовал_{\<PF>}, чтобы я бывал на дороге обязательно. Я стал_{\<PF>} выходить при каждой командировке отряда, но револьвер отдавал_{\<IF>} все же Задорову, чтобы не лишить его заслуженного наслаждения.
Когда показывался_{\<IF>} наш Малыш, мы его встречали_{\<IF>} криком: – Стой! Руки вверх!
The watch on the highway was a very interesting occupation. We distributed ourselves over a kilometer and a half along the road. The lads were cold and they hopped around in the snow, shouted back and forth, in order not to lose contact, and in the approaching darkness they foretold certain death to the imagination of a belated traveler <. . .>
In my presence the colonists never acted up and intimidated the travelers, but when I wasn't there they engaged in some shenanigans, and Zadorov soon refused

to take the revolver and insisted that I be on the road. I began to go out every time, but the revolver I still turned over to Zadorov, in order not to deprive him of the well-deserved pleasure.

When our horse Malysh would appear, we greeted him with a cry:

– Halt! Hands up!

In Russian, explicitly iterative situations are almost always expressed by the imperfective. Only rarely can one find examples of perfectives used in specialized contexts, notably in the protasis of past general (iterative) conditionals, to emphasize that an achieved result is critical to the subsequent (iterative) apodosis.[35]

When the series is quite finite – *двá рáза* 'two times', *нéсколько рáз* 'several times' – it can be understood as a single event, and the perfective is more usual than the imperfective:

[156] Он ее восемь раз разобрал_{PF} и собрал_{PF}.
He disassembled and reassembled it eight times.

6.5.8 The future context: perfective and imperfective

Both the periphrastic future of imperfectives and the present-tense form of perfectives refer to events that lie in the future (are known by divination) from the here and now of speech. The two aspects retain their usual values. Perfective present-tense forms report events that are predicted (divined) to be completed and lead to results ([157]):

[157] – Вы Бог знает что надумали! – воскликнула она.

– Отправимся_{PF PRS} вдвоем путешествовать – что тут такого?

– Ты знаешь, чем кончится_{PF PRS} ваше путешествие?

– Чем кончится_{PF PRS}?! Я напишу_{PF PRS} художественные очерки, Ляля сочинит_{PF PRS} стихи.

– Это кончится_{PF PRS} ребеночком!

– God only knows what you have thought up! – she exclaimed.

– We'll head off together to travel – what's wrong with that?

– Do you know what your trip will end in?

– What it will end in?! I'll write some sketches, Lialia will compose poems.

– It will end with a baby!

Imperfective futures refer to events that are not anticipated to be definitively completed. They may refer to projected habits ([158]) or iterative (or extended) activities ([159]):

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[35] Bondarko 1971.

[158] Я уже об этом писал и буду_{<FUT>} писать_{<IF>}.
I have already written about that, and I will write again.

[159] Мы начали разрабатывать маршрут. До Нижнего Новгорода поездом. Я там
побывал два года тому назад, буду_{<FUT>} ей показывать_{<IF>}
достопримечательности, потом по железной дороге отправимся_{<PF PRS>} в малый
городок Семенов.
We started to plan our trip. By train to Nizhnyi Novgorod. I had been there two
years ago, I would show her the sights, then by train we'll make for the town of
Semenov.

An imperfective future can project the *existence* of an activity or attempted activity ([160–61]); the fact of existence is more important than the possible completion or results.

[160] Не буду_{<FUT>} пересказывать_{<IF>} все треволнения.
I will not [engage in an attempt to] recount all the troubles.

[161] Он переглянулся с другим чекистом и объявил нам, что они будут_{<FUT>}
производить_{<IF>} обыск.
He exchanged glances with another Chekist and informed us that they would
undertake a search.

[162] В теории предполагалось, что все его изобретения произведут_{<PF PRS>}
подлинную революцию в мелиорации.
In theory, his inventions would bring about a true revolution in land reclamation.

A perfective, in contrast, predicts a future completed event and result ([162]).

In sum, in the future temporal plane, perfective and imperfective maintain their values: a perfective history is one that is anticipated to come to fruition, an imperfective history is one that will be incomplete, because it reports a habit or the existence of an (attempted) activity.

6.5.9 Exemplary potential context: perfective

While the morphological present-tense forms of perfective verbs are used most naturally to report events that are predicted to occur and be completed on some future occasion, the perfective present is used for another important function. The perfective can present a single, potential occasion as exemplary of an open-ended series of possible occasions.[36] An exemplary use of the exemplary perfective can be found in Turgenev's *A Hunter's Sketches*. The device fits perfectly the descent of the bemused urbane – but admiring – observer into the world of provincial life: *Дайте мне руку, любезный читатель, и поедемте вместе со мной* 'Give me your hand, dear reader, and come travel together with me'. Turgenev's narrator describes his heroine Tatiana Borisovna in these terms:

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[36] See in general Panzer 1963, Rathmayr 1976.

[163] Сколько людей поверили ей свои домашние, задушевные тайны, плакали у
   ней на руках! *Бывало*, сядет_{<PF PRS>} она против гостя, обопрется_{<PF PRS>} тихонько
   на локоть и с таким участием смотрит_{<IF PRS>} ему в глаза, так дружелюбно
   улыбается_{<IF PRS>}, что гостю невольно в голову придет_{<PF PRS>} мысль: «Какая же
   ты славная женщина, Татьяна Борисовна! Дай-ка я тебе расскажу, что у меня на
   сердце».
   How many people have imparted their domestic, innermost secrets, have cried in
   her arms. It would happen, she'll sit opposite a guest, she'll lean quietly on her
   elbow and with such sympathy looks him in the eyes, she smiles in such a friendly
   fashion, that the guest will inadvertently have the thought, "What a wonderful
   woman you are, Tatiana Borisovna! Maybe I'll just tell you what's in my heart."

The exemplary use of the present-tense perfective presumes a background of
possible repeated occasions, here signaled overtly by the verbal particle *бывáло*
'used to happen'. Once the background of repeated occasions is established,
present-tense perfectives (*сядет* 'will sit', *обопрётся* 'will lean', *придёт* 'will come')
present a recurring situation not as a regular habit, but as potential: given the
right conditions, a certain sequence of events may arise. (Imperfectives used in
the midst of an exemplary context, such as *смóтрит* 'looks', *улыбáется* 'looks',
report open-ended processes concurrent with one of the potential occasions.)
The exemplary perfective becomes for Turgenev the perfect metaphor for the
occasional and unanticipated against the backdrop of a landscape of tedium. In
the twentieth century, the device receded, and it is now thought quaint.

   Some other uses of perfectives also seem motivated by the function of selecting
a single occasion as exemplary of a larger set. Past perfectives can be used with
exemplary force in definitional relative clauses of the type *тé, ктó* . . . In [164],
the history of one abstract individual stands for the set of possible individuals.

[164] Местными считались те, кто приехал_{<PF PST>} сюда после войны.
   Anyone who had come here since the war was considered to be a local.

In a similar vein, in clauses embedded under *удавáлось* 'used to be successful'
with iterative force, an imperfective infinitive emphasizes a regular habit ([181]),
while the perfective describes the type of event that could, on occasion, occur –
the exemplary sense ([182]). These uses of the perfectives (not only present-tense
forms) demonstrate that exemplariness is one of the readings that a perfective
can have, at least in certain contexts.

   Two additional minor functions of the perfective present are a present perfec-
tive of narrative, found in restricted styles (folk texts, in *byliny* or, as late as the
nineteenth century, in the narrative stage directions of folk drama):[37]

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[37] Panzer 1963:88, from Berkov 1953:168.

[165] Тут сейчас в него выстрел дадут_{<PF PRS>}, он упадет_{<PF PRS>}, а его жена начнет_{<PF PRS>} вопить по нем: <. . .>

Just then they will shoot him, he'll fall, and his wife'll begin to wail over him: <. . .>

Related is the folk use of the perfective present with *как* to report an event unexpected in the narrative ([166]) or with negation to report the failure of an anticipated event ([167]):[38]

[166] Лиса покрутилась, покрутилась, и говорит: <. . .> Тогда соловушка как запоет_{<PF PRS>}, как засвищет_{<PF PRS>}, так лиса и уши развесила.

The fox turned around, turned around, and says: <. . .> Then the nightingale sings so, whistles so, that the fox dropped her ears.

[167] Он согнулся_{<PF PST>}, сидит_{<IF PRS>} на козлах и не шевельнется_{<PF PRS>}.

He bent over, sits on the sawhorses and he won't move.

6.5.10 Infinitive contexts: perfective and imperfective

The aspect of an infinitive depends to a large extent on the predicate on which the infinitive depends.[39] (Infinitives in the free infinitive construction have the same aspect usage as infinitives attached to modal governing predicates such as *нáдо* 'be necessary'.)

At one extreme are PHASALS: *начáть/начинáть* 'begin', *продолжáть* 'continue', *кóнчить/кончáть* 'end, finish', *перестáть/переставáть* 'cease'. They govern only the imperfective: *я {начал ~ перестал} заходить_{<IF>} к ней* 'I {began ~ stopped} dropping in to see her'. *Любúть\полюбúть* 'love' (also *привы́кнуть/привыкáть* 'become accustomed to', *отвы́кнуть/отвыкáть* 'lose the habit of') implies that the dependent predicate is a habit, and therefore imperfective ([168]), except for quantizing perfectives ([169–70]):

[168] Она *любит* забавляться_{<IF>} игрушками.

She likes to amuse herself with toys.

[169] Он *любил* позабавить_{<PF>} народ шуткой.

He used to love to amuse the people now and then with a joke.

[170] *Любил* я забрести_{<PF>} в каретный сарай.

I loved to wander off into the carriage barn.

At the opposite extreme are verbs of occasion. *Удáться* 'be successful' implies success, therefore perfective in a dependent infinitive:

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[38] [166], [167] cited by Panzer 1963:73. This usage continues to show up in literary texts through the beginning of the nineteenth century, as an imitation of folk style, for example, in Pushkin's "Ruslan i Liudmila," "Poltava," or "Evlega." The negative usage is termed "the present of futile expectation" by Zalizniak (1995:159).

[39] Based on Fielder 1983; on aspect and modals, see Rappaport 1985.

[171] Мне удалось_{<PF>} обратиться_{<PF>} к открытому файлу статистики с помощью
Notepad и скопировать журнал, используя Windows Explorer.
I managed to turn to an open statistics file with the help of Notepad and copy the
journal, using Windows Explorer.

[172] Мне удалось любить_{<IF>}, смеяться_{<IF>}.
I have managed to love, to laugh.

As in [172], imperfectives are possible in contexts that list a series of activities.
Прийти́сь/приходи́ться 'have occasion to' is similar, but the implicature of success is weaker. When a single occasion arises, that event is often a completed, perfective, event ([173]). Sometimes what arises is the necessity of engaging in an activity, implying imperfective ([174]).

[173] Мне пришлось_{<PF>} к нему обратиться_{<PF>} за советом.
I had to turn to him for advice.

[174] В итоге ей пришлось_{<PF>} обращаться_{<IF>} за помощью к специалисту.
In the end she had to try turning to a specialist for help.

In other contexts in which infinitives are used, the event described by the infinitive is a potential rather than an actual event. It is striven for (with volitive verbs such as *стреми́ться* 'strive for'), imposed or requested (with MAND verbs such as *да́ть/дава́ть* 'let, allow', *позво́лить/позволя́ть* 'allow', *проси́ть\попроси́ть* 'ask'), expected or made possible by universal authority (*на́до* 'be necessary', *нельзя́* 'be impossible', *мо́жно* 'be possible'), or simply possible (*мо́чь* 'be able, can, be possible'). As a rule, the potential event is a single potential event, and this context usually calls for the perfective aspect in the infinitive. For example, in [175], what is at issue is the possibility of making a successful purchase on a possible occasion, hence perfective:

[175] Крестьяне явились с жалобой, что никаких материй и готового платья
купить_{<PF>} нельзя.
The peasants came with the complaint that it was impossible to buy any dry
goods or ready-made dress.

An imperfective is used if the situation under the force of modality is a habit ([176]),

[176] Нельзя так ненормально воспитывать_{<IF>} сына.
It is not right to raise one's son so abnormally.

Or if the situation is viewed as an activity – if what is required (possible, striven for, expected, etc.) is not a definitive change but an attempt, the mere existence of some activity that bears a certain name ([177–78]):

[177] Нельзя здесь переходить_{<IF>} улицу.

One should not try [=it is not permitted] to cross the street here.

[178] Когда я сидела на берегу, подошел Мандельштам и сообщил, что надо уезжать_{<IF>}, так как вокруг началась холера.

As I was sitting on the shore, up walked Mandelshtam and announced that what we must do is leave, since cholera had broken out.

More than other modals, *мо́чь* is concerned with whether a certain activity could exist at all; it allows imperfective infinitives freely.

The matrix context colors expectations about the event expressed by the infinitive. With *прийти́сь/приходи́ться* 'have occasion to', when the matrix occasion is iterated, then so is the dependent event. Accordingly, it is often expressed as an imperfective:

[179] – Часто приходилось_{<IF>} сталкиваться_{<IF>} в жизни с политиками?

– Have you often had occasion to run up against politics?

[180] Куда Вам приходилось_{<IF>} обращаться_{<IF>} за квалифицированной юридической помощью?

Where have you had occasion to turn for qualified legal aid?

With *уда́ться/удава́ться*, the infinitive can be imperfective if the context stresses habit:

[181] Спустя четыре месяца после дебюта молодым людям удавалось_{<IF>} продавать_{<IF>} по двадцать джемперов в неделю.

Four months after their debut, the young people used to manage to sell twenty jumpers per week.

