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## Abbreviations

A	accusative
adj	adjective
adv	adverb
anim	animate
arc	archaic
C	consonant
CSR	Contemporary Standard Russian
CSCR	Contemporary Standard Colloquial Russian
D	dative
f, fem	feminine
G	genitive
I	instrumental
inan	inanimate
L	locative
m, masc	masculine
N	nominative
n, neut	neuter
pl	plural
sg	singular
V	vowel
n/s	non-syllabic
PPP	past passive participle
Ø	zero desinence
//	phonemic transcription
[ ]	phonetic transcription
{ }	morphophonemic and morphological transcription
'	English glosses

## **0. Socio- and geolinguistic situation**

### **0.1 Location and number of speakers**

Russian is the official language of the Russian Federation and was the primary official language of the Soviet Union (cf. Maps 1 and 2). Since the breakup of the USSR, Russian continues to be one of the official languages of Kyrgyzstan and Belarus, and may be used for official purposes in Kazakhstan and Ukraine. Recently ranked as the 4th most influential language in the world (Weber 1999: 22), Russian is the first or second language of over 455 million speakers (Crystal 1997: 449).

### **0.2 Brief overview of the Russian literary language**

Russian, belonging to the Indo-European language family, is one of three contemporary East Slavic languages, the other two being Ukrainian and Belorussian. Old Church Slavonic, a South Slavic language, played a significant role in the development of the Russian language throughout its history with two periods of intensification, one during the 11th-13th centuries and another during the Second South Slavic influence (also referred to as “Re-Bulgarization”) in the 14th century. One may characterize the coexistence of Old Church Slavonic and the East Slavic vernacular as *diglossic*. This period of diglossia lasted well into the 18th century.

Isačenko suggests that the name “Russian” be used for the written language only after the Tartar invasion and the destruction of Kiev (1980: 124). [Prior to this period, he suggests the term “East Slavic recension of Church Slavonic.”] Isačenko argues convincingly that one may begin to speak of a Russian literary language (which will later give rise to CSR) during a period from 1760-1825, dates that generally correspond with Karamzin’s life [1766-1825] (1980: 132-139).

Mixail Vasiljevič Lomonosov, Nikolaj Mixailovič Karamzin and Aleksandr Sergeevič Puškin were critical contributors to the development of what can be referred to as the modern Russian literary language. While the contributions of all 3 were significant, Karamzin was perhaps the most influential. However, it has often been the case in Russian and Soviet scholarship that Puškin has been given most of the credit for the creation of a literary language and style (Vinogradov 1990: 6-7).

Lotman and Uspenskij (1975: 196-7, 246) demonstrate the importance of French influence as a model of constructing a literary language in Russia and argue that it was, in fact, the “Russian language” of the aristocracy that made the greatest impact on the Russian literary language. German also plays an important role in the formation of scientific terminology and lexicon during the 18th and 19th centuries (Isačenko 1980: 135).

Over the past 200 years, the Russian literary language (henceforth Contemporary Standard Russian - CSR) has remained generally stable, but certainly reflects a number of phonological, morphological and lexical changes. The most significant of these changes is found in the lexicon, where not only declensional and agreement gender have been (or are being) renegotiated (cf. *lebed’* (f > m); *kofe* (m > n)), but the overall number of lexical

borrowings has become significantly increased. According to Verbickaja (2001: 5), 9,000 lexical borrowings into CSR are registered for the period 1960-85, while almost 2,000 per year have been registered since 1986. The large majority of these lexemes are restricted not only to specialized vocabulary in areas like economics and technologies, but are also restricted stylistically and occur primarily in media. Such a massive influx of new lexical items has impacted areas of the phonological system of CSR, especially in terms of consonant palatalization (cf. 1.3-1.4).

### **0.3 Dialects**

In order to appropriately introduce a description of the Russian dialects, it is necessary to point out that there has not been an adequate amount of scholarly study of the Russian dialects in the 20th century (Kiparsky 1979: 21). Those studies that exist include most notably the 1915 study by Moscow Dialectological Commission, a study published in 1965 by Avanesov and Orlova, and a major survey of the Russian dialects under the direction of Edward Stankiewicz.

Kiparsky (1979: 21-25) divides the dialects of Russian into 3 major groups with a total of 8 subgroups:

- I. North Great Russian dialects: Northern, Olonec, Western, Eastern, Vladimir-Volga
- II. Central Great Russian dialects
- III. South Great Russian dialects: Southern, Eastern, Northern

CSR is considered to be formed from a combination of north and south Russian dialects (Meščerskij 1972).

The general trend in linguistics conducted in the Russian Federation of the late 20th century is to emphasize the assimilation of dialects to the standard literary language and to characterize the remaining differences as either disappearing or substandard.

## 1. Phonology

### 1.1 Orthography

The following table gives the contemporary Cyrillic alphabet of CSR, consisting of 33 graphemes, and associates each grapheme with the appropriate IPA symbol. The relationship between the alphabet and pronunciation in CSR is not phonemic as is found in Serbian Cyrillic (e.g. compare Serbian српски and Russian сербский). The “name” of a particular letter is included below only for those graphemes that do not have phonetic value. Note that the features of Russian vocalic and consonantal phonemes will be discussed in 1.2-1.4.

CYRILLIC	IPA
А	a
Б	b
В	v
Г	g
Д	d
Е	e/je
Ё	o/jo <sup>1</sup>
Ж	ž
З	z
И	i
Й	j
К	k
Л	l
М	m
Н	n
О	o
П	p
Р	r
С	s
Т	t
У	u
Ф	f
Х	x
Ц	c
Ч	č
Ш	š
Щ	šč

---

<sup>1</sup> The grapheme ё/Ё is not generally used in Russian texts printed in the USSR and Russian Federation.

Ъ	твёрдый знак -'hard sign' <sup>2</sup>
Ы	ı (еры)
Ь	мягкий знак -'soft sign'
Э	е
Ю	u/ju
Я	a/ja

Group I vowels are represented by five graphemes (а, э, ы, о, у). Group II vowels (я, е, и, ё, ю) obligatorily palatalize any preceding paired consonant, indicate the presence of jot when preceded by a vowel, and 4 of the group II vowels (я, е, ё, ю) indicate the presence of jot in word initial position. The role of jot in CSR pronunciation will be discussed in detail in 1.7.

No Russian lexeme, whether native or borrowed, may begin with a hard sign, *jiri* or a soft sign (ъ, ы, ь).

The 3 major CSR vocalic-based spelling rules are:

- (1) Following the 5 consonants Ж, Ц, Ч, Ш, Щ, unstressed О may not occur in desinences (but may occur in roots) -- write е.
  - (2) Following the 7 consonants К, Г, Х, Ж, Ч, Ш, Щ, write И, not Ы.
  - (3) Following the 8 consonants К, Г, Х, Ж, Ц, Ч, Ш, Щ, write а or у, not я or ю.
- [The rules as stated directly above are given in terms of graphemes, not phonemes. Note also that rule (2) is qualitatively different for velars (phonetic) vs. hushers (graphemic).]

Capitalization rules are simple:

- (1) Only capitalize the first word in a sentence and the first word in a title.
- (2) Nationalities, the names of the months and days of the week are NOT capitalized in Russian unless they occur at the beginning of a sentence.
- (3) The pronoun 'I' (я) is only capitalized at the beginning of a sentence.
- (4) The pronoun 'you' [formal, plural] (вы) may be capitalized as a sign of respect (Вы) in official documents and correspondence.

CSR has distinctive, strong mobile stress. In CSR texts printed in Russia, stress is only marked in those cases that may be ambiguous (e.g. что -'what, that' as a relative pronoun vs. interrogative pronoun), and the grapheme ё is seldom marked even when ambiguous (cf. все/всё -'everyone/everything').

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<sup>2</sup> Note that the “hard sign” was eliminated in all positions after the 1917 Russian revolution and replaced by a double apostrophe (“) before group II vowels (я, е, и, ё, ю)<sup>2</sup> following prefixes or in compound words. The double apostrophe was a short-lived phenomenon, and the “hard sign” was returned in that particular context. During the last decade of the 20th century, it was possible to find the use of “hard signs” in word final position in some newspaper titles and signs as a *chic* reminder of pre-revolutionary times and status.

## 1.2 Phonemic inventory

1.2.1 The 5 vocalic phonemes of CSR are given in Table 1.2.1 below:

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	i		u
MID	ɛ	o	
LOW	a		

Note that the phonemes /o/ and /u/ are obligatorily lip-rounded.

Unlike American and European Slavic linguists, most Russian phonologists and phoneticians in the former Soviet Union and the Russian Federation insist that there are 6 vowel phonemes, where the 6th is /ɨ/ (ы). Until the 1990's, Leningrad-based phonologists opposed the Moscow school and supported a 5-phoneme model as given above. Given the fact that the occurrence of **и** vs. **ы** is phonologically predictable and these sounds do not occur in contrastive distribution, they are not given here as distinct phonemes.

1.2.2. The 33 (or 36) consonantal phonemes of CSR are given in Table 1.2.2 below:

### Place of articulation

<b>Method of Formation</b>	bilabial	labiodental	dental	palato-alveolar	palatal	velar
<b>STOP</b>	<b>p, p'</b> <b>b, b'</b>		<b>t, t'</b> <b>d, d'</b>		<b>k, (k')</b> <b>g, (g')</b>	
<b>FRICATIVE</b>		<b>f, f'</b> <b>v, v'</b>	<b>s, s'</b> <b>z, z'</b>	<b>š</b> <b>ž</b>	<b>šč</b> <sup>3</sup>	<b>x, (x')</b>
<b>AFFRICATE</b>			<b>c</b>		<b>č</b>	
<b>GLIDE</b>					<b>j</b>	
<b>NASAL</b>	<b>m, m'</b>		<b>n, n'</b>			
<b>LIQUID</b> <sup>4</sup>			<b>l, l'</b>	<b>r, r'</b>		

<sup>3</sup> Some Russian phonologists use the symbol /šʃ:/ for /šč/. However, some sources do not recognize /šč/ as a phoneme while giving full phonemic status to the palatalized velars, resulting in a total of 35 consonantal phonemes (Verbickaja 2001: 43).

<sup>4</sup> The term “liquid” may be dropped in favor of two other terms to describe the Russian consonantal phonemes, namely “lateral” (for l, l') and “trill” (for r, r').



### 1.3. Vowels and Prosody

There are 5 vowel phonemes that occur under stress in CSR and a reduced system of 3 vowel phonemes that occur without stress in CSR. There is no vowel length nor vocalic tone/pitch in CSR. However, there is phonemic stress.

#### 1.3.1 Stress

CSR has strong, mobile phonemic stress. This implies that there will be a marked difference in the realization of stressed vs. unstressed vowels, and that the stress may shift from one part of the lexeme to another (including *prefix, root, suffix, desinence*). The most common stress shifts are from stem to ending ( -- >) or ending to stem (< --), but stress may retract to a prefix or even preposition. Compare:

стол/стола;	'table'	город/ за город/ за городом	'city'
рука/руку	'hand'	год/ на год).	'year'
запить/запил	'to drink down/chase with a drink'		

Prepositions do not typically carry separate stress in CSR; rather, they are pronounced together with the prepositional object as one form (cf. {v sadu} - 'in the garden' => [fsadu]; {na s'eb'a} - 'toward/onto oneself' => [nas'ib'a]). The relative pronoun **что** - 'what, that' /čto/ 'what' is not stressed. Compare the following:

**Я** слышал, что ты не хочешь в школу. (unstressed relative pronoun что )  
'I heard that you don't want [to go] to school.'

**Я** не понимаю, что тебе надо!?! (stressed interrogative pronoun что )  
'I don't understand what you need!?!'

The negative particles /n'e/ and /n'i/ do not typically carry stress, but /n'e/ may when used in certain impersonal constructions. Compare the following examples:

A. No stress on negative particles  
Я с ними давно не говорила.  
'I haven't spoken with them for a long time.'

У меня нет ни малейшего желания встречаться с ней.  
'I don't have the slightest wish to meet with her.'

Как я ни стараюсь, им всё равно ничего не нравится!  
'No matter how hard I try, they never like anything that I do.'

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Other terms that are useful in the context of the Russian consonantal system are: (1) **obstruents** - including stops, fricatives and affricatives, and (2) **resonants** (or *sonorants*) - including nasals, glides, and liquids.

## B. Stress on negative particle

Нам с тобой **не** о чем говорить!

'You and I have nothing to talk about!'

Other word forms that do not ever carry stress are the interrogative and subjunctive (en)clitics /l'i/ and /bi/ (ли, бы). The placement of the interrogative (en)clitic requires it to occur between the first and second *stressed* word forms in the sentence (examples 1 & 2) or in the subordinate clause (example 3):

1. Не знаете ли **Вы**, когда будет электричка?

'Do you know when the next train will arrive?'

2. Хочешь ли **ты** пойти на выставку?

'Do you want to go to the exhibition?'

3. Женя спрашивает, будешь ли **ты** на заседании кафедры?

'Zhenya is asking whether you will be at the faculty meeting?'

There are many elaborate stress systems that describe CSR. All of these systems have in common the following distinctions: (1) mobile and fixed paradigms; (2) singular vs. plural. It is possible to derive a stress model that adequately describes both nominal and verbal forms. (For examples of these systems, see Feldstein 1996: 199-215).

In certain declensions, stress is directly correlated with the desinence. For example, masculine first declension nouns with a nominative plural in /a/ are always end stressed (cf. учитель/учителя -'teacher/s'; катер/катера -'motor boat, launch/(e)s'; профессор/профессора -'professor/s'; доктор/доктора -'physician/s' etc.).

Examples of minimal pairs based on stress:

она/Анна	[ana] vs. [ana]	'she' vs. 'Anna'
	<i>(CSR does not typically show consonantal length, but there are exceptions [cf. 1.4.4])</i>	

писать/писать	[p'isat'] vs. [p'isat']	'write' vs. 'pee'
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мука/мука	[muka] vs. [muka]	'flour' vs. 'torture'
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### 1.3.2 Vowel Reduction in CSR: akan'e and ikan'e

The vowel system of CSR is reduced to 3 phonemes (/a, i, u/) in pre- and post-tonic syllables. The following chart shows the phonemes and allophones that occur in a 4-syllable grid:

	PRE-PRETONIC	PRETONIC	TONIC	POST-TONIC
Back vowels (a, o)	ə	a	a/o	ə
Front vowels <sup>5</sup> (ɛ)	i	i	ɛ	i* /ə in endings

The first row is an example of akan'e and the second row is an example of ikan'e. Akan'e (pronunciation of /a/) and ikan'e (pronunciation of /i/) are primarily of the nature of a phonological alternation in CSR, but they do include morphophonemic characteristics in certain desinences. Later, we will note the occurrence of ekan'e (where unstressed /ɛ/ is pronounced as /ɛ/) in positions where ikan'e would be expected (cf. 1.6).

Because of the relationship between orthography and vocalic phonemes (where there are 10 vowel graphemes for 5 vowel phonemes), many definitions of akan'e and ikan'e mention orthographic renderings for clarity.

**Grapheme я:** Here, unstressed я may participate in akan'e or ikan'e, depending on its function in the word:

Position:	word -initial	pre-tonic or post-tonic	desinence
Phonetic form:	[ji]	[i]	[ə]
Cyrillic examples:	язык 'language/tongue'	объяснить, отчаяние 'to explain', 'despair'	братья, время 'brothers', 'time'

**Grapheme е:** Here, unstressed е may participate in akan'e or ikan'e, depending on its function in the word:

Position:	word -initial	pre-tonic or post-tonic	desinence
Phonetic form:	[ji] or [i]	[i] <sup>6</sup>	[ə] (or [i])
Cyrillic examples:	ещё, Елена 'still/yet', 'Elena'	жена, естественно 'wife', 'naturally'	здание, поле, хорошо 'building', 'field', 'good' (L)

Following sibilants (ж, ц, ч, ш, щ), the graphemes а and о may also participate in ikan'e (cf. два шага - 'two steps' - [dva šaga] or [dva šiga]; к сожалению - 'unfortunately' - [ksəžal'ɛniju] or [ksəžil'ɛniju]). These forms are in free variation, but Verbickaja claims that the akan'e forms are more statistically frequent (2001: 115-122).

<sup>5</sup> Another way to characterize the two rows would be to substitute “non-high after hard consonants and word-initial” for “back vowels” and “non-high after palatalized consonants” for “front vowels”. This alternative formulation is a more precise linguistic definition.

<sup>6</sup> Either **и** or **ы** occur, depending on the preceding consonant with the grapheme е (not with the grapheme я).

Although the combination **vowel + vowel** (meaning two group I vowels in a row) is permitted in CSR, it is restricted to the following environments:

- (1) In native Slavic words, v + v may occur on morpheme boundaries only, never in the root, with no restrictions;
- (2) In some foreign borrowings, v + v may occur within the root (cf. паук - 'spider', наука - 'science').

Due to the impact of palatalization on the phonetic realization of the vowels which they precede or follow, it is possible to speak of four degrees of phonetic vocalic variations due to palatalization in the following environments:

(Note: C = nonpalatalized consonant; C' = palatalized consonant; V = any vowel; V<sub>1</sub> = group I vowel; V<sub>2</sub> = group II vowel)

Least palatalization

CVC	МАТ 'obscenity'	/mat/	[mat]
CVC'	МАТЬ 'mother'	/matʲ/	[matʲ]
C'VC	МЯТ 'wrinkled'	/mʲat/	[mʲæt]

Most palatalization

C'VC'	МЯТЬ 'wrinkle'	/mʲatʲ/	[mʲætʲ]
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In these instances, the vowel becomes more raised and fronted as the degree of palatalization increases.

Other important examples that illustrate the range of allophonic realization due to the effects of palatalization are:

это	'this'	/eto/	[ɛtə]
эти	'these'	/etʲi/	[etʲi]
чуткий	'sensitive'	/čutkij/	[čutkʲij]
чуть	'almost'	/čutʲ/	[čütʲ]
пятка	'heel'	/pʲatka/	[pʲætkə]
пять	'five'	/pʲatʲ/	[pʲætʲ]

For a detailed discussion on the degrees of impact of palatalization on stressed and unstressed vowel, see Verbickaja (2001: 71-80).

Note that the phoneme /ɛ/ is the only vowel that obligatorily palatalizes any preceding paired consonant, thus resulting in an automatic, phonological alternation. The only exceptions to this rule are some (not all) foreign borrowings (cf. /sɛks/ = [sʲɛks] or [sɛks]; /tɛnnʲis/ = [tɛnnʲis]; /xrʲizantɛm/ = [xrʲizantɛm], /kafɛ/ = [kafɛ], and others).

### 1.3.3. Exceptions

There are also borrowed lexemes that do not allow for standard vowel reduction, especially in the case of /o/ (cf. *radʲio* pronounced [radʲio], *poet* pronounced [poɛt]).

In those desinences, where *ikan'e* might be expected, but the actual result is not [i], but [ə], the desinence is an underlying, or basic, morphophoneme {o} (cf. (1) {zdan'ij -o} - 'building' pronounced [zdan'ijə], (2) {mor'-o} pronounced [mor'ə] or [mor'i] in the nominative singular). Also note that due to “spelling pronunciation,” the variant with *ikan'e* does occur in the speech of many speakers of CSR in the second example, but not in the first.

## 1.4 Consonants

As noted above (1.2.2), there is some controversy over the exact number of consonantal phonemes in CSR. We maintain the same principle as articulated for vocalic phonemes, i.e. we only list as full-fledged phonemes those sounds that occur in contrastive distribution, yielding a total of 33. In the case of the velars, the palatalized variants are given in parentheses to acknowledge that there is one example where /k'/ occurs (cf. ткать -'to spin, weave': тку, ткёшь, ткёт,...ткут ) and other examples in foreign borrowings, especially names (cf. Гёте -'Goethe').

### 1.4.1 Aspects of consonant realization in CSR

1. Stops are not aspirated.

2. a. The consonant /r/ is a trill, not a flap.

b. The consonant /šč/ (щ) is generally pronounced [š':] (cf. щётка -'brush', грузчик -'loader', счёт -'bill, account', счастье -'fortune, luck'), but on occasion is still realized as [š'č] (cf. may occur with graphemes сч/зч: исчезнуть -'to disappear' may be pronounced as [iš':ɛznut'] or [iščɛznut']).

3. The two most important distinctions in CSR consonants are:

a. voiced/voiceless:

p/b, t/d, s/z, f/v, š/ž, k/g (6 pairs)

b. palatalized/nonpalatalized:

p/p', b/b', t/t', d/d', s/s', z/z', f/f', v/v', m/m', n/n', l/l', r/r' (12 pairs [or 15 pairs if the velars are included])

4. The grapheme **g** is pronounced /v/ in genitive desinences and the genitive singular non-feminine personal pronoun (cf. его -'his', первого -'first', сегодня -'today', etc. ).

5. The unpaired consonants (also called *sibilants*) in CSR (c, š, ž, č, šč) are either hard (c, š, ž) [nonpalatalized] or palatalized (č, šč). However, there are isolated word forms where the nonpalatalized sibilants are pronounced as if palatalized (cf. дрожжи -'yeast' [drož'ž'i], Moscow norms дождя -'rain' [daž': a], брызжет -'sprays, splashes' [brīž'ž'ət] {vs. more normative [dažd'a] and [brīžžət] (Verbickaja 2001: 61-2). In addition, it is commonly noted that Leningrad/Petersburg pronunciation demonstrates limited palatalization of /č/ compared to the rest of CSR (ibid.). [For more information on the differences in Moscow/Petersburg pronunciation of CSR, see section 1.6.]

6. Of all of the possible combinations of vowels and consonants (CC, CV, VC, VV), CC is the most well-defined by a series of phonological rules. These rules include (Verbickaja 2001: 46-8):

- i. obligatory voicing assimilation (except for /v/ and /v'/)
- ii. /t/ and /t'/ may not combine in roots with /c/, /č/
- iii. /s/, /s'/, /z/, /z'/ may not combine in roots with /š/, /ž/, and /č/
- iv. CSR shows considerable growth in the flexibility of consonant clusters if the type CC', especially the following:
  - dental + labial, esp. /sm'/, /zv'/, /tv'/, /dv'/, sv'/, /sp'/
  - labial + labial, esp. /bm'/, /bv'/, /mb'/, vb'/
  - dental + palatal, esp. /pj/, /bj/, /fj/, /vj/, /tj/, dj/, /zj/, mj/
- v. Type C'C is statistically infrequent and in those instances where it does occur, the first consonant cannot be a labial or velar (esp. /z'b/, /z'm/, /s'k/, /n'k/, /n't/, /čv/, /čt/, r'k/)
- vi. Type C'C' most often occurs when both consonants are dentals, alveopalatals or palatals (esp. /s't'/, /z'd'/, /n's'/, /n't'/, /n'd'/, /n'z'/, /n'č/, /n'šč/)
- vii. Consonant clusters are very restricted at the beginning of a word such that only those consonants that occur in prefixes may occur (cf. /vv/, /v'v'/, /ss/, /s's'/, /zz/, /z'z'/, /šš/, /žž/)
- viii. Jot + consonant never occurs in word initial position
- ix. There are fewer consonant clusters in stem final position, and of those that do occur, CC is the most frequent type.

7. Although CSR does not have phonemic consonantal length, there are occasions where one or two consonants are extended and exhibit length in pronunciations:

юный	'youthful'	[junnij]
песчаный	'sandy'	[p'i š:annij]
к кому	'to/toward whom'	[k:amu] (here, length is manifested as a delayed release of the velar stop)

The majority of examples of lexemes in CSR with double consonants do not demonstrate any length in pronunciation (cf. шоссе -'highway'-[šase], современный -'contemporary, modern'- [sovr'em'eni]).

8. Word initial /v/ may be realized as more of a [w] in one specific lexeme:  
 /vot/ (вот -'here') => 4 potential phonetic realizations in CSR speech  
 [wo:t], [wot], [vo:t], or [vot].

9. Foreign borrowings do not generally violate the pronunciation of consonants (as sometime occurs with the unstressed vowels). However, there are some Slavic based lexemes as well as foreign borrowings that require the voiced velar fricative [ɣ] (cf. Господи - 'Lord', бухгалтер - 'bookkeeper', бухгалтерия - 'accountancy, bookkeeping').

#### 1.4.2. Phonological rules

1. Word final devoicing: All paired consonants demonstrate an alternation of voiced > voiceless in word final position (cf. сад -'garden' [sat], столб -'stump' [stolp], город -'city' [gorət]).

