ON THE DEFINITION OF RUSSIAN STRESS PARADIGMS

RONALD F. FELDSTEIN
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

1. INTRODUCTION In recent years, the paradigmatic method of classifying Russian stress patterns, first devised by Leonard Bloomfield (Bloomfield and Petrova 1945:333, 334), has come to be applied in a number of studies (e.g., Steele 1975 and Fedjanina 1976). This system uses the symbol A to designate stem-stress, B for desinential stress, and C for mobile stress; within the noun, each letter applies either to the singular or plural, giving each noun a two-letter designation of its paradigmatic stress. As noted by Steele (1975:98), Bloomfield's method relies on the fact that the singular and plural of the Russian noun each have their own particular pattern of stress mobility (stress type C), in spite of the different declensional classes, e.g., noun singular mobility involves end-stress in all cases except the initial stress of the accusative singular (e.g., vod' 'water'), vódá, vódá, vodá, vodá, vodá), while noun plural mobility calls for initial stress in direct cases (nominative and accusative, when equivalent to nominative, but end-stress in the oblique cases (including accusative, when equivalent to genitive), e.g., náči 'night', náči, náči, noči, noči, noči, noči, noči. Thus, the word noč' 'night', with its singular-stress and plural mobility, is designated AC, while vodá, with singular mobility and plural stress, is classified as CA. Recent extensions of this system (e.g., Fedjanina 1976) have used the two-letter designation for the adjective and verb as well. Instead of referring only to the grammatical category of number, as applied to the noun, the two-letter symbol refers to long-form and short-form in the adjective, and tense (present and past) in the verb. We shall refer to these portions of paradigms (singular, plural, long-form, short-form, present, past) as SUBPARADIGMS.

The present paper is an attempt to redefine the stress types of Modern Russian in order to demonstrate many instances of patterning and complementary distribution that would otherwise go undetected. Using Bloomfield's original idea of a two-letter index for each word, we shall define each of the three letters (A, B, and C) in such a way as to show that each part-of-speech (including subcategories within the noun) contains exactly the same inventory of stress types at a deeper than surface structural level, although the surface manifestations of A, B, and C will vary predictably in the different morphological categories. Attempts to operate with stress paradigms have hitherto failed to systematically incorporate various sorts of complementary distribution occurring between inflectional categories. Our major premise is that if hypothetical inflectional classes x and y have the stress types a and b, respectively, in complementary distribution, it is possible to refer to both types as a single type c, provided that consistent general principles can be found to define the new broad type c.

2. STRUCTURAL PATTERNS OF RUSSIAN STRESS. Let us observe an important instance of stress patterning, as exemplified by the Russian noun. There are numerous nouns with a constant, unpredictable stem stress, identical in both singular and plural subparadigms, e.g., pódóščica 'step-daughter', psízólog 'psychologist', sočíněnie 'composition', etc. Such a stress may fall anywhere between the word-initial and stem-desinence boundaries. However, there are also many instances of a stress that occurs in only one of the two subparadigms (singular or plural), where the stress of the other subparadigm differs from that of the first. Such stress-stress has often been termed type A (cf. Bloomfield and Petrova 1945:334, Fedjanina 1976:31-2, Steele 1975:99-101), using the same symbol as is used for the variety with the identical stress on the stem in both paradigms. However, each instance of stem-stress that is not constant over both subparadigms really turns out to be predictable, based on the morphological class in which it occurs, in contrast to the unpredictable stress-stress that is constant (the AA type). Let us distinguish these two sorts of stress by calling identical stress in both subparadigms PAIRED STEM-STRESS (e.g., pódóščica, etc.); the other variety can then be termed UNPAIRED. We can now illustrate the predictable nature of unpaired stem-stress. Stem-stress in the singular of nouns in -á (also can co-occur with plural end-stress (e.g., góroś, nom. sing. 'city', gorósčá, nom. plur.; kólokóli, nom. sing. 'bell', kólokolá, nom. plur.), as well as with plural mobile stress (e.g., žúlé, nom. sing. 'acorn', žulelú, nom. plur., ž stalé, gen. plur.; žulé' nom. sing. 'perch', žulí, nom. plur., žulé, gen. plur.). Notice that all these instances of -á noun singular unpaired stress-stress are really predictably initial in their stress. Another characteristic case is found in the plural of nouns in -á. Unpaired stem-stress may co-occur with end-stressed and mobile-stressed singular subparadigms (e.g., kolbáš, nom. plur. 'sausage',