[182] Считалось удачей, если удавалось_{<IF>} продать_{<PF>} несколько копий в месяц.

It was considered an accomplishment when they were able to sell several copies in a month.

If the sense of success on a potential, exemplary occasion outranks habit, the perfective is used with *удава́ться* ([182]). Similarly, if permission is granted (*да́ть/дава́ть*, *позво́лить/позволя́ть*), the performance of the dependent event normally follows. Hence an imperfective is natural for multiple occasions of permission.

[183] В семье наметился кризис. Я часто позволял себе оставлять_{<IF>} семью и предавался_{<IF>} различным мужским развлечениям.

In our family a crisis arose. I often allowed myself to abandon the family and turn to various male diversions.

6.5.11 Retrospective on aspect

To review: Aspect is a partition of verbs into two groups, perfective and imperfective. The two aspects can be distinguished concretely by tense (only imperfectives form the periphrastic future) and by contextual tests. Simplex verbs, usually imperfective, are associated with one or (usually) more prefixed verbs, which are perfective. Many prefixed perfective verbs form a corresponding imperfective by suffixation. Such prefixed perfectives and corresponding imperfectives are clearly paired. Simplex verbs are less obviously paired, though for most simplex verbs, there is usually one prefixed perfective that will function as the nearest thing to a corresponding perfective (for example, in narrative sequence).

Every verb tells a story – a history. The two aspects differ by virtue of the different histories the verbs relate. Perfective verbs mean that there is a definitive change of the world around some contextual occasion, imperfective that there is continuity (or potential continuity) around the contextual occasion. More concretely, perfective verbs tend to be used in sequential past-tense narrative and in potential contexts in which the uniqueness and potential result are significant (imperative, future, deontic modality). Imperfective verbs are used in contexts in which, in one way or another, the continuity of the history is significant and outweighs the question of completion and result. Imperfective verbs are then used to identify the essence of an action, an action that goes on for some time (but ceases), an activity in progress (at some point), or a repeating or generic situation.

6.6 Temporal adverbs

6.6.1 Temporal adverbs

Predicate histories take place around a contextual occasion. Adverbial expressions – lexical adverbs or prepositional phrases or clauses introduced by conjunctions – delimit the contextual occasion of the predicate history.[40] Three broad classes of temporal expressions can be distinguished: those that measure the duration of an interval over which an activity occurs; those indicating the frequency of repetition of equivalent sub-events of a larger, macro-event; and those that localize the contextual occasion for the predicate history.

6.6.2 Measured intervals

The duration of an activity or state or process is stated by a "bare" accusative without a preposition:

[40] Based on Srienc 1991; see also Sullivan 1998.

[184] Они трое_{<ACC>} суток почти без отдыха перевозили_{<IF>} людей и боеприпасы.

For almost three days without interruption they transported people and
supplies.

The activity or state measured in this way could potentially go on longer. The
history is not definitively closed, hence the imperfective is used, even though
the activity is understood to cease at the end of the interval. The accusative need
not be a word that names a time unit, if it can be understood as an interval of
time:

[185] Всю свою жизнь_{<ACC>} он лечил_{<IF PST>} коров.

His whole life he healed cows.

[186] Толстой почти всю дорогу_{<ACC>} вспоминал_{<IF PST>} прошлое.

Tolstoy spent almost the whole trip reminiscing about the past.

With a present imperfective, an accusative measures the duration of activity
up to and including the present. In this context English would use a present
perfect.

[187] Пятнадцать_{<ACC>} последних лет я отдаю_{<IF PST>} почти все свои силы одному:
борьбе за мир.

The last fifteen years I have given almost all my energy to one thing: the struggle
for peace.

A bare accusative of time normally occurs only with imperfective or anaspec-
tual predicates (*перевозили*, *лечил*, *вспоминал*, *отдаю* in [184–87]). A systematic
exception is perfectives formed with the prefix *про-* (or *по-*) ([150], [151] above).

6.6.3 Time units

Prepositional phrases formed with nouns naming time units – seconds, minutes,
years, eras – localize the history to one interval within a flow of comparable units.
The case and preposition differ according to the time unit, listed in Table 6.6 by
increasing size. Small units up through a day take *в* with the accusative; larger
units (month, year, century) take the locative. Nouns referring to divisions in
a temporal cycle – of the day (*у́тро* 'morning', *де́нь* 'day', *ве́чер* 'evening', *но́чь*
'night') or year (*весна́* 'spring', *ле́то* 'summer', *о́сень* 'autumn', *зима́* 'winter') –
use the instrumental case without a preposition.

These combinations of preposition and noun define an interval that can be
interpreted in a flexible fashion. The interval can be understood as an interval
around which an activity is in progress or an interval over the whole of which
a state holds (expressed with imperfective verbs). Or it can be understood as a
broader interval within which there is a sub-interval on which some definitive

Table 6.6 *Temporal expressions and time units*

unit	expression	example
second, minute, hour	в$_{<\backslash ACC>}$	*в эту минуту* 'at that moment', *в два часа* 'at two o'clock'
day (of the week)	в$_{<\backslash ACC>}$	*в понедельник* 'on Monday'
day (of calendar)	ordinal numeral + noun$_{<GEN>}$	*десятого мая* 'on May tenth'
week	на$_{<\backslash LOC>}$	*на этой неделе* 'in this week'
month	в$_{<\backslash LOC>}$	*в январе* 'in January'
year	в$_{<\backslash LOC>}$	*в этом году* 'in this year', *в 41-ом году* 'in the year of 41'
century	в$_{<\backslash LOC>}$	*в двадцатом веке* 'in the twentieth century'
division of daily cycle	noun$_{<INS>}$ ~ в$_{<\backslash ACC>}$	*днем* 'during the afternoon', *в день освобождения* 'on the day of liberation'
division of yearly cycle	noun$_{<INS>}$ ~ в$_{<\backslash ACC>}$	*осенью* 'in autumn', *в ту осень* 'in that autumn'

change occurs, implying a perfective verb: *В 1921 году я снова встретила*$_{<PF\ PST>}$ *Куприна* 'In 1921 I met Kuprin again' – the event occurs over some sub-interval within the whole period of that year.

Telling time is complex in Russian. Hours by themselves are expressed by *в*$_{<\backslash ACC>}$, with a cardinal number and possibly the word *ча́с*: *в три часа* 'at three o'clock'. Minutes and fractions of hours look to the future; the hour that is named is the end of the ongoing hour. Minutes are expressed with *в*$_{<\backslash ACC>}$, the hour as an ordinal in the genitive: *в пять (минут) второго (часа)* 'at five (minutes) of the second (hour)' = 'at five minutes past one o'clock', *в пятьдесят пять первого* 'at twelve fifty-five' (possible in principle, but official), *в четверть одиннадцатого* 'at a quarter past ten'. The fraction 'half' uses the locative, *в половине седьмого* 'at half past six', or more compactly *в пол седьмого*. Minutes near the end of an hour can be expressed by counting backwards from the upcoming hour using the preposition *без* and the accusative of the hour: *без двадцати (минут) час* 'twenty minutes till one', *без четверти одиннадцать* 'a quarter till eleven'. Note the progression in

[188] Время десять, потом четверть одиннадцатого, потом половина, потом без
  двадцати . . .
  The time was ten minutes, then a quarter after ten, then half past, then twenty
  till . . .

In official contexts (train schedules, for example), one can use a paratactic construction of *в*_{<\ACC>} and the hour that has been completed, followed by the minutes:

[189]   На поезд в 5 часов 30 минут я опоздала. Следующий был в 6 часов 10 минут.
         I was late for the train that left at 5 o'clock, 30 minutes. The next was at 6 o'clock, 10 minutes.

Questions about the time at which an event occurs are: for a punctual act, *В который час (вы уехали)*? 'At which hour (did you leave)?' or, for a planned, recurrent activity, *Во сколько (часов) вы встаете*? 'At how many hours do you get up?'.

Discussion of the current time lacks the preposition and uses the nominative. Thus in answer to a question *который час*? 'what time is it?' or *сколько часов*? 'what time is it?', one might answer: *час* 'one (o'clock)', *десять минут восьмого* '7:10', informal *минут десять восьмого* 'around 7:10', bureaucratic *восемь часов десять минут* '8:10', *без четверти восемь* '7:45', *половина второго* '1:30'.

Dates are expressed by the genitive of the ordinal of the date, with the genitive of the month if necessary: *приехали двадцать первого (мая)* 'they arrived on the twenty-first (of May)'. The neuter singular ordinal usually occurs without an overt head noun, though for explicitness the genitive *числа́*_{<\NT SG>} could be added: *двадцатого числа каждого месяца* 'on the twentieth day of every month'.

6.6.4 Time units: variations on the basic patterns

The locative case, as might be expected from its spatial meaning and its use with large time units, converts a time unit to an interval that *contains* the contextual occasion; the history of the change occupies some interval or intervals within the larger interval. The accusative, in contrast, treats an interval more as a unit that is filled by an activity.

В_{<\LOC>}: Using the locative with an ordinal numeral turns an hour into an extended interval composed of multiple sub-intervals, on one of which an event occurs. In [190], the bell rings (regularly) at some time within the second hour after midnight:

[190]   Мы с сестрой уже привыкли к тому, что ночью, *во втором часу*, когда в доме уже все спали, раздавался звонок.
         My sister and I had already become accustomed to the fact that, at night, between one and two, when everyone was asleep, the doorbell would ring.

В_{<\ACC SG>}: This expression is used with hours and days of the week. It can be applied to other time units, including large time units that might take *в*_{<\LOC>} or the instrumental. Then *в*_{<\ACC>} defines an interval that encompasses and bounds a successful activity ([191–94]):

[191] Там не поверят, что я прочитываю книгу *в день*.

They won't believe that I read a book in a day.

[192] Дорога зимняя была очень хороша. Без особенных происшествий доехали мы *в двое суток* до Торжка.

The winter road was very good. Without any special adventures we reached Torzhok in two days.

[193] *В год*, который я ее не видал, очень она переменилась.

Over the year that I had not seen her she had changed considerably.

[194] Эмиграция может убить *любого писателя в два-три года*.

Emigration can destroy any writer in two to three years.

A larger unit can use the accusative (instead of the locative) when a demonstrative sets up a contrast between the specific unit under discussion and other possible units: other years are not so snowy ([195]); in other years Gorky lived elsewhere ([196]):

[195] *В тот год* зима была ранняя и очень снежная.

In that year winter came early, with much snow.

[196] *В этот год* Горький жил в Берлине.

In that year Gorky lived in Berlin.

The locative is used when the demonstrative connects two events within one time interval:

[197] *В том же году* Бору удалось впервые дать на основе своей модели атома объяснение периодической системы элементов Менделеева.

In that year Bohr managed for the first time to develop an explanation for the periodic table of elements of Mendeleev on the basis of his atomic model.

In [197], Niels Bohr made one discovery, and it was still in that same year, not at some other time, that another accomplishment was made. The year is a container for two events.

The instrumental is used with parts of the day or seasons if the significance of the history is related to the nature of the time; note, for example, the inappropriate doorbell ringing *ночью* in [190] above, or the chiasmic use of the summer for winter memories in [198]:

[198] *Этим летом* на даче у родителей снова и снова припоминала зимние встречи с Толстым.

During that same summer at my parents' dacha I rehearsed the winter meetings with Tolstoy in my memory over and over again.

But $в_{<\backslash \text{ACC}>}$ is used if the specific token (night, summer) is contrasted with other units.

[199] Толстой, бывший *в эту ночь* ответственным по дежурству, крикнул:
    Tolstoy, who on that night was on watch, cried out:

[200] Было трудно понять, почему французский фронт оказался в Греции под конец войны, *в лето девятнадцатого года.*
    It was hard to understand why, at the end of the war in the summer of nineteen, the French front was in Greece.

In [199], Tolstoy was on duty on that specific night but would not have been on others.

B_{<\ACC PL>}: Making the noun plural creates an extended period over which an activity or state holds in contrast to other possible periods.

[201] Еще *в двадцатые годы* он мечтал поехать в Советский Союз.
    As early as the twenties he dreamed of going to the Soviet Union.

In [201], the state extends throughout and saturates the interval, and the time is modalized ('in the twenties, earlier than one might have expected'). The locative can be used if the decade is an interval internal to which a state holds or a change occurs ([202]):

[202] *В тридцатых годах* он погиб в лагерях.
    In the thirties he perished in the camps.

Noun phrases that name imprecise periods of time use the accusative: *во время* 'at the time', *в течение* 'over the course', *в ту же пору* 'in that time', *в тот период времени* 'in that period of time', *в каждую такую эпоху* 'in any such epoch', *в короткую мою бытность командиром* 'in my brief stint as commander', *в последний свой визит* 'during my last visit', *в одну из наших встреч* 'on one of our meetings'.

Words naming processes which have duration and internal sub-intervals use the locative: *в процессе* 'in the process', *в ходе соревнования* 'in the course of the competition'. *На протяжении* 'over the duration' gives time a dimensionality, a division of a time period into sub-phases. Words referring to boundaries use the locative: *в начале* 'in the beginning', *в середине* 'in the middle', *в конце* 'at the end'. Phases of life do as well: *в молодости Бальмонт пытался кончить жизнь самоубийством* 'in his youth Balmont tried to commit suicide'.

На _{<\LOC >}: The seemingly arbitrary use of the *на*_{<\LOC>} with weeks might have been motivated by the sense that a week is a time unit composed of an internal sequence of days; a week then has boundaries and a middle. *На*_{<\LOC>} is also used with periods in the church calendar (*на Великом посту* 'during Lent') and with nouns referring to meteorological events in the daily cycle (*на рассвете* 'at dawn', *на закате солнца* 'at sunset'). The idiom *на днях* 'in a matter of days' belongs here:

[203] *На днях*, то есть три дня тому назад, отправилась Сашенька с детьми и своим супругом в деревню.