2. Voicing assimilation occurs within words, across morpheme boundaries, and across lexical boundaries. This type of assimilation is regressive (cf. футбол -'football' [fudbol], автобус -'bus' [aftobus], как дела -'how are things'[kagd'ila]).

(a) spelling of assimilations in prefixes

Normal assimilation rules apply to prefix/stem boundaries. Orthography does not generally reflect those assimilations (as in Serbian-Croatian) except with the prefixes /raz-/ , /iz-/ , /vz-/ (where the grapheme z > s) when followed by voiceless consonants.

(b) exceptions to voicing assimilation

The consonants /v/ , /vʔ/ may block assimilation (cf. твой -'your' [tvoj]).

3. Epenthetic /n/ occurs with any third person possessive pronoun that follows a preposition Compare:

его/у него	'his/ he has'	её/ про неё	'hers/ regarding her'
ей/ о ней	'to her/ about her'	ему/к нему	'to them/ toward them'

4. Paired consonants automatically palatalize (soften) before /ε/ except in a restricted list of borrowings and acronyms.

5. Loss of jot in word initial and intervocalic positions:

One of the most marked changes in the phonological system of CSR is the increased loss of /j/ in word initial position and intervocalic position. The loss of /j/ is variable from speaker to speaker, but the occurrence of /j/ loss in CSR speakers is continually increasing. Some of the most common examples include words beginning in /je/, vowel + /i/, and the 2nd and 3rd singular, 1st and 2nd plural of nonpast first conjugation (cf. ещё -'still, yet', Елена -'Elena', мои -'my', знаешь -'you know').

6. There are isolated examples where stem final paired consonants show a hard/soft alternation in specific declensional forms (cf. Nsg > Npl: сосед/соседи -'neighbor/s'; Nsg > Gpl: песня/песен -'song/s').

7. In consonant clusters consisting of 3 phonemes, one of the phonemes may not be pronounced in conversational CSR. In most cases, where only one phoneme is not pronounced, it will be the middle one. Compare:

счастливы́й	'fortunate, lucky'
преlestный	'darling, attractive'
поздно	'late'
сердце	'heart'

*but*

солнце

'sun' [drop the /l/]

### 1.4.3 Consonant clusters

In section 1.4.1, the general properties of the consonantal system of CSR were introduced, including preliminary remarks about standard consonant clusters, assimilation, consonant loss and compatibility of palatalized with nonpalatalized consonants.

#### 1. Permissible clusters and maximum length

CSR allows up to 4 consonants in a row (cf. /vstv/ in чувство -'emotion, feeling', здравствуй -'hello', баловство -'over-indulgence, mischievousness'). In conversational CSR, the initial /v/ may not be pronounced. Other 4-phoneme consonant clusters include /stsk/, /ntsk/, and /ndsk/. In each of these cases, we are dealing primarily with adjectives in -sk- (cf. финляндский -'Finnish', гигантский -'gigantic', аспирантский 'graduate student', etc.) (Vinogradov 1960: 81). Note that if one of the sounds is not pronounced, it will always be the second phoneme of the cluster (t or d).

The occurrence of consonant clusters with 2 or 3 consonants is quite common in CSR (cf. страница -'page', строительство -'construction', удостоверение -'proof, evidence', etc.). Word length can extend to include as many as 8 syllables (primarily in reflexive participles in oblique case form), although normal word length is 2-3 syllables (cf. интересовавшимися -'with those who were interested').

In conversational CSR, there may be considerable reduction in the number of phonemes actually pronounced in given lexemes (cf. сейчас -'now' [š':as], вообще -'in general' [vaš':ε], здравствуйте -'hello' [zdrast'ε], Иванович -'Ivanovich' [Ivanič]).

#### 2. Palatalization of consonant clusters

CSR allows for consonant clusters to show varying degrees of palatalization such that CC'' may be realized as C'C' or CC''. Compare the following:

дверь	'door'	[dv'er']
пью	'I drink'	[pj'u]
степь	'steppe'	[s't'ep']
конский	'steed' [adj.]	[knsk'ij]
здесь	'here'	[z'd'es']
пенсия	'pension'	[p'en's'ijə]

Verbickaja (2001: 86) notes that there is a marked tendency in CSR to pronounce the first consonant of clusters with a final palatalized consonant as hard. She further points out that in over 80% of clusters tested in a recent study of 298 consonant clusters, educated speakers are pronouncing the first consonant of the cluster as hard. The exceptions to this trend were found in lexemes with the clusters /s't'/, /z'd'/, /n' + t', d', s', z', č/.

It is quite often the case that labials preceding /j/ are pronounced hard (cf. пью -'I drink', семья -'family', объём -'volume, load'), while dentals + /j/ are palatalized on stem/ending boundaries but not on the prefix/stem boundary (cf. судья -'judge', воронья -'carrion-crows', but отъезд -'departure by vehicle').



3. Voicing assimilation of consonant clusters - see 1.4.2, no. 2.

4. Fill vowels (vowel/zero alternations)

Although vowel/zero alternations are often defined in terms of the syntagmatic environment, it is nonetheless true that they are morphophonemic, not phonological alternations that are initially triggered within certain parts of speech and in terms of derivation and/or inflection. See section 1.5 below for details.

5. Epenthetic /o/ in prepositions and prefixes

The phoneme /o/ is added to prepositions and prefixes when followed by consonant clusters. Compare:

ко мне	'to/toward me'	во Франции	'in France'
во вторник	'on Tuesday'	ото всего/ всех	'away from everything/ everyone'
во всём	'in everything'	взойти	'to mount, ascend'
разойтись	'to disperse'	сойтись	'to descent, dismount'
обойти	'to circumvent'	ко всем/ всему	'to/toward everything/ everyone'
изогнуть	'to bend'		

An additional /o/ may also appear in Old Church Slavonicisms that appear in CSR (cf. Христос воскрес! - Воистину воскрес! - 'Christ is risen! - In truth He is risen!'; восходить - 'to go back, trace back' vs. всходить - 'to ascend').

## 1.5 Morphophonemic alternations

### 1.5.1 Vowel/zero alternations in CSR

#### 1.5.1.1 Fill vowels (vowel/zero alternations) in nouns:

There are three fill vowels in the nouns of CSR - /o/, /ε/, /i/ (where /i/ is quite infrequent).

The following is only one version of how the rules may be stated:

I. Basic rules for vowel/zero morphophonemic alternation:

**Fill vowel /ε/:** When consonant at end of stem is soft, /j/ or /c/ (C/C' + Ø)

Examples: день - 'day', земель - 'ground, Earths', семей - 'families', друзей - 'friends'

**Fill vowel /i/:** When consonant at end of stem is /j/ and stress falls on preceding syllable (‘ - C/j + Ø)

Examples: гостей - 'guest' [adj.] (from гостья - 'guest' (f.), воскресений - 'Sunday'

**Fill vowel /o/:** When consonant at end of stem if hard (C/C + Ø) (i.e. everywhere else)

Examples: окон -'windows', досок -'boards', девушек<sup>7</sup> -'girls'

II. Additional rules for vowel/zero MP alternation:

(a) Fill vowel /o/ (not /e/) if first consonant in CC is a velar.

(b) The first consonant in CC automatically palatalizes before the fill vowel if it is a paired consonant.

Exceptions to vowel/zero rules stated above:

1. If the final consonant of CC is a velar, or the root is monosyllabic, softening of the first consonant of CC is blocked.

2. Three forms in CSR defy all of the rules given above:

яйцо/яиц	'egg/s'
полный/полон	'full' [adj.]/'full' [short form adj.]
достойный/ достоин	'deserving' [adj.]/'deserving' [short form adj.]

(For more examples of vowel/zero alternations in CSR, see Townsend 1975: 60-80).

1.5.1.2 Short form adjectives in CSR only have the fill vowel /o/ (except for one exception given above).

1.5.1.3 Verbs in CSR have only the fill vowels /o/ and /e/ in inflection (cf. n/s verb class: brat' -'take' - b'eru -'I take'; zvat' -'call' - zovu -'I call').

Other vowel/zero alternations in the conjugation and derived imperfective verbs of CSR will be discussed in the section on morphology.

1.5.2 Consonant alternations in CSR

Consonant mutations/alternations occur in word-formation, conjugation and synthetic comparative adjectives.

The most important set of mutations in CSR involves a velar/palatal alternation where:

K > Č

G > Ž (g > z occurs in one nominal form)

X > Š

In addition to the velars, the remaining consonant mutations are:

d > ž, žd (the 2nd being borrowed from OCS);

{žd occurs in imperfective verbs in -aj- but never in conjugation as a mutation

of /d/}

t > č, šč (the 2nd being borrowed from OCS)

z > ž

s > š

---

<sup>7</sup> Here, the fill vowel is underlying /o/ but written with the grapheme e due to the spelling rule.

sk > šč  
 st > šč  
 c > č  
 b > bl  
 v > vl  
 p > pl  
 m > ml  
 f > fl

Consider the following examples of the mutations listed above:

(Note in the case of comparative adjectives that in some instances the -k- suffix is dropped. \*Also note there some forms are exceptional.)

Verbs:

видеть/вижу	'to see/ I see'
платить/плачу	'to pay/ I pay'
сказать/скажу	'to say/ I say'
писать/пишу	'to write/ I write'
хлестать/хлещу	'to whip/ I whip'
искать/ищу	'to seek/ I seek'
конец/кончить	'ending/ to end'
могу/можешь	'I can/ you can'
пеку/печёшь	'I bake/ you bake'
махать/машу	'to wave/ I wave'
любить/люблю	'to love/ I love'
спать/сплю	'to sleep/ I sleep'
сломить/сломлю	'to break down/ I break down'
готовить/готовлю	'to prepare/ I prepare'
графить/графлю	'to draw lines/ I draw lines'
побеждать/победить	'to defeat' [imperfective]/ 'to defeat' [perfective aspect]
посещать/посетить	'to visit' [imperfective]/ 'to visit' [perfective aspect]

Nouns (plural declensional alternations and derivational forms):

друг/друзья	'friend/s'
собака/собачка/собачонка/собачоночка/собачина/собачица	'dog' [with other derivative forms]
бляха/бляшка	'belt buckle, shit' [vulg.]/'buckle'
нога/ножища	'leg/ leg' [aug.]
сук/сучья	'bough/s'
молоко/молочко	'milk'

Note that palatalization of the stem-final consonant may be gained or lost with certain suffix types:

кресло/креслице	'armchair/armchair [endearing]'
дверь/дверца	'door/door [endearing]'
зеркало/зеркальце	'mirror/small compact mirror'

церковь/церквушка	'church/church [endearing]
мороз/морозец	'freezing weather/freezing weather'

Comparative adjectives:

тихий/тише	'quiet/ quieter'
близкий/ближе	'close, near/ closer, nearer'
молодой/моложе	'young/ younger'
резкий/резче	'sharp, harsh/ sharper, harsher'
редкий/реже	'rare/ rarer'
громкий/громче	'loud/ louder'
высокий/выше	'tall, high/ taller, higher'
широкий/шире	'wide/ wider'
сладкий/слаще*	'sweet/ sweeter'

There are also many examples of palatalization being lost or gained in stem final position in word-formation:

царь/царский	'tsar [n.]/ tsar' [adj.]
путь/путёвый, путный	'path, way' [n.]/ 'path, way' [adj.]
степь/степной	'steppe' [n.]/ 'steppe' [adj.]
лесть/лестный	'flattery/ flattering'
коммунальная квартира/коммуналка	'communal apartment/ communal apartment'
(Саша)/Саня/Санька	'Sasha/ Sanya/ San'ka'
Ваня/Ванька	'Vanya/ Van'ka'

### 1.6 Pronunciations variants of CSR in Moscow and St. Petersburg

The literature on phonological variants between the two historical Russian capitals, St. Petersburg and Moscow, usually identifies as many as 50 orthoepic and orthophonic differences between the two centers (Verbickaja 2001: 58). However, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, only three are maintained with any regularity, occurring in at least 68% of speakers tested. These differences are: (1) more ekan'e in the St. Petersburg area, especially in declensional and conjugational desinences and in the first pretonic syllable; (2) more instances of non-palatalized consonants preceding /e/ in foreign borrowings in St. Petersburg pronunciation; (3) the specific pronunciation of the words дождь/дождя '-rain' as [došt'], [dažd'a] becoming the norm for both St. Petersburg and Moscow. For a complete listing of the differences with accompanying analysis, see Verbickaja 2000: 58-69).

I would add that there are still lexical differences between St. Petersburg and Moscow, including the usage of the words for 'bread' (хлеб, булка) {in St. Petersburg, хлеб '-bread' generally refers only to black bread}, 'sugar' (сахар, песок), and 'transportation cards/passes' ([единая] карточка, проездной [билет]).

## 1.7 Tongue twisters and diction

There are numerous examples in CSR of the use of tongue twisters (скороговорки) and pronunciation exercises (разминка - 'warm ups', техника - 'technique', речи - 'speech') in order to improve diction (including speed and articulation) for native speakers, actors and second language learners. Below are some examples of the more commonly used forms:

От топота копыт пыль по полю летит.

'From the pounding of hooves, dust rises in the field.'

Шла Саша по шоссе и сосала сушку.

'Sasha was walking along the road and sucking on a sushka.'

Мама мыла Милу мылом. Мила мыло не любила.

'Mother was washing Mila with soap. Mila didn't like soap.'

Карл у Клары украл кораллы, а Клара у Карла украла кларнет.

'Karl stole some coral from Karla, but Karla stole a clarinet from Karl.'

Цапля чохла, цапля сохла, цапля сдохла.

'The heron sneezed, the heron was parched, the heron expired.'

The following are common articulation exercises for actors:

му-мо-ма-мэ-ми-мы

'mu-mo-ma-me-mi-my'

лу-ло-ла-лэ-ли-лы

'lu-lo-la-le-li-ly'

пту-пто-пта-птэ-пти-пты

'ptu-ptu-ptu-pte-pti-pty'

бду-бдо-бда-бдэ-бди-бды

'bdu-bdo-bda-bde-bdi-bdy'

сту-сто-ста-стэ-сти-сты

'stu-sto-sta-ste-sti-sty'

зду-здо-зда-здэ-зди-зды

'zdu-zdo-zda-zde-zdi-zdy'

врлу-врло-врла-врлэ-врли-врлы

'vrлу-vrlo-vrла-vrлe-vrли-vrлы'

## 2. Morphology

### 2.1 Inflectional morphology

The inflectional morphology of CSR includes declension of nouns, adjectives, participles, numerals, and pronominals, and conjugation of verbs. The declensional system of CSR distinguishes gender, number and case. CSR verbal conjugation signals number, gender and person such that the past tense signals gender and number, the present and future tenses signal number and person. Nondeclinable forms include adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and a restricted list of substantival borrowings.

#### 2.1.0 Morphophonemic alternations

For a complete list of the possible consonantal and vocalic morphophonemic alternations with examples, see sections 1.4.4-1.5.2 in chapter one.

#### 2.1.1 Nouns

The declinable nouns of CSR are marked for gender (masculine, feminine, neuter), number (singular, plural [which includes forms that may only exist in either singular or plural]), and case (nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, locative [also called prepositional], instrumental).

#### 2.1.2 Animacy and gender

Animacy in CSR is not coincident with biological animacy, but rather is a characteristic of masculine and feminine nouns that generally includes those lexemes that have human or animal referents. Animacy is distinctive in singular declension only in masculine I declension forms, yielding a realignment in N and G inflectional endings in the accusative. Note that one may encounter certain masculine nouns that are semantically inanimate but behave decline like animate nouns in the accusative singular (cf. N туз, А туза - 'ace'). In plural declension, animacy is signaled in the accusative case, where G=A. Gender distinctions are not signaled in agreement in the plural number. While all neuter nouns are treated as inanimate in the singular, some inanimate neuter nouns may behave as animates in the plural and exhibit G=A (cf. уродищ(е) - 'freak', чудовищ(е) - 'monster').

#### 2.1.3 Agreement and declensional gender

It is not sufficient to look at the nominative case form of a noun to ascertain its gender. Agreement plays a significant role in signaling gender in nouns, adjectives, pronouns and past tense verb forms. The gender of nouns may shift in derivation and in diachrony (see 2.4). Some Declension II nouns are epicene, and potentially signal either masculine or feminine gender (cf. убийца - 'murderer', пьяница - 'drunkard', судья - 'judge', etc.). [Note that although several Russian dictionaries list only masculine gender for 'judge,' this is not reflective of the norm in CSCR, where 'judge' is often used with feminine agreement by educated urban speakers]:

Она хороший судья!

‘She’s a good judge.’

Судья нам попалась хорошая!

‘We got a good judge!’ (if the judge is a woman)

In derivation, nouns may also exhibit two possible genders (m/f or m/n) (cf. псина - 'dog flesh', жадина - 'greedy person', городище - 'site of an ancient town', уродище - 'freak', старина - 'antiquity, old man'). Finally, some nonderivational lexemes have competing

genders in CSR that may or may not involve a formal difference. The following list gives some of the more frequent lexical examples:

#### Masculine or feminine

глист(а)	'tape worm'
лебедь	'swan'
тюль	'tulle, curtain lace'
шампунь	'shampoo'
фильм(а)	'film' (fem. is archaic)
зал(а)	'hall' (fem. was used up until the early 20th century)
рояль	'grand piano'
занавес(ь)	'curtain, drape'
вуаль	'veil, haze'
туфля/туфель	'shoe/shoes'

#### Masculine or neuter (in CSCR)

кофе	'coffee'
какао	'cocoa'
такси	'taxicab'

Some nouns are suppletive or exhibit non-productive consonant changes at the stem boundary when comparing singular and plural forms. The most frequent examples include the following:

человек/люди	'person/people'	сук/сучья	'bough/s'
ребёнок/дети	'child/children'	муж/мужья	'husband/s'
судно/суда	'ship/s'	брат/братья	'brother/s'
друг/друзья	'friend/s'	сосед/соседи	'neighbor/s'
сын/сыновья	'son/s'		

#### 2.1.4 Gender and declension

There are three declensions for nouns in the singular. In some instances, 1st declension masculine nouns will have two possible desinences in the locative {e,u} and genitive {a,u} cases (cf. нос/в носу -'nose'; лес/в лесу -'forest'; сад/в саду/ в детском саду (саде) -'garden'; берег/на берегу -'shore'; рис/риса/рису -'rice'; народ/народа/народу -'folk, people'; чай/чая/чаю -'tea'). Note that although two endings potentially exist in the locative, and the general rule states that if an adjectival modifier is added to the noun phrase the /e/ ending must be used, in most cases the /e/ desinence is not used in CSR (в нашем саду -'in our garden', в собственном соку -'in one's own juice').

Substantival case declensions in CSR display varying degrees of syncretism (e.g. in masc. inanimate nouns, N = A; in masc. animate nouns, A=G; in fem. II declension, L=D; in fem. III declension, N=A, G=D=L).

The correlation between the three declensions and gender in CSR is as follows:

I declension  
masc/neut

II declension  
fem/masc

III declension  
fem only

The zero desinence occurs in some first declension and all third declension nouns in the nominative case.

## 2.2 Declension

The endings for these three nominal declensions are given below in morphophonemic transcription and then followed by examples in Cyrillic of each type. Note that although the examples display both hard and soft stem nouns, this distinction does not affect the actual desinence morphophonemically (except in the genitive plural where the desinences are morphophonemically distinct), but does require a different grapheme (cf. Nominative feminine singular -a desinence: - kn'ig-a = книга -'book'; - t'ot'-a = тётя -'aunt'). Examples will also include stem/ending stress and mobile stress.

### 2.2.1 Formation rule for cases of nouns

The desinence is added directly onto the nominative stem. In those instances where the nominative form has a desinence other than zero, that desinence must be dropped before adding the case ending.

Morphophonemic consonant mutations of the type commonly found in the West Slavic languages are not a principle of Russian nominal declension. However, there is the locative singular desinence -e, which automatically softens preceding paired consonants (cf. N/L - стол/столе -'table'). Also, there will instances where consonants may be modified or lost in declension.

Vowel-zero alternations are very common in nominal declension. Nominal declensions in CSR include both fixed and mobile stress paradigms.

---

SG	I declension	II declension	III declension
N	-Ø/-o	-a	-Ø
A	inan=N; anim=A	-u	-Ø
G	-a	-i	-i
D	-u	-e	-i
L	-e/-i	-e/-i	-i
I	-om	-oj	-ju

---



PL	I declension	II declension	III declension
N	-i/-a	-i	-i
A	inan=N; anim=A	inan=N; anim=A	inan=N; anim=A
G	-ov/-ej <sup>8</sup>	-Ø/-ej	-ej
D	-am	-am	-am
L	-ax	-ax	-ax
I	-am'i	-am'i	-am'i/'m'i

### 2.2.2 Examples

<b>I declension - masculine paired consonants</b>					
	'student'	'table'	'bullock'	'teacher'	'dictionary'
N	студент	стол	вол	учитель	словарь
A	студента	стол	вола	учителя	словарь
G	студента	стола	вола	учителя	словаря
D	студенту	столу	волу	учителю	словарю
L	студенте	столе	воле	учителе	словаре
I	студентом	столом	волом	учителем	словарём
PL					
N	студенты	столы	волы	учителя	словари
A	студентов	столы	волов	учителей	словари
G	студентов	столов	волов	учителей	словарей
D	студентам	столам	волам	учителям	словарям
L	студентах	столах	волах	учителях	словарях
I	студентами	столами	волами	учителями	словарями
<b>I declension - masculine unpaired consonants</b>					
	'person'	'pencil'	'hero'	'American'	'scenery'
N	человек	карандаш	герой	американец	сценарий
A	человека	карандаш	героя	американца	сценарий
G	человека	карандаша	героя	американца	сценария
D	человеку	карандашу	герою	американцу	сценарию
L	человеке	карандаше	герое	американце	сценарии
I	человеком	карандашом	героем	американцем	сценарием
PL					
N	люди	карандаши	герои	американцы	сценарии
A	людей	карандаши	героев	американцев	сценарии
G	людей	карандашей	героиев	американцев	сценариев
D	людям	карандашам	героям	американцам	сценариях
L	людях	карандашах	героях	американцах	сценариям
I	людьми	карандашами	героями	американцами	сценариями

<sup>8</sup> -Ø occurs in some exceptional genitive plurals (cf. 2.1.4)

### I declension - neuter

	'window'	'field'	'building'	'freak'
N	окно	поле	здание	чудовище
A	окно	поле	здание	чудовище
G	окна	поля	здания	чудовища
D	окну	полю	зданию	чудовищу
L	окне	поле	здании	чудовище
I	окном	полем	зданием	чудовищем
PL				
N	окна	поля	здания	чудовища
A	окна	поля	здания	чудовищ
G	окон	полей	зданий	чудовищ
D	окнам	полям	зданиям	чудовищам
L	окнам	полях	зданиях	чудовищах
I	окнами	полями	зданиями	чудовищами

### II declension - feminine (and some masculine and epicene)

	'room'	'sister'	'murderer'	'article'	'book'	'lecture'
N	комната	сестра	убийца	статья	книга	лекция
A	комнату	сестру	убийцу	статью	книгу	лекцию
G	комнаты	сестры	убийцы	статьи	книги	лекции
D	комнате	сестре	убийце	статье	книге	лекции
L	комнате	сестре	убийце	статье	книге	лекции
I	комнатой	сестрой	убийцей	статьёй	книгой	лекцией
PL						
N	комнаты	сёстры	убийцы	статьи	книги	лекции
A	комнаты	сёстры	убийцы	статьи	книги	лекции
G	комнат	сестёр	убийц	статей	книг	лекций
D	комнатам	сёстрам	убийцам	статьям	книгам	лекциям
L	комнатах	сёстрах	убийцах	статьях	книгах	лекциях
I	комнатами	сёстрами	убийцами	статьями	книгами	лекциями

### III declension - feminine only

	'church'	'square'	'door'	'mother'	'daughter'
N	церковь	площадь	дверь	мать	дочь
A	церковь	площадь	дверь	мать	дочь
G	церкви	площади	двери	матери	дочери
D	церкви	площади	двери	матери	дочери
L	церкви	площади	двери <sup>9</sup>	матери	дочери
I	церковью	площадью	дверью	матерью	дочерью

<sup>9</sup> в/на двери but о двери

PL					
N	церкви	площади	двери	матери	дочери
A	церкви	площади	двери	матерей	дочерей
G	церквей	площадей	дверей	матерей	дочерей
D	церквям	площадям	дверям	матерям	дочерям
L	церквях	площадях	дверях	матерях	дочерях
I	церквями	площадями	дверьми	матерями	дочерьми

### 2.2.3 Exceptions within declensional paradigms:

The major exceptions to the I declension given above are

(1) the word путь - 'path' (N/A: путь, G/D/L: пути, I: путём)

(2) neuter nouns ending in the grapheme я:

(SG: N/A: время, G/D/L: времени, I: временем;

PL: N/A времена, G: времён, D: временам, L: временам, I: временами -'time')

Other neuter nouns with this declension include:

имя -'name', знамя -'banner', пламя -'flame', вымя -'udder', семя -'seed', бремя -'burden', племя -'tribe', стремя -'stirrup', темя -'crown of the head'

(3) masculine family names with the suffixes -ov, -in require the adjectival desinence in the instrumental singular (Пушкин/Пушкиным -'Pushkin'; Иванов/Ивановым -'Ivanov')

(4) feminine family names with the suffixes -ova, -ina utilize the pronominal declensional paradigm:

	'this'	'Akhmatova'	'Akhmadulina'
N	эта	Ахматова	Ахмадулина
A	эту	Ахматову	Ахмадулину
G	этой	Ахматовой	Ахмадулиной
D	этой	Ахматовой	Ахмадулиной
L	этой	Ахматовой	Ахмадулиной
I	этой	Ахматовой	Ахмадулиной

(5) Plural family names require adjectival desinences in all non-nominative case forms:

	'Bulgakovs'
N	Булгаковы
A	Булгаковых
G	Булгаковых
D	Булгаковым
L	Булгаковых
I	Булгаковыми

(6) There are several word forms in CSR that are formally adjectival but semantically behave as nouns. Included in this group are many Russian family names. Note the following examples:

столовая	'dining room, cafeteria'
ванная	'bathroom'
булочная	'bakery'
пирожковая	'meat/vegetable pie shop'

примерочная	'fitting room'
парикмахерская	'beauty salon'

Family names: Толстая, Толстой -'Tolstoy', Горький -'Gorky', Вяземский -'Vjazemsky', Анненский -'Annensky'

Many Russian adjectives in the neuter nominative form may also behave as nouns semantically:

прошлое	'the past'
настоящее	'the present'
будущее	'the future'

#### 2.2.4 Stress in noun declensions

For a thorough discussion of stress patterns in the singular and plural declensions of the Russian noun, see Vinogradov 1960: 193-208 and Feldstein (1996:199-216).