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123
kolbaš, nom. sing.; skorláp, nom. plur. 'egg-shell', skorláp, nom. sing.; vod, nom. plur. 'water', vod, nom. sing.) All these cases illustrate a stem-stress that is predictably presedential. Therefore, it would be a mistake not to recognize predictable initial and presedential stress as structurally distinct from the paired variety of stem-stress that may occur on any stem syllable in any inflectional class, and is identical in both subparadigms.

We shall incorporate this structural principle into our stress notation by considering that only constant, unpredictable stem-stress over both subparadigms is to be designated as type A. The use of A in one subparadigm will, therefore, redundantly imply the mark AA over both subparadigms. The Bloomfield system, as used by Fedjanina (1976) has two drawbacks. In the first place, as we have seen, the same symbol (A) is used for any stem-stress, whether unpredictable, or automatically initial or presedential. Secondly, the symbol C is applied to all mobility within a subparadigm, in spite of the fact that there are two fundamentally different types of mobility. The type found in nouns, adjectives (short-form), and the verbal past tense is an alternation of initial \( ^{\ddagger} \) desenital stress, shifting between the first word-syllable and the first desenital syllable (e.g., gšiš, nom. plur. 'head', golov, dat. plur.: ekšvoroš, acc. sing. 'frying pan', ekšvoroš, nom. sing.). Mobility in the present tense of verbs, on the other hand, is invariably a shift between the presedential and first desenital syllables (e.g., npiš, 3rd pers. sing. 'he will write', napš, 1st pers. sing. 'I will write').

As noted above, the two varieties of predictable stem-stress are the initial and presedential types. As we shall see in our review of Russian stress types below (sections 3-5), initial stress within a subparadigm is in complementary distribution with the initial \( ^{\ddagger} \) desenital mobile stress type, while presedential stem-stress is in complementary distribution with presedential \( ^{\ddagger} \) desenital mobility. In other words, in any given inflectional category, such as the a-noun singular or the verbal present tense, only one of the complementarily distributed varieties can occur. The a-noun singular has initial \( ^{\ddagger} \) desenital mobility, but no predictable initial-stressed type, while the verbal present subparadigm has presedential \( ^{\ddagger} \) desenital mobility, but no purely presedential type. We shall consider the complementarily distributed stress types to be realizations of more basic functional entities. The entity which may either have initial or initial \( ^{\ddagger} \) desenital stress is limited to stress on either the first syllable of the word or the desenice and shall be referred to as type C. The type comprised of presedential and presedential \( ^{\ddagger} \) desenital stress may have stress on either side of the stem-desenital boundary and shall be termed type B in our system. We can graphically illustrate the permissible stress domains of the three basic paradigmatic types A, B, and C as follows (\( ^{\ddagger} \) = word-boundary, + = stem-desenital boundary, _ = potentially stressed syllable, ... = absence of potential stress):

Type A: \[ ^{\ddagger} _{-} + ... \]

Type B: \[ _{-} ^{\ddagger} + _{-} \]

Type C: \[ _{-} ^{\ddagger} + _{-} \]

Type A is defined as stem-stress on any stem-syllable, so that the only fixed limit on the number of potential places of A stress is the length of the stem itself. Types B and C share the common property of having two potential locations of stress apiece, which are always contiguous to either a word or desenital boundary. Type B stress is always either on either side of the stem-desenital boundary, while type C stress is always immediately after either the word or the desenital boundary.

This paper shall attempt to demonstrate that, with the use of the above definitions, every inflectional category of Russian can be said to possess the identical\(^3\) inventory of stress paradigms. This follows from our hypothesis that, with minor exceptions, any given subparadigm will have precisely one regular realization of types B and C. Therefore, a knowledge of the relevant morphological information (e.g., a-noun singular), plus the mark C tells us that the stress must be mobile, with the initial \( ^{\ddagger} \) desenital shift (e.g., golov, nom. sing., gšiš, acc. sing.).