Around this time, actually three days ago, Sashenka left with her children and husband for the country.

На$_{<\backslash \text{ACC } (\sim \text{ LOC}) >}$: *На*$_{<\backslash \text{ACC } (\sim \text{ LOC})>}$ is used in scenarios in which a series of units is counted from an initial boundary: *на первый другой ~ следующий ~ третий день* 'on the first ~ next ~ following ~ third day'. The notion of an initial boundary is critical.

[204] *На четвёртую ночь* она ворвалась, как амазонка, с хлыстом в руке в тихий, семейный пансион.

On the fourth night she rushed in like an Amazon, whip in hand, into a quiet family pension.

In [204], the counter is set in motion one night when Esenin takes refuge from his wife Isadora Duncan, and it is four nights *from that time* that she locates him. *На*$_{<\backslash \text{ACC}>}$ is not used when sequencing one event relative to another is not paramount: *в следующую субботу Боря покажет мне свои коллекции* 'on the next Saturday Boria will show me his collections' simply locates an event subsequent to some known time. It is the same sense of an extended period that *на* brings out in [205]:

[205] 11 июня 1770 г. *на 29-ом году* жизни Башилев умер.

On the 11th of June, 1770, in the twenty-ninth year of his life, Bashilev died.

6.6.5 Boundaries: $\kappa_{<\backslash \text{DAT}>}$

Some prepositional phrases define boundaries of time intervals. With the boundary defined by $\kappa_{<\backslash \text{DAT}>}$, there are different expectations before and after the boundary. In [206], if the addressee arrives by the boundary, one future is anticipated; if he does not, a different history is expected: his fate hangs on that difference.

[206] Приходите завтра на репетицию *к одиннадцати часам*, – сказала Всеволод Эмильевич, – прямо в зрительный зал, и садитесь рядом со мной.

Come to the rehearsal tomorrow by eleven, – said Vsevolod Emilevich, – right into the hall, and take a seat next to me.

Perfectives are usual with $\kappa_{<\backslash \text{DAT}>}$ but imperfectives are possible when a new activity is in place by the boundary (both aspects occur in [207]).

[207] В то время в Тунисе шли ожесточённые бои. *К тому времени* Роммель уже улетел$_{<\text{PF}>}$ в Германию и армией командовал$_{<\text{IF}>}$ его заместитель.

At that time in Tunisia there were vicious battles. By that time Rommel had already flown to Germany and his army was commanded by his replacement.

6.6.6 Boundaries: *перед*_{<\INS>}

With *перед*<\INS>, a perfective change occurs before the boundary, while in the immediate vicinity of the boundary event, no other events occur.

[208]   После третьего звонка, *перед началом* следующего акта, когда актеры уже были на сцене, в зрительном зале раздались аплодисменты.
After the third bell, before the beginning of the next act, when the actors were already on stage, applause erupted in the auditorium.

The perfective event has consequences for the subsequent history; usually, after the boundary a new change is expected imminently (in [208], the resumption of the performance). An imperfective can be used with *перед*<\INS> if it has an iterative sense.

[209]   И по-прежнему, как много лет назад, *перед началом* спектакля у входа в театр слышатся_{<IF>} знакомые и такие приятные слова: «Нет ли лишнего билетика?»
And just as many years ago, before the beginning of the performance at the entrance to the theater could be heard the familiar and comforting words: "Does anyone have an extra ticket?"

Перед<\INS>, then, defines a minimal interval (not an extended series of intervals) adjacent to a boundary event; the boundary event is imminent, precluding other events.

6.6.7 Boundaries: *после*_{<\GEN>}, *под*_{<\ACC>}, *по*_{<\LOC>}

После<\GEN> locates the change or significant part of a history after the boundary occasion named by the noun: *после отъезда* 'after departure', *после третьего звонка* 'after the third bell'. At the same time, it connects the new event to the last event:

[210]   Однажды вскоре *после начала* занятий он подошел ко мне.
Once soon after the start of lessons he came to me.

Под<\ACC> locates a history in anticipation of a boundary such as a holiday: *ночь под Рождество* 'the night before Christmas', *под конец* 'near the end'.

По<\LOC> places a history after another event (the noun names an event, not a time). The event is anticipated and sets up expectations for the subsequent history: *по приезде* 'upon arrival', *по окончании гимназии* 'upon the completion of gymnasium'. In [211], recovery from illness will set in motion another perfective event:

[211]   *По выздоровлении* (у меня был грипп) я немедленно выеду_{<PF PRS>} в Петроград.
After convalescence (I had the flu) I was to leave immediately for Petrograd.

6.6.8 Bounded intervals: $go_{<\backslash\text{GEN}>}$

До$_{<\backslash\text{GEN}>}$ defines an interval composed of multiple sub-intervals that extends up to the boundary named by the noun. An imperfective (the usual aspect) characterizes a situation that extends up to the boundary (for example, the continuing state of secrecy in [212]).

[212] Наш отъезд, как и все передвижения во время войны, держали$_{<\text{IF PST}>}$ в глубочайшей тайне *до последнего момента*.
Our departure, just like all movements during war, was kept in the strictest secrecy until the last moment.

After the boundary occasion, one can expect the state projected by the predicate to be canceled. After the departure in [212], the operation is no longer secret.

With a perfective, $go_{<\backslash\text{GEN}>}$ refers to the state that results from the event ([213]):

[213] Императорские театры в Москве и Петербурге закрылись$_{<\text{PF}>}$ *до 30 августа*, то есть почти на семь месяцев.
The imperial theaters in Moscow and Petersburg were being closed until August 30, that is, for almost seven months.

Sometimes, what continues over the interval is the *possibility* of performing a perfective event – in [214], the opportunity of making the call:

[214] Она попросила меня позвонить$_{<\text{PF}>}$ завтра *до двух часов*.
She asked me to call tomorrow up to two o'clock.

Because $go_{<\backslash\text{GEN}>}$ defines an interval that begs to be filled, a single perfective event can set the scene for further perfective events that are squeezed into the interval before the boundary.

[215] *До начала* сеанса в зале появился$_{<\text{PF PST}>}$ бритый наголо молодой человек, подошел$_{<\text{PF PST}>}$ к билетерше, и они вместе направились$_{<\text{PF PST}>}$ в нашу сторону.
Before the beginning of the session in the hall there appeared a clean-shaven young man who went up to the ticket woman and together they came in our direction.

До$_{<\backslash\text{GEN}>}$, then, defines an extended interval. The predicate history fills the interval up to the boundary, but changes after the boundary.

6.6.9 Bounded intervals: $c_{<\backslash\text{GEN}>}$

The preposition $c_{<\backslash\text{GEN}>}$ defines an initial boundary for a history that is usually a continuous state or activity expressed by an imperfective.

[216] День выдался холодный. *С утра* накрапивал_{IF} дождь, а к полудню подул резкий ветер, пошел снег.
The day was cold. From the morning it was drizzling, then by midday a sharp wind had begun to blow and it started to snow.

A perfective defines the initial boundary of a state that continues:

[217] Доброе отношение Евдокии Дмитриевны ко мне проявилось_{PF} почти *с первых дней* моей службы в Малом театре.
The kindly attitude of Evdokiia Dmitrievna to me became evident almost from the first days of my working in the Maly Theatre.

As an extension, a perfective with $c_{<\backslash\text{GEN}>}$ can be the first event in a larger series of events. In [218] the first shipment of household goods initiates the extended process of moving.

[218] *С вечера*, накануне, выехало по Шлиссельбургскому тракту шесть возов с мебелью и книгами.
From the evening, on the eve before, there went on the Schliesselburg Road six wagons with furniture and books.

6.6.10 Metric intervals: $\emptyset_{<\text{ACC}>}$

Combined with the adverbs (*тому́*) *наза́д* or *спустя́*, any time measurement (in the accusative) specifies a time frame located a certain distance from the current temporal frame. *Наза́д* measures not the duration of the activity, but the gap between the current contextual occasion and some other displaced occasion. *Наза́д* then accommodates both perfectives (*Часа четыре назад мы приехали*_{PF} *наконец в Ньюкастл* 'Four hours ago we finally arrived in Newcastle') and imperfectives (*Лет тридцать тому назад она обучала*_{IF} *немецкому языку Клотильду Вандербильт* 'Thirty years ago she taught German to Clotilde Vanderbilt').

6.6.11 Metric intervals: $за_{<\backslash\text{ACC}>}$

$За_{<\backslash\text{ACC}>}$ likewise measures an interval. The change of a history occurs within that interval and is confined to the interval. There is a sense that the change overcomes resistance:

[219] *За неделю* мы ухитрились продать_{PF} 10 тыс. экземпляров книжки.
Within a week we had managed to sell 10,000 copies of the booklet.

The usual aspect is perfective. Imperfective is possible if it is a conative activity with a goal:

[220] Приходилось *за несколько лет* наверстывать_{<IF>} упущенное веками.
It became imperative in the space of several years to try to recapture what had been omitted for centuries.

An imperfective can be used with *за*_{<\ACC>} when iteration has wide scope (so that each sub-event by itself would be perfective):

[221] Плутон обращается_{<IF>} вокруг Солнца *за 250,6 лет.*
Pluto revolves around the sun in 250.6 years.

[222] В казино проигрывали_{<IF>} *за ночь* несколько миллионов.
In the casino they would lose several millions in a night.

An imperfective is possible with narrow scope when the iteration occurs inside the interval:

[223] *За два тысячелетия* война десятки раз проходила_{<IF>} через их страну.
Over two millennia war crossed through their country dozens of times.

When the imperfective is negated, the existence of any occasion over the whole *за*_{<\ACC>} interval is denied (when there might have been many possibilities for action):

[224] *За июль-август* темп наступления не превышал_{<IF>} трех километров.
Over July–August the tempo of advance never exceeded three kilometers.

A series of imperfectives can be used with *за*_{<\ACC>} when the series amounts to an accomplishment over the interval:

[225] И я на семь лет ушел в люди. *За это вемя* я был_{<IF>} солдатом на румынском фронте, потом служил_{<IF>} в Чека, в продовольственных экспедициях 1918 года
<. . .>
I went out into the world for seven years. Over that time I was a soldier on the Romanian front, then I served in the Cheka, in the expeditions for provisions in 1918 <. . .>

Even without a verb *за*_{<\ACC>} can specify the domain of an ordinal: *третий за месяц контрудар* 'third counterattack in the space of a (single) month'.

*За*_{<\ACC>} can be combined with *до*_{<\GEN>} or (unusually) *перед*_{<\INS>} to measure when a perfective event occurs relative to an interval's final boundary: *минут за двадцать до обеда* 'twenty or so minutes to dinner', *незадолго перед этим* 'not long before that'.

6.6.12 Metric intervals: *на*_{<\ACC>}

*На*_{<\ACC>} measures the duration of the interval that results from a perfective change, such as the closure of theaters in [226]:

[226] Театры закрылись_{<PF>} до 30 августа, то есть почти *на семь месяцев.*
      The theaters were being closed until August 30, that is, for almost
      seven months.

An imperfective can refer to iterative occasions ([227]) or promise the imminent completion of change ([228]):

[227] После обеда Черчилль удалялся_{<IF>} *на несколько минут* в свою комнату и
      вскоре представал перед гостями в ярком восточном халате, в котором обычно
      смотрел фильмы.
      After dinner Churchill withdrew to his room for several minutes and then
      reappeared before his guests in a bright Oriental robe in which he usually
      watched films.

[228] В кармане у нас лежали путевки в дом отдыха, куда нас вдвоем *на два месяца*
      посылал_{<IF>} Литфонд.
      In our pocket we had vouchers for a resort where Litfond was sending us for two
      months.

Lexicalized forms are *навсегда́* 'for all time, forever', *надо́лго* 'for a long time'.

6.6.13 Metric intervals: *через*_{<\ACC>}

*Через*_{<\ACC>} measures the duration of an interval from one boundary occasion to an event. During the interval, contrary to possible expectations, no other relevant event occurs. In [229], to describe how night falls quickly in certain latitudes, the narrator mentions no events between the setting of the sun and the perfective onset of darkness:

[229] Погасло солнце – и *через несколько минут* все заволокло_{<PF>} мраком ночи.
      The sun faded – and after several minutes everything was wrapped in the dark of
      night.

With imperfectives, *через*_{<\ACC>} jumps us ahead to the middle of a new ongoing situation, which comes about as a surprise:

[230] На другой день я узнал, что Мейерхольд распорядился начинать репетиции.
      Через несколько дней я играл_{<IF>} Молчалина . . .
      On the next day I learned that Meierkhol'd had arranged to begin rehearsals.
      After a few days I was playing the role of Molchalin . . .

Thus *через*_{<\ACC>} links two parts of a narrative that might otherwise be separate.