#### 2.2.5 Grammatical Peculiarities of the Russian Noun

##### 2.2.5.1 Gender

Some Russian nouns, called epicene, may signal either masculine or feminine agreement. (For other types of gender shifts and examples of multiple gender agreement that are possible in derivational morphology, cf. 2.2.). Examples (also see Vinogradov 1960: 109):

пьяница	'drunkard'	судья	'judge'
брюзга	'grumbler'	егоза	'fidgeter'
заика	'stutterer'	калека	'cripple'
неряха	'someone who is always losing things'	юла	'whirligig, spinning top'
ровня	'equal'	соня	'sleepyhead'
подлиза	'toady'	растяпа	'blunderer'
зевака	'idler'	гуляка	'reveler'
бродяга	'vagrant'	хапуга	'greedy pig'
злока	'shrew'	плакса	'crybaby'
грязнуля	'dirty creature'	сластёна	'sweet tooth'
тупица	'fool'	ханжа	'bigot'
задира	'teaser'	невежа	'boor'
разиня	'gawker'	недотрога	'untouchable'
лежебока	'lazybones'	зубрила	'crammer'
ворюга	'thief'	растеряха	'someone who is always losing/ forgetting things'
тихоня	'demure person'		

##### 2.2.5.2 Animacy

There are some neuter nouns that behave as animates in the genitive plural: чудовище/чудовищ -'monster', страшилище/страшилищ -'horrible thing'

The masculine inanimate noun 'ace' behaves as an animate noun in the accusative singular: туз/туза

### 2.2.5.3 Number

Nouns that only exist in singular form (primarily collective common nouns)

Examples (also see Vinogradov 1960: 113-4):

бельё	'linens'	листва	'foliage'
профессура	'professorate'	старьё	'old things'
клубника	'strawberries'	виноград	'grapes'
сахар	'sugar'	зелень	'greens'
родня	'kin'	картошка	'potatoes'
нефть	'coal'	мелочь	'small things'

Nouns that only exist in plural form (including common nouns, toponyms, and constellations). Examples (cf. also Vinogradov 1960: 116-18):

алименты	'alimony'	обои	'wallpaper'
Альпы	'Alps'	перила	'banister, railing'
Афины	'Athens'	Плеяды	'Pleiades'
Близнецы	'Gemini'	похороны	'funeral'
боты	'galoshes'	прятки	'hide-and-seek'
будни	'workdays'	роды	'kin'
весы	'scales'	санки	'sledge'
вилы	'pitchfork'	сласти	'sweets'
ворота	'gate(s)'	смотрины	'bridal shower'
горелки	'catch (game)'	сумерки	'dusk'
деньги	'money'	сутки	'24 hour period'
дети	'children'	усы	'moustache'
дрова	'firewood'	хлопоты	'trouble(s)'
дрожжи	'yeast'	хлопья	'flake(s)'
каникулы	'holiday(s)'	хоромы	'mansion'
качели	'swing'	часы	'clock, watch'
люди	'people'	чернила	'ink'
макаронны	'macaroni, pasta'	шахматы	'chess'
мощи	'relic(s)'	щи	'cabbage soup'
ножницы	'scissors'	щипцы	'tongs, pinchers'
носилки	'stretcher, litter'		

## 2.3 Indeclinable Nouns

There is a substantial number of Russian nouns, the majority of which are foreign borrowings, that do not decline. This group includes both common and proper nouns and abbreviations. These nouns, most generally ending in -i, -u, -e or -o, reflect case function syntactically via adjectival and verbal modifiers:

ателье	'atelier'	купе	'train compartment'
Баку	'Baku'	мадам	'madam'

безе	'meringue'	МГУ	'Moscow State University'
Бессмертных	'Bessmertnyx' (last name - 'the immortal one')	метро	'metro'
бра	'wall lamp'	ООН	'U.N.'
Гёте	'Goethe'	пальто	'greatcoat'
жалюзи	'venetian blinds'	пари	'bet, wager'
жюри	'jury'	радио	'radio'
интервью	'interview'	СПИД	'AIDS'
кафе	'cafe'	США	'USA'
кенгуру	'kangaroo'	такси	'taxicab'
кино	'cinema'	Тбилиси	'Tbilisi'
кофе	'coffee'	фортепиано	'grand piano'

The entire class of foreign feminine family names does not decline in Russian (Шарко - 'Sharko', Шапиро - 'Shapiro', Шмидт - 'Schmidt').

Masculine family names borrowed from Ukrainian or non-Slavic languages that end in a vowel generally do not decline (cf. Кучеренко - 'Kucherenko', Коваленко - 'Kovalenko', Мхеидзе - 'Mkheidze').

#### 2.4 Other declensional desinences: singular

##### 2.4.1 Locative -u

Masculine nouns (generally monosyllabic) that demonstrate the locative in -u after the prepositions В - 'in, at' and НА - 'on, at' (cf. also Vinogradov 1960: 143-5):

ад/аду - 'hell', бал/балу - 'ball', бок/боку - 'side', борт/борту - 'shipboard', бой/бою - 'battle', быт/быту - 'domestic life', берег/берегу - 'shore', вид/виду - 'view, sight', бред/бреду - 'delirium', мост/мосту - 'bridge', нос/носу - 'nose', пот/поту - 'sweat', ход/ходу - 'motion', сад/саду - 'garden', снег/снегу - 'snow', рай/раю - 'heaven', цвет/цвету - 'flower'

There are also a number of set expressions that require the -u locative desinence:

на лету - 'in the air', быть на хорошем счету - 'to be in good standing', идти на поводу - 'to be lead around by the nose'

##### 2.4.2 Genitive -u

Masculine nouns (generally monosyllabic) that demonstrate the genitive in -u (cf. also Vinogradov 1960: 141-143):

бензину - 'gasoline', весу - 'weight', смеху - 'laughter', свету - 'society', шуму - 'noise', народу - 'folk', винограду - 'grapes', сахару - 'sugar', салату - 'salad', нарзану - 'mineral water', перцу - 'pepper', рису - 'rice', лимонаду - 'lemonade', жиру - 'fat', хрену - 'horseradish', дыму - 'smoke', снегу - 'snow', соку - 'juice', чаю - 'tea', чайку - 'tea', табаку - 'tobacco', чесноку - 'garlic', песку - 'sand', сыру - 'cheese', коньяку - 'cognac', творогу - 'tvorog cheese'

Note that the -u genitive desinence cannot be used with non-negated imperfective verbs. Compare the following examples:

Я ел сыр. 'I was eating the cheese.'

Я поел сыру/сыра. 'I ate some cheese.'  
 Я не ел сыра. 'I didn't eat any cheese.'

The -u genitive desinence may also be used in conjunction with the prepositions с, из, от, без and in set expressions (cf. also Vinogradov 1960: 142-143):

из виду	'out of sight'	из дому	'out of the house'
со смеху	'from laughter'	со страху	'from fear'
с голоду	'from hunger'	с полу	'from the floor'
с испугу	'from fright'	из лесу	'out of the forest'
от ветру	'from the wind'	без разбору	'indiscriminately'
без спросу	'without permission'	без риску	'without risk'
без шуму	'without noise/bother'	ни слуху, ни духу	'nothing has been heard'
мало толку	'senseless'	не хватило духу	'didn't have enough strength, breath'
с жару	'from the heat'	с жиру беситься	'to lose perspective from excess wealth'
дать маху	'to miss a chance'	спору нет	'there is no argument'
говорить без умолку	'to speak incessantly'		

## 2.5 Declensional desinences: plural

### 2.5.1 Masculine nominative plural -a

Masculine nouns that have a stressed -á nominative plural desinence (cf also Vinogradov 1960: 146-148):

адреса -'addresses', берега -'shores', бока -'sides', векселя -'drafts', глаза -'eyes', голоса -'voices', города -'cities', директора -'directors', доктора -'doctors', профессора -'professors', колокола -'bells', катера -'launches', мастера -'masters', номера -'hotel rooms', паспорта -'passports', повара -'cooks', поезда -'trains', паруса -'sails', снега -'snows', сторожа -'watchmen', рукава -'sleeves', сорта -'sorts/types', шелка -'silks'

### 2.5.2

There are some examples where the standard, literary plural form requires -ы, but the colloquial form may demonstrate the occurrence of -á: договоры/договора -'agreements', приговоры/приговора -'sentences/condemnations', свитеры/свитера -'sweaters'

### 2.5.3

There are some examples where the standard, literary nominative plural form allows either the -ы or -á desinences, but each form represents a distinctive shift in reference (cf also Vinogradov 1960: 147):

учители/учителя -'teachers (e.g. Christ, Plato)/teachers', цветы/цвета -'flowers/colors', поясы/пояса -'belts (geog.)/belts (clothing)', образы/образа -'images/icons',

провода/провода -'seeing someone off/wires', пропуски/пропуска -'blanks, /identification cards', счёты/счета -'abacus/bills, accounts', листы/листья - 'sheets of paper/leaves'.

#### 2.5.4

There are some examples where the standard, literary nominative plural form is in free variation and allows either the -ы or -á desinences without a shift in reference (cf also Vinogradov 1960: 147):

годы/года -'years', крендели/кренделя -'krendel biscuits', отпуска/отпуска -'work leaves', лагеря/лагеря -'camps', волосы/волоса -'hairs', корректоры/корректора -'proofreaders', кузовы/кузова -'baskets', редакторы/редактора -'editors', слесари/слесаря -'lathe workers'

### 2.6 Formation of the Genitive Plural

The genitive plural is considered to be the most complex of the Russian cases in terms of formation. The complexity of the genitive plural involves not only a broader range of desinental choices than is typical of the CSR case system (3 endings: zero, -ov, -ej), but also the principle of selection that is determined by the presence vs. absence of a desinence in the nominative singular. If there is a zero ending in the nominative singular, then there will be a non-zero ending in the genitive plural; if there is a non-zero ending in the nominative singular, then there will be a zero ending in the genitive plural. Note the following diagram:

Desinence:	NOMINATIVE SINGULAR	GENITIVE PLURAL
	-a/-o	-0
	-0	-ov, -ej <sup>10</sup>

The desinence -ov is selected if the stem-final consonant is hard (excluding ж, ш) or jot. The desinence -ej is selected if the stem-final consonant is soft (palatalized or palatal) or the nonpalatalized hushers ж, ш. This principle was originally discovered by R.O. Jakobson (1956/1984: 135-140). There are some notable exceptions (cf. listing below for both regular forms and exceptions).

#### 2.6.1 Examples

Note the following examples. Pay special attention to the frequency of vowel-zero alternations in those forms with a zero desinence. For a detailed description of the vowel-zero alternation, see 1.5.1.

N. sg.

студент -'student'  
герой -'hero'  
стол -'table'  
учитель -'teacher'  
рубль -'ruble'  
карандаш -'pencil'  
этаж -'floor, level'

G. pl.

студентов -'students'  
героев -'heroes'  
столов -'tables'  
учителей -'teachers'  
рублей -'rubles'  
карандашей -'pencils'  
этажей -'floors, levels'

<sup>10</sup> -ov is represented in Cyrillic as -ов, -ев, ёв



словарь -'dictionary'  
 африканец -'African'  
 платье -'dress'  
 дно - 'bottom (of ocean, glass, etc.)'  
 буй -'buoy'  
 письмо -'letter, missive'  
 кресло -'easy chair'  
 озеро -'lake'  
 сестра -'sister'  
 дочка -'daughter'  
 доска -'board'  
 студентка -'student' [f.]  
 карта -'map'  
 лампа -'lamp'  
 девушка -'girl'  
 копейка -'kopeck'  
 кухня -'kitchen, cuisine'  
 статья -'article'  
 семья -'family'  
 здание -'building'  
 лекция -'lecture'  
 площадь -'square'  
 мышь -'mouse'  
 церковь -'church'  
 воскресенье -'Sunday'  
 день -'day'  
 земля -'earth, ground'  
 деревня -'village'  
 отец -'father'

словарей -'dictionaries'  
 африканцев -'Africans'  
 платьев -'dresses'  
 доньев - 'bottoms'  
 буйёв -'buoys'  
 писем -'letters, missives'  
 кресел -'easy chairs'  
 озёр -'lakes'  
 сестёр -'sisters'  
 дочек -'daughters'  
 досок -'boards'  
 студенток -'students' [f.]  
 карт -'maps'  
 ламп -'lamps'  
 девушек -'girls'  
 копеек -'kopecks'  
 кухонь -'kitchens, cuisines'  
 статей -'articles'  
 семей -'families'  
 зданий -'buildings'  
 лекций -'lectures'  
 площадей -'squares'  
 мышей -'mice'  
 церквей -'churches'  
 воскресений -'Sundays'  
 дней -'days'  
 земель -'Earths, ground'  
 деревень -'villages'  
 отцов -'fathers'

### 2.6.2

A list of the more frequent irregular genitive plurals is given below.

N. sg.	N. pl.	G. pl.	
ребёнок	дети	детей	'child/children'
человек	люди	людей	'person/people'
сын	сыновья	сыновей	'sons/s'
муж	мужья	мужей	'husband/s'
брат	братья	братьев	'brother/s'
сосед	соседи	соседей	'neighbor/s'
раз	разы	раз	'time, occasion/s'
ботинок	ботинки	ботинок	'high shoe/s'
солдат	солдаты	солдат	'soldier/s'
грузин	грузины	грузин	'Georgian/s'
англичанин	англичане	англичан	'Englishman/men'
мать	матери	матерей	'mother/s'
дочь	дочери	дочерей	'daughter/s'

глаз	глаза	глаз	'eye/s'
чулок	чулки	чулок	'stocking/s'
сапог	сапоги	сапог	'boot/s'
судно	суда	судов	'boat, vessel/s'
море	морья	морей	'sea/s'
поле	поля	полей	'field/s'
тётя	тёти	тётей	'aunt/s'
дядя	дяди	дядей	'uncle/s'
песня	песни	песен	'song/s'
спальня	спальни	спален	'bedroom/s'
друг	друзья	друзей	'friend/s'
имя	имена	имён	'name/s'
время	времена	времён	'time/s'
деньга	деньги	денег	'money [sg.- coll.]/money'
-----	каникулы	каникул	'holidays'

There are also examples of free variation in genitive plural forms where two endings are possible (cf. килограмм/килограммов, помидор/помидоров).

## 2.7 The semantics of the Russian case system

The category of case in Slavic is a phenomenon that indicates the relationship between nouns and noun phrases to verbs, to other noun phrases and to other parts of the syntagm. Formally, only nouns and adjectives signal case via a group of well-defined desinences. Specific verbs and prepositions may require a particular case or set of cases, depending on the semantic focus.

The case system is one of the most robust structures of the grammar of CSR, penetrating both morphology and syntax. In order to achieve a deep understanding of the Russian case system, it is imperative to become acquainted with the range of reference and meaning that is available to each of the cases and to the system as a whole. The fundamental functions of the Russian cases will be given below in the order of the direct (N/A) and oblique (G/D/L/I) forms. Although rarely mentioned, there will be a short discussion of the so-called vocative form in CSR. For a detailed discussion of the markedness values of the Russian cases, see Jakobson (1935, 1958).

### 2.7.1 Nominative

The nominative case functions primarily as the naming case. It is used for most (but not all) grammatical subjects, it is often used as the simple predicate with verbs 'be', and may be used after the preposition за (cf. Что это за глупость? - 'What kind of nonsense is this?'). The nominative form is typically given as the dictionary form of the word.

There is one particular syntactic context where the nominative is required that may seem counter intuitive to the English speaker, namely 'Let him smoke' - Пусть он курит. (Historically, an accusative/genitive was possible, but this is no longer a viable option in CSR.) Finally, the nominative case is used in apposition (where a common noun is followed by a more specific proper name). In these instances, the proper name may be in the nominative regardless of the case form of its antecedent common noun (cf. Лёва

работает в газете «Санкт-Петербургские ведомости» -'Lyova works at the newspaper "Saint Petersburg Times")).

### 2.7.2 Accusative

The accusative case gives a meaning of directionality or extension. Forms in the accusative are acted upon, moved upon or created as a result of the verbal process. The accusative case is one of the most prevalent forms for the objects of transitive verbs in CSR. The accusative case is highly correlated with motion towards or onto an object and is the primary case for time expressions covering the smallest units of measured time to periods as large as weeks, repetitions of a time frame and following quantifiers of time like 'all' and 'every' (всю неделю -'for the whole week', целую неделю -'for an entire week', каждую среду -'every Wednesday').

Although the use of the accusative case following most transitive verbs in CSR is trivial, there will occasionally be instances that seem counterintuitive to L1 speakers of non-Slavic languages (cf. 'Listen to me!' requires an accusative in CSR: Слушай меня!).

Verbs with the particle -ся are not used with the accusative case. However, there are 2 notable exceptions to this rule, namely the verbs 'obey' (only accusative forms are possible with animates) and 'fear' (accusative form is required when used with names or certain common nouns like 'mother' - мать, мама and 'dad' - папа):

Дети всегда слушаются воспитательницу.  
'The children always obey the teacher.'

Вова боится Иру.  
'Vova fears Ira.'

Common verbs that require the accusative case (with a preposition):  
preposition на -'on/onto'

бросаться	'throw/foist oneself'	влиять,	'influence'
действовать	'act'	поступать	'act, treat'
доносить	'inform, denounce'	злиться	'become mad'
сердиться	'become angry'	накрывать	'cover'
намекать	'refer, suggest'	полагаться	'rely upon'
разделять	'divide'	размениваться	'squander'
смотреть	'look, gaze'	соглашаться	'agree'
указывать	'gesture, indicate'	жаловаться	'complain'
обижаться	'become offended'		

preposition в -'in/into'

играть	'play' <sup>11</sup>	бросаться	'throw oneself'
влюбляться	'fall in love'	вступать	'enter, engage'
поступать	'act'	превращаться	'turn into, become'

<sup>11</sup> When playing an instrument, the verbal government changes to НА + locative case.

The following prepositions must be used with the accusative:

через 'across, over, through'

сквозь 'through'

The following prepositions may be used with the accusative when motion or directionality is involved or comparison: в -'in, into', на -'on, onto', за -'for, behind', о/об -'about, over', под -'under', с -'from, off of'.

### 2.7.3 Genitive

The genitive case is dominant in signaling three basic concepts: possession, quantification and negation.

**Possession** is designated by putting the possessor or the object one belongs to in the genitive case:

Это книга брата. 'That's brother's book'

Она студентка нашего университета. 'She's a student of our university'

Another construction showing possession requires the preposition followed by a genitive case form. This prepositional construction у with the genitive case is the predominant form for expressing ownership or 'having'. The verb иметь -'have' does occur in CSR, but its range of usage is much more restricted than the у construction.

У меня недавно вышла книга. 'I recently had a book appear in print'

У него нет денег на велосипед. 'He doesn't have money to buy a bike'

У нас с тобой много общего. 'You and I have a lot in common'

BUT:

Я имею в виду два возможных варианта. 'I have in mind two possible options'

There are restrictions to this usage when the possessor is a member of a class of proper names and/or common nouns ending in -а (both masculine and feminine) that allow for augmentation by the suffix -in-:

Чья это книга? - Это Сашина книга.

'Whose books is this? - It's Sasha's book'

Он маменькин/мамочкин сынок.

'He's a momma's boy'

Nouns modified by adverbs of **quantity** (много -'much, many', мало -'little, few', немного -'a little', сколько -'how much, how many', несколько -'a few, several', столько -'so many') and the following numerals must be used with the genitive case:

2, 3, 4 and any numerals ending in 2, 3, 4 require that the following noun be in the genitive singular, adjectives in the genitive plural [except adjectives modifying feminine nouns may be in the nominative plural];

5-10 and any numerals ending in 5-9 or 0 require that the following noun phrase be in the genitive plural.

With the **negative** нет -'is not', не было -'was not', не будет -'will not be' and after many negated transitive verbs, especially verbs of perception (seeing, hearing), the genitive case is required.

Common verbs that require the genitive case (with or without a preposition):

беречься	'be careful, cautious'	бояться	'fear'
добиваться	'obtain, achieve'	достигать	'attain'
желать	'wish'	зависеть	'depend'
избавляться	'free oneself'	избегать	'run away from, flee'
касаться	'touch on, concern'	лишаться	'deprive'
мучиться	'worry, suffer, torment oneself'	напиваться	'drink one's fill'
наслушаться	'hear one's fill'	опасаться	'fear, avoid'
освободиться	'liberate, free oneself'	остерегаться	'beware, be cautious'
отделяться	'get rid of, shake off'	отделяться	'separate, distance oneself'
отличаться	'stand out, differentiate'	отставать	'remain behind'
пугаться	'be startled, take fright'	состоять	'consist, be composed of'
спасаться	'escape, save oneself'	страшиться	'be in fear of'

Note that it will often be the case that verbs with the prefix на- and the reflexive particle -ся require an object in the genitive case (cf. наслушаться -'have one's fill of listening', натерпеться -'be through withstanding, напиток -'have one's fill of drink', наесться -'have one's fill of food'). The other common case found with на- -ся is the instrumental (cf. надыхаться -'inhale', нахвалиться -'extol, praise').

Common verbs that require either the genitive or accusative case (without a preposition): дожидаться -'await', ждать -'wait for', искать -'seek, search', доставать -'reach, touch', просить -'request', требовать -'demand', хотеть -'want', бояться -'fear'

The following prepositions must be used with the genitive: из -'out of', от -'away from', до -'up to', у -'near', после -'after, following', мимо -'past', около -'in the vicinity of', без -'without', вокруг -'around', внутри -'within', снаружи -'from the outside', вместо -'in place of', вследствие -'as a result of, following', вдоль -'along, alongside'

The following prepositions may be used with the genitive case:  
с -'from, off of', между -'between'

#### 2.7.4 Dative

The dative case functions primarily as the case of the actor in impersonal constructions (especially in the semantic context of physical and psychological human states, nature and weather, and more broadly in constructions where a verbal infinitive is required, including modals), the secondary object of a transitive verb (often animate), or the goal of a verb of motion where the focus is on motion 'toward' or 'along', not 'onto'.

