On Binary Oppositions and Distributions in the Russian Stress System
Oppositional Properties of Russian Accentual Paradigms

I. Main goal: Provide lexemes with the markings AA, BB, CC, BC, CB (total of 5 regular types).

The double letter designation indicates the stress type in the two subparadigms that constitute a full paradigm (e.g. singular and plural for nouns, non-past and past for verbs).

By definition, type A only occurs across two subparadigms and does not normally combine with other types. (E.g. крокоди́л, ста́вить.)
1. Type A stress (i.e. lexically marked stress) remains on the same stem syllable throughout the paradigm.

2. In the case of stress types B and C, the morphophonemic environment determines the stress of the given lexeme and each type can occur either in both subparadigms (BB and CC) or in only one of the two subparadigms (BC and CB).
Type B admits either predesinential stress or stress on the first desinential syllable in both subparadigms of the noun and verb. I.e. stress occurs immediately adjacent to the stem-desinence boundary (marked plus (+) on the diagram to follow).

Type C admits word-initial stress or stress on the first desinential syllable in both subparadigms of the noun and verb. I.e. stress occurs on the first syllable of either the stem or the ending.
Invariants of the distinctive Russian stress types (applies to distinctive environments)

Type A: #_________+ ... #

Type B: #_________+ _... #

Type C: #_________+ _... #

___ = stress can occur
...... = stress cannot occur
#  = word boundary
+   = stem-desinence boundary
Basic Stress Rules for Russian Nouns

Each type (A, B, C) has its own particular rules about how stress is determined.

Type A: lexical and fixed. Simply marked on any stem syllable. This rule applies to nouns and other parts-of-speech and is the most numerous type:

e.g. крокоди́л, желу́док, кóмната
Type B: based on the phonetic shape of genitive case endings.

1. Genitive non-zero option = end-stress in the subparadigm.
   стол/стола́, столы́/столо́в, колбаса́/колбасы́, колесо́/колеса́

2. Genitive zero option = stem-final stress in the subparadigm.
   колбáссы/колбáсами, колёса/колёсами
Type C: based on the phonetic shape of direct and locative case endings.

1. If at least one Direct case or Locative is a +high vowel. 
   +high option = mobility of +high form. 
   (Direct has initial stress; Locative has end-stress.)
   го́лову/голова́, го́лобы/голова́ми, берегу́/бё́рега

2. If Direct cases and Locative are all −high:

   A. Direct +low option = end-stress
      зеркала́/зеркала́ми, колокола́/колокола́ми

   B. Direct −low option = initial stress
      зе́ркало/зэ́ркала, ко́локол/ко́локола
### Sample Set of Nouns with Stress Types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Zero-Declension Nouns</th>
<th>II. a-Declension Nouns</th>
<th>III. o-Declension Nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>АА желудок, параллель</td>
<td>АА корова</td>
<td>АА пра́вило, я́блоко</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BB язык, путь</td>
<td>BB колбаса́</td>
<td>BB числó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC лебедь, область, го́род</td>
<td>CC голова́</td>
<td>CC зёркало</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BC гвоздь</td>
<td>BC губа́</td>
<td>BC существо́, очко́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CB са́д</td>
<td>CB вода́</td>
<td>CB о́зеро</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Noun Stress

Type B (Predesinential/Desinential)

If the genitive case in the subparadigm is non-zero:

Result is: Desinential stress in the subparadigm.

If the genitive case in the subparadigm is zero:

Result is: Predesinential stress in the subparadigm.

cолбаса́, колбасы́
cтол, стола́
 столы́, столо́в
 окно́, окна́

cолбасы, колбас, колбасами
 веретёна, веретён, веретёнами
Type C (Initial/Desinential)

- Mobility with a single deviating form in the subparadigm.
  - Direct or Locative case has a high vowel desinence \(-i/u-\).
    - Direct case in \(-i/u-\).
      - Direct case has initial stress and all others have desinential stress.
    - Locative in \(-i/u-\).
      - Locative has desinential stress and all others have initial stress.
  - Immobility if the subparadigm lacks a direct or locative case with a high vowel \(-i/u-\).
    - Nominative case desinence has low vowel.
    - Desinential stress throughout subparadigm.
    - Initial stress throughout subparadigm.