6.6.14 Frequency

The temporal expressions discussed above all locate (however approximately) the predicate history around a single time frame. Histories and their contextual occasions can repeat over multiple occasions. Iteration can be signaled by various means. A large stock of lexical adverbs signal iteration: *иногда́* 'sometimes', *ча́сто* 'often', *поро́й* 'off and on', *иной ра́з* 'now and again', *обыкнове́нно* 'usually', *ре́дко* 'rarely'. Any noun that refers to a time unit signals repetition when it is modified by a universal quantifier; the whole expression is in the accusative without preposition: *ка́ждый го́д* 'every year', *ка́ждый де́нь* 'every day', *ка́ждую неде́лю* 'every week', *вся́кий ра́з* 'each time'. (Some lexical adverbs as well incorporate universal quantification: *ежемину́тно* 'minute by minute', *ежего́дно* 'yearly'.) Names of days of the week or parts of days can be made distributive, hence iterative: *по среда́м и пя́тницам* 'on Wednesdays and Fridays', *по вечера́м* 'in the evenings'. Frequency can be stated by combinations of *ра́з* with a prepositional phrase in *в*$_{<\backslash\text{ACC}>}$ and a recurring time unit: *раз деся́ть в день* 'ten or so times a day', *по одному разу в две или три секунды* 'once every two or even three seconds', *киты рождают одного крупного детеныша обычно раз в 2 года* 'whales give birth to one massive baby usually once every two years'. *Часа́ми* 'for hours on end' and *(це́лыми) дня́ми* 'for whole days at a time', which are lexicalized instrumentals, belong here. With any of these unambiguous indications of iteration, the imperfective is required.

6.6.15 Some lexical adverbs

Some lexical items deserve attention. *До́лго* 'for a long time' and *давно́* 'a long time ago' both project unfinished histories that extend over and fill intervals. With *до́лго*, the activity is presumed to stop (without definitive result, hence imperfective), and it can be placed in sequence with other events:

[231] Мы *долго* рассматривали$_{<\text{IF}>}$ величественные развалины, потом сидели на широких каменных ступенях у обрыва.
For a long time we looked at the magnificent ruins, then we sat on wide stone steps at the ravine.

Because the time interval is closed, *до́лго* occurs with the past tense or future, but not with an actual present.

In contrast, *давно́* (or *давны́м-давно́*) suggests continuation rather than limitation. In [232], the mutual knowledge (or the illusion thereof) could easily continue:

[232] Мы разговраивали$_{<\text{IF}>}$ *долго* и так свободно, как будто знаем$_{<\text{IF PRS}>}$ друг-друга *давным-давно*.
We talked long and freely, as if we had known each other for ages.

Table 6.7 *Temporal expressions and aspect*

form	predicate history	unmarked aspect
$в_{<\backslash\text{ACC}>}\sim в_{<\backslash\text{LOC}>}$ ($\sim на_{<\backslash\text{LOC}>}$)	change $\sim$ process $\sim$ state	either
$\emptyset_{<\backslash\text{GEN}>}$	change	perfective
$перед_{<\backslash\text{GEN}>}$, $под_{<\backslash\text{ACC}>}$,	change	perfective
$по_{<\backslash\text{LOC}>}$, $после_{<\backslash\text{GEN}>}$		
$до_{<\backslash\text{GEN}>}$	state $\sim$ process	imperfective
$на_{<\backslash\text{ACC}>}$	stative result	perfective
$через_{<\backslash\text{ACC}>}$	change	perfective
$\emptyset_{<\backslash\text{ACC}>}$	process	imperfective
$за_{<\backslash\text{ACC}>}$	change	perfective

Давно́ is compatible with the present tense of a verb ([232]). The perfective is possible when it characterizes the inception of a still-continuing state:

[233] Начались$_{<\text{PF}>}$ счеты *давно*, с первой нашей встречи в Петербурге.
    The score keeping had begun long ago, from our first meeting in Petersburg.

До́лго, then, is analogous to the bare accusative, *давно́* to $c_{<\backslash\text{GEN}>}$.

    Another lexical contrast of interest is the set of words that place the contextual occasion at the present moment, *тепе́рь* 'now' and *сейча́с* 'now, at the present moment'. (*Ны́не* 'nowadays' is stylistically marked as quaint.) *Тепе́рь* implies that the current situation departs significantly from the prior situation and that it will remain in force for the indefinite future. It can be used with present-tense verbs that contrast the current habit with a prior one:

[234] В свое время их принимали за чудаков, а *теперь* вроде бы уважают$_{<\text{IF PRS}>}$.
    In earlier times they were regarded as loonies, while now they seem to be
    respected.

With a past perfective, *тепе́рь* contrasts the state resulting from a change with the situation before the change ([235]). A present-tense perfective means the future is anticipated to differ from the past ([236]).

[235] *Теперь* он явно устарел$_{<\text{PF PST}>}$.
    By now he has obviously aged.
[236] *Теперь* вероятно и мы скоро пойдем$_{<\text{PF PRS}>}$.
    Now, probably, we also will go.

Сейча́с localizes the history to the interval of the immediate present. This present is part of a sequence of continuously changing situations. *Сейча́с* suggests that the current situation is unstable and might well change in the not-too-distant future. Hence *сейча́с* is easily used with a present perfective (that is, imminent future):

[237] – У нас, – отвечал отец. – Но она еще спит. А что?

  – А вот мы ее *сейчас* разбудим_{<PF PRS>}. Где она?

  – She's here – answered father. – But she's still asleep. Why?

  – Well we will just have to wake her up now. Where is she?

or with imperfectives or anaspectual predicates in the sense of ongoing activity or states, which might, however, be expected to change:

[238] Некоторые живы и *сейчас*.

  Some are alive even now.

Thus lexical adverbs, like temporal expressions formed with prepositions, also shape and influence the history projected by the predicate.

6.6.16 Conjunctions

Subordinate clauses introduced by conjunctions provide a contextual time for one history in terms of another. Subordinating constructions, of course, are not exclusively temporal; at the same time as they signal temporal relations, they are modal (not surprisingly, since some of the prepositional expressions are highly modal) and textual – the process of subordination ranks information as presupposed or better known as opposed to focused or less known.

6.6.17 Summary

The range of temporal expressions is summarized in Table 6.7.

The most neutral expressions merely locate a history in the general vicinity of the time, and are compatible with both bounded (perfective) and extended (imperfective) histories. Many temporal expressions have a preference for a particular kind of history, which translates into a preference for one or the other aspect. Thus $na_{<\backslash\text{ACC}>}$ or $c_{<\backslash\text{GEN}>}$ indicates a state holding over an extended interval, which is typically expressed by the imperfective, while $\kappa_{<\backslash\text{DAT}>}$ implies a history involving change, hence perfective. A temporal expression that presupposes change normally prefers a perfective verb, but allows an imperfective if the history reported by the imperfective is novel (most natural when the imperfective is understood as a new and surprising activity already in progress). A temporal expression that depicts continuity and stasis is a natural context for imperfectives, but allows a perfective if the perfective is understood to report the state resulting from an event. Any temporal expression involving change, which usually implies the perfective aspect, can nevertheless occur with an imperfective as an iterative, as a historical present substituting for a virtual past perfective, or as an imperfective with futurate sense (*В субботу я ухожу к Маше на целый день* 'On Saturday I'll be going to see Masha for the whole day').

7

The presentation of information

7.1 Basics

Language is not only a system of elements and relationships existing *in potentia*. Language is also used in context, as an exchange of information (beliefs, attitudes) between speaker and addressee. As language is used in context, alternative messages are considered, and the components of the information are hierarchized. The techniques used to manipulate information are quite heterogeneous, but they are also patterned, conventional, recurrent. Among the techniques are those that derive from the specific fact that, as language is used, the elements of language have to be presented in a linear order (and in speech, presented in time). Russian is famous for its variations in presenting information through the use of variations in word order, intonation, and lexical operators.[1]

7.2 Intonation

7.2.1 Basics

Each speaker has a characteristic fundamental frequency, which depends on the size of the vocal chamber. The typically smaller chamber of children and women implies a higher frequency than the larger chambers of adults and men. Speakers vary the fundamental frequency over the duration of an utterance. These variations of fundamental frequency over time result in a limited number of intonation contours, analogous for different speakers.

Over the course of an utterance, the intonation, if left to its own devices, declines gradually. It becomes possible to identify a contour when there is a noticeable change in pitch, whether a rise or fall, that departs from this gradual

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[1] The Prague School of Linguistics, in the spirit of Saussurean structuralism, thought at first that word order was *parole*, while syntactic relations were *langue*. But it soon discovered that word order was not invented *ex novo* on each occasion. There are patterns; therefore word order belongs to *langue*. The discussion here attempts to balance the patterned character of information devices (they are constructions, or *трафареты*) and their ability to convey quite specific messages.

Intonation, though it is obviously a feature of spoken language, may nevertheless be relevant to written language. Possibly speakers write and read written texts with a virtual intonation in mind (the intonation with which the text would be spoken).

For attempts to bring together intonation and word order, see Keijsper 1985, Yokoyama 1986.

downward drift. The rises and falls are usually centered on one stressed FOCAL SYLLABLE (or FOCUS), even if the changes spread over onto adjacent syllables. (When the focal syllable comes near the end of an intonation phrase, the contour after the focal syllable is abridged.) The word that includes the focal syllable is the locus of the semantic operation associated with a given contour. It seems sensible to follow the system articulated by E. D. Bryzgunova, which identifies an inventory of types of "intonational contour" (интонационная конструкция), written here as "IC" with a superscripted number of the focal syllable.[2] Each contour can potentially be used in utterances of different kinds: in QUESTIONS and IMPERATIVES (more broadly, in utterances oriented towards the addressee), in EXPRESSIVE functions (more broadly, utterances oriented towards the speaker), and in NARRATIVE and DESCRIPTIVE utterances (utterances that purport to be factual statements about the world – utterances not oriented towards the speaker or addressee).

7.2.2 Intonation contours

The least expressive intonation contour is IC^1, a modest rather than precipitous fall in the intonation contour. If there are syllables following the focal syllable, they continue the lower pitch. IC^1 is the basic contour of factual assertion and narrative. The fall, if it occurs in the middle of an intonation phrase, focuses on that word. Often the fall occurs by default on the last stressed syllable in the phrase. In *Что идет в кинотеа¹трах?*, the question asks simply what is happening in the theaters; theaters are not singled out as opposed to other locales.

IC^2 is a significant fall in intonation linked to a stressed syllable. The shape of the contour – falling – is similar to that of IC^1, but the focal syllable and the surrounding syllables are more marked in IC^2 than in IC^1. The differences are evident in, for example, the contrast of the neutral question *Что идет в кинотеа¹трах?* as opposed to *Что идет в кинотеа²трах?*. In IC^1, the fundamental frequency falls less than 100 Hz – for example, from 160 Hz to 100 Hz, over the stressed vowel of *кинотеа¹трах*.[3] In IC^2, the fundamental frequency starts at a higher level and falls more – for example, from 300 Hz to 200 Hz, over the stressed syllable of *кинотеа²трах*.[4]

In iconic fashion, IC^2 is not only more marked phonetically, it is also functionally more marked than IC^1. In questions, it contrasts one element with an analogous element:

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[2] System and most examples derive from Bryzgunova 1972 and Bryzgunova's contribution to the Academy Grammar 1980 (96–122); now *SRIa* 1.69–72. Hesitations about the system have been registered by Matusevich 1976, Yokoyama 1986, Mills 1990, Schallert 1990 ([6]). Intriguing alternatives have been proposed by Svetozarova 1982 and Odé 1989. For a summary of what can be determined about historical changes in intonation, see Comrie, Stone, and Polinsky 1996:99–103.

[3] Academy Grammar 1980, Fig. 23.   [4] Academy Grammar 1980, Fig. 33.

[1]   Николая устроили. А где Пе²тя будет жить?
       Nikolai has been set up. And where will Petia live?

In narrative, IC² distinguishes one element (time, individual, event) from other comparable elements that could be expected or imagined: *Я просила вас в во²семь* 'I asked you to come at *eight* [specifically then, not at another time]'. In orders, it is more insistent than IC¹: *Закро²йте окно!* 'Close the window! [as you seem not to have done yet]'. IC², then, is similar to IC¹, but is more exaggerated, phonetically and functionally.

In IC³, the pitch jumps up suddenly over the focal syllable. By the end of the focal syllable, the pitch begins to fall and continues to fall on further syllables to a level lower than the level before the focal syllable. The contour over the focal syllable is then not a pure rise, but a concave rise–peak–fall.

IC³ is used in various contexts. In questions, IC³ asks about polarity, for example, whether the situation of possession is true: *У вас е³сть простой карандаш?* 'Do have an ordinary pencil [or do you not?]', often in the face of the possibility that the answer might be otherwise: *Его зовут Са³ша?* 'Is his name [really] Sasha [or not]?'. In expressive contexts, IC³ emphasizes the polarity of a property: *Ох и гру³бый же ты!* 'Oh are you ever rude!'. As a command, IC³ is softer than IC²: *Закро³йте окно!* 'Close the window, won't you'. In narrative and description, IC³ commonly occurs near the end of a clause and signals that the information to this point is partial; further information will follow:

[2]   А тот, кто записывает народные пе³сни, должен создать настрое²ние певцам.
       Anyone who records folk songs has to create an atmosphere for the singers.

In this context, IC³ is anticipatory, cataphoric.