According to our scheme, stress on the first syllable of the desenice is in the domain of types B and C. Although this stress is potentially ambiguous, in reality such desenital stress in a subparadigm can readily be assigned to either type B or C, since the other realization will be unambiguous. For example, in the singular of a-nouns, there occur both initial \( ^{\ddagger} \) desenital mobility as well as constant desenital stress. Since the initial \( ^{\ddagger} \) desenital mobility can only be a manifestation of type C, the ambiguous desenital stress can be considered a manifestation of type B in this particular subparadigm. Conversely, in the plural of a-nouns, desenital and presedential are the two types other than A; since presedential is unambiguously a realization of our type B, the desenital stress in this inflectional class may be assigned to type C.

Let us now proceed to verify our hypotheses by reviewing the stress types that occur within nouns, adjectives, and verbs. In order to provide a basis for the comparison of our system with a more surface oriented approach, we shall often refer to the solution advanced by Fedjanina (1976).
3. NOUN STRESS Fedjania's method leads to the establishment of six basic stress types for masculine -e nouns, as follows: rak 'crayfish', AA; stol 'table', BB; goosd 'mail', BC; dom 'house', AB; sub 'tooth', AC; kol 'stake', BA. Of these six types, an A designation appears three times in the singular, representing Fedjania's category of stem-stress (e.g., rak, dom, sub). Since these examples are monosyllabic, they alone cannot tell us if the stem-stress is alike in all three cases. If polysyllables are also considered, we see that when the singular A stress is paired to A in the plural (type AA), stress may fall on any constant stem syllable and cannot be predicted even with the aid of grammatical information (e.g., ěvəsopnok 'lark', ņlakek 'stomach', kroškōč 'crocodile'). However, when the stress-stressed singular A is found together with a plural stress type other than A, the stress is no longer unpredictable, but is word-initial. Thus, words classified by Fedjania as AB and AC have initial stress in all their singular forms, rather than an unpredictable stem-stress (e.g., AB type kōkol 'bell', tēster 'grouse', pērepel 'quail'; AC type gospitāl 'hospital', lōbed 'swan', vōlos 'hair', etc.). Therefore, the single indication of stem-stress (A) is decidedly insufficient in AB and AC types, and a notation is required that can unambiguously point to predictable initial-stress in the masculine singular. The C indication can be used instead of A for this purpose. The usual definition of C is initial -e desinence mobility in nominal paradigms (e.g., gōlubī. nom. plur. 'dove', gōlubāj. gen. plur.). Fedjania's scheme, however, shows type C to be missing in the masculine -e singular. However, in conformity with our rule of complementary distribution, the absent mobile C type should be interpreted as a case of type C being realized by constant initial stress in the morphological environment of masculine -e noun singular. If we redefine the meaning of type C in this way, our six examples take on the following classifications: rak, AA; stol, BB; goosd, BC; dom, CB; sub, CC; kol, BA. We may add that this use of the symbol C also accounts for the mobility acquired by otherwise initially stressed nouns, when used in the second locative case in stressed -u, e.g., sad, nom. sing. 'garden', sāda. gen. sing. with u sadē 'in the garden'. Constant plural end-stress makes sad a noun of the CB type; the presence of the stressed -u implies a predictably initial stress in all other singular case forms.

We may observe that as a result of our reinterpretation, only one singular subparadigmatic type is labeled A (rak, AA), while all other singular designations are either B or C, with B defined as desinence stress and C defined as initial stress.6

In the masculine -e noun plural, it is obvious that type B is realized by desinence stress (e.g., domā, domā, domā, domā; gorōdā, gorōdā, gorōdā; gorōdā, gorōdām; while C is manifested by an initial -e desinential stress alternation (e.g., sōby, sōby, sūby, sūbā, sūbā; sūbā). The only departure from this scheme is found in the type represented by the word kol, termed BA by Fedjania, which violates our hypothesis that subparadigmatic A can only be paired with another A. However, it may be observed that all of the so-called A type plurals of this kind have the plural ending -ja (e.g., kōžja, kōžja, kōžjev, kōžjaz, kōžjam, kōžjam; kōlo, nom. sing. 'ear of grain', kōleja, kōleu, kōleve, kōleć, kōleće, kōleće, kōlećeć, kōlećeće, with a minor exception.7 If we follow Worsh (1968:790) in treating this plural morpheme as -ja, we can assume stress on the zero (e.g., kol'ja) which automatically moves to the left according to Halle's rule (1975:107) that 'if a stressed syllable is deleted, the stress is transferred to the immediately preceding syllable.' This permits us to state that the realization of stress type B in both singular and plural of masculine -e nouns is stress on the first desinential syllable.