Examples:
- голову, голова (sg.)
- берегу, берег, берега (sg.)
- зеркала, зеркала́м (pl.)
- зёркало, зёркалóм (sg.)
- волки, волков (pl.)
- ось, осью (sg.)
- города, города́м (pl.)
- город, города (sg.)
(1) Russian Noun Stress

Lexically Based (A)
- Genitive = -Ø
  - Example: комната, желудок, крокодил
  - Same syllable is stressed throughout paradigm: Singular and Plural.

(2) Grammatically Based (B/C)

(3) Boundary-Contiguous (B)
- Genitive = +Ø
  - Example: стол, столы
  - End (desinential) stress in a subparadigm with non-zero genitive stress.

(4) Boundary-Initial (C)
- Mobile: Direct/Loc = +high
  - Direct (N/A) = +high
  - Locative = +high
  - Example: голова, бере́г

(5) Mobile: Direct/Loc = -high
- Direct = low
  - Example: головы, голова, снег, снега

(6) Immobile: Direct/Loc = -high
- Direct = low
  - Example: зеркало, зерка́ло, волк

Initial-end stress in subparadigm.
End-stress (desinential) in subparadigm.
Initial stress in subparadigm.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>AA</strong></th>
<th><strong>BB</strong></th>
<th><strong>CC</strong></th>
<th><strong>BC</strong></th>
<th><strong>CB</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>жа́воронок</td>
<td>падёж</td>
<td>волк</td>
<td>гвоздь</td>
<td>сад</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>архи́в</td>
<td>враг</td>
<td>зуб</td>
<td>конь</td>
<td>нос</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ресторан</td>
<td>каба́н</td>
<td>лёбедь</td>
<td>лёбедь</td>
<td>след</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>шашлы́к</td>
<td>го́лубь</td>
<td>го́лубь</td>
<td>сыр</td>
<td>сы́р</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>лиша́й</td>
<td>ю́нь</td>
<td>ю́нь</td>
<td>вап</td>
<td>ряд</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>сапожо́к (Gpl сапо́жек)</td>
<td>хо́лод (Npl холо́д)</td>
<td>торжество́</td>
<td>озеро</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>глазо́к</td>
<td>го́род</td>
<td>существо́</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>зубо́к</td>
<td>бе́рег</td>
<td>сло́во</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>рожо́к</td>
<td>пропуск</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>очко́ (Gpl очко́в)</td>
<td>дом</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>очко́</td>
<td>глаз</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Syntax:**

Inventory of the Basic 5 Stress Types in Different Morphological Classes
A book on Russian stress by Robert Lagerberg contained an interesting criticism of my system, which I will illustrate and explain. Lagerberg raised the following question:

Why do I consider forms such as вольк, волька to have initial stress, but forms such as окна, окнами to have predesinential, when they look the same?

These forms have the same stress on the surface, but they all have monosyllabic stems, and such stems are accentually ambiguous, since you cannot distinguish initial, medial, or predesinential position.

But, if you look at the equivalent polysyllabic morphological type in each given subparadigm, you can draw conclusions about the ambiguous monosyllabic types.

I.e., колокол is analogous to вольк and called type C; likewise, the plural stress of веретёна is analogous to окна, and is assigned to type B.

Generally, an ambiguous environment never should be used as evidence without a supporting unambiguous environment.
Grammatical Correlations of Russian Noun Stress

Type A: Unchanging paradigmatic stress means that stress is assigned by the lexeme itself, marked on any stem vowel and unchanging.

Types B and C: Stress in a given subparadigm (singular or plural) is correlated to a specific case form. This can be better seen terms of Jakobson’s listing of the basic cases:

N A G L vs. D I

The first four listed cases all play a role, but the last two, dative, and instrumental, do not. The following features are concomitant properties of stress types B and C:

a. The zero/non-zero genitive is correlated with type B.
b. The high/non-high vowel direct cases (nominative and accusative) and locative are correlated with two opposite types of C mobility.
c. The low/non-low vowel direct cases (nominative and accusative) are correlated with two opposite types of C subparadigmatic immobility (initial and end-stress).

All of the feature correlates of stress types are inherent sonority features of desinences, zero-desinences and vowel heights. Other vowel features play no role.
Some major differences between Russian noun and verb stress.