A sentence fragment from [2] can be used to illustrate graphically the difference between IC³ (first sharp peak) and IC² (valley), as in Fig. 7.1

IC⁴ is signaled by a fall in pitch over the focal syllable. The dip is followed by a rise on the focal syllable or especially on the subsequent syllables, which then remain higher than the pitch level preceding the focal syllable. In general, IC⁴ signals that the current information responds to the prior discourse (or to the whole surrounding discourse). It leaves open the possibility that further information will be forthcoming, but does not require it (unlike IC³). In a question, IC⁴ acknowledges the prior information, but extends beyond it ([3]). IC⁴ can be used in a series of questions, each of which contributes to a program of extracting information: *Ваше и⁴мя? Во⁴зраст?* 'Your name? Age?'. As a response to a request or question, IC⁴ confirms the answer and extends it; thus, in [4], the speaker offers permission to enter, and more. As an assertion of intention, IC⁴ continues and responds to the prior situation ([5]):
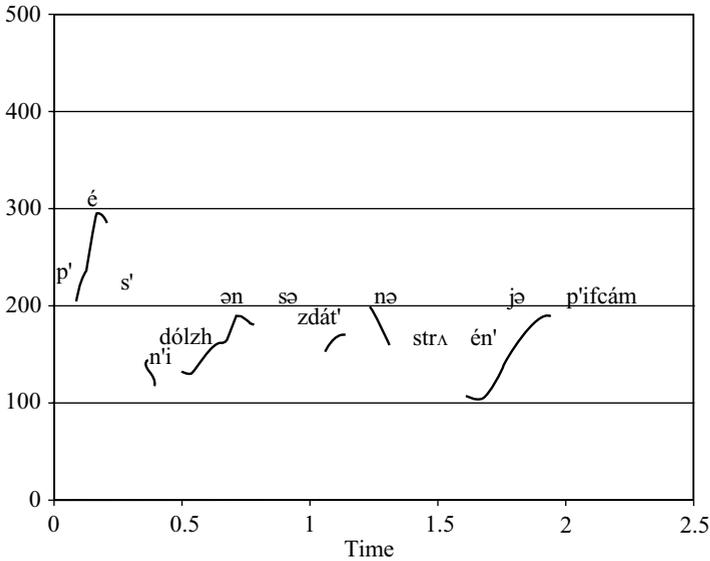
Fig. 7.1 . . . *пе³сни, должен создать настрое²ние певцам* ([2])

[3]   – Я не могу¹ поехать.
      – А Ната⁴ша?
      – I can't go.
      – [I understand that.] But what about Natasha?
[4]   – Мо³жно?
      – Войди⁴те! Проходи⁴те, раздева⁴йтесь.
      – May I come in?
      – Come in! Come on in [now that you've come, go ahead,], take your coat off.
[5]   – Ты³ не поедешь, / и я⁴ не поеду.
      – You're not going / and likewise I'm not going.

IC⁴ can be used in narrative and descriptive, as a way of filling in background that continues the prior discourse. For example, in a description of a photograph, a clause with IC⁴ could be used to supply additional description:

[6]   Ездят какие-то дотопных совершенно марок маши⁴ны.
      [You can see in the picture] some absolutely antediluvian cars are driving.

IC⁴, unlike IC³, does not demand an elaboration in the following discourse. Rather, IC⁴ elaborates the prior discourse.

The remaining three ICs (in the system of Bryzgunova) are all quite specific phonetically and quite expressive functionally. IC⁵ occurs in the construction in which a quantifier or adjective (for example, *какóй*) comes at the front of the

sentence and is split from the noun it quantifies or modifies. IC^5 in this construction has two focal syllables. The intonation rises on the first focal syllable (here "$V^{5\alpha}$"). By the end of the second focus (here "$V^{5\beta}$"), the pitch levels off and falls, returning back to the low level before the first focal syllable.

[7]   Кака$^{5\alpha}$я в мире ти$^{5\beta}$шь!
         Such calm there is in this world!
[8]   И како$^{5\alpha}$й он был интересный расска$^{5\beta}$зчик.
         And what an interesting storyteller he was!

In IC^6 – for example, *Когда^6 он придёт?* 'And when [did you say you think] he will come?' – the pitch rises steeply on the focal syllable (*Когда^6*) and may even continue to rise on the following syllable (*он*). After it reaches its maximum value, as much as 150 Hz above the starting point, it remains level and high (*придёт*). IC^6 is used in content questions that ask for an answer to be repeated (*В како^{6}й аудитории?* 'In which auditorium [was that you said]?'), in expressive exclamations (*Какие я^{6}блоки спелые!* 'What luscious apples!'), and even narrative (*Все систе^{6}мы | рабо^{6}тают | норма^{2}льно* 'All systems | are working | correctly'), when this expressive intonation retards the flow of narrative in non-final phrases in an expressive – portentous, grandiose – manner.

IC^7 is an extremely sharp rise on the focal syllable (or the focal syllable and an adjacent syllable), so sudden and emphatic that the vowel is truncated by a glottal closure. It is followed by an equally precipitous fall in pitch over the following syllable(s). Consistent with the significant pitch increments, IC^7 emphatically expresses the speaker's involvement in the content, ranging over disbelief to anxiety: *Како^{7}е жарко! В пальто ходим* 'How so hot! We're going around in coats'; *Я что^7! Вот Павел – шахматист!* 'Me? Take Pavel – now there's a real chess player'.

It is conceivable that the core of the intonation system is simpler than the heptopartite system of Bryzgunova. The first, IC^1, is a default contour. The next three – IC^2, IC^3, and IC^4 – are indeed real contours with recognizable functions. The last three intonation contours (IC^5, IC^6, IC^7) are less central than the first four, and could be derivative of, or exaggerated versions of, the others. IC^7 is probably just an emphatic variant of IC^3, and IC^6 is reminiscent of IC^4.[5] IC^5 is arguably not a single contour, but two contours linked in a very specific syntactic idiom ([7–8]) which, because of its syntax, has two focal syllables.

Table 7.1 schematizes the four basic contours IC^1 through IC^4. Intonation contours manipulate ideas – the content of the focal word (here "*x*") or possible alternatives (here "*x′*"). If the focal word is a noun, the ideas manipulated

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[5] Similarities that Bryzgunova (Academy Grammar 1980:107, passim) acknowledges. *SRIa* 1.69–72 omits IC^7.

Table 7.1 *Phonetics and generalized function of IC^1–IC^4*

contour	pre-focal syllable	focal syllable	post-focal syllable	function
IC^1	mid	fall	low	default intonation
IC^2	mid	fall	low	cohonymy operator: indeed *x*, despite possible *x′*
IC^3	mid	rise–fall	low	polarity operator: indeed *x*, despite possible not *x*
IC^4	mid	fall–rise	high	textual operator: granted *x′* already, now also *x*

are entities. If the focal word is a verb, the ideas manipulated are events or properties.

7.3 Word order

7.3.1 General

Words, in speech and writing, are produced and processed in linear order. In some combinations the sequence of words is predictable: for example, adjectives almost always precede the nouns they modify. The major constituents – the verb (V), the subject (S), the objects (O), domain phrases such as the goal of activity (D) – have more freedom. While the order is not "free" in the sense of being random or without consequences, still, the major constituents can occur in different orders, and variation in word order is one of the important devices Russian employs for shaping information.

It is traditional to describe word order in terms of a division of the utterance into two parts. Thus a sentence consisting of elements αβVγδ is parsed as αβ|Vγδ, where the elements αβ that come before the verb are taken as the basis (the theme, *основа*, topic) for the focus (rheme, *ядро*, comment) – the information provided by the verb and further constituents to the right γδ.[6] Moreover,

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[6] Two important studies attempt to develop a single principle for all combinations of the verb and its major arguments. Adamec 1966 imposes a binary distinction between basis/*основа* and focus/*ядро* on all sentences. As a rule (except when a constituent has a "specific informational" or "specific verificational" function), the boundary falls in the same place – immediately before the verb – in all word-order patterns. Yokoyama 1986 sees word order as reflecting a gradation in the degree of accessibility of knowledge. Although the most general schema has four positions (1986:234) – two before the verb, two after – in fact only two positions are distinguished consistently: a constituent that precedes the verb is information that is a current concern of both the speaker and the addressee, while a constituent that follows the verb is information that is not yet a current concern of the addressee. Both approaches, then, impose a binary division on the utterance.

Binary approaches can only classify constituents as belonging to one half of the utterance or the other. They cannot, therefore, take into account what grammatical and semantic role the arguments have. For example, in binary models, the S of the rather marked VS order should have the same value as the O in VO, which is the neutral order, from which it follows that (O)VS and (S)VO orders cannot be differentiated, when surely their functions are very different. For this reason,

elements on the margins of the utterance far from the verb (α or δ in αβ|Vγδ) are more exaggerated, or "stronger," in their function than elements near the verb. Thus the initial subject argument in [9] announces an unexpected entity and might well have emphatic stress (му́ж); the final adverb in [10] answers an implicit question about the manner of reception.[7]

[9]   И мой му́ж также вас поздравляет.
        And my husband also extends his best wishes.
[10]   У Осоргиных встретили меня радостно.
        At the Osorgins, [they] met me with joy.

   The division into basis and focus (or the equivalent in any other terminology), while it expresses a valid insight, is a rather general model; the binary partition is misleading. Each combination of major constituents, such as OVS or VSO, has its own properties – its own stylistic value, its typical use in context, its lexical preferences. For this reason, the discussion below is organized according to whole patterns of major constituents and uses examples taken from a corpus of examples of word order involving transitive verbs with the first-person singular accusative pronoun *меня*.[8] The basic corpus consists of 359 examples with all three constituents present. Another 138 examples have only verb and object.

7.3.2 SV, SVO

The most neutral and frequent order of major constituents in Russian is that in which the subject precedes the verb. The subject announces an entity for discussion, the verb states a property that holds of it.

[11]   Моя ˢмать ᵛвернулась ᴾсо станции, готовая действовать. Как можно скорее ˢона ᵛперевезет ᴼвсех нас ᴾна новую квартиру, ᵛнаменяет ᴼпродуктов, ᵛпоедет ᴾв Тулу. На следующее утро ˢона ᵛвзяла ᴼменя с собой ᴾна базар.
        My mother returned from the station ready to act. As fast as she could, she would move us all to a new apartment, trade for food, go to Tula. Next morning she took me with her to the bazaar.

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the description here is organized in terms of conventional patterns, like the descriptive practice of Adamec as well as Schaller 1966, Bivon 1971, Kovtunova 1976, Svedstedt 1976.

[7] For a strong rhematic element (δ in the abstract scheme), Bivon uses the apt term "essential new," which is opposed to "non-essential new" (γ in the abstract scheme).

[8] From S. Golitsyn, *Zapiski utselevshego* (Moscow, 1990). Not included in the count were objects of imperfective futures, participles, and infinitives (and objects of matrix verbs that govern infinitives); objects of passages marked as discourse; questions. The frequencies in this homogeneous corpus differ from those reported by Bivon (1971:42), who used a larger corpus composed of texts of varied genres. In that corpus, SVO was thoroughly predominant (79%) and other orders were correspondingly much less frequent (OVS 11%, SOV 1%, OSV 4%, VSO 1%, VOS 2%). The difference results from the differences in the corpora and the restriction here to *меня́*.

In [11], the first sentence announces the individual who is the hero (the mother), the intransitive verb (*вернýлась*) then states a property, including a further post-verbal domain. In the later transitive verbs (*перевезёт, взялá*), a direct object follows the verb, as happens frequently. (In the test corpus, 164/359xx = 46% of transitives with the object *меня* had the order SVO.) Often the object has been mentioned earlier and is known; for example *всéх нáс* 'all of us', *меня* in [11]. But when an object is placed after the verb, the fact that it was mentioned earlier is irrelevant. It enters the picture only through the verb: it is defined as the entity that is the patient of a specific predicate. Thus the object argument *всéх нáс* tells us who was displaced; then post-verbal *меня* identifies who accompanied the mother. Other constituents, such as manner adverbs or domains, can follow and further elaborate the nature of the property that is ascribed to the verb – *на нóвую квартúру*, *на базáр* in [11], *по лбý* in [12]. In the extreme case, a post-verbal constituent (such as a manner argument) is an essential focus that answers an implicit question about the whole predicate – in [12], how did she teach?

[12] ˢСоня ᵛучила ᵒменя ᴾвесьма ᴹ*энергично и оригинально*. Только я начинал ошибаться и заикаться, как она с возгласом «дурак» ᵛхлопала ᵒменя ᴾпо лбу.
     Sonia taught me in a very energetic and original manner. As soon as I started to falter, she, with a shout of "fool," would whack me on the forehead.

In general, the patterns of SV, SVO, and SV(O)(X), X any other major constituent, name the subject entity and differentiate it from the property stated to hold of it. The pattern can be termed HIERARCHICAL.

7.3.3 OVS

The order OVS combines two non-neutral positions: the object is before the verb, the subject afterwards. Though these are not the neutral positions for these arguments, the combined pattern is not infrequent (it was third most frequent in the test corpus with *меня*: 51/359xx = 14%). OVS order is used for two quite specific functions. One is to establish a relationship between the object, which is a known entity, and an abstract condition ([13]). Another is to introduce a new event – an interaction between the known object and a new individual ([14]):

[13] ᵒМеня ᵛждало ˢразочарование.
     I was facing disappointment.
[14] Неожиданно ᵒменя ᵛвызвал ˢУгинчус, начал расспрашивать о моей жизни.
     Unexpectedly I was summoned by Uginchus, who began to ask me about my life.

Like SVO, OVS is also a hierarchical construction: it links a known entity (O) to a new property, which includes a new individual (the S of VS). OVS is in a sense the inverse of SVO, which links the S to a property that includes another participant (VO).

7.3.4 SOV, OSV

When both major constituents are before the verb, they establish the entities as bases. The predicate, as focus, then states the relation among them.

In the order SOV, the object is a weak basis. This order is frequent with pronouns or known entities (108/359xx = 30%, or second most frequent, of three-part utterances with *меня*). SOV order links the current predicate to surrounding text through the effect on the object. In [15], for example, we read the story of the speaker's departure, in [16], the story of the speaker's triumphant return:

[15]   Настал день моего отъезда. ^{s}Родители ^{o}меня ^{v}проводили ^{D}до станции. Уезжал я в приподнятом настроении.
       There arrived the day of my departure. My parents accompanied me to the station. I departed in a state of elation.

[16]   Приехал домой, ^{s}все ^{o}меня ^{v}поздравляли.
       I came home, everyone congratulated me.