Nouns ending in -a in the nominative singular have been grouped by Fedjania into the following classes:8 lipa 'linden', AA; tamād 'toastmaster', BB; gubā 'lip', BC; golovā 'head', CC; šen 'wife', BA; vošā 'water', CA. In the singular, we again see that cases of A stress, paired to A in the plural (AA) have an unpredictable placement of stress somewhere on the stem (e.g., žašlīca 'carabas', molēku 'molecule', rulehjāra 'Russian meat pie'). In the singular, type B is realized by predictable end-stress, while C is mobile (initial -e desinential), e.g., golovā, acc. sing., golovā, nom. sing. In the plural, the initial -e desinential mobility can also be assigned to type C (e.g., golovā, nom. plur., golovām, dat. plur.). There is also a plural stem-stressed type, e.g., šen, termed BA by Fedjania, which really turns out to be a case of predictable pre-desinential stress in the plural, e.g., strekōzā, nom. sing. 'dragonfly', strekōzā, nom. plur.; kolbāsā, nom. sing. 'sausage', kolbāsā, nom. plur. The CA class can also be assumed to have plural pre-desinential stress, although only one-syllable stems are found in this group (e.g., vošā, nom. sing., vošā, nom. plur., vošām, dat. plur.). Thus, we have already assigned individual realizations of stress to both B and C in the plural (B = pre-desinential, C = initial -e desinential). However, there is also a class of words with constant plural end-stress (e.g., tamād, kabād 'bondage'). This presents a problem for our system, since our hypothesis specifies that in a given subparadigm B and C may have only a single realization each.

We can resolve this dilemma of two potential realizations of a single
type by taking note of Red’kin’s comment (1971:31) that α-noun plural
end-stress is found mainly in Turkic, Iranian, and Greek loan words.
Significantly, as these words have become assimilated into Russian,
the have taken on predesinental stress, according to Red’kin.
Kiparsky (1962:196) has observed that ‘most of these words are rare
technical terms, exotic, historical, or religious concepts which are
hardly alive anymore.’ Hingley (1952:195) states that ‘the fixed
final paradigm includes no really common words.’ Coates (1976:7)
points out that the α-noun predesinental plural should be considered
the regular one, while the end-stressed type should be classified as
irregular. Therefore, if we exclude this class of mainly non-assimilated
foreign words, we are left with our principle intact, according
to which nouns in -α realize type B as desinental stress in the
singular and predesinental in the plural, while C has initial
desinental mobility in both numbers.

Feminine nouns with the zero-ending in nominative singular can be
grouped into two classes, considering all nouns that are used in the
two subparadigms of singular and plural. They are represented by
lādōn ‘palm’, AA, and noč ‘night’, AC, according to Fedjanina
(1976:106). We may reinterpret the AC type as CC, since initial
stress in the singular is the rule, e.g., bēlāst ‘district’, sōdo-mos ‘news’. We may add the mixed declension masculine noun put ‘
way’ to this list, since it is declined like feminine ș-nouns, ex-
cept for the instrumental singular (putān). It has end stress in
both singular and plural, and can be classified as BB. Since A, B,
and C types are all the same in the feminine ș-nouns, as compared to
the masculine ș-nouns, we do not have to separate them for the pur-
poses of stress classification, as does Fedjanina (1976:30, 106), but
we can henceforth speak of a single class of ș-nouns, regardless of
their gender.