Мне нездоровится.	I'm not well'
Маме холодно.	'Mom is cold'
Брату очень плохо.	'My brother is doing badly'
Вам помочь?	'Can I help you?'
Кто купил тебе эту книгу?	'Who bought you that book?'
Завтра мы едем к друзьям на дачу.	'We're going to our friends' dacha tomorrow.'
Автобус обычно не ходит по нашей улице.	'The bus doesn't usually run on our street.'

There are syntactic constructions in CSR that require a dative of possession, where the possessor is expressed as a personal pronoun in the dative case (and not a possessive pronoun or a genitive case form):

Она наступила мне на ногу.	'She stepped on my foot.'
Ты испортил ему жизнь.	'You have ruined his life.'
Он мне приходится братом.	'He happens to be my brother.'

Common verbs that require the dative case (with or without a preposition):

аплодировать	'applaud'	верить	'believe'
звонить	'call'	мстить	'avenge'
вредить	'be dangerous'	готовиться	'prepare oneself'
завидовать	'envy'	возражать	'object'
отвечать	'answer'	объяснять	'explain'
относиться	'relate to'	охладеть	'grow cold, lose interest'
перемениться	'change, alter'	подчиняться	'submit'
привыкать	'become accustomed'	противоречить	'contradict'
радоваться	'be glad (about)'	симпатизировать	'sympathize'
сочувствовать	'empathize'	советовать	'counsel'
удивляться	'be amazed at'	улыбаться	'smile'

Common verbs that require the dative case of the receiver and the accusative case of the thing received:

давать -'give, hand over', дарить -'give, present', говорить -'speak, say', показывать -'show, indicate', предлагать -'suggest', посылать -'send', отправлять -'send off, direct', сообщать -'inform, report'

Common verbs that require the dative case of the experiencer (which appears as the logical subject in English translations of these Russian verbs):

нравиться -'be pleasing to', надоедать -'become bored', понадобиться -'become necessary', казаться -'seem, appear'

Common verbs that require either the dative case or the accusative case resulting in a different meaning of the verb:

изменять -'to cheat (dative), to change (accusative)', мешать -'to bother (dative), to mix (accusative)'

Note that it will often be the case that verbs with the prefix при- (both with and without the reflexive particle -ся) may require an object in the dative case (cf. приставать - 'impose, harass', приучать - 'train, acclimate', придира́ться - 'nag, find fault', присматриваться - 'inspect, look closely', приближаться - 'get closer', прислушиваться - 'listen attentively to', присоединяться - 'join, associate')

The following prepositions must be used with the dative: к - 'to, toward', благодаря - 'thanks to, owing to', вопреки - 'in spite of, despite'

The following prepositions may be used with the dative case: по - 'along'

### 2.7.5 Locative

The locative case (also referred to as the prepositional case) is the only case in CSR that is realized exclusively in conjunction with prepositions. The list of prepositions used with the locative is relatively more restricted than with the other cases, and only one of the five prepositions is used exclusively with the locative. The meaning of the locative case is related directly to the meaning of the preposition with which it is used:

на	'on, at' (nouns derived from verbs or nouns denoting processes often require на instead of в)
в	'in, at'
о/об/обо	'about, concerning' (о followed by consonant or jot, об followed by а, е, и, о, u, обо followed by a pronominal with initial consonant cluster [cf. обо мне - 'about me', обо всём - 'about everything']
при	'in the presence of, during the reign of, due to'
по	'along, about' used with the verbs скучать - 'be bored', тосковать - 'be melancholy'

Common verbs that require the locative case (always with a preposition):

на:

жениться,	'marry' (for males)	играть	'play' (instrument)
настаивать	'insist'	основываться	'be based, founded'
останавливаться	'stop, remain'	отражаться	'reflect, reverberate'
сосредоточивать(ся)	'specify, concentrate'	специализироваться	'specialize'

в:

заключаться	'conclude, agree'	нуждаться	'need'
отражаться	'reflect, reverberate'	ошибаться	'err, make a mistake'
признаваться	'admit, confess'	разбираться	'understand, dissemble'
разочаровываться	'be disappointed'	состоять	'be composed'

специализироваться	'specialize'	убеждаться	'be certain'
участвовать	'participate'		

The following prepositions must be used with the locative: при -'near, in the vicinity of', обо -'about'

The following prepositions may be used with the locative case: по -'about, regarding', о/об -'about', в -'in', на -'on'

### 2.7.6 Instrumental

The instrumental case is used for the agent of an action, manner or means of performing an action. The use of the instrumental without a preposition is often translated as “by means of” versus the use of the instrumental following the preposition с meaning “together with.” The instrumental is often used with verbs of being and becoming and is prominent in giving the agent in passive constructions.

Игорь любит играть с Кирой в теннис.	'Igor' likes to play tennis with Kira.'
Нельзя есть суп вилкой!	'You can't eat soup with a fork!'
Маша пишет карандашом.	'Masha writes with a pencil.'
Витя хочет стать президентом.	'Vitya wants to become president.'
Отец был солдатом во время войны.	'My father was a soldier during the war.'
Этот вопрос обсуждается историками.	'That question is being discussed by historians.'
Этот роман был написан моей сестрой.	'That novel was written by my sister.'

Common verbs that require the instrumental case (with or without a preposition):

болеть	'be sick, ill'	обладать	'possess, have'
владеть	'command, rule'	встречаться	'date, meet with'
гордиться	'be proud'	делиться	'share'
дорожить	'treasure, value'	драться	'fight'
жертвовать	'sacrifice'	заниматься	'study, busy oneself'
знакомиться	'become acquainted'	извиняться	'beg forgiveness, excuse oneself'
издеваться	'mock'	интересоваться	'be interested'
казаться	'seem, appear'	любоваться	'admire'
махать	'wave'	хлопать	'slam'
мириться	'reconcile oneself'	наблюдать	'observe'
наслаждаться	'savor, enjoy'	насмехаться	'mock, jeer'
общаться	'converse, fraternize'	обмениваться	'exchange places'
оказываться	'grant, render'	переписываться	'correspond'
пользоваться	'use, utilize'	работать	'work as'
развлекаться	'amuse oneself'	ругаться	'curse'
руководить	'govern, rule'	служить	'serve as'
следить	'watch after'	следовать	'follow'
советоваться	'counsel, advise'	смеяться	'laugh'



соревноваться	'compete, emulate'	становиться	'become'
считаться	'consider oneself'	торговать(ся)	'barter, deal'
увлекаться	'divert oneself'	управлять	'govern'
править	'rule, command'	ухаживать	'nurse, look after'
хвастаться	'boast, brag'	хвалиться	'boast, swagger'
являться	'be'	быть (infinitive or past tense)	'be'

The following prepositions must be used with the instrumental: перед -'before, in front of', над -'over, above'

The following prepositions may be used with the instrumental case: с -'with', за -'behind, for', под -'under, underneath'

### 2.7.7 Vocative

There is generally no mention of a vocative case in the literature on CSR. However, there is, in fact, a special morphological form with a zero ending used as an address form. This zero desinence is used only with a limited list of derivative proper names (usually having no more than 2 syllables) and a very restricted list of common nouns.

Саш! Сань! Шур! Сашуль! -'Sasha' ( but never with related forms like Санёк, Сашок)

Лен! Ленусь! Ленуль! -'Lena' (but never with related forms like Алёна, Леночка)

Ир! -'Ira'

Мам! -'mama'

Пап! -'papa'

Лёнь! -'Lyonya'

Люд! -'Lyuda'

Свет! -'Sveta'

Валь! -'Valya'

Ген! -'Gena'

Лёш! -'Lyosha (for Alyosha)'

Кать! Катюш! -'Katya, Katyusha'

Миш! -'Misha'

Рит! -'Rita'

Люсь! -'Lyusya'

Ксюш! -'Ksyusha'

Марин! -'Marina'

Дядь Петь! - 'Uncle Petya'

Тётъ Маш! - 'Aunt Masha'

## 2.8 Adjectives

### 2.8.1 Adjectives of positive degree

Adjectives of positive degree in CSR fall into two major types: long forms and short forms. Long form adjectives inflect for case, number and gender. In the plural forms, only number and case are reflected. Short form adjectives only exist in the predicate nominative form and inflect for gender and number. The following paradigms demonstrate the range of possibilities of adjectival declension.

### Long form adjectives: SINGULAR

	Hard-stem masculine			feminine	
	'big'	'good'	'strong'	'big'	'good'
N	большой	хороший	сильный	большая	хорошая
A		N/G		большую	хорошую
G	большого	хорошего	сильного	большой	хорошей
D	большому	хорошему	сильному	большой	хорошей
L	большом	хорошем	сильном	большой	хорошей
I	большим	хорошим	сильным	большой/ большою	хорошей/ хорошею

	Hard-stem feminine		neuter	
	'strong'	'good'	'big'	'strong'
N	сильная	хорошее	большое	сильное
A	сильную	хорошее	большое	сильное
G	сильной	хорошего	большого	сильного
D	сильной	хорошему	большому	сильному
L	сильной	хорошем	большом	сильном
I	сильной/ сильною	хорошим	большим	сильным

	Soft-stem masculine		feminine	neuter
	'blue'	'evening'	'autumn'	'morning'
N	синий	вечерний	осенняя	утреннее
A		N/G	осеннюю	утреннее
G	синего	вечернего	осенней	утреннего
D	синему	вечернему	осенней	утреннему
L	синем	вечернем	осенней	утреннем
I	синим	вечерним	осенней/ осеннею	утренним

### Long form adjectives: PLURAL

	Hard-stem		
	'big'	'good'	'strong'
N	большие	хорошие	сильные
A		N/G	
G	больших	хороших	сильных
D	большим	хорошим	сильным
L	больших	хороших	сильных
I	большими	хорошими	сильными

**Soft-stem**

	'blue'	'evening'	'autumn'
N	синие	вечерние	осенние
A		N/G	
G	синих	вечерних	осенних
D	синим	вечерним	осенним
L	синих	вечерних	осенних
I	синими	вечерними	осенними

## 2.8.2 Short form adjectives: singular and plural nominative

Adjectives that give ordinal numerals, denote temporal qualities, or end in the suffix -sk- do not have short forms.

**Hard-stem masc/fem/neut/pl**

велик/велика/велико/велики -'large, great'

хорош/хороша/хорошо/хороши -'good'

силён/сильна/сильно/сильны -'strong'

**Soft-stem**

синь/синя/сине/сини -'blue'

Note that the neuter short form adjective is formally indistinguishable from the typical adverb except in those instances where the word stress may differ (cf. adj. - больно́; adverb - бо́льно -'sick, painful').

## 2.8.3 Comparative degree of adjectives

Comparative adjectives have distinct forms in order to express attributive versus predicative syntactic functions. Adjectives that give ordinal numerals, denote animal names, or end in the suffix -sk- do not form comparatives. For more information on restrictions in the formation of comparative adjectives, see Vinogradov 1960: 292-93.

Modifiers of attributive or predicative comparative adjectival phrases include the equivalent for 'a lot': **намного**

In attributive usage, the comparative adjective is analytic in nature, consisting of two parts: **более/менее** 'more, less' + positive adjective. Note the following examples  
**более интересный роман**  
 'a more interesting novel'

**менее толстая книга**  
 'a less thick book'

**более широкое окно**  
 'a wider window'

**менее приятные люди**  
 'less pleasant people'

Мы говорили про намного более серьёзную проблему  
'We talked about a much more serious problem'

There are four synthetic comparative adjectives that occur in attributive usage:

лучший 'better'  
худший 'worse'  
меньший 'smaller'  
большой 'bigger'

[Note that the stress is distinctive between the positive большой and comparative большой]

In predicative usage, the comparative is synthetic and has two possible forms:

(1) -ee desinence with accompanying stress shift to the ending in roots of two syllables or less (with some exceptions) and no stem modification. An older form of the desinence, -ей, is also possible and occurs in CSR in songs and poetry:

круглый » круглее	'round/er'
трудный » труднее	'difficult/ more difficult'
красный » краснее	'red/der'
светлый » светлее	'light/er' (color)
прямой » прямее	'straight/er'
острый » острее	'sharp/er'
интересный » интереснее	'interesting/more interesting'
глупый » глупее	'dumb/er'
симпатичный » симпатичнее	'nice/r'
серьёзный » серьёзнее	'serious/ more serious'
приятный » приятнее	'pleasant/ more pleasant'
сильный » сильнее	'strong/er'
дружный » дружнее	'friendly/ier'
быстрый » быстрее	'fast/er'
холодный » холоднее	'cold/er'
новый » новее	'new/er'
умный » умнее	'smart/er'
тёплый » теплее	'warm/er'
весёлый » веселее	'happy/ier'
добрый » добрее	'good/better'
старый » старше vs. старше	'old/er' [of things] vs. older [of people]
худой » худее	'thin/er'
красивый » красивее	'pretty/ier'

(2) -e ending with accompanying consonant mutation of stem-final consonant, consonant cluster or -k- suffix: (г » ж, к » ч, х » ш, д » ж, т » ч, ст » щ, в » вл):

жаркий » жарче	'hot/ter'
большой » больше	'big/ger'
громкий » громче	'loud/er'
толстый » толще	'fat/ter'

лёгкий » легче	'light/er' (weight, complexity)
дорогой » дороже	'dear/er'
строгий » строже	'strict/er'
тихий » тише	'quiet/er'
простой » проще	'simple/r'
частый » чаще	'frequent/ more frequent'
молодой » моложе (или младше)	'young/er'
дешёвый » дешевле	'expensive/ more expensive'
резкий » резче	'sharp/er'
тугой » туже	'tight/er'
сухой » суше	'dry/ier'
богатый » богаче	'rich/er'
крутой » круче	'steep/er'
густой » гуще	'thick/er' (viscosity)
чистый » чище	'clean/er'

Some comparatives with the -e desinence are more exceptional in their formation, including suppletive forms, suffix loss, or more unexpected consonant mutations (including с » ш, з » ж):

плохой » хуже	'bad/worse'
старый » старше	'old/er'
хороший » лучше	'good/better'
малый/маленький » меньше	'small/er'
высокий » выше	'tall/er'
мелкий » мельче	'shallow/er'
далёкий » дальше	'far/farther'
долгий » дольше	'long/er'
близкий » ближе	'near/er'
редкий » реже	'rare/r'
узкий » уже	'narrow/er'
сладкий » слаще	'sweet/er'
широкий » шире	'wide/r'
глубокий » глубже	'deep/er'

When comparing two things using predicative forms, the following constructions are possible:

(1) Он старше **моего отца**.

‘He is older than my father.’

(the object compared is in the genitive case)

(2) Ольга умнее, **чем** Татьяна.

‘Ol’ga is smarter than Tanya.’

(the object compared may be in any case and is obligatorily preceded by **ЧЕМ** -‘than’)

Note that type 1 may only be used when the head phrase of the comparison is in the nominative case. In those instances where either type 1 or 2 are syntactically possible,

there may be semantic constraints that will dictate preference. For example, when comparing qualities that are more intrinsic to the objects (age, height, etc.), type 1 is preferred.

Type 2 is preferred when the head phrase contains a verb other than the zero copula ‘to be’:

Preferred: Игорь играет лучше, чем Саша. -'Igor' plays better than Sasha'  
Possible: Игорь играет лучше Саши. -'Igor' plays better than Sasha'

#### 2.8.4

Superlative adjectives exhibit both analytic and synthetic formation patterns. The synthetic forms are more restricted than was seen with comparative synthetic forms.

(1) The rules and desinences for synthetic superlative adjectives (which are also sometimes treated as comparatives meaning ‘a most...’) are:

(a) stems ending in a consonant other than /k, g, x/ require the suffix -ейш-:

красивейший	'prettiest'
прекраснейший	'most excellent'
великолепнейший	'most splendid'
добрейший	'nicest'
богате́йший	'richest'
приятнейший	'nicest, kindest'
отвратительнейший	'most despicable'

(b) stems ending in /k, g,, x/ require the suffix -айш- (г » ж, к » ч, х » ш):

широчайший	'widest'
высочайший	'tallest'
мельчайший	'shallowest'
глубочайший	'deepest'
мягчайший	'softest'
редчайший	'rarest'
сладчайший	'sweetest'
тончайший	'thinnest'
тишайший	'quietest'
величайший	'greatest'
строжайший	'strictest'

For more information on restrictions in the formation of superlative adjectives, see Vinogradov 1960: 296.

Synthetic superlative adjectives also utilize on occasion a prefix наи- to intensify the degree:

наиважнейший	'most important'
наикрасивейший	'most beautiful'
наичистейший	'cleanest'
наистрожайший (устар.)	'strictest' (archaic)

Modifiers of attributive or predicative comparative adjectival phrases include the equivalent for 'a lot': наиболее

наиболее интересный роман 'a much more interesting novel'  
наиболее удобный диван 'a much more comfortable couch'  
наиболее необходимое из одежды 'a much more necessary piece of clothing'

In addition to the forms given above, there are four forms with the prefix наи- based on comparative adjectival forms:

наилучший	'best'
наихудший	'worst'
наибольший	'biggest'
наименьший	'smallest'

(2) Rules for analytic formation of superlatives (available in all cases, numbers and genders and often translated as 'the most...'): самый + positive adjective

самый красивый	'most attractive'
самая умная	'most intelligent'
самое большое	'largest'
самые приятные	'most kind'

Stress in adjectival declensions:

For a thorough discussion of stress patterns in all degrees and forms of adjectives, see Vinogradov 1960: 321-325.

### 2.8.5 Pronominal possessive adjectives

As was noted in the discussion on case, the genitive case can be used to show possession in specific constructions. In addition to the use of the genitive case, CSR has a full complement of possessive pronouns that can also be used instead of the genitive case. Beyond these two major options, there is a third class of adjectives that can show possession. The pronominal possessive adjectives in CSR are called as such based on their declensional paradigm. Unlike the qualitative and relational adjectives discussed above, pronominal adjectives obligatorily have one of the following suffixes:

(1) a stem-final jot suffix

(2) a possessive suffix in /-ov/ or /-in/ (Cyrillic -ов, -ев, -ин, -ын)

Note that the instrumental feminine singular has two potential forms, the second of which is used primarily in verse.

(3) the /i/ in the masculine singular desinence is a fill vowel, where the desinence is -j.

	<b>masc. sg.</b>	<b>neut. sg.</b>	<b>fem. sg.</b>	<b>plural</b>
	'godly'			
N	божий	божье	божья	божьи
A	N/A	божье	божьё	N/A
G	божьего	божьего	божьей	божьих
D	божьему	божьему	божьей	божьим
L	божьём	божьём	божьей	божьих
I	божьим	божьим	божьей/ божьёю	божьими

	<b>masc. sg.</b>	<b>neut. sg.</b>	<b>fem. sg.</b>	<b>plural</b>
	'paternal'			
N	отцов	отцово	отцова	отцовы
A	N/A	отцово	отцову	N/A
G	отцова	отцова	отцовой	отцовых
D	отцову	отцову	отцовой	отцовым
L	отцовом	отцовом	отцовой	отцовых
I	отцовым	отцовым	отцовой/ отцовойю	отцовыми

	<b>masc. sg.</b>	<b>neut. sg.</b>	<b>fem. sg.</b>	<b>plural</b>
	'maternal'			
N	мамин	мамино	мамина	мамины
A	N/A	мамино	мамину	N/A
G	мамина	мамина	маминой	маминых
D	мамину	мамину	маминой	маминым
L	мамином	мамином	маминой	маминых
I	маминым	маминым	маминой/ маминою	мамиными

Other common possessive pronominal adjectives include forms derived from animal names (cf. лисий -'leopardine', коровий -'bovine', лягушачий -'froggy', волчий -'lupine', собачий -'canine', кошачий -'feline', медвежий -'ursine', овечий -'sheep', заячий -'rabbit', щенячий -'puppy', птичий -'bird'), and some common nouns relating to professions, nationality, or male/female (девичий -'girlish', казачий -'Cossack', рыбачий -'fish', мужичий -'manly', садовничий -'gardener').

In some instances, one may find potentially competing adjectival forms with very specific, non-overlapping meanings. Note the following semantic differences in pronominal adjectives vs. other possessive adjectival forms:

мамин друг/мамина подруга 'mom's friend'  
 материнская любовь 'a mother's love'



## 2.9 Pronouns

The following section describes pronouns in CSR. The basis for inclusion in this category is primarily a semantic one. Formally, many of the so-called pronouns given below are of a mixed nominal-adjectival declension. In the case of the personal pronouns, there are also examples of suppletive forms. The traditional presentation of pronouns in the Russian Academy Grammar (1960: 385-406) include 8 categories: personal, reflexive, possessive, interrogative-relative, demonstrative, definite, negative and indefinite. Examples of each type will be given below.

### 2.9.1 Personal and reflexive pronouns

The Russian pronouns distinguish three persons (first, second, third) and a reflexive (oneself) that refers to all persons, two numbers (singular, plural, three genders in the third person only, and 6 cases (with some syncretism). Note that the reflexive personal pronoun never occurs in the nominative case and always refers back to the subject of the sentence or clause. (Refer to the section of reflexive verbs to find a more detailed discussion of the semantic differences between the reflexive personal pronoun себя and the bounded reflexive verbal particle -ся). The full declensional paradigms of the CSR personal and reflexive pronouns are given below. Note that the third person singular and plural forms require an epenthetic /n/ following a preposition (cf. all locative case forms, some accusative, genitive, dative and instrumental forms).

	<b>Т</b>	<b>'you(sg)'</b>	<b>'he/it'</b>	<b>'it'</b>	<b>'she/it'</b>	<b>'we'</b>	<b>'you(pl)'</b>	<b>'they'</b>	<b>'self'</b>
N	я	ты	он	оно	она	мы	вы	они	---
A	меня	тебя	его	его	её	нас	вас	их	себя
G	меня	тебя	его	его	её	нас	вас	их	себя
D	мне	тебе	ему	ему	ей	нам	вам	им	себе
L	мне	тебе	нём	нём	ней	нас	вас	них	себе
I	мною	тобой	им	им	ей	нами	вами	ими	собой

### 2.9.2 The use of the second person pronouns

In addition to its generic meaning as the second person singular pronouns, ты is also used as the “familiar” form. The sociolinguistic parameters of its usage include referents that are children, members of the immediate family (regardless of age), and people of one’s own age up through high school and including university. Once adulthood is reached, it is less trivial to determine appropriate 2nd person pronominal usage. In many instances, one of the parties verbally requests permission to change from the 2nd plural вы to the 2nd singular ты. In recent years, there is among certain groups a more relaxed attitude about the usage of the familiar form instead of the formal one.

The second person plural is also used as a singular in “formal” discourse. Children refer to all adults beyond the immediate family as вы. In school, university or the work place, the use of вы is required when speaking to teachers, professors and employers. Once a relationship between interlocutors has been established, pronominal usage may be negotiated as mentioned directly above.

### 2.9.3 Capitalization of the second person formal pronoun

In writing, the formal **Вы** must be written with a capital letter wherever it occurs in a sentence. The use of a capital letter in the second person **Вы** is unique in Russian pronouns. The first singular **я** is never capitalized except at the beginning of a sentence.

### 2.9.4 Possessive and reflexive pronouns

The possessive pronouns (also referred to as possessive pronominal adjectives) reflect all three persons including the reflexive, gender, number and case. The masculine and neuter forms of the first/second persons and reflexives are syncretic. Feminine forms of the first/second persons and reflexives are syncretic in 4 cases: genitive, dative, locative and instrumental. The third person possessive pronouns are formally identical to the accusative/genitive form of the third person personal pronouns (его -'his', её -'her', их -'their') and do not further decline.

	'my'			'our'			'one's own'		
	m	n	f	m	n	f	m	n	f
N	мой	моё	моя	наш	наше	наша	свой	своё	своя
A	N/G	моё	мою	N/G	наше	нашу	N/G	своё	свою
G		моего	моей		нашего	нашей		своего	своей
D		моему	моей		нашему	нашей		своему	своей
L		моём	моей		нашем	нашей		своём	своей
I		моим	моей		нашим	нашей		своим	своей

  

	'your' (sg)			'your' (pl)			'his/its'	'her/its'	'their'
	m	n	f	m	n	f	m/n	f	pl
N	твой	твоё	твоя	ваш	ваше	ваша	его	её	их
A	N/G	твоё	твою	N/G	ваше	вашу	его	её	их
G		твоего	твоей		вашего	вашей	его	её	их
D		твоему	твоей		вашему	вашей	его	её	их
L		твоём	твоей		вашем	вашей	его	её	их
I		твоим	твоей		вашим	вашей	его	её	их

### 2.9.5 Usage of the reflexive possessive pronoun

The reflexive pronoun is required most specifically in predicates when referring to third person pronominal forms as subjects (cf. Он поехал на своей машине -'He took his own car'). However, it is also possible to find reflexive pronouns in instances where the reflexive modifies the grammatical subject (cf. Своя ноша не тянет -'One's own burden is not heavy'; Своя рубашка ближе к телу -'One's own shirt is closer to the body'; Он свой человек -'He's one of us/our kind of guy'; У тебя есть своя машина? -'Do you have your own car?').