In the other verb-final order, OSV, the object is a strong basis. It can be used to contrast this particular entity to others,

[17]   Меня польстило, что именно ^{o}меня ^{s}он ^{v}приглашает.
       I was flattered that it was me that he was inviting.

or to shift attention back to an entity that had previously been prominent:

[18]   Управдомша требовала, чтобы я на ночь отдавал ей свои документы. ^{o}Меня ^{s}такая формальность ^{v}угнетала.
       The manager demanded that I give her my documents every night. For me such formality was oppressive.

This order was the least frequent of the six possible three-part word-order patterns with *меня* (6/359xx = 1.7%). The result is perhaps surprising, since this kind of "topicalization" of objects is often considered one of the most characteristic functions of Russian word order.

Both orders, VSO and SVO, manipulate information in a similar way. They both establish a list of entities for discussion, and then go on to state a relationship among them. Both orders can be characterized as RELATIONAL. They differ only in the ranking of the entities.

7.3.5 VS(X), VSO, VOS

Putting the major arguments after the verb presents the world as a holistic situation. First the state of the world is established (the property or event named by the verb), then secondarily the entities that participate in this state are identified.

Although SV(O) order is the neutral order for most predicates, certain predicates often put the domain argument early, then the verb, and then the subject. This order is usual for existential (quantificational, modal, experiential) predicates.[9]

[19]   [D]У нас [V]осталась [S]курица.
       We had a chicken left.

[20]   – Послушай, Клавочка, [D]мне [V]достаточно [S]одного звонка – и твой жених тут же исчезнет.
       – Listen, Klavochka, it would be enough for me just to place one phone call – and your fiancé will immediately disappear.

Predicates reporting transitions in weather or time or conditions also prefer this order:

[21]   [D]В Москве [V]наступил [S]голод.
       In Moscow famine set in.

The order DVS imposes an existential, or what is sometimes termed a PRESENTA-TIONAL, interpretation on verbs that are not strictly existential, such as the two verbs of motion in [22]:

[22]   У Серова есть картина: [D]впереди размашисто [V]шагает высокий царь [S]Петр, а [D]сзади, толкая друг друга, [V]спешат [S]толстые вельможи.
       Serov has this picture: in front there strides expansively the tall tsar Petr, and behind, elbowing each other, there scurry fat notables.

In existential and presentational functions, the subject entity is not previously known. Once introduced, the entity can then become a participant in further events.

When the predicate and subject are known, VS(O)X order lets the speaker insert a strong focus and answer an implicit question – in [23], about the manner of the reception, in [24], about the location of her abode.

[23]   [V]Встретил [S]он [O]меня [D]официально-холодно.
       He met me in an official, cold manner.

[24]   [V]Жила [S]она [D]у младшего сына Андрея. Она приехала на пароходе к дочери на все лето.
       [D]Однажды [V]побывала [S]она и [D]у нас. Я настропалил сыновей, чтобы вели себя смирно, не баловались.
       Where she lived was with her younger son Andrei. She had come on the steamship to her daughter for the whole summer.
       Once came she to visit us. I worked on my sons so that they would behave calmly, and not act up.

[9] Statistical correlations between word order and lexical classes are studied in Robblee 1994.

The order VSX can be used to start a new episode (*побыва́ла* in [24]). The usage is sometimes termed "epic," in memory of its use in chronicles and folk texts to announce new events or episodes. In contemporary Russian, it has connotations of the Soviet imperial style.

The order VOS introduces a new scene involving the object (hence VO) and then, as a strong focus, the as yet unknown subject that is involved:

[25]   Почему же меня вообще освободили, да еще так скоро? ^VОтхлопотала ^Oменя
      ^SЕкатерина Павловна Пешкова.
      Why did they release me at all, and why so quickly? My release was arranged by
      Ekaterina Pavlovna Peshkova.

In the test corpus with *меня́*, the two verb-initial orders were equally frequent: VSO, 13/359xx = 3.6 percent, VOS 17/359xx = 4.7 percent. Both are also used following direct quotes, VSO when the subject is a pronoun (*спросил он меня* 'he asked me'), VOS when it is a full noun phrase (*спросила меня мать* 'asked of me my mother'). This latter fact suggests that VSO and VOS are indeed close in function; what is crucial is that the subject follows the verb, and the relative position of O and S is less critical. The orders VS, VSO, and VOS can be termed SITUATIONAL: they establish the existence of a situation, a state of the world, that includes certain entities. This function is common to all tokens of these orders, regardless of whether the subject is known or newly introduced. Existential and presentational functions are special instances of the situational function.

7.3.6 Word order without subjects

Not all sentences have subjects. Subjects can be absent for one of three reasons. Different types of subjectless sentences do not have the same word-order proclivities.

Ellipsis: The subject can be omitted by ellipsis between conjoined verbs or between separate sentences. Though the subject is not represented as a constituent, it counts as the entity of which the predicate states a property. Accordingly, the object normally follows the verb, as it does when the subject is overt. This VO order is frequent (40/55xx of elliptical sentences with *меня́*, or 73%).

[26]   Он сказал, что не ^Vотпустит ^Oменя до тех пор, пока я не напишу заявление.
      He said he wouldn't let me go until I had written an attestation.

Impersonal verbs; unspecified agents: If it is usual to use VO when the subject is omitted by ellipsis, OV order is usual when the clause necessarily lacks a subject – when the verb is impersonal ([27]) or in the construction with an indefinite third-plural agent ([28]).

[27]　^oМеня ^vтошнило.
　　　Nausea overcame me.

[28]　^oМеня ^vповели по коридору. Коридор повернул, ^oменя ^vввели в небольшую комнату.
　　　[They] led me along a corridor. The corridor turned, [they] led me into a small room.

In the third-plural agent construction, VO does occur, but infrequently (only 11/72 tokens, or 15%, of the tokens with *меня* as object). In such cases the O is often the strong focus: *Однажды ночью* ^v*вызвали* ^o*и меня* 'once at night they summoned me as well'.

7.3.7 Summary of word-order patterns of predicates and arguments

The basic functions of word-order patterns are summarized in Table 7.2, with illustrative examples and overly explicit interpretive glosses in English. There seem to be three groups of patterns. Intransitive SV and transitive SVO and OVS are hierarchical: they state properties of a privileged individual. Intransitive VS and transitive VSO and VOS are situational: they present the world as a holistic situation in which the property overshadows the identity of the individuals involved. Transitive OSV and SOV are relational: they list elements, then state a relation among them.

7.3.8 Emphatic stress and word order

The speaker can choose to mark one word with a stress distinctly louder than the stresses on other words in the immediate vicinity. Emphatic stress can be used on words in different positions: *к нам дя́дя приехал* 'to us came űncle' ∼ *дя́дя к нам приехал* ∼ *к нам приехал дя́дя*.[10] Emphatic stress might seem to override the function of word order. In actuality, word order retains its usual functions. With emphatic stress, the speaker signals that this word is more *informative* than other words. That is not the same as the function of word order, which is to suggest a strategy for interpreting words together. The value of word order is preserved when emphatic stress is used with different orders in analogous contexts. For example, *меня* is stressed in both [29–30], but occupies a different word-order position and has a different value in each:

[29]　Меня польстило, что именно ^oменя́ ^sон ^vприглашает.
　　　I was flattered by the fact that Í was being invited.

[30]　Я был непомерно горд и доволен, что ^sон ^vвыбрал именно ^oменя́ ^Dв свои помощники.
　　　I was immeasurably proud and gratified, that he had chosen mё for his assistant.

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[10] Adamec 1966:69.

Table 7.2 *Basic word-order patterns of verb and major arguments*

INTRANSITIVE		
SV(X)	*hierarchical*: given entity S, V(X) is property	[S]Мать [V]вернулась [D]со станции 'As for my mother, what she did was return from the station.'
(X)VS	*situational (existential)*: establishes relevance (existence) of S in X	[D]У нас [V]есть [S]курица. 'By us remained a chicken.'
VS(X)	*situational (epic)*: establishes new situation involving known S, or new property X of known S	[D]Однажды [V]побывала [S]она и [D]у нас. 'It once happened that she spent time also with us.'
TRANSITIVE		
SVO	*hierarchical*: differentiates given entity S from property VO; links to prior text through S	[S]Она [V]взяла [O]меня [D]на базар. 'As for my mother, what she did was take me to the market.'
OVS	*hierarchical*: differentiates given entity O as basis from property VS; links to prior text through O	[O]Меня [V]ждало [S]разочарование. 'What happened to me was that I was met by disappointment.'
SOV	*relational*: given entities S and O, V states relation between	[S]Все [O]меня [V]слушали. 'As for everyone and me, what happened was that they listened to me.'
OSV	*relational*: given unexpected O, and given S, V states relation	(Именно) [O]меня [S]он [V]приглашает. 'What happened to me in particular with him was that he invited me.'
VSO(X)	*situational*: property V is situation encompassing S and O; X focal	[V]Встретил [S]он [O]меня [M]холодно. 'Then it happened that he met me in some fashion, namely coldly.'
VOS	*situational*: property V encompasses O; S = strong focus	[V]Отхлопотала [O]меня [S]Екатерина Павловна Пешкова. 'Then it happened to me that I was saved by someone, namely EPP.'
IMPERSONAL		
OV	*relational*: VO states property	[O]Меня [V]тошнило. 'As for what happened to me, I was made ill.'
UNSPECIFIED 3PL		
OV	*relational*: VO states property	[O]Меня [V]ввели [D]в небольшую комнату. 'What happened to me was that I was led into a small room.'
ELLIPTICAL SUBJECT		
VO	*hierarchical*: equivalent to hierarchical SVO	[S]Давыдович [V]улыбался, [V]хлопал [O]меня [D]по плечу. 'As for Davydovich, he smiled, and as for that person, what he did was slap me.'

With the pre-verbal object in [29], the sentence is about the individual and how he was treated: 'I was flattered that I was treated in this fashion'. In [30], the issue is who was chosen: 'I was gratified by the fact that he chose a person who turned out to be myself'. Even with emphatic stress, word-order patterns have their usual values.

7.3.9 Word order within argument phrases

If considerable freedom is granted to the order of major constituents, word order within argument phrases in prose writing and in speech is much less flexible. As a rule, adjectives occur before the head noun, and genitives and other arguments (of event nouns) occur after the head noun. Complex modifier phrases – participles and adjective phrases in which the modifier has its own dependent arguments – can come in either order. Before the noun, they are more integrated. After the noun, they are more detached, semantically and prosodically.

There is one class of modifiers that not infrequently comes after the noun, and that is determiners – demonstratives and possessive adjectives and existential adjectives (*какой-то*). After a noun, such modifiers have weak stress. They have the flavor of an epithet that reminds the addressee of a property which the speaker takes as known and established. In *спектакль **наш**<PSS> имел большой успех* 'the performance of ours had great success', the speaker reminds the addressee that the play being discussed is associated with the speaker.

When an ordinary adjective comes after its head noun, it imputes essential reference to the phrase; [31] distinguishes one variety of the head noun from other possible varieties:

[31]   Здесь не нашлось ᴺкомнаты ᴬᴰᴶ*отдельной*.
         Here there was not to be found a room apart.[11]

7.3.10 Word order in speech

It is generally assumed that word order in speech differs from word order in writing.

Speech often uses a distinctive construction in which two constituents of an argument phrase – adjective and noun, quantifier and noun – are separated, bracketing other material:[12]

[32]   ᴾУ меня ᴬᴰᴶкакой-то ⱽбыл ˢгод.
         Quite the year I had.
[33]   Кошмар, ᴼих [=тараканов] ᴾтам ⱽмного . . . ой, идите вы к чертовой бабушке.
         What a nightmare, of them [= cockroaches] there are a lot . . . Oh, go to hell!

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[11] Discussion: Schaller 1966:122, Bivon 1971:76 ([31], from Solzhenitsyn).
[12] Analysis and extensive illustration in Zemskaia 1973.

In the use of word-order patterns of major constituents, speech and writing differ at least in preference. It seems that, in speech, speakers are more inclined to view the world as relations among entities, expressed as bases before the predicate, as in [34]:

[34]   ˢОна ᴰгод вроде ᴰс этим мальчиком ⱽвстречается, он ее на три года старше, <. . .> все хорошо, все в кайф. ˢМама его ᴼее ⱽобожает.
       She for a year or so with this boy has been going out, he's older than she is by three years, <. . .> it's all fine, it's cool. His mother adores her.

Here the speaker makes a list of the elements relevant to a situation – subject (*онá*), temporal duration (*гóд*), a domain (*с мáльчиком*). This inventory of entities is tied together by the predicate at the end, which states how these elements are related to each other – in [34], they are all components of courtship: *встречáется*. Similarly, the components of comparison in [34] are named before the predicative *стáрше* that states their relationship, and the mother and bride are named before their relation is stated.

While SOXV is common in speech, this is not to say that SVD and SVO are missing entirely from speech. They occur in narrative structured around the deeds of the subject:

[35]   Ну ˢмы ⱽвернулись ᴰиз этого каньона / опять уже стало темнеть / ˢмы ⱽразбили . . . опять ᴼпалатки
       Well then we came back out of that canyon / it started to get dark again / we broke out our tents again.

Evidently, word-order patterns have analogous values in speech and in writing, but speech and writing have different preferences with respect to what they say. Writing and narrative are more likely to hierarchize entity and predicate (SVO, OVS), while speech and commentary prefer to list entities and then state the relationship (SVO). The difference can be seen by comparing [36], a snippet of conversation, and [37], the commentary provided by the speaker who transcribed [36]. In the conversation ([36]), both objects come before the verb, while the commentary uses SVDO order to report the same event ([37]):

[36]   – Витя, ˢты ᴰбабуле ᴼконьячка ⱽналил?
       Vitia, did you granny some cognac pour?
[37]   ˢВитя ⱽналивает ᴰНаташе ᴼконьяк.
       Vitia pours for Natasha cognac.