Nouns with nominative singular in -α consist of the following
types, according to Fedjanina (1976:116): jāblovō ‘apple’, AA: očkō
‘shoulder’, BC. In the singular, the patterns termed AB and AC all
have predictable initial stress (e.g., sōrako ‘mirror’, kroševi
‘laos’, ĝoko), so that they are clearly a manifestation of type C
initial stress. In the plural, the unpaired A type (i.e., BA, čislō, nom.
sing., čislō, nom. plur.) is a case of predesinental plural stress,
or type B, cf. the nominative plurals men’sintsov ‘minorities’, verečov
‘spindles’, reščov ‘sieves’, with nominative singulars men’sintsov, verečov, reščov. 10 We may note that Fedjanina has
assigned the noun ošero ‘lake’ (osēro, nom. plur.) to type AA, due
to its stem-stress in both singular and plural; our system accounts
for the shift in stem-stress by considering the stress type to be

CB, with an initial stress in the singular and a predesinental in
the plural. Since type B has been defined as predesinental for the
α-noun plural, we can define the plural desinental stress as type C,
on the basis of such cases as morij ‘sea’, slovo ‘words’, etc.,
which are of the CC type, with C = initial in the singular and C =
desinental in the plural. The isolated five cases of neuter plural
mobility are anomalous in our system (ūso, ăko ‘eye (archaic)’,
plečō, krylčō ‘porch’, zavčō ‘brand’). A comparison between Fed-
janina’s and our classification of noun stress types can be found in
Table 1.

I. Fedjanina’s classification.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine (-α)</th>
<th>Feminine (-α)</th>
<th>Feminine (-ß)</th>
<th>Neuter (-ο)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rak AA</td>
<td>lípa AA</td>
<td>ladōn AA</td>
<td>jāblovō AA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stol BB</td>
<td>tamād BB</td>
<td>noč AC</td>
<td>ōzero AA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gvozd BC</td>
<td>gubā BC</td>
<td>očkō BB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dom AB</td>
<td>golovā CC</td>
<td>mōre AB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sub AC</td>
<td>źenā BA</td>
<td>čislō BA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kol BA</td>
<td>vodā CA</td>
<td>ţixo AC</td>
<td>plečō BC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. Present Proposal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ș-Nouns</th>
<th>α-Nouns</th>
<th>ω-Nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rak, ladōn AA</td>
<td>lípa AA</td>
<td>jāblovō AA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stol, put, kol BB</td>
<td>źenā BB</td>
<td>čislō BB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sub, noč CC</td>
<td>golovā CC</td>
<td>mōre CC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gvozd BC</td>
<td>gubā BC</td>
<td>očkō BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dom CB</td>
<td>vodā CB</td>
<td>ţzero CB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tamād B**</td>
<td>plečō B**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ţixo C**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Anomalous in plural.

Rules for B and C realization:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ș-Noun:</th>
<th>Singular:</th>
<th>b = desinental</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>b = desinental</td>
<td>c = initial-desinental</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>α-Noun:</th>
<th>Singular:</th>
<th>b = desinental</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>b = desinential</td>
<td>c = initial-desinental</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ω-Noun:</th>
<th>Singular:</th>
<th>b = desinental</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>b = desinential</td>
<td>c = desinental</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 1. Stress types of the Russian noun.

129 130
In contrast to Fedjanina's traditional gender-oriented approach, we have listed only three declensional classes, based on the nominative singular ending; φ-, α-, and ω- nouns. Although each of the three classes has its own set of surface stress realizations, all three are alike in having the same five deep stress paradigms in common: AA, BB, CC, BC, CB. Having established the existence of these three basic declensional classes for the purposes of stress classification, we can now observe a remarkable case of the patterning of the B and C realizations within these three classes. A total of seven possible realizations exist for types B and C together, if grammatical number is included in the indication, as follows:

Singular
1. B = desinential
2. C = initial
3. C = initial % desinential

Plural
4. B = desinential
5. B = predesinential
6. C = initial % desinential
7. C = desinential

Since there are three declensional classes, the total number of combinations of these classes in sets of three, two, and one members, is also seven: (φ-, α-, ω-; α-, ω-; φ-, ω-; α-, φ-; α-, φ-; ω-). As shown in Table 2, each of the seven realizations of B and C stress is paired with one of the seven possible combinations of declensional classes.