It is typical for English speakers to overuse possessive pronouns in Russian, including reflexive possessive pronouns. In normal Russian speech, possessive pronouns are omitted in instances where possession is obvious, especially when speaking of family members (cf. Мать не разрешает мне пить пиво -'My mother won't let me drink beer').

There is more flexibility in the use (or non-use) of the reflexive possessive pronoun in Russian with third-person plural subjects. Compare the following examples:

Друзья обсуждали свои планы. 'The friends discussed their (common) plans.'  
Друзья обсуждали их планы. 'The friends discussed their (individual) plans.'

BUT:

Дети рассказали о своих планах. 'The kids told about their own plans.'  
Дети рассказали об их планах 'The kids told about their (someone else's) plans.'

### 2.9.6 Interrogative personal pronouns

Note the declension of the Russian pronouns 'who' (кто) and 'what' (что). These pronouns are gendered (masculine and neuter respectively). In colloquial Russian, the syntactic agreement with кто may on rare occasions be feminine (cf. 'Who is that' (fem) - кто такая?). Also in colloquial Russian, the genitive form of что may be used as a subject or object and the pronunciation of the nominative form may be [чо] (spelled чё) , not the expected [што] (spelled что). The interrogative personal pronoun что may also function as a relative pronoun (see the following section).

	<b>'who' (always masculine)</b>	<b>'what' (always neuter)</b>
N	кто	что
A	кого	что
G	кого	чего
D	кому	чему
L	ком	чём
I	кем	чем

### 2.9.7 Interrogative possessive pronouns and relative pronouns

The interrogative possessive pronoun 'whose' reflects gender, case and number. The other interrogative and relative pronouns include the following:

*который:*

Ты знаешь студента, о котором говорит Сева?  
'Do you know the student Seva is speaking about?'

- Это моя сестра. - Которая?  
'-That's my sister. - Which one?'

*какой:*

Какая прекрасная погода!  
'What fabulous weather!'

Дай мне какую-нибудь книгу!  
'Give me a book' (any one).

*каков:*

Каков я прежде был, таков и ныне я.

'I am the same now as before.'

*каковой:*

Берестов отвечал с таким же усердием, с каковым цепной медведь кланяется «господам» по приказанию своего вожатого (Пушкин).

'Berestov answered with the same conviction as a chained bear that bows to the gentlemen at the command of his master.'

*что:*

Дай ему (то), что он хочет.

'Give him what he wants.'

Я знаю, что он хочет тебе позвонить.

'I know that he wants to call you.'

*чей:*

Чья это книга? - Это Сашина книга.

'Whose book is this? - It's Sasha's book.'

	'whose'			'which, that'			
	m	n	f	m	n	f	pl
N	чей	чьё	чья	какой	какое	какая	какие
A	N/G	чьё	чью	N/G	какое	какую	N/G
G		чьего	чьей		какого	какой	каких
D		чьему	чьей		какому	какой	каким
L		чьём	чьей		каком	какой	каких
I		чьим	чьей		каким	какой	какими

Although generally restricted to set expressions, the archaic кой is also used in CSR:

Ты всё делаешь кое-как!

'You do everything half-assed.'

Мам! Я хочу поехать с друзьями кататься на лыжах! - Ни в **коем** случае!

'Ma! I want to go skiing with friends! - No way!'

### 2.9.8 Definite pronouns

Of the several lexemes for 'all, whole, entire', one of them (весь/всё/вся/все) has a pronominal declension (given below). Due to formal syncretism, there is semantic ambiguity between the personal pronouns 'everything' (всё) and 'everyone' (все) and the neuter singular and plural forms of 'all, entire'. Note the difference in stress, the stem-final consonant (palatalized vs. nonpalatalized) and in usage between the intensifiers 'self, the very' (сам/самый). [See section on superlative adjectives for the meaning of 'most' with самый.]

-Давай я тебе помогу с посудой. - Не надо. **Я сама** всё помою.  
 -'Let me help you with the dishes. -No need. I'll wash them myself.'

Начинай с **самого** начала.  
 'Start from the very beginning.'

Я пожала руку **самому** Барышникову!  
 'I shook the hand of Baryshnikov himself!'

Вчера я видел **эту самую** - ну как её зовут? Ты знаешь кто - она жила этажом ниже.  
 'Yesterday I saw -- you know -- what's her name? She used to live below us.'

	- 'self'				'all/entire'			
	m	n	f	pl	m	n	f	pl
N	сам	само	сама	сами	весь	всё	вся	все
A	N/G	само	саму	N/G	весь	всё	всю	N/G
G		самого	самой	самих		всего	всей	всех
D		самому	самой	самим		всему	всей	всем
L		самом	самой	самих		всём	всей	всех
I		самим	самой	самими		всем	всей	всеми

	'the very'			
	m	n	f	pl
N	самый	самое	самая	самые
A	N/G	самое	самую	N/G
G	самого		самой	самых
D	самому		самой	самым
L	самом		самой	самых
I	самым		самой	самыми

Other examples in this class include всякий -'any', каждый -'every', всяческий -'all kinds of'.

### 2.9.9 Demonstrative pronouns

Although the third person personal pronouns in CSR were historically derived from the class of demonstratives, and while many contemporary Slavic languages still maintain this connection (cf. Macedonian *toj*), the contemporary Russian demonstrative pronouns form a specific class of two distinct forms (immediate and more distant), and additionally form compounds with the neuter nominative form - то (cf. 'someone' - кто-то, with 'something' - с чем-то, 'about some kind of ...' - о каком-то [cf. section on indefinite pronouns for more information]). These forms translate as both 'this' and 'that' or even 'the' in English. However, the occurrence of тот implies a second element (or an этот) to which it is being compared. In some grammars, one will find demonstrative pronouns called demonstrative pronominal adjectives because of their declension.

	'this/that/the'				'this/that/the'			
	m	n	f	pl	m	n	f	pl
N	этот	это	эта	эти	тот	то	та	те
A	N/G	это	эту	N/G	N/G	то	ту	N/G
G	этого	этой	этих		того	той	тех	
D	этому	этой	этим		тому	той	тем	
L	этом	этой	этих		том	той	тех	
I	этим	этой	этими		тем	той	теми	

	'that/that kind of'			
	m	n	f	pl
N	такой	такое	такая	такие
A	N/G	такое	такую	N/G
G	такого	такой	таких	
D	такому	такой	таким	
L	таком	такой	таких	
I	таким	такой	такими	

In addition to these forms, there is the so-called archaic *сей* that occurs in many expressions in CSR. Note some of the more common ones:

то да сѐ	'this and that'
о том, о сѐм	'about this and that'
сию минуту	'this very minute'
не от мира сего	'not of this world'
до сих пор	'until now'
на сей раз	'for/at this time'

For more information on contemporary usage of 'сей', see Dolgova and Maksimova (1996: 217-233).

### 2.9.10 Negative and indefinite pronouns

To complement the interrogative and definite pronouns there are two groups of negative and indefinite pronouns. However, the prefixes *ни-* and *не-* are detached when used with prepositions. Each of these forms requires a negated verb form that, in some grammars, is characterized as a double negative. No new declensional types are introduced in this section. Note the following examples:

*никто:*

Никто не хочет об этом думать!  
'No one wants to think about that!'

Мы ни с кем не общаемся.  
'We don't hang out with anyone.'

Никто не забыт, ничто не забыто!  
'No one and nothing is forgotten!'

*ничто:*  
Она ничего не понимает!  
'She doesn't understand anything!'

Он ни о чём не думает.  
'He isn't thinking about anything.'

*ничей:*  
-Какой счёт? В чью пользу? - Ничья.  
'-What's the score? Who's winning? - It's a tie.'

*никакой:*  
Твоё мнение не имеет никакого значения в этом деле.  
'Your opinion is absolutely irrelevant in this matter.'

*некого/ничего:*  
Некому позвонить!  
'There's no one to call.'

Нечего нам заниматься! Нас всё равно провалят.  
'There's no point in studying. They're going to flunk us anyway.'

*некто/нечто:*  
Он видел нечто необычное.  
'He saw something unusual.'

Некто по имени Борис тебе звонил сегодня.  
'Someone by the name of Boris called you today.'

*некоторый:*  
Я сидела некоторое время, а потом пошла спать.  
'I sat for a while, and then I went to bed.'

Некоторые люди считают, что они всегда правы.  
'Some people think that they are always right.'

*некий:*  
Некий престранный гражданин обратился ко мне с вопросом.  
'A certain strange citizen approached me with a question.'

*-нибудь:*  
Кто-нибудь мне звонил вчера?  
'Did anyone call me yesterday?'

Привези нам что-нибудь из Франции.  
'Bring us something from France.'

-*либо*:  
Вы слышали что-либо об этом фильме?  
'Have you heard anything about this movie?'<sup>12</sup>

-*то*:  
Кто-то должен знать ответ на мой вопрос!  
'Someone should know the answer to my question.'

-О чём думаешь? - О чём-то очень важном.  
'What are you thinking about? - Something very important.'

Какой-то маньяк меня преследует.  
'There's some maniac following me.'

Я не смогу с тобой встретиться сейчас - я с кем-то уже договорилась о встрече.  
Извини.  
'I can't meet with you now. I've already made plans to meet someone else. Sorry.'

## 2.10 Numerals

**Cardinal** numerals in CSR are declined and have a unique declension for 'two, three, four'. The numeral 'one' is pronominal in form and occurs in 3 genders and 2 numbers, 'two' distinguishes masculine/neuter vs. feminine and is similar in declension to 'three' and 'four' (although 'three' and 'four' do not distinguish gender). Most other numerals ('five' to 'twenty,' 'thirty,' 'forty,' etc. but excluding 'ninety' and 'one hundred') are third declension feminine nouns. One other unique feature of compound numerals is the fact that all parts decline. In counting, the word form раз (which also means 'once, one time') is used for 'one.' The adjectival form, разовый, means 'one-time, disposable' [cf. одноразовый шприц - 'disposable syringe'].

**Ordinal** numerals are adjectival in form, distinguish case, number and gender, agree with the head noun of the phrase, and correspond to each of the cardinal numbers. [Refer to the section on hard-stem adjectives for examples of ordinal declension.] One numerical symbol will be given to the left for both cardinal and ordinal numerals instead of English words for both (cardinal: one; ordinal: first). Note that 'third' is the only ordinal numeral in CSR that has a pronominal declension.

Ordinal numbers are required in a different range of contexts that one might expect coming from a non-Slavic language perspective. Note the following examples using ordinals:

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<sup>12</sup> This form, although very popular in literary texts through the early 20th century, is not used often in CSR, but is still found in dictionaries when listing verbal government. Note that although listed by the Russian Academy grammar as an indefinite pronoun, these forms are often quite specific and definite:



Завтра будет семнадцатое августа.  
Оля приехала пятого вечером.  
Я окончил университет в две тысячи первом году.

'Tomorrow is the 17th of August.'  
'Olya arrived on the evening of the fifth.'  
'I graduated in 2001.'  
'It's after seven (o'clock).'

Уже восьмой час!

	CARDINAL	ORDINAL
1	один/одно/одна/одни; раз	первый, первая, первое, первые
2	два/две	второй
3	три	третий, третья, третье, третьи
4	четыре	четвёртый
5	пять	пятый
6	шесть	шестой
7	семь	седьмой
8	восемь	восьмой
9	девять	девятый
10	десять	десятый
11	одиннадцать	одиннадцатый
12	двенадцать	двенадцатый
13	тринадцатый	тринадцатый
14	четырнадцать	четырнадцатый
15	пятнадцать	пятнадцатый
16	шестнадцать	шестнадцатый
17	семнадцать	семнадцатый
18	восемнадцать	восемнадцатый
19	девятнадцать	девятнадцатый
20	двадцать	двадцатый
21	двадцать один	двадцать первый
22	двадцать два/две	двадцать второй
23	двадцать три	двадцать третий
24	двадцать четыре	двадцать четвёртый
25	двадцать пять	двадцать пятый
30	тридцать	тридцатый
40	сорок	сороковой
50	пятьдесят	пятидесятый
60	шестьдесят	шестидесятый
70	семьдесят	семидесятый
80	восемьдесят	восемидесятый
90	девяносто	девяностый
100	сто	сотый
101	сто один/одна/одно	сто первый
102	сто два/две	сто второй
103	сто три	сто третий
104	сто четыре	сто четвёртый
105	сто пять	сто пятый
110	сто десять	сто десятый

120	сто двадцать	сто двадцатый
200	двести	двухсотый
300	триста	трёхсотый
400	четыреста	четырёхсотый
500	пятьсот	пятисотый
600	шестьсот	шестисотый
700	семьсот	семисотый
800	восемьсот	восемисотый
900	девятьсот	девятисотый
1000	тысяча	тысячный
2000	две тысячи	двухтысячный
3000	три тысячи	трёхтысячный
10,000	десять тысяч	десятитысячный
100,000	сто тысяч	стотысячный
1,000,000	миллион	миллионный
1,000,000,000	миллиард	миллиардный

Cardinal numeral declensions:

	<b>m</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>f</b>	<b>pl</b>	<b>m/n</b>	<b>f</b>		
N	один	одно	одна	одни	два	две	три	четыре
A	N/G	одно	одну	N/G	N/G	N/G	N/G	N/G
G	одного		одной	одних	двух	трёх		четырёх
D	одному		одной	одним	двум	трём		четырёх
L	одном		одной	одних	двух	трёх		четырёх
I	одним		одной	одними	двумя	тремя		четырьмя
N	пять	восемь		двенадцать	двадцать	сорок		сто
A	пять	восемь		двенадцать	двадцать	сорок		сто
G	пяти	восьми		двенадцати	двадцати	сорока		ста
D	пяти	восьми		двенадцати	двадцати	сорока		ста
L	пяти	восьми		двенадцати	двадцати	сорока		ста
I	пятью	восьмью/ восемью		двенадцатью	двадцатью	сорока		ста
N	пятьдесят	восемьдесят			девяносто	тысяча		тысячи
A	пятьдесят	восемьдесят			девяносто	тысячу		тысячи
G	пятидесяти	восемьдесят			девяноста	тысячи		тысяч
D	пятидесяти	восемьдесят			девяноста	тысяче		тысячам
L	пятидесяти	восемьдесят			девяноста	тысяче		тысячах
I	пятьюдесятью	восьмьюдесятью			девяноста	тысячью/ тысячей		тысячами

N	двести	триста	четыреста	пятьсот	восемьсот
A	N/G	N/G	N/G	пятьсот	восемьсот
G	двухсот	трёхсот	четырёхсот	пятисот	восьмисот
D	двумстам	трёмстам	четырёхстам	пятистам	восьмистам
L	двухстах	трёхстах	четырёхстах	пятистах	восьмистах
I	двумястами	тремястами	четырьмястами	пятьюстами	восьмьюстами

### 2.10.1 Case usage with numerals

When a cardinal numeral is in the nominative form (including accusatives that are identical to nominatives), the following rules apply:

1 + nominative singular adjective and nominative singular noun

2, 3, 4 + genitive plural adjective and genitive singular noun (Note: If the referent of 2/3/4 is feminine, then the adjective may be nominative plural.)

5-20, 25-30, 35-40, etc. + genitive plural adjective and genitive plural noun

There are two distinct genitive plural forms for the word 'persons, people' and 'years.' In the first case, only the form *человека/человек* (gen.sg/gen.pl respectively) may be used after numerals (never *людей*) and some adverbs of quantity (*сколько, несколько*), while the use of the distinct forms of 'years' (*лет/годов*) is semantically determined:

Мы живём на улице Гороховой уже тридцать лет.  
'We've been living on Gorokhova Street for 30 years.'

Они уехали в Израиль в конце семидесятых годов.  
'They left for Israel at the end of the 1970's.'

If the numeral is in an oblique case, then the case following the numeral must match the case of the numeral itself:

с пятью моряками	'with five sailors'
о десяти рефератах	'concerning/about ten research papers'
между ста щенками	'in between a hundred puppies'

In CSR, there is a growing disparity in the way in which speakers decline or fail to decline numerals, especially in complex, compound numerical expressions. This tendency is recognized and noted in the 1960 Russian Academy Grammar (1960: 369). However, what remains most stable is the obligatory reflection of case in the final numeral of the phrase. An addition tension occurs in case choice in phrases with a large numerical value (hundred, thousand, million) between the genitive and the case of the phrase itself. Note the following examples with case forms given in the order of their frequency based on a survey of 100 educated urban speakers of CSR: [For more information on this point, see Andrews 1996b: 131-140.]

1. с миллионом друзей/кошек/долларов  
'with a million friends/cats/dollars' (all nouns following the numeral are genitive plural)

2. с тысячьо друзьями/друзей

'with a thousand friends' (instrumental form is preferred over genitive)

3. с тысячьо кошек/кошками

'with a thousand cats' (genitive form is preferred slightly over instrumental)

4. с тысячьо долларов

'with a thousand dollars' (genitive form is preferred almost to the exclusion of the instrumental)

5. со ста друзьями/кошками/долларами

'with a hundred friends/cats/dollars' (instrumental form is obligatory with animates and preferred with inanimates)

### 2.10.2 Collective numerals

Collective numerals refer to groups of something as one whole. When consulting literary works for examples, the Russian Academy Grammar notes that collective numeral forms may occur as high as 18 (1960: 379), although in speech the forms for 2-8 are the most common. All collective numerals used in non-oblique case forms require the genitive plural of the noun phrase that it modifies. All collective numerals are end-stressed in the oblique cases. The use of collective numerals is obligatory when modifying nouns that only exist in the plural (cf. двое часов - 'two watches'; двое детей - 'two children') and are optional when talking about male groups or animals (cf. трое братьев и пятеро щенков - 'three brothers and five puppies'). Collective numerals are never used to refer to exclusively female groups.

#### **оба/обе - 'both'**

In addition to the typical collective numerals with no gender distinctions, there are also 2 forms for 'both' (where one is masc/neuter and the other feminine). Notice that the forms for 'both' are also not end-stressed in oblique-case forms like all other collective numerals and require the genitive singular in the nominative/accusative cases.

'2'	'3'	'both' m,n / f	'4'	'5'	'7'
N двое	трое	оба/обе	четверо	пятеро	семеро
A N/G	N/G	N/G	N/G	N/G	N/G
G двоих	троих	обоих/обеих	четверых	пятерых	семерых
D двоим	троим	обоим/обеим	четверым	пятерым	семерым
L двоих	троих	обоих/обеих	четверых	пятерых	семерых
I двоими	троими	обоими/обеими	четверыми	пятерыми	семерыми

Обои is the commonly heard substandard form of 'both' in colloquial speech.

Other commonly used expressions of collectives include the following prepositional phrases that are now written as one word and some other collective numerical forms are given below. These examples are merely the tip of the iceberg:

вдвоём	'the two of us together'
втроём	'the three of us together'
вчетвером	'the four of us together'
впятером	'the five of us together'
вдвойне	'two times more'
втройне	'three times more'
пяток	'five of a kind' (usually eggs)
пятак	'five kopecks'
десяток яиц	'a box of ten eggs (metric for the U.S. "dozen")'
трёшка/трёха	'three rubles'
тройка	'three-horse carriage, three-piece suit, a grade of 'C''

### 2.10.3 Fractions and halves

The numeral 'one and a half' in CSR, like 'both' and 'two,' distinguish two genders in the nominative/accusative -- feminine vs. non-feminine (m/n) -- полтора/полторы. In all oblique cases, there is a single form -- полтора. [In some instances, one may still see and hear the older genitive form полторы when used with feminine nouns.] The nominative/accusative forms require that the following noun be in the genitive singular, while the oblique cases require plural agreement in the oblique case (cf. полтора часа - 'one and a half hours,' не меньше полтора суток - 'no less than one and a half 24-hour periods').

Fractions are expressed in a combination of cardinal and ordinal numeral types. Note the following examples:

одна десятая	'one tenth'
девять пятнадцатых	'nine fifteenths'
половина	'one half' (which declines like a regular 2nd decl.)
три пятых	'three fifths'

	<b>'two thirds'</b>	<b>'three fifths'</b>
N	две третьих	три пятых
A	две третьих	три пятых
G	двух третьих	трёх пятых
D	двум третьим	трём пятым
L	двух третьих	трёх пятых
I	двумя третьими	тремя пятыми

Distribution of quantities is used with the preposition по followed by the dative case with 'one' and по followed by the accusative (which looks nominative) case with quantities larger than one:

Каждый получил по одному карандашу.	'Everyone got one pencil.'
по нескольку месяцев	'for several months at a time'
по шесть человек в ряд	'six people to a row'

## 2.11 Time expressions

Expressing time in CSR is best presented as a progression from smaller to larger time units. When seen from this perspective, there is a clear correlation between units of time up to a week, where the accusative case is required, and from a week to larger units (months, years, centuries) where the locative case is required. When actual dates are involved, there is the addition of certain genitive constructions, including the obligatory use of the genitive case in dates that include the day, month and year. The seasons of the year and times of the day generally require the instrumental case. When telling time, there are two conventions: (1) schedule time using the 24-hour clock used in media, airports, train stations, etc. and (2) normal time telling used by speakers in everyday life. (Both conventions will be listed under 1 A and B in the order given above.) Note the following examples:

### 1. Секунда, минута, час - 'Seconds, Minutes, Hours'

A. Сколько времени? (Который час?)	'What time is it?'
Nominative case of numeral:	
5:00	пять часов ( <b>CSR uses 5.00 with a period, not a semi-colon</b> )
6:20	шесть двадцать/двадцать минут седьмого
9:30	девять тридцать/ полдесятого/половина десятого
4:45	четыре сорок пять/ без четверти пять/ без пятнадцати пять

B. Во сколько? (В котором часу?)	'At what time?'
В + accusative case:	
2:00	в два часа
4:15	в четыре пятнадцать/в четверть пятого/в пятнадцать пятого
10:30	в десять тридцать/в пол-одиннадцатого/в половине одиннадцатого
1:50	в час пятьдесят/без десяти два

### 2. День и число - 'Days and Dates'

[Note that CSR does not capitalize months or days.]

A. Какой сегодня день? (nom.)	'What day is it?'
Сегодня среда.	'Today's Wednesday.'
B. В какой день? (В + асс.)	'On what day?'
Во вторник.	'On Tuesday.'
C. Какое сегодня число? (nom. neuter)	'What is the date?'
Сегодня девятое.	'The 9th.'
D. Какого числа? (gen.)	'On what date?'
Третьего.	'On the 3rd.'

### 3. Неделя - 'Weeks'

[The most commonly missed time expression by English-speaking L2 learners of CSR.]

НА + locative	
На какой неделе?	'In/during what week?'
на этой неделе	'this week'

на прошлой/той неделе	'last week'
на следующей/будущей неделе	'next week'

#### 4. Месяц - 'Months'

[The months from September to February are end-stressed, March to August are stem-stressed.]

В + locative	
В каком месяце?	'In which month?'
В феврале	'In February'
В ноябре	'In November'
В апреле	'In April'

#### 5. Год - 'Years'

В + locative	
В каком году?	'In which year?'
В (тысяча девятьсот) девяностом году	'In 1990'
В две тысячи первом году	'In 2001'
В две тысячи седьмом году	'In 2007'

#### 6. Day, month, year combined (genitive)

Когда Евгений Иванович родился? - Он родился двадцатого января (или первого февраля по старому стилю) тысяча восемьсот восемьдесят четвёртого года.

'When was Evgenij Ivanovich born? - He was born on January 20th (or February 1st in the old style), 1884.'

#### 7. Seasons and times of the day (instrumental)

осенью, летом, весной, зимой	'in the fall, summer, spring, winter'
утром, днём, вечером, ночью	'in the morning, during the day, in the evening, at night'

BUT:

на заре, на закате, на рассвете	'at dawn/dusk, at dusk, at dawn' (НА + locative)
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Also note that Russian is very specific about the difference between 'evening' and 'night,' where 'night' is after midnight until dawn:

Сегодня ночью мне приснился странный сон.

'I had an strange dream last night.'