What is different is the willingness, the predisposition, of speech to present the world as relations of entities rather than as hierarchical statements of entity and property.

7.4 Negation

7.4.1 Preliminaries

Negation in Russian,[13] as in other languages, is a powerful operator: it selects out some word and its meaning and then forces one to consider alternatives. To assert "not ϕ" is to allow or even suggest that, under some other circumstances, on some other occasion, in some other world, the opposite state of affairs might hold instead. The significance of negation, then, is not merely that some situation is denied, but that we are forced to consider both alternatives at once.

Negation can apply to various parts of speech (nouns, verbs, adjectives). Negation interacts with other processes such as case.

7.4.2 Distribution and scope of negation

Negation in Russian is generally local.[14] To negate a constituent other than the verb, the negative particle is placed next to the element itself.

[38] По русскому устному нас экзаменовал *не* старый еще профессор Иван Никанорович.
For the oral examination in Russian, we were examined by the not old as yet professor Ivan Nikanorovich.

[39] Грибы любят родиться под этим деревом, *а не* под тем.
Mushrooms love to grow under this tree, but not under that one.

[40] <. . .> из *не* столь далекого села
<. . .> from a not so distant village

[41] Я прочел, прочел другой раз. Фразы были длинные, в мозгу *не* сразу укладывались.
I read it, read it again. The phrases were long; they did not fix into my brain immediately.

[42] $\begin{cases} \text{Настя поехала не на станцию} \\ \text{?Настя не поехала на станцию} \end{cases}$, а в совершенно другую сторону.

$\begin{cases} \text{Nastia went not to the station} \\ \text{Nastia didn't go to the station} \end{cases}$, but in the completely opposite direction.

One might note that, in English, negating the predicate can often be understood, by synecdoche, to negate a constituent of the predicate phrase; thus it is possible, even preferable, to translate [41] and [42] into English with verb negation. When in Russian the negative particle is put next to the verb, it negates the verb, not some constituent of the verb phrase.

[43] Одну его лекцию я не забыл о Фрейде.
One of his lectures about Freud I have not forgotten.

[13] Brown 1999[a] treats many aspects of negation.   [14] Dahl 1979.

Only occasionally does negation of the verb seem to have force over an argument ([44]):[15]

[44]   Эти чиновники понимали, что в администраторах *долго не* усидишь без высокой ученой степени.
These bureaucrats understood that you don't stay long as an administrator without a higher educational degree.

Russian is fond of negating both a modal auxiliary and its dependent infinitive:

[45]   Я различал и один голос, и второй, требовавшие, чтобы я не спал, но я *не* мог *не* спать.
I made out one voice, and another, which were demanding that I not sleep, but I could not help but sleep.

7.4.3 Negation and other phenomena

Negation and existential pronouns: Negative particles form two series of negative existential pronouns. Pronouns in *ни(-)* occur with a negated predicate, and preclude any individual in a factual statement (§4.9.2). Another series of negative pronouns, in *né(-)*, combine with infinitives, whose subject, if overtly expressed, is dative. The construction denies the possibility that there could exist any possible entity that would fit in the predication (§5.10.5).

Negation and case: A negated transitive predicate often takes a genitive object instead of the expected accusative (§5.4). The subjects of existential intransitive predicates, which would otherwise be in the nominative, appear in the genitive when the predicate is negated (§5.3).

Negation and predicatives: Negating a copular sentence with a predicative noun is very likely to produce an instrumental case in the noun, for the reason that negation limits the validity of the state and invites the consideration of the alternative polarity in some other world ('not φ in this time-world, but possibly φ in another time-world'). The validity of the state is then limited; the instrumental occurs naturally with states that are bounded (§5.2.5).

Negation and complementizers: Negation has an affinity with irrealis modality and essentialist reference of entities. As a consequence, negating a matrix predicate of speech (thought, belief, attitude), as in [46], sometimes elicits *чтобы* – the irrealis conjunction – in place of *что* in complement clauses.

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[15] Besters-Dilger 1988:271–80.

[46] Я не помню, *чтобы* наш сад был когда-нибудь по садоводческим правилам ухожен.
I don't recall that our garden was ever tended according to the rules of horticulture.

The special properties of negation derive from the fact that negation is an operator that proposes alternatives, thereby raising the question of which alternatives are to be considered; even as negation proposes one thing, it implies the imminent possibility of the opposite.

7.5 Questions

7.5.1 Preliminaries

Questions, along with imperatives, are the most overt form of interaction between the partners of the speech dyad.[16] It is reasonable to distinguish between content questions and polarity questions. Just as some assertions can be taken as commands or requests, some assertions have the force of questions.

7.5.2 Content questions

Content questions are formed with one of the interrogative-indefinite pronouns, *ктó* 'who', *чтó* 'what', *когдá* 'when', and so on.

[47] *Откуда* везли? *что* везли? *куда* везли? *кому* везли?
From where were they carrying them? What were they carrying? To where? To whom?

While *котóрый* has become the most general relative pronoun, as an interrogative it is still restricted to selecting out one individual from a pair or limited set:

[48] На роль было две кандидатки – Соня и другая девушка. *Которая* лучше?
There were two candidates for the role – Sonya and another girl. Which was better?

Usually the question word comes at the front of the clause ([49]), but it need not, if the question can be anticipated – for example, as part of an exam or interview ([50]). As an echo or confirmation question, the question word can come last ([50]):

[49] *Где* вы учились?   Where did you study?
[50] Вы *где* учились?   Where was it you studied?
[51] Вы учились *где*?   Where did you say you studied?

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[16] Restan 1972, recently Comrie 1984; on negation and questions, see Brown 1999[b].

It is possible, more easily in Russian than English, to use two interrogative pronouns in one sentence ([52–53]):[17]

[52]   *Кто* и *когда* изобрел компьютерную мышь?
       Who invented the computer mouse and when?
[53]   "changed": Указание, *кто* и *когда* последний раз менял данную анкету.
       "changed": an indication of who made the last change in the form, and when.

Multiple questions can be understood to have a single answer (as in [52], where the perfective *изобрел*$_{\text{<PF>}}$ implies a single event) or a distributive set of answers (in [53], the imperfective *менял*$_{\text{<IF>}}$ implies iteration, hence one person for each occasion). Both question words can be positioned at the front of the clause ([52–53] above) or one can be left internal to the clause ([54–55]):

[54]   *Кто* изобрел и *когда*   Who was it, and when, that invented the
       компьютерную мышь?   computer mouse?
[55]   *Кто* изобрел компьютерную   Who was it that invented the computer
       мышь и *когда*?   mouse, and when?

7.5.3 Polarity questions and answers

Yes–no, or POLARITY, questions in spoken Russian are formed by preserving the word order expected for an assertion while using question intonation, normally IC³, focused on one constituent. Focused on the verb, IC³ questions the verb or the whole situation ([56]):

[56]   Е³сть папки еще?
       Are there any more folders?
[57]   Он там своей машины не име³ет?
       Doesn't he have his own car there?

If the focal syllable is another constituent, the question focuses on that constituent:

[58]   *A*: Это твое³ шампанское?   Is that your champagne?
       M: Нет, мое в холодильнике.   No, mine's in the refrigerator.

In written Russian, polarity questions can be constructed as in spoken Russian, by presuming the intonation contour that would be used in speech. Polarity

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[17] Multiple questions in Slavic have attracted attention for some time (Rudin 1988), in large part because they seem to violate the long-standing assumption in formal syntax that question words must be placed in a unique, privileged (structurally defined) position at the front of the clause. The tradition has since come to the view that the initial position of the question word is motivated not by notational necessity, but (in effect) by discourse (Strahov 2001).

questions can also be marked with the particle *ли* in written (or bookish oral) Russian. The particle is placed after the constituent that is questioned, which occurs at the beginning of the clause. After a verb, *ли* questions whether the event or state as a whole occurs or exists:

[59]   *Любила ли она меня? Кажется, тоже любила.*
       Did she love me? It seemed she loved me too.

After another part of speech, *ли* questions whether that particular part of the information is correct – the time frame in [60], the cause in [61], the quantifier in [62]:

[60]   *Скажите, а давно ли вы замужем?*
       Tell me, is it a long time you have been married?

[61]   *Мы узнали, что его посадили. За что? Не за распространение ли стихов Гумилева?*
       We learned that he had been sent to prison. For what? Was it not for distributing the poems of Gumilev?

[62]   *Много ли человеку нужно?*
       Is it much that a person needs?

The particle *ли* makes indirect questions that can be used as arguments; for example, the question clause is the subject of a predicative in [63]:

[63]   *Будут ли расстреливать заложников или нет – оставалось неизвестным.*
       Whether they would shoot the hostages or not remained uncertain.

   Answers to polarity questions vary in length and explicitness. The response can be minimal, consisting of just a polarity word, *да* 'yes' or *нет* 'no'. Or the focal word that is questioned can be repeated,

[64]   *М*: Таблетки сюда, да? Алена?   Should the tablets go here, yes? Alena?
       А: А? *Таблетки да.*   Hm? The tablets yes.

[65]   *Н*: Я не могу ее красить. Вот цвет   I can't paint it. The color I cannot
       я поменять не могу.   change.
       И Это в доверенности оговорено?   Is that stipulated in the permit?
       Н: Да, *оговорено.*   Yes, stipulated.

Or much of the syntax of the question can be repeated, with or without a polarity word:

[66]   *Л*: У вас участок есть там, да?   You have a plot there, yes?
       А: *Есть участок.* Растет что-то в   There is a plot. Something's growing there.
       нем. Мать занимается . . .   Mother tends it.
       Л: Помидоры уже есть?   Are there tomatoes already?
       А: *И помидоры уже есть.*   And there are already tomatoes.

Negation interacts with questions in a subtle fashion. In asking a positive question, the speaker makes no presumption about the answer. But in asking a question using a negated verb, the speaker indicates that the positive situation is expected, or hoped for, or imagined, despite the real possibility that the negative situation obtains. Thus *не удалось ли кому-нибудь узнать* 'has no one succeeded in finding out' suggests that the speaker suspects the situation might be true – that someone has learned the answer. In response to such negated questions, speakers usually respond to the positive sense that the question would have without negation. Thus a positive answer means the situation under discussion is true, confirming the underlying positive possibility (in [67], yes, consistent with your suspicion, there will be isolation), and a negative answer means that the situation is not true (in [68], no, contrary to your suspicion, service will not go bad):

[67]   – *Не* получится *ли* так, что ваша фракция останется в одиночестве, а этот союз всё равно состоится?
         – *Да*, это возможно.
         – Will it not happen that your party will remain isolated, but the union will take place anyway?
         – Yes, this is possible.

[68]   – Не ухудшится ли качество телефонной связи после установки программы?
         – *Нет*, не ухудшится.
         – Will not the quality of the telephone connection deteriorate after installation of the program?
         – No, it will not.

Sometimes, however, negation seems genuine, as can be indicated by phrases such as *наве́рное* 'most likely', *коне́чно* 'of course'. The speaker wants to confirm that the *negative* situation holds. Then the addressee responds with *да* and a *negative* verb to confirm the first speaker's negative prediction – 'yes, as you say, it is true that not φ' ([69]):

[69]   – Ты конечно в срок никак   – You of course will never finish by the
         уже не кончишь?   deadline?
         – *Да*, наверно *не* кончу.   –Yes, no doubt I won't finish.

To dispute the speaker's negative prediction, the second speaker responds with *нет* and a verb of *positive* polarity, with the sense of 'no, au contraire, it is true that φ' ([70–71]).[18]

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[18] Discussion: Zemskaia 1973:364 ([70]).

[70]	– Ты конечно в срок никак уже не кончишь?	– You of course will never finish by the deadline?
	– *Нет* / я постараюсь.	– No / I'll make an effort.
[71]	– Они, наверное, *не* поняли ничего?	–They most likely didn't understand anything?
	– *Нет*, вы знаете, поняли, некоторые даже очень поняли.	– No, you know, they understood, some of them even understood quite well.

Polarity operators not only apply to the literal words of the previous question, but can respond to questions that the speaker anticipates.[19] In [72], the speaker responds not by listing the songs but to the implicit question of whether she can remember what was sung.

[72] Что мы тогда пели? *Нет*, это вспомнить невозможно.
      What did we used to sing then? No, that's impossible to remember.

The polarity words *ga* and (less usually) *нет* can be inserted in many places in an utterance to focus the question on a specific constituent, as in [73]:[20]

[73] На первом / *ga*? нужно ехать.
      On number one [tram] / yes? we need to ride.

Да, especially, is used initially in utterances to remind the addressee of what the speaker takes to be an obvious truth:

[74]	*Н:*	Я им печенье принесла между прочим сегодня.	– I brought them some cookies by the way today.
	А:	– Кому?	– To whom?
	Н:	*Да* мужикам!	– To the guys [of course]!
[75]	*А:*	–Так, а зачем упаковка для яиц, можно узнать? это нужно?	– So, what is this egg-packing material for? Is it necessary?
	В:	– *Да нет*.	– Well no.

In this way *ga* can even combine with *нет*, as in [75].