Decensional Class Sets
1. All nouns (φ-, α-, ω-)
2. Non-φ nouns (α-, ω-)
3. Non-α nouns (φ-, ω-)
4. Non-ω nouns (φ-, α-)
5. φ-nouns
6. α-nouns
7. ω-nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decensional Class Sets</th>
<th>Common Realizations of B and C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. All nouns (φ-, α-, ω-)</td>
<td>B = desinential in singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Non-φ nouns (α-, ω-)</td>
<td>B = predesinential in plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Non-α nouns (φ-, ω-)</td>
<td>C = initial in singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Non-ω nouns (φ-, α-)</td>
<td>C = initial % desinential in plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. φ-nouns</td>
<td>B = desinential in plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. α-nouns</td>
<td>C = initial % desinential in singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. ω-nouns</td>
<td>C = desinential in plural</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 2. Patterns of declensional classes and their realizations of stress.

Within Table 2, number one illustrates the least marked realization, while the latter three cases are the most marked within the noun, each applicable to only a single declensional type. We may assume that such a precise instance of patterning is not accidental, but a confirmation of the correctness of our elaborated scheme and redefinition of stress paradigms.

4. ADJECTIVE STRESS The same sort of analysis can be extended to adjectives, in which the two subparadigms refer to the long form and short form. Fedjanina's classification has the following five basic types (the first letter refers to the long form): gotov- 'ready', AA; gorjač- 'hot', BB; bystr- 'quick', AC; smeš/n- 'funny', BC; ploš- 'bad', BC. Here, the mobility of C (initial % desinential) occurs only in the short form, in which the feminine form in -ω is desinential, in contrast to the other forms (e.g., můľod 'young', můľodo, můľody, as opposed to můľodě). In the long form, no surface mobility appears, so Fedjanina assumes that no type C exists for the long form. However, in the case of Fedjanina's AB and AC types, we can see that the long form is predictably predesinential in its stress (e.g., AB velikýj 'great', AC deševýj 'cheap'), so that these two types should be reinterpreted as BB and BC, respectively, with a long-form realization of type B equivalent to predesinential. The remaining long-form realization, desinential stress (e.g., smešnýj, plošnýj), can now be assigned to type C, giving B and C a single realization each in the long form adjective. Within the short form, Fedjanina's scheme, according to which B refers to desinential stress (e.g., veliký, veliká, veliké, veliká) and C refers to initial % desinential mobility, requires no changes. Consequently, adjectival stress types appear as follows, according to our system: gotov-, AA; gorjač-, BB; ploš-, CC; bystr-, BC; smeš/n-, CB. A comparison of Fedjanina's and our results for the adjective appears in Table 3.

It should be noted that our inventory of basic adjectival stress types is identical to those established earlier for the three declensional classes of nouns.

Fedjanina's Classification | Present Proposal
--- | ---
gotov- | gotov- AA
gorjač- | gorjač- BB
bystr- | bystr- CC
smeš/n- | smeš/n- BC
ploš- | ploš- BC

5. VERBAL STRESS  The verbal subparadigms consist of present (or non-past) and past tense. We shall make use of the Jakobsonian one-stem system in our discussion (cf. Jakobson 1948 and Townsend 1968: 81-114), since the use of the Karcevski and Kurnecov systems by Redkin (1971:116) and Fedjanina (1976:185), respectively, make their analyses needlessly cumbersome.

Aside from type A unpredictable stem-stress, the verbal present tense has two basic stress varieties: presedential % desinential mobility (e.g., napliet, napliada), and constant desinential stress (e.g., vedeta, 1st person sing. 'lead', vedethi, 3rd person sing.; goworja, 1st person sing. 'speak', goworit, 3rd person sing.). According to our definitions, the presedential % desinential mobility must be assigned to type B, placing the ambiguous desinential stress of the present tense in type C. In contrast to the uniform pattern of the verbal present-tense stress, which applies equally well to all stem types, the stress patterns found in the past tense require the recognition of four categories of stem-types. Both types of non-suffixed verbs, obstruct and resonant stems, agree in their realization of type B as predesinential in the past tense (e.g., podstrigla 'shear' fem., prizia 'squeeze' fem. from the stem pri-.); however they are in complementary distribution with regard to type C, obstruct stems having desinential stress and resonant stems having the initial % desinential alternation (e.g., prineslo 'bring' neut., prineslo fem.; maselo 'begin' neut., masela fem. from the resonant stem mas-.). Suffixless verbs have a less complex inventory of past-tense stem types. Two sorts of type B realizations are found, also in complementary distribution. Almost all suffixless verbs realize past-tense B stress as predesinential, just as the non-suffixed verbs do. However, verbs with non-syllabic roots followed by the a-suffix (termed "n/a" by Townsend 1968:102-3) have a predesinential % desinential realization of type B in the past tense (e.g., sabrdlo 'take' neut., sabradla fem.). There are a few isolated anomalous cases. A single i-suffix stem, rodia 'give birth', has the predesinential % desinential alternation in the past tense (e.g., rodila plur., rodilad fem.). Conversely, there are three cases of predesinential B stress in the past tense of non-syllabic a-stems (instead of expected predesinential % desinential): pia- 'neigh', suta- 'send', stila- 'spread' (curiously, the latter two verbs are homophones in past and infinitive forms, due to the phonological rule sti + i). It should be mentioned that many non-suffixed resonant stems with a type C initial % desinential past-tense stress now admit a variant type B predesinential % desinential stress, often qualified in dictionaries as colloquial prolilo, proliada. The above types of verbal stress have been summarized in Table 4.