The dative plural is also possible for times of day or days of the week:

по вечерам	'in the evenings'
по утрам	'in the mornings'
по ночам	'late at night'
по средам	'on Wednesdays' (Note the stress variation in this form.)
по понедельникам	'on Mondays'

Other time expressions using different prepositions (or no preposition) with the accusative case:

Сколько раз в день?	'How many times a day?'
Пять раз в месяц.	'Five times a month.'
Раз в год(у).	'Once a year' (Here, the locative is used in colloquial CSR.)

Мы едем в Питер на неделю.	'We are going to St. Petersburg for a week.'
Мы едем в Питер через неделю.	'We are going to St. Petersburg in a week.'
Мы едем в Питер уже неделю.	'We've been on the road to St. Petersburg a week already.'
Женя написал письмо за полчаса.	'Zhenya finished writing the letter in 30 minutes.'
Лиза ответила нам в две секунды.	'Liza answered us in two seconds.'

### Time spans: 'from ... until'

от Пушкина до Булгакова	'from Pushkin to Bulgakov'
с девяти до пяти	'from nine to five'
с пятого по десятое сентября	'from September 5th through the 10th'

## 2.12 Nondeclinables: Adverbs and prepositions

Adverbs are formed very simply from adjectival stems by merely dropping the desinence and adding -о/а:

красивый/красиво	'pretty'
простой/просто	'simple'
трудный/трудно	'difficult'

In some instances, adverbs may have forms with hard- and soft-stems:

искренний/искренно, искренне	'sincerely'
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It is common practice in the Russian Academy Grammar (1960: 611-626) to consider a broad range of forms in the adverbial class. Some of these forms are declined nouns, adjectives, pronouns and numerals, others are combined with prepositions, or formed from verbs or verbal adverbs. Note the following examples:

пулей	'like a bullet'
налево	'to the left'
певуче	'song-like'
вшестером	'all six together'
лёжа	'while lying down'
молча	'silently'
шутя	'jokingly'
по-твоему	'in your opinion, according to you, the way you do things'
по-свински	'like a pig, rudely'
вслух	'out loud'
наяву	'in the flesh'
где	'where'
всегда	'always'
навсегда	'forever'
всюду	'everywhere'
наотрез	'abruptly'



напрямую	'directly'
впритык	'really tight, no spare time'
чуть-чуть	'a little bit, just a bit'
еле-еле	'barely'
назло	'on purpose, intentionally' (negative meaning)
сгоряча	'like a hothead, without thinking through'
втихаря	'quietly on the side'

#### Adverbs of quantity

много	'many, much'
мало, немного, немножко	'few, a little, not many, not much'
сколько	'how many, how much'
несколько	'several'
нисколько	'not any'
столько	'so many, so much'

У меня мало работы.	'I have very little work/I haven't got enough work.'
У меня немного работы.	'I have a bit of work/ just a little.'

У тебя много работы?	'Do you have lots of work?'
Нет, немножко.	'No, not at all.'
Нет, немного.	'No, not much.'

Here, the second answer is neutral, while the first one is more evaluative and characterizes the amount of work as much less.

Adverbs of quantity require the genitive case (usually plural, but the singular is also used with certain lexemes that are reluctant to pluralize).

The adverb ещё '-still, yet' also acts as an adverb of quantity in some contexts. Consider the following examples:

Хотите ещё вина?	'Would you like some more wine?'
Дай мне ещё чаю/чая.	'Give me some more tea.'
Дай нам ещё десять минут поиграть.	'Give use another 10 minutes to play.'

Adverbs of quantity and verbal agreement: The singular is generally used (which means neuter past tense and 3rd person singular for present and future), but the plural may be possible in some instances where a greater emphasis is on the individuality of the members of the group.

Десять человек мне звонили сегодня вечером.	'Ten people called me this evening.'
Много детей плавало в бассейне.	'Lots of kids were swimming in the pool.'

Remember: The genitive plural of 'people' after cardinal numerals and the adverbs of quantity сколько and несколько is человек.

## Prepositions

Prepositions in CSR are nondeclinable forms, but certain ones do modify (with the addition of the /o/ vowel) when combined with lexemes beginning in consonant clusters. Some prepositions are restricted and used with only one case, while others may be used with multiple cases to express different meanings. The largest group of prepositions taking multiple cases is determined by static/locational (locative case) vs. motion (accusative case) expressions. Prepositions play a major role in verbal government. [For more information on prepositions in verbal government, see the sections on the individual cases and the section on verbal government.]

Below is a list of commonly used prepositions divided into three types: (1) prepositions that are also preverbs; (2) prepositions that are not preverbs; (3) preverbs that are not prepositions, and (4) examples of compound prepositional phrases.

1			2		
Prep	meanings	cases	Prep	meanings	cases
в(о)	'in, into, at'	L/A	к	'towards'	D
на	'on, onto, at'	L/A	между	'between'	I/G
за	'behind, after, at, for'	I/A/ (N) <sup>13</sup>	перед	'in front of,' 'right before'	I
по	'along, at the moment of, upon' [in distribution - '10 each']	D/L/A	для	'for' (the sake of)	G
под(о)	'under'	I/A	мимо	'pass' (by)	G
о/об(о)	'about, around, against'	L/A	через/чрез	'across, in' [time]	A
у	'at, near, having'	G	сквозь	'through'	A
с(о)	'together with, down from' [in comparing equals]	I/G/A	около	'around, near'	G
от(о)	'from'	G	вдоль	'along, about'	G
из(о)	'from'	G	возле	'along side'	G
до	'up to, until, to a point'	G	благодаря	'thanks to'	D
при	'affiliated with, in the presence of, during'	L	вопреки	'in spite of'	D
над(о)	'above, over'	I	согласно	'according to'	D
про	'about, concerning'	A			
<b>3</b>					
<b>Preverb</b>	<b>meanings</b>				
пере/пре-	're-, across'				
раз-	'in multiple directions, all over'				
вз/воз/вс/вос-	'upward'				
вы-	'out'				

<sup>13</sup> All prepositions require some case other than the nominative, but there is one usage of the preposition за that requires a nominative form (singular or plural) of the noun phrase (cf. Что это за глупость/глупости? - 'What kind of nonsense is this?' Что это за идиот? - 'What's up with this idiot?').

## 4

Prep	meanings	cases
рядом с	'next (door) to'	I
из-за	'because of (smthg bad), from behind'	G
в соответствии с	'in correspondence/conjunction with'	I

### 2.13 Derivational Morphology

Russian derivation occurs primarily by means of prefixation and suffixation. Compound prefixes and suffixes are allowed in CSR. In word-formation, consonants and vowels may shift, mutate or drop. The following section will list all of the Slavic prefixes and suffixes and many of the borrowed prefixes and suffixes. The root serves as the base and center of derivation and may or may not occur without its word-formative components. Many prefixes and suffixes can be shared by more than one part of speech while others cannot. In some instances a root may be identified as predominantly substantive (nominal), adjectival, or verbal. The following sections will give an overview of word formation in CSR with examples of prefixation and suffixation in nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs. (For more information on the specifics of Russian derivational morphology, cf. Vinogradov (1960), Townsend (1977) and Andrews (1994).)

#### 2.13.1 Prefixes for nouns, adjectives and verbs (native Slavic) with examples

Prefix	Noun	Adjective/Adverb	Verb
в(о) 'in(to)'	въезд 'entrance' (by vehicle)	впервые 'for the first time'	вкладывать 'deposit, invest'
на 'on(to)'	налог 'tax'	нарядный 'dressed up'	нашить 'sew on, sew a lot of'
за 'follow, begin'	закат 'sunset'	закусочная 'snack shop'	загулять 'lose one's way, go wild and be irresponsible'
по 'set off, for a while'	побережье 'shoreline'	повсюду 'all over'	поплавать 'swim a little'
под(о)'under, sub-'	подмышки 'underarms'	подземный 'underground'	подкупить 'buy with a bribe'

о/об(о) 'around, circumscribe'	объедки 'left-overs, scraps'	ограниченный 'limited'	осудить 'condemn, judge' обсудить 'discuss'
у 'leaving, moving away'	улёт (coll.) 'wow!'	ухоженный 'well-groomed'	угнать 'hijack, carjack'
с(о) 'together, down from, co-'	сокурсник 'college classmate'	смежный 'mixed'	созвониться 'call each other'
от(о) 'away from'	отгул 'time off work'	отдельно 'separately'	отличиться 'distinguish oneself'
из(о) ис(о)	излишки 'excesses'	искусный 'tasteful, well-conceived'	избить 'beat up badly'
до 'up to, until, to a point'	добавка 'second helping'	договорный 'contractual'	довести 'lead to, make angry'
при 'arrive, add on'	приправа 'spice, sauce'	приличный 'appropriate'	притворяться 'pretend'
над(о) 'above, over'	надпись 'sign'	надкусанный 'showing teeth-marks'	надрезать 'make a cut on top'
про 'through' (time or space)	промах 'a miss'	прохладный 'cool'	продумать 'think through'
пере/пре- 're-, across, перекур over'	перекур 'a smoke break' предел 'boundary, edge'	переходный 'crossing' прекрасный 'wonderful'	передать 'pass on' предать 'betray'
пред 'pre-'	предложение 'proposition, sentence'	предвыборный 'pre-election'	предупредить '(fore)warn'
раз- 'in multiple directions, un-' рас-	разряд 'spark, discharge'	разумный 'intelligent, logical'	рассмотреть 'analyze, consider'

вз/воз/вс/вос- 'upward'	взгляд 'view, glance, look'	вздорный 'foolish'	взлететь 'take off'
вы- 'out of'	выстрел 'a (gun) shot'	выходной 'day off'	выписать 'write out, discharge'
(о)без- 'take off, remove'	безобразие 'disorder, ugliness'	обездоленный 'unfortunate'	обезглавить 'behead'
не- 'not'	неправда 'untruth'	невесёлый 'unhappy'	нездоровиться 'to be not well'
пра- 'great, original'	прадед 'great grandfather'	праведный 'pure, without sin'	
па- 'step'	пасынок 'stepson'		
пол(у)- 'half'	полубог 'half God'	полуголый 'half naked'	полусидеть 'half sit, sit up in bed'

### 2.13.2 Prefixes for nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs (borrowings)

The general frequency of most of these forms is not very robust beyond specialized, technical vocabulary.

<b>Prefix</b>	<b>Noun</b>	<b>Adjective/Adverb</b>	<b>Verb</b>
анти- 'anti-'	антихрист 'Antichrist'	антифашистский 'antifascist'	
авто- 'auto-'	авторучка 'ball-point pen'	автомобильный 'automotive'	автоматизировать 'automate'
экс- 'ex'	экс-муж 'ex-husband'		
псевдо- 'pseudo'	псевдоискусство 'pseudo-art'	псевдонаучный 'pseudo-scientific'	
контр- 'contra'	контрагент 'contra-agent'	контрреволюционный 'contrarevolutionary'	
супер- 'super'	суперобложка 'book cover'	супермодный 'super-fashionable'	

микро-'micro'	микроклимат 'microclimate'	микроскопичный 'microscopic'
макро-'macro'	макроструктура 'macrostructure'	макроаналитический 'macroanalytical'
ультра-'ultra'	УЗИ - ультразвук 'ultrasound'	ультрафиолетовый 'ultraviolet'
гипер-'hyper'	гипертоник 'hypertonic'	гипертрофированный 'hypertrophic'
квази- 'quasi'	квазиморфема 'quasi-morpheme'	квазилинейный 'quasi-linear'

### 2.13.3 Suffixation in Russian Nouns and Adjectives

The richness of Russian word formation has produced volumes of scholarship that attempts to describe and explain the formal and semantic aspects of this phenomenon. In the following sections, I will briefly summarize in tabular form the nominal and adjectival suffixes in CSR. Derivation in the verb will be treated in a separate section. Consonant alternations are an important part of derivation in CSR. For examples, see section 1.5.2 and examples in the following sections of specific suffixes.

#### 2.13.3.1 Agentive suffixes in the noun

Some of the suffixes given below may also be non-agentive. Where relevant, those examples will be noted in the far right column. Only suffixes that occur in more than 4 lexemes are included. If other agreement genders are possible above and beyond the obvious declensional ones, they will be marked individually (cf. м - masculine, ж - feminine, ср - neuter, м/ж - masc. and fem.). If common gender is the most prevalent form of the class, it will be listed first (cf. suffix -ag-a). For a detailed discussion of the status of individual suffixes as distinct or allomorphs, see Andrews 1996a: 36-123. Compound suffixes are given at the end of the list.

<b>Suffix</b>	<b>Agentive Noun</b>	<b>Non-agentive Noun</b>
-к-а	красотка 'a beauty'	двойка "D" grade, TV with built-in VCR, number of bus/trolley мойка 'washing, car wash, washing machine'
-/о/к	сынoк 'son'	носок 'sock, toe-tip, nose of tool'

—

-ок	игрок 'player'	челнок 'wooden boat' (in CSCR, refers to persons involved in resale of products bought abroad in Russia)
-ик	братик 'brother'	домик 'house'
-ак	чудак 'weirdo'	сорняк 'weed'
-ак-а	коммуняка 'Commie'	железяка 'metal piece, smthg made of metal'
-ник	карманник 'pick-pocket'	разговорник 'conversation book'
-чик	счастливчик 'lucky person'	карманчик 'pocket'
-щик	изменщик 'traitor'	тральщик <sup>14</sup> 'trawler, mine-sweeper'
-х-а	пряха 'weaver ' неумёха (м/ж) 'someone who can't do anything right'	
-ах-а	деваха 'girl' Ваняха (м) 'Vanya' (name) растеряха (м/ж) 'someone who is always losing things'	
-их-а	пловчиха 'female swimmer'	неразбериха 'disorder, misunderstanding'

<sup>14</sup> In Zaliznjak's 1977 grammatical dictionary of Russian, a total of 7 forms are inanimate with the suffix. -щик. Of those 7, 3 are both animate and inanimate. The remaining 4 are very restricted technical terms (e.g. бомбардировщик, пикировщик - both refer to airplanes ['bomber', 'dive-bomber']).

-ох-а	дурёха 'fool' Игорёха (м) 'Igor' (name) выпивоха (м/ж) 'heavy drinker'	суматоха 'turmoil, panic'
-ух-а	сеструха 'sister' грязнуха (м/ж) 'dirty, unkempt person'	желтуха 'jaundice'
-аг-а	бедняга (м/ж) 'poor thing' парняга (м) 'fellow' дворняга (ж) 'mixed-breed or stray dog'	общага (ж) 'dormitory'
-уг-а	хапуга (м/ж) 'greedy person' парнюга (м) 'fellow' севрюга (ж) 'salmon'	дерюга (ж) 'sackcloth'
-ьг-а	сквальга (м/ж) 'stingy person'	бульга (ж) 'stone' (arc.)
-/е/ц	американец 'american man'	венец 'crown, metal beam'
-иц-а	волчица 'female wolf'	вещица 'thing'
-ниц-а	дачница 'women living at her dacha'	больница 'hospital'
-ищ-а	бабища 'old woman'	вонища 'horrible stench'



-ище	детище 'pet project' басище (м) 'male bass singer'	винище 'wine' голосище (м) 'voice' пожарище (м/ср) 'fire'
-лице	страшилище (м/ср) 'someone scary, ugly'	училище 'institute, special school (military, music, etc.)'
-бище		кладбище 'cemetery'
-овище		кнутовище 'handle of a whip'
-ин-а	гадина 'despicable person' человечина (м/ж) 'huge person'	горошина 'a pea' человечина (ж) 'human flesh/meat'
-щина		годовщина 'anniversary'
-ин	болгарин 'Bulgarian man'	
-ун	врун 'liar'	валун 'large, round stone' (often near water, on the shore)
-тель	читатель 'reader'	двигатель 'engine, motor'
-ар	ветеринар 'veterinarian'	стационар 'hospital'
-арь	глухарь 'deaf person'	словарь 'dictionary'
-ор	ухажёр 'beau, boyfriend'	прожектор 'search light'

-ач	лихач 'someone who drives fast and reckless'	тягач 'tow truck'
-ич	москвич 'Moscovite' Александрович 'Aleksandrovich' (male patronymic)	
-ш-а	кассирша 'female cashier' левша (м/ж) 'left-handed person' папаша (м) 'pop'	
-уш-а	вруша (м/ж) 'liar' Андрюша (м) 'Andrej' Катюша (ж) 'Kate'	
-н-я	родня 'relatives' Соня/соня 'Sofia (name)/sleepy-head'	возня 'fussing around, noise, racket, bother'
-ын-я	барыня 'baroness'	
-ышн-я	барышня 'young lady, miss, baron's daughter'	
-уш/к-а	девушка 'girl'	верхушка 'top (of mtn), head (of gov't)'
-уш/к-о	чадушко (arg.) 'my little child'	полюшко 'field'
-ыш/к-о	солнышко 'my sunshine' (said of persons)	пятнышко 'spot, stain'

-оч/о/к	сыночек 'son'	разочек 'one time, once'
-оч/к-а	Катюшечка 'Kate' (name)	подушечка 'pillow'
-ур/к-а	дочурка 'daughter'	печурка 'small stove'
-ень/к-а	маменька 'mommie' папенька (м) 'daddy'	
-ал	театрал 'theatre lover'	централ 'main city prison in Tsarist Russia'
-л-а	здоровила (м/ж) 'big and healthy person' заводила (м/ж) 'leader, one who takes the initiative'	
-л-о	светило 'famous person, heavenly body' (inan.)	пекло 'heat wave'

### 2.13.3.2 Non-agentive suffixes in the noun

[For more information on these types of non-agentive suffixes, see Townsend (1975: 152-200) and Vinogradov (1960: 235-263).]

In terms of deverbalized nouns, the primary suffix types that participate are 3: zero suffixes, -ь-е/-и-е and -к-а. The suffixes -ость, -от-а, and изн-а are most commonly associated with adjectival base forms.

Suffix	Non-agentive noun	
Zero suffix	рассказ (m 1st decl)	'story'
	еда (f 2nd decl)	'food'
	связь (f 3rd decl)	'connection'

-ь-е/-и-е	открытие повторение/повторенье враньё	'opening (ceremony)' 'repetition' 'lying'
-ств-о	озорство представительство	'mischief' 'office representing a business or political organization'; 'representation, representative'
-ость	открытость солидарность	'openness' 'solidarity'
-изм	коммунизм марксизм	'communism' 'Marxism'
-ащи-я	демократизация	'democratization'
-от-а	красота/лепота высота	'beauty' 'height'
-изн-а	новизна	'novelty, smthg new'
-он (coll.)	музон блузон	'cool music' 'stylish blouse'
-аж	шпионаж персонаж	'espionage' 'character, personage'
-ель	метель	'snow storm'
-е/нь	ливень	'heavy rain, down pour'
-ыш	розыгрыш	'contest' (to win smthg)
-ик + /о/к	дождичек	'rain'

#### 2.13.4 Adjectival suffixes (qualitative and relational)

[For a discussion of possessive adjectives and the suffixes -ov and -in, see the section on possessive adjectives in the previous chapter.]

For more examples of variations of the basic suffixes given below, see Townsend (1975: 216-222) where he gives a detailed set of examples with “enlarged suffixes” in -n- and -sk- (e.g. -/н-, -енн-, -онн-, -овн-, -ичн-, очн-, ебн-, ецн-, -льн-, -тельн-, -ск-, -ическ-, овск-, инск-, -енск-, ийск-, ейск- ).

<b>Suffix</b>	<b>Adjective</b>	
-ск-	питерский	'smthg associated with St. Petersburg'
-н-	книжный	'book'
-ов-	звуковой медовый	'sound' 'honey'
-ист-	пористый	'porous'
-енн-/-онн-	прижизненный организационный	'during one's lifetime' 'organizational'
-нь-	вечерний осенний	'evening' 'autumn'
-шнь-	здешний	'local'
-лив-	говорливый расчётливый	'talkative' 'calculating'
-чив-	находчивый застенчивый	'resourceful, clever' 'shy'
-ат-	бородатый	'bearded'
-оват-	глуховатый	'pretty deaf'
-ав-	кровавый слащавый	'bloody' 'sweet, saccharin'
-аст-	горластый	'loud voiced'
-ив-	красивый ленивый	'beautiful, handsome' 'lazy'

## 2.13.5 Augmentatives, diminutives and gender shifts in the Russian noun

### 2.13.5.1 Augmentatives and gender shifts in CSR: A Semantic Excursus

There are two productive suffixes that yield a meaning of enlargement in nominal derivation in CSR, namely -ищ-а/е and -ин-а. The -ищ-е suffix, although productive in general, is not productive in terms of potential gender shifts from the substantival base form to the augmented form. Considering all 180 -ищ-е forms given in Zaliznjak's 1977 grammatical dictionary of Russian, 122 are neuter, 58 are masculine (14 of these are animate) and only 7 forms have gender doublets (where one is feminine).

In addition to the meaning of enlargement, forms in -ищ-е may carry negative connotations, indicate locations and large groups of people or gods. When -ищ- is added to an animal name, the gender of the base noun determines whether the ending is -е (masculine) or -а (feminine) (cf. медведище - 'bear', собачища - 'dog').

The doublets that occur in this suffix class are either masculine or neuter. Note the following examples:

	masculine	neuter
городище	'large city'	'archeological site, remains of city'
дворище	'large (court)yard'	'site of former court' (esp. Jaroslavo)
пожарище	'large fire'	'place where fire occurred'
кострище	'large campfire'	'place where campfire had been'
судище	'big court (building)'	'court as abstract concept' (arch.)
топорище	'large axe'	'axe arm/handle'

The one form in -ищ-е that is both masculine and feminine is уродище ('freak, ugly person'). Feminine agreement is allowed with this form in the nominative case only. In other case forms, the feminine form must be уродина.

Three generalizations are worth stating at this point: (1) there is never a shift in gender from base noun to augmented form in the meaning of 'large;' (2) a change in gender is accompanied by a change in meaning; (3) no form in -ищ-е becomes animate if the base noun is not already marked for animacy.

Another complication encountered with -ищ-е occurs in case forms other than the nominative. Specifically, masculine animates in -ищ-е form an unexpected paradigm, especially in the accusative case. Number one below is the preferred form while number 2 is also acceptable. [Zaliznjak (1977: 74) acknowledges the use of the -u desinence in this instance, but fails to give the -е form as a possible alternative.]

- (1) Я видел такого медведищу    от (2) Я видел такого медведище.  
'I saw such a huge bear!'

In attempting to state a general meaning of the -ищ-а/е suffix, I prefer to speak of a **spatially extended range of reference** of the signified that is complementary to the

sense of 'large' (человечище - 'huge person') or 'something stronger' (голосище - 'loud voice') in specific speaker interpretations.

Another feature of the -ищ-е suffix that needs to be accounted for is the behavior of neuter nouns like уродище, чудовище, страшилище ('ugly person, monster, freak') in the accusative plural where they are all treated as animate (using the genitive plural desinence).

Я видел таких уродищ/чудовищ/страшилищ!  
'I saw such ugly people/monsters/freaks!'

As I have discussed elsewhere (1996a: 134-6), one may explain this so-called exception by acknowledging the way in which -ищ-е behaves semantically as a **quantifier**, much like numerals act as quantifiers. This feature of the semantic field of -ищ-е is most clearly seen in its usage in the plural. [Compare with the gradation of case usage after oblique case numerals in section 2.10.1.]

The -ин -а suffix, while also productive, is more restrictive in combining with verbal and participial stems. Although there are quite a few gender doublets in -ин-а, predominantly animate nouns, they are nonproductive as well. The semantic field of -ин-а is somewhat different from -ищ-а/е in that enlargement and intensification are not the only meanings available. In addition, we find numerous examples that give a meaning of "individuation" of the referent. Consider the following examples:

доми́на	'large house'
человечи́на	'large person, human flesh'
буси́на	'one bead'
гради́на	'one piece of hail'
моркови́на	'one carrot'

Examples of some of the more common gender doublets include the following:

пси́на	'large dog (m/f); dog flesh (f)'
ду́бина	'stupid person (m/f); night stick (f)'
скоти́на	'scum (m/f); cattle (m)'

If enlargement is the central meaning of the two suffixes presented above, then how can we characterize the differences between these suffixes? A new definition is especially necessary for the -ин -а suffix, which, in fact, may have nothing to do with a meaning of enlargement or intensification (cf. examples above). I would suggest that in contradistinction to the -ищ-е suffix, the -ин-а suffix produces a referent that is both **maximally visible**, as well as a **clearly-bounded subset** of the referential space available. In other words, while the suffix -ищ-е gives enlargement/intensification through **increasing quantification of an expanded space**, the suffix -ин-а gives enlargement/intensification through **individuation** (or *restricted quantification*) **of a bounded space**.