7.6 Lexical information operators

7.6.1 Conjunctions
The all-purpose conjunction *и* combines pairs (or multiples) of analogous elements: argument phrases (*только моя мать и сестра Соня* 'just my mother and sister Sonia'), adjectives (*одно из самых уютных и живописных сел* 'one of

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[19] Rakhilina 1990.   [20] Zemskaia 1973:362.

the most pleasant and picturesque villages'), and predicates (*старуха засияла **и** воскликнула* 'the old lady beamed and exclaimed'). When *и* applies only to one element *x*, it indicates that it is surprising that this single element *x* participates, given the participation of other elements: *В страхе жил **и** я* 'In terror lived I as well'. Put before the initial element as well as the second, it emphasizes the unexpected participation of both: *одинаково презираемые **и** большевиками, **и** беспартийной массой* 'detested equally both by the Bolsheviks and by the party-less masses'.

Да adds an additional element or property, one which is not entirely expected or one which is a concession: *Как нигде не числящийся, **да** еще не член профсоюза я не имел никакого права хлопотать о бюллетене* 'As someone who was never officially registered for work, not to mention not a member of a union, I had no right to seek a medical dispensation'. Stylistically it is conversational to folksy.

Или 'or' likewise applies to various kinds of elements – predicates (*Он не понял **или** сознательно отверг ленинские идеи* 'He did not understand or deliberately rejected Leninist ideas'), adverbs (*быстрее **или** медленнее* 'more quickly or more slowly'), arguments (*любой председатель колхоза **или** директор совхоза* 'any chairman of the kolkhoz or director of a sovkhoz'). The proposition holds of at least one of the two elements, quite possibly both. When *или* is repeated before both elements, it forces the exclusive (disjunctive) reading: *Ханы Средней Азии **или** выпускали заложников, **или** без всякого суда умерщвляли* 'The khans of Central Asia would either release the hostages or put them to death without any trial'. *Либо* serves similar functions in a more portentous style: *Браки заканчивались **либо** разводом, **либо** смертью мужа в тюрьме* 'Marriages would end either in divorce, or with the husband's death in prison'.

The emphatic negative operator *ни*, which is used to make a series of negative existential pronouns such as *никто́* 'no one', can be applied to constituents other than a pronoun, when it emphatically precludes the participation of that element (*ни одно́й я́годы* in [76]). Doubled, the combination *ни . . . ни . . .* conjoins and emphatically rejects both of two possible elements ([76]):

[76]   Кушайте сколько хотите, но *ни* в карман, *ни* в сумку ни одной ягоды.
        Eat as much as you want, but not into your pocket, not into your bag, not a single berry.

7.6.2 Contrastive conjunctions
Но and *a* create contrasts.[21] *Но* presumes or imputes a general rule which some particular situation or individual does not follow; the fact that it does not is

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[21] Silukova 1968, Babiuch 1985, Sannikov 1989.

noteworthy. In [77], a brief acquaintance by general rule would imply a superficial friendship, but not in this instance. In [78], the individual dog Black is an exception to the general treatment of dogs.

[77] Я знал Игоря Владимировича менее года, *но* хорошо.
      I knew Igor Vladimirovich less than a year, but well.
[78] Охранники перестреляли всех собак, *но* Блэк убежал.
      The guards shot all dogs, but Black ran away.

Но, then, differentiates a specific individual or situation from a general rule.

The conjunction *a* takes for granted a background situation in which an individual has a certain property, from which one might expect other individuals to have the same property. Contrary to this expectation, insists *a*, the property has the opposite polarity for another individual. In [79], the kolkhoz survived in one village, but not in another nearby village.

[79] В селе Любец, где я сейчас живу, колхоз уцелел. *А* в селе Котове, где я жил
      тогда, колхоз сразу развалился.
      In the village of Liubets, where I live now, the kolkhoz survived. But in the village
      of Kotovo, where I lived then, the kolkhoz immediately fell apart.

Often the contrast is made explicit by *не . . ., a . . .* – in [80], one time frame as opposed to another:

[80] В своей статье Зиновьев без каких-либо доказательств утверждал, что мировая
      революция наступит *не* просто скоро, *a* в том же году, в ближайшие месяцы,
      даже через неделю.
      In his article, Zinovev without any proof asserted that world revolution would
      arrive not just soon but in that very year, in the coming months, even in a week.

Thus *но* differentiates one instance (usually a situation) from a general rule, while *a* contrasts one specific instance (usually an entity) from another analogous instance.

7.6.3 *Также, тоже*

Та́кже and *то́же* both say that something under discussion now, whether an entity or a situation, is similar to something that is already known. (The similarity can be explicit and known in advance, or it can be imputed retroactively by the new utterance.) At the same time, the similarity of the new to the given is not entirely expected and is worthy of note.[22]

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[22] A rich literature, though lacking consensus: Bogusławski 1969, Dahl 1969, Paducheva 1974[a], 1979 ([88]), 1991 ([85]), Gundel 1977, Lubensky 1982 ([89]), Sussex 1982, Chojnacka 1985, Girke 1985, Yokoyama 1986 (306–26; [94], from Gvozdev). A clearer picture results if the opposition is phrased in terms of polarity (of a property) vs. a list (of entities).

Тóже operates on entities. It presumes or imputes a background in which one individual has a certain property, and allows or invites the expectation that other individuals would not also have that property. Against this background, *тóже* asserts that, contrary to possible expectations, another individual shares the property in question. *Тóже*, usually stressed, occurs after the constituent on which it operates, usually an argument phrase that comes before the verb. That argument can be the subject ([81]), the subject of an existential predicate ([82]), or a pre-verbal object ([83]):

[81]   Все орали, и я *тоже* орал: «Долой Карапетяна!»
       Everyone shouted, and I also shouted, "Down with Karapetian!"

[82]   Конвертов *тоже* не было.
       There were no envelopes as well.

[83]   На следующий день явились еще две семьи с малыми детками, их *тоже* разместили в бухгалтерии.
       The next day there appeared two other families with small children, and they as well were put into the office.

The domain of an existential or modal predicate:

[84]   От той церкви теперь *тоже* не осталось и следа.
       Of that church as well there remained no trace.

[85]   Мне *тоже* нужен билет.
       I also need a ticket.

Or even the occasions for events (in [86], a series of attempted meetings):

[86]   Трижды я ездил в Ленинград, стремился с ним встретиться, его не заставал. Дважды, во время его приездов в Москву, пытался к нему пробиться, но *тоже* безрезультатно.
       Three times I went to Leningrad, I tried to meet with him, I couldn't find him. Twice, during his trips to Moscow, I tried to get to see him, but also without result.

The predicate need not be repeated:

[87]   Все засмеялись, и Оксана *тоже*.
       Everyone burst out laughing, and so did Oksana.

Тóже, with weak stress, can be applied to properties if they are treated as elements in a set of possible properties:

[88]   Он был умен, но он был и *лóвок тòже*.
       He was intelligent, but he was clever as well.

Tóже usually follows immediately after an argument phrase, but not always. Additional possibilities, with interpretive glosses, are given in [89], which presumes a situation in which Vitia will arrive and Misha may or may not do likewise:

[89]

Витя придет вечером и   Vitia will come in the evening and

$\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Миша тоже придет вечером}\\\text{Миша придет тоже вечером}\\\text{Миша придет вечером тоже}\end{array}\right\}$. $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{as for Misha – he also will come this evening}\\\text{as for Misha's arrival – that will also happen this evening}\\\text{as for Misha's arrival this evening – that will also happen}\end{array}\right\}$.

Tóже operates on the individual (*Míша*) and any intervening constituents; whatever remains to the right of *тóже* is the property on which the comparison hangs – for instance, in *и Миша придет* **тоже** *вечером*, it is Misha's arrival specifically in the evening that makes the situation similar to that with Vitia. When *тóже* is final, at issue is the similarity of whole facts – Vitia's evening arrival and Misha's evening arrival.

While *тóже* operates on entities in a list, *тáкже* operates on situations. *Тáкже* presumes (or imputes) a background in which a property holds of an individual. *Тáкже* evokes and then disputes the expectation that no other related property holds. What stays constant and what contrasts depends on context. Four cases can be distinguished.

Most transparently, an additional related property is said to hold of one individual:

[90]   Владимир писал там пейзажи, и он *также* сделал иллюстрации к двум или трем книгам.
       Vladimir drew landscapes, and he also did illustrations to two or three books.

In [90], two kinds of endeavors are compared and contrasted. In this use, *тáкже* follows the argument and precedes the predicate stating the new property.

In a second construction, *тáкже* comes between a preceding verb and a following argument. The effect is to assert that the background situation is not limited to individuals named in the prior context, but includes another individual; it is the fact of the existence of another individual, of a certain type, that is the new, surprising situation. In [91], the dinner company includes, surprisingly, a captive officer. In [92], the possessions of the uncle include, surprisingly, cobbler's tools.

[91]   За обеденным столом сидел *также* пленный австрийский офицер Зальцман, который был прекрасным скрипачом. Он давал уроки музыки девочкам Бобринским.
       At the dinner table there also sat a captured Austrian officer Salzmann, who was a superb violinist. He gave music lessons to the Bobrinsky girls.

[92]   Дядя привез с собой вещи, сколько мог захватить, одежду и обувь, привез *также* ящик с сапожными инструментами. Он собирался переменить юридическую карьеру на сапожное ремесло.

My uncle brought as many things with him as he could, such as clothing and footwear. He also brought a box with cobbler's tools. He intended to trade his legal career for the cobbler's trade.

The newly introduced individuals become the topic of the subsequent discourse (Salzmann and his music lessons; the uncle's aspirations to being a cobbler).

Third, *та́кже*, presuming a situation in which a property ϕ holds of an individual *x*, says that an analogous property ϕ′ holds of an analogous individual *x*′. What is of interest is that the second situation holds at all. In [93], Kostia's confessions are compared to the author's.

[93]   Постепенно мы разоткровенничались. Я рассказал Косте о своем славном княжеском роде. Рассказал, что с детства мечтаю быть писателем <. . .> И Костя *также* разоткровенничался, рассказал, что род Машаровых старинный купеческий из города Тобольска.

Gradually we opened up. I told Kostia about my glorious princely clan. Told him, that from childhood I have dreamed of being a writer <. . .> And Kostia also opened up, saying the Masharovs were an old merchant clan from Tobolsk.

Here *та́кже* is used after the subject.

With respect to such examples, when analogous properties hold of two individuals, it is often said that *то́же* and *та́кже* are interchangeable, with only the stylistic difference that *та́кже* is formal, bookish, while *то́же* is said to be colloquial.

[94]   Сестра отличница, и сын $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{тоже}\\\text{также}\end{array}\right\}$ хорошо учится.

Sister's an outstanding student, and brother also does well.

Still, there is a difference. *То́же* imputes a set of students who perform well and asserts that the set is not limited to the one previously known individual (sister). *Та́кже* in this context compares the existence of situations, emphasizing that it is noteworthy that the second exists at all: not only is one fact true (about sister), but as if that were not enough, a similar fact can be reported (about brother). They are close, but not identical in value.

A fourth, idiomatic use of *та́кже* is the phrase *a та́кже* added to an argument in a phrase in which one or more entities are already listed ([95]):

[95] Владимир, Лина, *а также* Алька Бобринская уехали в Москву.
Vladimir, Lina, and also Alka Bobrinsky left for Moscow.

In summary, *тóже* starts with the observation that an individual has a certain property, and counters the possible presumption that no other individuals have that property: the property is held constant, and entities are contrasted. (By extension, properties can be treated as elements in a list of possible properties, and contrasted in the same way.)[23] *Тáкже*, in contrast, compares and contrasts situations. With *тáкже*, the fact that the initial situation holds at all might seem to preclude any further related situation, but in fact – insists *тáкже* – another related situation holds as well. Often the new situation is a new property of the same individual ([90]), but there are other possibilities. *Тáкже* can establish the existence of a new entity, defined in essential terms ([91]), or establish the existence of an unexpected parallel event ([93]). When, unusually, the constituent directly affected by *тáкже* is an argument phrase, *тáкже* does not merely contrast two known individuals, which is the purview of *тóже*, but compares two situations which hold of two different individuals ([94]).

7.6.4 *Же*

The particle *же*, frequently used in colloquial Russian, presumes (or imputes) a background situation of a certain polarity; the particle then asserts that the actual polarity is the opposite of the presumed polarity.[24] For example, in [96] the addressee presumes a certain property (availability to serve as guide); the response with *же* counters that expectation.

[96] – Вы мне покажете Большой театр?
– Я *же* первый день в Москве!
– Will you show me the Bolshoi?
– [But] I'm [only] in Moscow for the first day.

Же is used frequently to insist that the identity of some entity is truly this one (indeed *x*), either as opposed to the contrary expectation that this specific individual would not be involved (rather than not *x*) or as opposed to other possible entities (rather than *x′* or *x″*). In [97], the speaker confirms that these UV rays are indeed the culprit, lest one think otherwise:

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[23] This analysis extends to two unusual examples cited in Paducheva 1991. In Pushkin's *В Польшу съездил я тоже* 'To Poland went I as well', whole events – journeys – are listed and compared. In Gorky's *Мама очень плачет . . . , больная потому что и злая тоже* 'Mama cries a lot, she's sick is why, and foul-tempered as well', properties become elements in a list.

[24] Vasilyeva (n.d.:54) ([96]) says *же* means "insistent emphasis on the indisputability of a fact." Rathmayr (1985:254) suggests that *же* signals "an appeal to that which is already known in supplementary motivations (explanations, commentaries, justifications) of verbal or non-verbal acts."

[97]   Лучи UVB нам известны. Именно благодаря им на коже появляется загар, они
        же являются причиной ожогов.
        Ultraviolet-B rays are familiar. It is because of them that the skin tans, it is they
        that are the cause of burns.

It is this sense that is the basis for the usage of *же* in various idiomatic phrases:
в пе́рвый же де́нь 'on the very first day', *тако́е же* 'exactly such a', *ту́т же* 'right
there', *когда́ же* 'and when indeed', *почему́ же* 'why indeed'.

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Index