I. Non-suffixed

A. Obstructent stems (past C = desinential)
AA lez- 'crawl'
BB (Does not occur.)
CC nes- 'carry'
BC mog- 'be able'
CB gryza- 'gnaw'

B. Resonant stems (past C = initial % desinential)
AA stan- 'become'
BB (Does not occur.)
CC živ- 'live'
BC obnjima- % obnja- 'embrace'
CB (Does not occur.)

II. Suffix

A. Non-syllabic a-stems (past B = predesinential % desinential)
BB a-ra- 'shut'
CB b-ra- 'take'

B. Other suffixed stems (past B = predesinential)
AA stav- 'put', plaka- 'cry', trebava- 'demand'
BB prosi- 'ask', pisa- 'write'
CC (Does not occur.)
BC (Does not occur.)
CB govor- 'speak', side- 'sit', kova- 'forge'

TABLE 4. Stress types of the Russian verb.

In Table 4, all verbs share present tense realizations B = predesinential % desinential and C = desinential. The stress types of the past tense, according to stem type, are as follows:

1. Obstructent:  B = predesinential  C = desinential  
2. Resonant:  B = predesinential  C = initial % desinential  
3. n/a:  B = predesinential  C does not occur.  

4. Other suffixes:  B = predesinential  C does not occur.

According to the total inventory of stress types represented in Table 4, it can be said that the verb is divided into the same basic types as are nouns and adjectives. These five basic stress types do not all occur within either suffixed or non-suffixed verbs considered alone. However, we should note that the type not found in any non-suffixed verbs (BB) is extremely common in the suffixed type, while
those types which are unknown to the suffixed variety (CC and BC) can
be found in non-suffixed verbs of both the obstructant and resonant
types. Comparing the verbal realizations of stress types to those of
the noun and adjective, we see that all nouns and adjectives admit
the realization of B = desinential stress, which is completely absent
in the verb. On the other hand, the verb alone possesses the reali-
ization B = mobile.

6. COMPARISON OF PRESENT SYSTEM TO OTHERS  Let us now indicate the
relative advantages of our approach to Russian stress, as compared
to several recent studies, including those of Red'kin (1971), Fed-
janina (1976), Halle (1975), Steele (1975), and Levin (1975).

Red'kin's 1971 stress system provides a separate single letter sym-
bol for each differing surface manifestation of stress in each in-
fractional category. Although the same letters (A, B, C, D, etc.)
are used for the noun, adjective, and verb, no conclusions are drawn
as to common properties, if any, that are shared by each letter sym-
bol, such as how type C nouns are related to verbs of the same type.
For example, nouns of type C in Red'kin's system have initially
stressed singular forms and desinentially stressed plurals (e.g.,
gore, slovo, p. 21), while C type verbs are end-stressed in the pre-
sent and either end-stressed or mobile in the past (red-, p. 151;
živ-, p. 156, respectively). Halle (1975:106-7) has criticized Red'-
kin's treatment for its merely 'providing a taxonomy for the differ-
ent accentual patterns', although 'it fails . . . to bring out cer-
tain easily observed facts'. As Halle further notes, Red'kin makes
no structural use of the fact that stem-stress can sometimes be pre-
dictably desinential or initial. Our system has integrated both
of these facts by defining desinential as the property of type B,
while initial stress is proper to class C.