1. The Russian noun is divided into singular and plural subparadigms. The verb has the two basic subparadigms of non-past and past, but is more complex, with other forms that can be derived from the basic subparadigms (past passive participle, other participial forms, imperative infinitive).

2. As shown above, type B and C Russian noun stress is correlated to the phonological shape of grammatical endings (desinences). (E.g. genitive zero/non-zero, nominative low/non-low.)

3. Verb stress is predicted on the basis of three possible criteria: the phonological shape of endings, as in the noun; the phonological shape of the verb stem; and the presence or absence of a vocalic verbalizing suffix. The following flow charts and examples will show how this works in both the non-past (present-future) and past subparadigms.

4. One of the most important rules is that the presence of a verbal suffix in the form prevents the B vs. C opposition; it doesn’t matter if the suffix was never there or was “deleted” in the Jakobsonian system.
Model of Russian Verb Stress

Non-Past (Present-Future)

Opposition: Forms lacking a suffix vowel.

Type B: Mobile. Predesinential-desinential stress: end-stress if ending is -V#; otherwise predesinential.

Type C: Immobile desinential stress

1. Neutralization of types B/C:
Forms with a suffix vowel:
-а́й, -éй, -úй-.

2. Neutralization of all types: nonsyllabic stems.

1. 
- игр-а́й-(y)
- ста́р-éй-(y)
- атак-úй-(y)

2. 
- тр-úт
- бь-úт
- ль-úт

помогу́, помо́жешь
отнима́, отними́шь
попроси́, попроси́шь
понесу́, понеси́шь
говорю́, говори́шь
Past Tense

Opposition of Type B vs. C:
Stem lacks a syllabic suffix.

Immobility: Unsuffixed obstruent stems.
  
  Type B: Predesinential stress.
  грызло стригло

  Type C: Desinential stress.
  неслó гребло

Mobility: Unsuffixed sonorant stems.
  
  Type B: Predesinential stress.
  заплýло запили запи́ли запи́ла

  Type C: Initial desinential mobility (-á)
  зажилá говорилá

  ~зажи́ла ~говори́ла ~собра́ло ~после́ло

Neutralization of B-C opposition: Syllabic suffix exists; merged stress follows type B (predesinential immobile or mobile.)

Immobility: Syllabic root and suffix: CVC-V-Predesinential stress.
поси́ла -ло говори́ла -ло

Mobility: Non-syllabic root and syllabic suffix: C/C-V Pre-desinential mobility.

жда́ло собра́ло собра́ло
Past Passive Participle

If no syllabic suffix in form:
- opposition of type B vs. C:
  - Immobility: Unsuffixed obstruent stems and i-stems
    - Type B: Predesinential stress.
    - Type C: Desinential stress.
    - Examples: (пос-стриг-он-о), (при-)нес'он-о, (за-)горожон-о
    - Examples: (пос-стриг-он-о), (при-)нес'он-о, (за-)горожон-о
  - Mobility: Unsuffixed sonorant stems.
    - Type B: Predesinential ~ desinential mobility (-á)
    - Examples: (за-)чаг-т-о ~ (за-)чаг-т-á
    - Examples: (за-)чаг-т-о ~ (за-)чаг-т-á
    - Type C: Initial ~ desinential mobility (-á)
    - Examples: (на-)чаг-т-о
    - Examples: (на-)чаг-т-о
  - Neutralization of B-C opposition: Syllabic suffix exists; merged stress the syllable preceding predesinential.
    - Examples: (на-)пись-а-н-о, (о-)смей-а-н-о, (пере-)смот-е-н-о, (пере-)сиг-е-н-о
    - Examples: (на-)пись-а-н-о, (о-)смей-а-н-о, (пере-)смот-е-н-о, (пере-)сиг-е-н-о
    - Examples: (зас-)стл-а-н-о, (пере-)бр-а-н-о, (за-)тя-нут-о, (с-)толк-нут-о
    - Examples: (зас-)стл-а-н-о, (пере-)бр-а-н-о, (за-)тя-нут-о, (с-)толк-нут-о
    - Examples: (организ-ов-а-н-о), (с-)ков-а-н-о, (с-)ков-а-н-о
Thanks for your attention!