The so-called augmentative suffixes discussed above are a revealing test ground for demonstrating very vividly that the rules of declension and gender agreement play a significant role in the determination of meaning -- one more confirmation of the important dynamic interactions between categories of grammatical and lexical meaning in Russian derivation.

#### 2.13.5.2 Diminutives in CSR

There are numerous thorough accounts of nominal and adjectival diminutives in CSR (including Vinogradov et. al (1960: 264-270) and Townsend (1975: 196-99, 237). In the following comments, I will briefly review in tabular form those suffixes that can have a diminutive or endearing (Russian уменьшительный/ласкательный) meaning. In some cases, these two characterizations overlap, while in others they are quite separate.

However, in order to properly contextualize these examples, a few remarks are in order.

(1) It is hardly ever the case that a particular nominal suffix is always diminutizing in meaning. Some suffixes are more likely to have a diminutizing meaning, certain compound suffixes are almost always diminutizing, while other suffixes that have traditionally been considered diminutizing are hardly ever so.

(2) The only truly diminutizing suffix in the Russian adjective is with some form of -еньк- (cf. хорошенький - 'cute, adorable'; малюсенький - 'tiny'; красивенький - 'beautiful, adorable'; беленький шарф - 'little white scarf'; слатенький/сладенький - 'sweetie'). Note however that even in these examples, a non-diminutive meaning is possible given the appropriate context and intonation:

Хорошенькое дело!                    'What a mess!' (when something bad has happened)

(3) One of the most interesting aspects of diminutive forms is how contemporary speakers actually perceive and actively use these forms. Based on a series of studies that I have conducted in St. Petersburg, Russia with over 1000 informants during the past 10 year period, I will include those suffixes that speakers have selected and/or produced independently as characteristic of their speech, as well as state a set of conclusions that were derived from the data collected. [For more specifics of one of these studies, see Andrews 1996a: 138-147.]

##### 2.13.5.2.1 General principles

1. Adult speakers use complex morphological substantival forms when speaking to small children.

2. Women are more likely to admit to using diminutive forms more than men, but that actual diminutive usage is not clearly determined by speaker gender.

3. The lexical basis for diminutives is highly variable for specific age groups (where age is more salient statistically than speaker/hearer gender).

4. Perception of usage and actual usage are distinct categories that exhibit varying degrees of intersection and overlap depending on a range of sociolinguistic variables (especially age, education, gender, speaker/hearer relationship, and if there are any children and/or grandchildren in the immediate family).

5. The use of proper names with suffixes exhibited a large degree of variation.



6. The most popular “diminutizing” suffixes (based on my 1994 survey) were:

- к-а
- ик
- /о/к
- ён/о/к
- оч/к-а

7. Other commonly produced diminutive forms included the following suffixes:

- он/к-а
- оч/е/к
- уш/к-а
- ьш/к-о
- ул-я
- ун-я
- ут-а
- ён-а
- /е/ц
- ц-о
- к-о

#### 2.13.5.2.2 Examples of diminutive lexical items with specific suffixes

The morphology of suffixes that are associated with diminutive usage do not demonstrate gender shifts as seen with the augmentative suffixes discussed above. Note that while the forms below may be used as diminutives, this does not mean that the individual suffix itself is primarily a diminutizing one. For example, городок ('city, little city') may refer to a huge city (like St. Petersburg in the well-known television series with that name). The English gloss will not add 'little' to every entry, especially since not all of these words can be used with 'little' in English.

<b>Suffix</b>	<b>Noun</b>	<b>English gloss</b>
-/о/к	городок	'city'
-к-а	зайка	'bunny, honey'
-ик	братик	'brother' (not necessarily younger)
-чик	диванчик	'sofa'
-к-о	молочко	'milk'
-ц-а	дверца	'door'
-ц-о	зеркальце	'mirror, compact'
	винцо	'wine'
-/е/ц	морозец	'freezing weather'
-иц-а	сестрица	'sister'
-иц-е	платъице	'dress'
-ин/к-а	пылинка	'tiny bit of dust'
-ич/к-а	сестричка	'sister'
-уш/к-а	избушка	'hut, cabin'
-уш/к-о	полюшко	'field'
-оч/к-а	кошечка	'kitty'
-ьш/к-о	солнышко	'my sunshine'

-иш/к-о	письмишко	'letter'
-иш/к-а	зайчишка	'bunny, honey'
-онь/к-а	девонька	'girl'
-он/к-а	сестрёнка	'sister'
-ул-я	сынуля	'son'
-ун-я	Ируня	'Irina'
-он/о/к	поросёнок	'piglet'
-ута	Анюта	'Annie'
-ён-а	сластёна	'sweetie'
-ш/к-о	окошко	'tiny window'

## 2.14 Verbs

The following categories are represented in the Russian verb:

Aspect	(perfective, imperfective, biaspectual)
Tense	(past, non-past)
Mood	(conditional, indicative, imperative) <sup>15</sup>
Person	(1st, 2nd, 3rd)
Voice	(passive, active)
Gender	(feminine, masculine, neuter)
Number	(plural, singular)

Jakobson (1957/1984: 51) also lists the evidential occurring in CSR via the use of the particles мол, де, дескать ('he/she says/said').

In addition to these categories, some Russian verbs (especially verbs of motion) distinguish two forms of the imperfective -- determinate and indeterminate (Russian определённая/неопределённая форма). [This distinction is also referred to as unidirectional/multidirectional, but I will only use determinate/indeterminate in the body of this work given its greater accuracy in representing the actual semantics of the category.]

Before moving forward, it is important to note that Roman O. Jakobson produced a series of the most profound articles even written on the contemporary Russian verb system. The following presentation, as is true of a large number of works on the Russian verbs, is based most significantly on Jakobson's contributions, especially Jakobson 1948, 1956, 1966.

### 2.14.1 'Have' and 'be' languages

The verb 'be' (быть) does not occur in the present tense in CSR. The old forms есть/суть do occur in CSR but with a different meaning, where есть is used only in statements or questions of 'existence' and суть is used as a noun meaning 'essence'. The verb 'to have' (иметь) exists in CSR, but in many cases the prepositional construction y with the genitive case is preferred. Note the following examples:

Я студент. 'I am a student.'

<sup>15</sup> [Jakobson (1957/1984: 50) lists the hortative and imperative as injunctives]

У тебя есть катер? - Да, есть.	‘Do you have a boat?’ - ‘Yes, I do.’
Не в этом суть.	‘That’s not the point.’
У меня нет денег. - А у меня есть.	‘I don’t have any money.’ - ‘But I do.’
Я имею в виду новый стиль.	‘I have in mind a new style.’

### 2.14.2 Verbal desinences in CSR

The following table will outline in morphophonemic transcription the basic endings for all of the forms of the Russian verb.

Infinitive:	-t', -t'i, -č'
Past/preterit:	-l, -la, -lo, -l'i
Non-preterit:	
[Note that the indicative conjugation of imperfective verbs yields a present tense and the indicative conjugation of perfective verbs yields a future tense.]	
1st conjugation:	-u, 'oš, 'ot, 'om, 'ot'e, -ut
2nd conjugation:	-u, 'iš, 'it, 'im, 'it'e, -at
Imperative:	-Ø(t'e), -i(t'e)
Verbal adverbs:	'a, -v, -vši 'as', -všis' (with reflexive verbs)

### Participles<sup>16</sup>:

active preterit:	-vš-ij, -šij
active present:	-šč-ij
passive preterit (ppp):	-t-ij, -nn-ij, '-onn-ij
passive present:	'om-ij, 'im-ij

### Particles associated with verbs:

reflexive:	-s'a	(bounded)
conditional:	-bi	(unbounded)
hortative:	-ka	(bounded with a dash)

### 2.14.3 Verb negation in CSR

In order to negate any verb in Russian, simply insert the negative word-form не 'not' before the verb. If the sentence has more than one verb, then each verb must be negated. A single verb may only be negated once. The negative prefix ни is not sufficient by itself to give negation of a verb and will always require the presence of the form не (except when it is used in a non-negative sense):

<sup>16</sup> Only transitive verbs may form passive participles. Over 99% of all ppp's are perfective. All present participles (active and passive) are only imperfective. All verbs with the particle -s'a are by definition intransitive.



<b>Infinitive:</b>	<b>читать (НСВ)</b> 'read'	<b>прочитать (СВ)</b> 'read'
<b>Present tense:</b>	читаю читаешь читает читаем читаете читают	
<b>Past tense:</b>	читал читала читало читали	прочитал прочитала прочитало прочитали
<b>Future tense:</b>	буду читать будешь читать будет читать будем читать будете читать будут читать	прочитаю прочитаешь прочитает прочитаем прочитаете прочитают

The majority of scholars who study aspect argue that the perfective is the marked form of the oppositions. What this means is that the meanings generated by perfective aspectual usage have more semantic density than the imperfectives. This does not mean that the imperfective has no meaning; rather, the imperfective has more room for negotiating meanings. I am fundamentally opposed to characterizing the meaning of Russian aspect with a list of rules. However, I will provide some general guidelines that have proven to be useful for L2 learners of Russian.

### **General remarks on aspectual usage in CSR:**

1. Aside from the restrictions of the present tense, it is the speaker that almost totally controls the choice of aspect. In the end, it all depends upon what the speaker wants to convey, his or her viewpoint. Having said this, remember that speakers are part of cultural and social communities, which means that an L2 learner of Russian will nevertheless need to acquaint him- or herself with the normative aspectual behaviors of competent L1 speakers of CSR.
2. The perfective aspect is the **more restricted, bounded** aspect. The specific realization of this boundedness and specificity is often a sense of **completeness** where the verbal action is bounded in time and space.
3. When perfective verbs give the meaning of a completed result, it is important to note that this **result continues to be relevant up to the moment of speaking**. A corollary of this is seen in the use of past tense imperfective verbs referring to something that is no longer in effect:

Этот фильм мне очень нравился в детстве. 'I used to like that movie when I was a kid.'

Этот фильм мне очень понравился. 'I really liked the movie (and still do).'

4. One indication of the continued relevance of the result of a transitive perfective verb in the imperative mood is the general requirement that the direct object must be explicitly given in the sentence:

Напиши ответ на доске!

'Write your answer on the board!'

5. The imperfective aspect primarily **focuses on the process by naming the verbal action**. Whether or not a result was achieved is not excluded here, but it is not the major focus of the imperfective aspect.

6. L1 speakers of CSR use the imperfective in a creative and robust way. The imperfective is generally considered to be used more frequently than the perfective. L2 speakers of CSR make a large number of errors due to overuse of the perfective, especially in the past tense.

7. The single, most important discourse strategy to master in order to achieve appropriate aspectual usage with minimal effort is to remember: A significant amount of language use can be boiled down to questions and answers. When answering a question, it is generally correct to **maintain the aspect given in the question** unless the answer involves a strong negation of the question.

8. In negative answers, the **imperfective** gives a very strong meaning of **denial**.

9. When asking a question with a past tense verb, if the speaker has little information or no real expectations as to what the answer may be, the question and answer are usually imperfective.

-Ты читал рассказы Пелевина?

-'Have you ever read any of Pelevin's stories?'

-Да, читал.

-'Yes, I have.'

-Нет, не читал.

-'No, I haven't.'

#### 2.14.5 The role of BI-ASPECTUAL verbs in CSR

There is a relatively large group of statistically-frequent verbal forms in CSR that are either uni-aspectual [unpaired] (Russian *одновидовый*) or bi-aspectual (Russian *двувидовый*). The verbal classifier/suffix that is most often encountered in bi-aspectual verbs is *-ova-*. The significance of this phenomenon in the aspect system of CSR is complex and unresolved in the scholarly literature. There is sufficient evidence to suggest that what many linguists have considered to be a psychological and grammatical reality of the Russian verb system, namely paired verbs, is quite problematic. [For a discussion of

the difficulties in determining aspectual pairs in CSR, see Andrews, Averjanova, Pjadusova 2001: 19-23.]

Below is a list of some of the more commonly encountered bi-aspectual verbs and uni-aspectual/unpaired verbs of CSR.

### Bi-aspectual verbs

адресовать	'address'
атаковать	'attack'
бежать	'run (away from a prisoncamp)'
велеть	'command'
голосовать	'vote'
жениться	'marry (said of men)'
использовать	'use'
исследовать	'investigate, research'
казнить	'execute'
обещать	'promise'
образовать	'form' [bi-asp. in conj. form only; CB in all other tenses]
организовать <sup>17</sup>	'organize' [past is exclusively CB]
ранить	'wound'
рекомендовать	'recommend'
родить	'give birth'
родиться	'be born'

### Uni-aspectual<sup>18</sup>:

#### НСВ

болеть - 'be ill'
бороться - 'struggle'
выглядеть - 'look (good, bad)'
жить - 'live'
значить - 'mean'
ожидать - 'expect'

#### СВ

опомниться - 'come to one's senses'
очнуться - 'regain consciousness'
очутиться - 'find oneself (in a location)'
понадобиться - 'need'
скончаться - 'die, pass away'
хлынуть - 'come rushing, gush, spout'

There are some verbs that, when used with a following infinitive, specify the aspect of the infinitive. Note the following examples:

Verbs requiring a following imperfective:

бросать/бросить	'quit, give up, break (a habit)'
кончать/кончить	'end, finish'
надоедать/надоесть	'be fed up with'

<sup>17</sup> Some bi-aspectual verbs actually form pairs in colloquial CSR, and in the case of образовывать 'form' and организовать (СВ), организовывать (НСВ) 'organize', the derived imperfectives are achieving more recognition as literary forms (cf. Ozhekov/Shvedova Russian-Russian dictionary (1992) *Tolkovyj slovar' russkogo jazyka*).

<sup>18</sup> For a more complete listing, see Andrews, Averjanova, Pjadusova 2001: 22.

начинать/начать	‘begin, start’
отвыкать/отвыкнуть	‘become unaccustomed to’
переставать/перестать	‘stop, cease’
привыкать/привыкнуть	‘become accustomed to’
продолжать	‘continue’
становиться/стать	‘become’
уставать/устать	‘be weary, tire’
учиться/научиться, разучиться	‘learn, unlearn’
хотеться/захотеться, расхотеться	‘want, stop wanting’

Verbs requiring a following perfective:

забывать/забыть	‘forget’
мечтать	‘(day)dream’
оставаться/остаться	‘remain, stay, be left’
спешить, торопиться	‘hurry’

#### 2.14.6 Verbal classes in CSR

The following is a summary of all of the verbal classes (suffixed and non-suffixed) of CSR. This system, based on Jakobson 1948, lists the classes of Russian verbs determined by one stem, i.e. one stem can accurately generate all of the necessary verb forms.

The rules for determining the verbal stem of any verb in Russian (excluding no more than 19 irregular verbal stems) are:

- (1) Determine the infinite and third person plural indicative forms.
- (2) Remove the verbal desinence.
- (3) Compare the remaining stems.
- (4) The longer of the stems is THE ONE-STEM.
- (5) If the stems are identical in length, choose the third plural form.
- (6) Rules for consonant/vowel combinations between stem and desinence:
 

Vowel + Consonant = VC	(i.e. mere addition)
Consonant + Vowel = CV	(i.e. mere addition)
Vowel 1 + Vowel 2 = V2	(i.e. truncate the first vowel)
Consonant 1 + Consonant 2 = C2	(i.e. truncate the first consonant)

Whether or not a consonant alternation will occur is determined within the individual verbal class. These will be marked in the description of each verbal class. The list of possible consonant alternations in the Russian verb are:

d, z, g > ž  
 t, c > č  
 s, x > š  
 st, sk > šč  
 b > bl  
 p > pl



m > ml  
 v > vl  
 f > fl

Old Church Slavonic influence: d > žd ; t > šč

Examples of deriving the one-stem:

Verb	'read'	'write'	'carry'	'lead'
infinitive:	čita-t'	p'isa-t'	n'os-t'i	v'os-t'i
3rd pl	čitaj-ut	p'iš-ut	n'os-ut	v'od-ut
stem:	<b>čitaj</b>	<b>p'isa</b>	<b>n'os</b>	<b>v'od</b>

Examples of using the one-stem to derive the correct verbal form:

Stem:	p'isa	čitaj
Past masc.:	-l	-l
Correct form:	p'isa + l = p'isal (addition)	čitaj + l = čital (truncate C1)

#### 2.14.6.1 Russian conjugation

All verbs in Russian (except for the small number of exceptional verbs) belong to one of the verbal classes given below. The two major divisions are between suffixed and non-suffixed verbal classes. Only suffixed verbs may be 2nd conjugation -- all remaining classes are 1st conjugation. In the first table, I will give all of the verbal classes, note their productivity or lack thereof, list the past passive participial (ppp) endings associated with each class and the derived imperfective suffixes associated with each class. Using the numbering of the table below, the productive classes are 1, 6, 7, 8, 9. Of the remaining non-productive classes, numbers 2, 4 and 10 are the largest (50-60 verbal roots in each), while the smallest classes have as few as 2-5 stems (essentially all of the nonsuffixed classes and 11, 12 from the suffixed groups).

Classes with consonant mutations (Jakobson's "substitutive softening") will be marked with an asterisk. If substitutive softening occurs in the ppp or derived imperfective, they will be marked also with an asterisk. Note that only the consonants given above may undergo substitutive softening (i.e. in full stems where hard consonant + /a/ or /o/ > palatal or cons. cluster). In the class of second conjugation verbs, the -i and -e classes have substitutive softening in the 1st sg. conjugated form only. The -a, -ova and -avaj classes have substitutive softening in all person in the conjugated form, and -a and -ova maintain this alternation in the imperative.

The rules for bare softening are as follows: (Jakobson 1948/1984: 22-3)

The final consonant of an open full-stem is palatalized or palatal before the vowels /e, i/, nonpalatalized (or hard) before /o, u/, and hard or palatal before /a/.

Closed stems end in hard consonants or jot.

Velar stems generally participate in substitutive softening, but yield bare softening before the imperative desinence.

The specific rules for softening and stress will be included in the description of each of the verbal classes with full conjugated forms of a verb from each class in the second table. The consonant alternations that occur in conjugation according to verbal classes are rule-governed and exceptionless. The regularity of consonant alternations will become more variable in the categories of the past passive participle and derived imperfective verb forms.

[For more specific information on all of the verbs in each of these classes and the specifics of derived imperfective verbs, see Townsend (1975: 85-148). Townsend includes an additional nonsuffixed class that I will give under the section on exceptional verbs.]

#### 2.14.6.2 One-stem verb system

##### **Suffixed verbs:**

##### *Second conjugation:*

	<b>ppp desinence</b>	<b>derived imperfective suffix</b>
1. -i*	‘-onn-ij*	aj/ivaj
2. -e*	-nn-ij	aj/ivaj/vaj
3. -husher a [subgroup - ja]	-----	ivaj

##### *First conjugation:*

4. -a	-nn-ij	ivaj
5. non-syllabic -a (n/s-a)	-nn-ij	aj
6. -ova	-nn-ij	ivaj
7. -aj	-nn-ij	ivaj
8. -ej (most are intransitive)	-t-ij	vaj
9. -nu	-t-ij	ivaj/aj
10. -[nu] (disappearing nu) (most are intransitive)	-t-ij	aj
11. -avaj (always HCB -3 stems)	-----	-----
12. -o	-t-ij	ivaj

##### **Nonsuffixed verbs (all 1st conj):**

13. v	-t-ij	vaj
14. n	-t-ij	vaj
15. oj	-t-ij	vaj
16. j	-t-ij	vaj
17. ij	-t-ij	vaj
18. /n, /m	-t-ij	aj
19. /r	-t-ij	aj
20. t/d	‘-onn-ij	aj
21. s/z	‘-onn-ij	aj
22. k/g	‘-onn-ij*	aj
23. b (2 stems)	‘-onn-ij	aj

### 2.14.6.3 The rules of consonant and vowel alternations in derived imperfectives

(1) Normal truncation/addition of one-stem system apply in imperfective derivation with an additional rule: -aj, -nu, -[nu] truncate entirely. [This 2nd part is similar to “deep truncation” in the -[nu] class in the past tense.]

(2) Potential consonant mutations occur with perfectives from the -i and -e classes. These mutations are more frequent in the -i class and rare in the -e class. In any case, there are many instances where a mutation would be expected and does not occur.

(3) A vowel shift -- o >a -- before addition of the -ivaj- suffix.

(4) A fill vowel /i/ occurs in classes with (a) non-syllabic resonants (only и occurs), and (b) the -nu and n/s-a classes (и or ы may occur). [This type of alternation of the vowels и/ы is additional evidence that they are allophones of each other and not distinct phonemes.]

[A terminology reminder. Resonants in CSR are: /j, m, n, v, r/. Obstruents are: /k, g, t, d, s, z, b/. Non-syllabic resonant classes include -/r and -/n, /m.]

Flier (1972: 236-260) proposes an alternative view of imperfective derivation where the primary suffix is -aj preceded by 3 imperfectivizing suffixes: zero, -iv-, and -ev-.

### 2.14.6.4 Exceptional verbs

(Forms given vertically: infinitive, 1st sg, 2nd sg, 1st pl, 3rd pl, masc. past, imperative)

<b>'sit down'</b>	<b>'lie down'</b>	<b>'sing'</b>	<b>'be'</b>	<b>'go' (on foot)</b>	<b>'go' (by veh.)</b>
сесть	лечь	петь	быть	идти	ехать
сяду	лягу	пою	буду	иду	еду
сядешь	ляжешь	поёшь	будешь	идёшь	едешь
сядем	ляжем	поём	будем	идём	едем
сядут	лягут	поют	будут	идут	едут
сел	лёг	пел	был	шёл	ехал
сядь	ляг	пой	будь	иди	езжай/ поезжай

<b>'swear'</b>	<b>'eat'</b>	<b>'give'</b>	<b>'take'</b>	<b>'accept'</b>	<b>'shave'</b>
клясться	есть	дать	взять	принять	бриться
клянусь	ем	дам	возьму	приму	бреюся
клянёшься	ешь	дашь	возьмёшь	примешь	бреешься
клянёмся	едим	дадим	возьмём	примем	бреемся
клянутся	едят	дадут	возьмут	примут	бреются
клялся	ел	дал	взял	принял	брился
клянись	ешь	дай	возьми	прими	брейся

<b>'grow'</b>	<b>'be mistaken'</b>	<b>'roar, cry'</b>	<b>'want'</b>	<b>'run'</b>	<b>'drive, rush'</b>
расти	ошибиться	реветь	хотеть	бежать	гнать
расту	ошибусь	реву	хочу	бегу	гоню
растёшь	ошибёшься	ревёшь	хочешь	бежишь	гонишь
растём	ошибёмся	ревём	хотим	бежим	гоним
растут	ошибутся	ревут	хотят	бегут	гонят
рос	ошибся	ревел	хотел	бежал	гнал
расти	ошибись	реви	*хоти	беги	гони
<b>'sleep'</b>	<b>'grind'</b>	<b>'hope'</b>	<b>'send'</b>	<b>'understand'</b>	<b>'remove, rent'</b>
спать	молоть	надеяться	послать	понять	снять
сплю	мелю	надеюсь	пошлю	пойму	сниму
спишь	мелешь	надеешься	пошлешь	поймешь	снимешь
спим	мелем	надеемся	пошлём	поймём	снимем
спят	мелют	надеются	пошлут	поймут	снимут
спал	молол	надеялся	послал	понял	снял
спи	мели	надейся	пошли	пойми	сними

2.14.6.5 Participles and verbal adverbs: Причастие и деепричастие  
Examples:

Infinitive pairs (НСВ/СВ)

читать/прочитать (аӱ)	писать/написать (а)	спрашивать (аӱ)/спросить (и)	
'read'	'write'	'ask'	
pres. active	читающий	пишущий	спрашивающий
	'who is reading'	'who is writing'	'who is asking'
past active	(про)читавший	(на)писавший	спрашивавший/спросивший
НСВ	'who was reading'	'who was writing'	'who was asking'
СВ	'who had read'	'who had written'	'who had asked'
pres. passive	читаемый	-----	спрашиваемый
	'which is being read'		'which is being asked'
ppp	прочитанный	написанный	спрошенный
	'which was read'	'which was written'	'which was asked'

Examples by verbal class: [Note that the participial and derived imperfective examples are not necessarily related. For more examples and exercises on participles and verbal adverbs, see Andrews, Averjanova, Pjadusova 2001: 237-272.]