Fedjanina's system could be criticized for the same inadequacies
as Red'kin's. As we have seen, her type A is used for three struc-
turally different stress types: unpredictable stem-stress, predesi-
nential stress, and initial stress. In addition, C is defined merely
as mobility, which gives no hint as to the fact that mobility can
involves the predesinential or initial syllables. In treating
the verbal past tense, Fedjanina errs in treating predesinential stress
(e.g., igráša, fem. 'played') as stress on the 'ending', on a
par with cases like mesíá, fem. 'carried' (1976:188). Our system
rigorously distinguishes predesinential, initial, and desinential
stress types, which has led to our distinction of the two separate
types of mobility as subtypes of B and C.

According to Halle's 1975 treatment of the Russian stress system,
only two types of stress can regularly be generated without special
lexical marking. Since 'case endings of nouns are inherently
stressed' (1975:107), the two regular possibilities are a stressed
stem, which automatically cancels the stress in the desinence, gen-
erating stem-stress, and a stressless stem, which causes the stress
on the desinence to remain. In order to derive predesinential and
mobile stress, Halle resorts to special minor rules, which requires
marking all those lexical items which receive such stress types. The
notion that immobile stem and desinence stress is regular, while pre-
desinential and mobile stress are lexically marked, is quite differ-
ent from our approach. As Coats (1976:7) has observed, such an an-
alysis would favor the rare end-stressed a-noun plural (e.g., tamádž)
over the more regular predesinential one (e.g., záhý), by making
the normal form lexically marked. Halle appears to be making immobility
generally less marked than mobility. Rather than emphasize the dif-
ference between immobility and mobility, we have taken steps to sepa-
rate stem immobility over both subparadigms (AA) from all other
stress types, due to the non-predictability of the AA stress place-
ment in a given morphological category, in contrast to the predict-
ability of the B and C realizations, given the necessary grammatical
information. It might also be mentioned that Halle's system does not
set forth an inventory of stress paradigms that can be applied to all
inflected words, as we have attempted to provide.

Steele (1975) shares Fedjanina's use of the A symbol to refer to
unpredictable stem-stress, as well as to initial and predesinential
stress. Thus, Steele classifies the singular subparadigm of volk 'wolf' as A,
even though a stem-stressed a-noun singular with a mo-
ible plural, such as volk, can only have initial stress. Similarly,
Steele (1975:101) applies the symbol A to the plural of zám 'winter'
although such a stem-stressed a-noun plural, paired to singular mo-
tility, can only be predesinential in stress. Thus, in its failure
to systematically account for predictable initial and predesinential
stress, Steele's system shares inadequacies with those of Fedjanina
and Red'kin.

Levin's 1975 stress system for the noun has no indication of the
distributional redundancies we have indicated. Within a-nouns, the
rare class of constant end-stressed words (e.g., šeřed 'line', like
tamádž) is set up as a regular type, while singular mobility (e.g.,
rák, nom. sing. 'hand', růku, acc. sing.) is considered a 'deviation'
from the pattern (1975:93). One wonders why all mobility within the
plural is considered 'anomalous'. Levin never indicates that this
sort of mobility is really in complementary distribution with stem-
initial stress.
7. CONCLUSION Our attempt has been to use a structural approach to establish a coherent system of the paradigmatic types of Russian stress. Although certain anomalies occur, we may conclude that there are only three basic paradigmatic types, one with unpredictable stem-stress and two with stress that is conditioned morphologically. Our definitions of types A, B, and C establish presedential and initial stress as the marked realizations of types B and C, respectively. Desinential stress is an unmarked property common to both B and C. Interestingly, the marked stress types of B and C considered alone (presedential and initial) are precisely those shared by B and C with A, while the single shared property of B and C (desinential) is unknown to type A.

Our definitions have permitted a treatment of stress in the noun, adjective, and verb that uses exactly the same criteria for classification. The results are a striking similarity of the deep stress inventories across the various parts-of-speech, in spite of the well-known surface differences. We have observed an intricate patterning of stress realizations in the inflectional classes of the noun, as well as certain realization which serve to set off nouns and adjectives from verbs. Thus, many aspects of the structure of Russian stress become apparent only with the acceptance of the basic definitions as presented above.

REFERENCES