[The glosses will be given by number following the Russian examples.]

<b>Verbal Class</b>	<b>Participle</b>	<b>СВ/Derived Imperfective</b>
1. -і	купленный	оставить/оставлять
		перекусить/перекусывать
2. -е	рассмотренный	рассмотреть/рассматривать
		просидеть/просиживать
3. - ъа	-----	отлежаться/отлѣживаться
4. -а	записанный	записать/записывать

5. n/s-a	избранный	набрать/набирать
6. -ova	нарисованный	обусловить/обуславливать, обусловливать
7. -aj	отработанный	отработать/отрабатывать
8. -ej	согретый	созреть/созревать
9. -nu	замкнутый	замкнуть/замыкать вздрагнуть/вздрагивать
10. -[nu]	свергнутый	исчезнуть/исчезать
11. -avaj	-----	-----
12. -o	проколотый	проколоть/прокалывать
13. v	пережитый	пережить/переживать
14. n	одетый	одеть/одевать
15. oj	закрытый	накрыть/накрывать
16. j	надутый	сдуть/сдувать
17. ij	выпитый	запить/запивать
18. /n, /m	начатый	начать/начинать
	сжатый	нажать/нажимать
19. /r	стёртый	вытереть/вытирать
20. t/d	переведённый	расцвести/расцветать
21. s/z	унесённый	перегрызть/перегрызать
22. k/g	привлечённый	увлечь/увлекать
23. b	выгребенный	разгрести/разгребать

Glosses:

1.	'which was bought'	'leave (behind)' 'have a snack'
2.	'which was considered'	'consider, analyze' 'sit through'
3.		'stay in bed and get well'
4.	'which was noted, recorded'	'to note/jot down, record'
5.	'chosen, elected'	'to dial, get a lot of smthg'
6.	'which was drawn, sketched'	'to make contingent upon'
7.	'which was worked out'	'to work out/off'
8.	'which was warmed up'	'become ripe'
9.	'which was locked, closed'	'lock, close off'
10.	'who was deposed'	'disappear'
11.	-----	-----
12.	'which was pierced'	'pierce'
13.	'which was lived through'	'live through, survive'
14.	'who was dressed'	'dress'
15.	'which was closed'	'cover, set the table'
16.	'which was blown/puffed up'	'let the air out'
17.	'which was drank'	'wash down, chase' (of drink)
18.	'which has begun'	'begin'
	'which was squeezed, tight'	'push' (a button)
19.	'which was worn (out)'	'wipe off'

20.	'which was translated'	'bloom'
21.	'which was carried away'	'chew through'
22.	'who was drawn to'	'fascinate'
23.	'which was raked off'	'clean off, clear'

#### 2.14.6.6 One-stem verb system

#### SUFFIXED VERBAL CLASSIFIERS

#### SECOND CONJUGATION

##### 1. -i- (-и-)

- Mutation of final root consonant in first person singular form (i.e. "я"form) only.
- Stress **may** shift (from 1st sg ending to stem in other conj. forms).

просить (нсв) - 'request'

#### Non-Past Form

я	прошу
ты	просишь
он/она/оно	просит
мы	просим
вы	просите
они	просят

#### Past Tense Form

Masculine	просил
Feminine	просила
Neuter	просило
Plural	просили
Imperative	проси(те)
Verbal Adverb	прося

#### Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>	просящий	просимый
<i>Past</i>	просивший	(попрошенный)

приготовить (СВ) - 'prepare'

Non-Past Form

я

приготовлю

ты

приготовишь

он/она/оно

приготовит

мы

приготовим

вы

приготовите

они

приготовят

Past Tense Form

Masculine

приготовил

Feminine

приготовила

Neuter

приготовило

Plural

приготовили

Imperative

приготовь(те)

Verbal Adverb

приготовив

Participles

*Active*

*Passive*

*Present*

*Past*

приготовивший

приготовленный

2. -е- (-е-)

- **Mutation** of final root consonant in 1st person singular form.
- **Stress** can shift.
- There are about 50 verbs in this class

сидеть (НСВ) - 'be sitting, sit'

Non-Past Form

я	с <del>и</del> жу
ты	сидишь
он/она/оно	сидит
мы	сидим
вы	сидите
они	сидят

Past Tense Form

Masculine	сидел
Feminine	сидела
Neuter	сидело
Plural	сидели

Imperative

Verbal Adverb

Participles

сиди(те)

сидя

*Active*

*Passive*

*Present*

сидящий

*Past*

сидевший

посмотреть (СВ) 'watch, look at'

Non-Past Form

я	посмотрю
ты	посмотришь
он/она/оно	посмотрит
мы	посмотрим
вы	посмотрите
они	посмотрят

Past Tense Form

Masculine	посмотрел
Feminine	посмотрела
Neuter	посмотрело
Plural	посмотрели
Imperative	посмотри(те)
Verbal Adverb	посмотрев

Participles

*Active*

*Passive*

*Present*

посмотревший

*Past*

посмотренный



3. husher -a- (-a-) (including all hushers and jot-types [стоять, бояться])

лежать (НСВ) - 'be in a lying position'

Non-Past Form

я	лежу
ты	лежишь
он/она/оно	лежит
мы	лежим
вы	лежите
они	лежат

Past Tense Form

Masculine	лежал
Feminine	лежала
Neuter	лежало
Plural	лежали
Imperative	лежи(те)
Verbal Adverb	лѐжа

Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>	лежащий	
<i>Past</i>	лежавший	

постоять (СВ) - 'stand around'

Non-Past Form

я	постою
ты	постоишь
он/она/оно	постоит
мы	постоим
вы	постоите
они	постоят

Past Tense Form

Masculine	постоял
Feminine	постояла
Neuter	постояло
Plural	постояли
Imperative	постой(те)
Verbal Adverb	постояв

Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>		
<i>Past</i>	постоявший	

FIRST CONJUGATION VERBS

4. -а- (-а-)

- **Mutation** of final root consonant all through the present tense.
- **Stress** often shifts from end to stem in all forms of non-past other than 1st sg.
- There are about 60 verbs in this class.

махать (НСВ) - 'wave'

Non-Past Form

я	машу
ты	машешь
он/она/оно	машет
мы	машем
вы	машете
они	машут

Past Tense Form

Masculine	махал
Feminine	махала
Neuter	махало
Plural	махали
Imperative	маши(те)/махай(те) (conv./colloq.)
Verbal Adverb	махая

Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>	машущий	
<i>Past</i>	махавший	

написать (СВ) 'write, write on'

Non-Past Form

я	напишу
ты	напишешь
он/она/оно	напишет
мы	напишем
вы	напишете
они	напишут

Past Tense Form

Masculine	написал
Feminine	написала
Neuter	написало
Plural	написали
Imperative	напиши(те)
Verbal Adverb	написав

Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>		
<i>Past</i>	написавший	написанный

5. non-syllabic -a- (-a-)

- No **mutations**.
- A fill vowel is often inserted into stem (o/e) (cf. брать/беру - 'take', звать/зову - 'name, call') [Forms without fill vowels include врать/лгать - 'lie,' ждать - 'wait,' рвать - 'rip, throw up']
- If stress shift occurs, only in feminine past tense
- Restricted occurrence of substitutive softening (g > ž in 'lie': лгу, лжѐшь)

драть (НСВ) - 'tear, strip off'

Non-Past Form

я	деру
ты	дерѐшь
он/она/оно	дерѐт
мы	дерѐм
вы	дерѐте
они	дерут

Past Tense Form

Masculine	драл
Feminine	драла
Neuter	драло
Plural	драли
Imperative	дери(те)
Verbal Adverb	деря

Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>	дерящий	
<i>Past</i>	дравший	

наб<sup>р</sup>ать (СВ) - 'push, enter, load on'

Non-Past Form

я

наберу

ты

наберёшь

он/она/оно

наберёт

мы

наберём

вы

наберёте

они

наберут

Past Tense Form

Masculine

набрал

Feminine

набрала

Neuter

набрало

Plural

набрали

Imperative

набери(те)

Verbal Adverb

набрав

Participles

*Active*

*Passive*

*Present*

*Past*

набравший

набранный

6. -ова- /-ева- (-ова- / -ева-)

- Rule: -ова- / -ева- (-ова- / -ева-) > **uj** (уй) in nonpast and imperative.
- Stress does not generally shift from **uj** (exceptions include **совать** - 'stick in' [сую, суёшь], **плевать** - spit)
- Verbs in this class are only imperfective aspect.
- There are thousands of verbs in this class - mostly with foreign roots.

**организовать** (СВ or bi-aspectual) - 'organize'

Non-Past Form

я	организу <b>ю</b>
ты	организу <b>е</b> шь
он/она/оно	организу <b>е</b> т
мы	организу <b>е</b> м
вы	организу <b>е</b> те
они	организу <b>ю</b> т

Past Tense Form

Masculine	организов <b>а</b> л
Feminine	организов <b>а</b> ла
Neuter	организов <b>а</b> ло
Plural	организов <b>а</b> ли
Imperative	организу <b>й</b> (те)
Verbal Adverb	организу <b>я</b>

Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>	организу <b>ю</b> щий	организу <b>е</b> мый
<i>Past</i>	организов <b>а</b> вший	организов <b>а</b> нный

**танцевать** (НСВ) - 'dance'

Non-Past Form

я	танцую
ты	танцу <b>е</b> шь
он/она/оно	танцую <b>т</b>
мы	танцу <b>е</b> м
вы	танцу <b>е</b> те
они	танцую <b>т</b>

Past Tense Form

Masculine	танцев <b>а</b> л
Feminine	танцев <b>а</b> ла
Neuter	танцев <b>а</b> ло
Plural	танцев <b>а</b> ли
Imperative	танцуй <b>те</b>
Verbal Adverb	танцу <b>я</b>

Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>	танцую <b>щий</b>	танцу <b>емый</b>
<i>Past</i>	танцев <b>авший</b>	(танц <b>ованный</b> )

7. -aj- (-ай-)

- **No mutation.**
- No stress shifts
- Thousands of verbs in this class.

делать (НСВ) - 'do, make'

Non-Past Form

я	делаю
ты	делаешь
он/она/оно	делает
мы	делаем
вы	делаете
они	делают

Past Tense Form

Masculine	делал
Feminine	делала
Neuter	делало
Plural	делали
Imperative	делай(те)
Verbal Adverb	делая

Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>	делающий	делаемый
<i>Past</i>	делавший	деланный

отработать (СВ) - 'work off, work out'

Non-Past Form

я	отработаю
ты	отработаешь
он/она/оно	отработает
мы	отработаем
вы	отработаете
они	отработают

Past Tense Form

Masculine	отработал
Feminine	отработала
Neuter	отработало
Plural	отработали
Imperative	отработай(те)
Verbal Adverb	отработав

Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>		
<i>Past</i>	отработавший	отработанный

8. -ej- (-ей-)

- No mutations.
- No stress shifts.
- Very few verbs in this group.

иметь (НСВ) - 'have, possess'

Non-Past Form

я	имею
ты	имеешь
он/она/оно	имеет
мы	имеем
вы	имеете
они	имеют

Past Tense Form

Masculine	имел
Feminine	имела
Neuter	имело
Plural	имели
Imperative	имей(те)
Verbal Adverb	имея

Participles

*Active*

*Passive*

*Present*

имеющий

*Past*

имевший

белеть (НСВ) - 'become white'

Non-Past Form

я	белею
ты	белеешь
он/она/оно	белеет
мы	белеем
вы	белеете
они	белеют

Past Tense Form

Masculine	белел
Feminine	белела
Neuter	белело
Plural	белели
Imperative	белей(те)
Verbal Adverb	белея

Participles

*Active*

*Passive*

*Present*

белеющий

*Past*

белевший

9 and 10. -nu- (-ну-)

- Two subgroups:
- 1). -nu- disappears in past tense
- 2). -nu- remains in past tense

достигнуть (СВ) - 'achieve, reach'

Non-Past Form

я	достигну
ты	достигнешь
он/она/оно	достигнет
мы	достигнем
вы	достигнете
они	достигнут

Past Tense Form

Masculine	достиг
Feminine	достигла
Neuter	достигло
Plural	достигли
Imperative	достигни(те)
Verbal Adverb	достигнув

Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>		
<i>Past</i>	достигший	достигнутый

отдохнуть (СВ) - 'relax'

Non-Past Form

я	отдохну
ты	отдохнёшь
он/она/оно	отдохнёт
мы	отдохнём
вы	отдохнёте
они	отдохнут

Past Tense Form

Masculine	отдохнул
Feminine	отдохнула
Neuter	отдохнуло
Plural	отдохнули
Imperative	отдохни(те)
Verbal Adverb	отдохнув

Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>		
<i>Past</i>	отдохнувший	



11. -avaj- (-авай-)

- Rule: -avaj- > -aj- (-авай- > -ай-) in the present tense
- In the imperative, the -avaj- remains.

давать (НСВ) - 'give, hand over'

Non-Past Form

я	даю
ты	даёшь
он/она/оно	даёт
мы	даём
вы	даёте
они	дают

Past Tense Form

Masculine	давал
Feminine	давала
Neuter	давало
Plural	давали
Imperative	давай(те)
Verbal Adverb	давая

Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>	дающий	даваемый
<i>Past</i>	дававший	

продавать (НСВ) - 'sell'

Non-Past Form

я	продаю
ты	продаёшь
он/она/оно	продаёт
мы	продаём
вы	продаёте
они	продают

Past Tense Form

Masculine	продавал
Feminine	продавала
Neuter	продавало
Plural	продавали
Imperative	продавай(те)
Verbal Adverb	продавая

Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>	продающий	продаваемый
<i>Past</i>	продававший	

12. -o- (-o-) (nonproductive, restricted class; r > r', l > l' in non-past forms)

бороться (НСВ) - 'fight'

Non-Past Form

я	борю <u>сь</u>
ты	бор <u>е</u> шься
он/она/оно	бор <u>е</u> тся
мы	бор <u>е</u> мся
вы	бор <u>е</u> тесь
они	бор <u>ю</u> тся

Past Tense Form

Masculine	бор <u>о</u> лся
Feminine	бор <u>о</u> лась
Neuter	бор <u>о</u> лось
Plural	бор <u>о</u> лись
Imperative	бор <u>и</u> сь/бор <u>и</u> тесь
Verbal Adverb	бор <u>я</u> сь

Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>	бор <u>я</u> щийся	
<i>Past</i>	бор <u>о</u> вшийся	

NONSUFFIXED VERBAL CLASSIFIERS (all are 1st conjugation)

Syllabic

Resonants

13. -v- (-в-)

- Consonant /v/ occurs in conjugated non-past form
- Stress may shift in feminine past tense.

жить (НСВ) - 'live'

Non-Past Form

я	живу
ты	живёшь
он/она/оно	живёт
мы	живём
вы	живёте
они	живут

Past Tense Form

Masculine	жил
Feminine	жила
Neuter	жило
Plural	жили
Imperative	живи(те)
Verbal Adverb	живя

Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>	живущий	
<i>Past</i>	живший	(прожитый)

отплыть (СВ) - 'swim/float away'

Non-Past Form

я	отплыву
ты	отплывёшь
он/она/оно	отплывёт
мы	отплывём
вы	отплывёте
они	отплывут

Past Tense Form

Masculine	отплыл
Feminine	отплыла
Neuter	отплыло
Plural	отплыли
Imperative	отплыви(те)
Verbal Adverb	отплыв

Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>		
<i>Past</i>	отплывший	

14. -н- (-н-)

- Consonant /н/ occurs in non-past conjugated form.

стать (СВ) - 'become'

Non-Past Form

я	стану
ты	станешь
он/она/оно	станет
мы	станем
вы	станете
они	станут

Past Tense Form

Masculine	стал
Feminine	стала
Neuter	стало
Plural	стали
Imperative	стань(те)
Verbal Adverb	став

Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>		
<i>Past</i>	ставший	

встать (СВ) - 'get up, arise'

Non-Past Form

я	встану
ты	встанешь
он/она/оно	встанет
мы	встанем
вы	встанете
они	встанут

Past Tense Form

Masculine	встал
Feminine	встала
Neuter	встало
Plural	встали
Imperative	встань(те)
Verbal Adverb	встав

Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>		
<i>Past</i>	вставший	

15. -oj- (-ой-)

- о > у (о > ы) before a consonant.
- No stress shifts.

**открыть** (CB) - 'open'

Non-Past Form

я	открою
ты	откроешь
он/она/оно	откроет
мы	откроем
вы	откроете
они	откроют

Past Tense Form

Masculine	открыл
Feminine	открыла
Neuter	открыло
Plural	открыли
Imperative	открой(те)
Verbal Adverb	открыв

Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>		
<i>Past</i>	открывший	открытый

**закрыть** (CB) - 'close'

Non-Past Form

я	закрою
ты	закроешь
он/она/оно	закроет
мы	закроем
вы	закроете
они	закроют

Past Tense Form

Masculine	закрыл
Feminine	закрыла
Neuter	закрыло
Plural	закрыли
Imperative	закрой(те)
Verbal Adverb	закрыв

Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>		
<i>Past</i>	закрывший	закрытый

16. -j- (-й-)

дуть (НСВ) - 'blow'

Non-Past Form

я	дую
ты	дуешь
он/она/оно	дует
мы	дуем
вы	дуете
они	дуют

Past Tense Form

Masculine	дул
Feminine	дула
Neuter	дуло
Plural	дули
Imperative	дуй(те)
Verbal Adverb	дуя

Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>	дующий	
<i>Past</i>	дувший	(сдутый)

17. -ij- (-ий-)

- Vowel /i/ is dropped in non-past form and present participle.
- /e/ fill vowel in imperative
- Stress may shift in feminine past.

**пить** (НСВ) - 'drink'

Non-Past Form

я	пью
ты	пьёшь
он/она/оно	пьёт
мы	пьём
вы	пьёте
они	пьют

Past Tense Form

Masculine	пил
Feminine	пила
Neuter	пило
Plural	пили
Imperative	пей(те)

Verbal Adverb

Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>	пьющий	
<i>Past</i>	пивший	(выпитый)

**убить** (СВ) - 'kill'

Non-Past Form

я	убью
ты	убьёшь
он/она/оно	убьёт
мы	убьём
вы	убьёте
они	убьют

Past Tense Form

Masculine	убил
Feminine	убила
Neuter	убило
Plural	убили
Imperative	убей(те)

Verbal Adverb

Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>		
<i>Past</i>	убивший	убитый

Non-syllabic

18. -n- / -m- (-н- / -м-)

- n / m > a (н / м > а) before a consonant.
- Stress may shift in the past tense.

начать (НСВ) - 'start, begin'

Non-Past Form

я	начну
ты	начнёшь
он/она/оно	начнёт
мы	начнём
вы	начнёте
они	начнут

Past Tense Form

Masculine	начал
Feminine	начала
Neuter	начало
Plural	начали
Imperative	начни(те)
Verbal Adverb	начав

Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>		
<i>Past</i>	начавший	начатый



19. -r- (-p-)

- /R > ER'E before infinitive ending.
- /R > ER before any other consonant.

No -l in past tense masculine singular

умереть (CB) - 'die'

Non-Past Form

я	умру
ты	умрёшь
он/она/оно	умрёт
мы	умрём
вы	умрёте
они	умрут

Past Tense Form

Masculine	умер
Feminine	умерла
Neuter	умерло
Plural	умерли
Imperative	умри(те)
Verbal Adverb	умерев

Participles

*Active*                      *Passive*

*Present*

*Past*                              умерший

стереть (CB) 'wipe off'

Non-Past Form

я	сотру
ты	сотрёшь
он/она/оно	сотрёт
мы	сотрём
вы	сотрёте
они	сотрут

Past Tense Form

Masculine	стёр
Feminine	стёрла
Neuter	стерло
Plural	стерли
Imperative	сотри(те)
Verbal Adverb	стерев

Participles

*Active*                              *Passive*

*Present*

*Past*                              стёрший                      стёртый

## Obstruents

### 20. -t- / -d- (-т- / -д-)

- t / d > s (т / д > с) before infinitive ending.
- t/d + l > l in past tense (reverse truncation)
- Stress shifts to end in past tense.

вести (НСВ) - 'lead, conduct'

#### Non-Past Form

я	веду
ты	ведёшь
он/она/оно	ведёт
мы	ведём
вы	ведёте
они	ведут

#### Past Tense Form

Masculine	вёл
Feminine	вела
Neuter	вело
Plural	вели
Imperative	веди(те)
Verbal Adverb	ведя

#### Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>	ведущий	ведомый
<i>Past</i>	ведший	(уведённый)

побрести (СВ) - 'wander off'

#### Non-Past Form

я	побреду
ты	побредёшь
он/она/оно	побредёт
мы	побредём
вы	побредёте
они	побредут

#### Past Tense Form

Masculine	побрёл
Feminine	побрела
Neuter	побрело
Plural	побрели
Imperative	побреди(те)
Verbal Adverb	побредя, побредши*

#### Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>		
<i>Past</i>	побредший	

\*Note that with verbs of motion, there are often 2 possible perfective verbal adverb forms, where the form in -я is literary and the form in -вши is either colloquial or archaic. In some instances, there is a shift in meaning (cf. донеся - 'having carried to' vs. донёсши - 'having informed on').

21. -s- / -z- (-с- / -з-)

- Masculine past-tense /l/ drops (reverse truncation)

нести (НСВ) - 'carry'

Non-Past Form

я	несу
ты	несёшь
он/она/оно	несёт
мы	несём
вы	несёте
они	несут

Past Tense Form

Masculine	нёс
Feminine	несла
Neuter	несло
Plural	несли
Imperative	неси(те)
Verbal Adverb	неся

Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>	несущий	
<i>Past</i>	нёсший	(занесённый)

довезти (СВ) - 'transport up to (by vehicle)'

Non-Past Form

я	довезу
ты	довезёшь
он/она/оно	довезёт
мы	довезём
вы	довезёте
они	довезут

Past Tense Form

Masculine	довёз
Feminine	довезла
Neuter	довезло
Plural	довезли
Imperative	довези(те)
Verbal Adverb	довезя

Participles

	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>Present</i>		
<i>Past</i>	довёзший	довезённый

22. -k- / -g- (-к- / -г-)

- Masculine past tense drops /l/.
- Mutation of consonant in non-past 2nd/3rd singular; 1st/2nd plural ONLY.

помочь (CB) - 'help, aid, assist'

Non-Past Form

я	помогу
ты	поможешь
он/она/оно	поможет
мы	поможем
вы	поможете
они	помогут

Non-Past Form

Masculine	помог
Feminine	помогла
Neuter	помогло
Plural	помогли
Imperative	помоги(те)

Verbal Adverb

Participles

*Active*                      *Passive*

*Present*

*Past*                              помогший

испечь (CB) - 'bake'

Non-Past Form

я	испеку
ты	испечёшь
он/она/оно	испечёт
мы	испечём
вы	испечёте
они	испекут

Past Tense Form

Masculine	испёк
Feminine	испекла
Neuter	испекло
Plural	испекли
Imperative	испеки(те)

Verbal Adverb

Participles

*Active*                              *Passive*

*Present*

*Past*                              испёкший                      испечённый

23. -b- (-б-)

**выгрести** (СВ) - 'rake/clean out'

Non-Past Form

я	<b>выгребу</b>
ты	<b>выгребешь</b>
он/она/оно	<b>выгребет</b>
мы	<b>выгребем</b>
вы	<b>выгребете</b>
они	<b>выгребут</b>
Past Tense Form	
Masculine	<b>выгреб</b>
Feminine	<b>выгребла</b>
Neuter	<b>выгребло</b>
Plural	<b>выгребли</b>
Imperative	<b>выгреби(те)</b>
Verbal Adverb	<b>выгребши/выгребя</b>
Participles	

*Active*

*Passive*

*Present*

*Past*

**выгребший**

**выгребенный**

**скрести** (НСВ) - 'scrape off'

Non-Past Form

я	<b>скребу</b>
ты	<b>скребёшь</b>
он/она/оно	<b>скребёт</b>
мы	<b>скребём</b>
вы	<b>скребёте</b>
они	<b>скребут</b>
Past Tense Form	
Masculine	<b>скрёб</b>
Feminine	<b>скребла</b>
Neuter	<b>скребло</b>
Plural	<b>скребли</b>
Imperative	<b>скреби(те)</b>
Verbal Adverb	<b>скребя</b>
Participles	

*Active*

*Passive*

*Present*

*Past*

**скребущий**

**скрёбший**

соскрести (СВ) - 'scrape off'

Non-Past Form

я	соскребу
ты	соскребёшь
он/она/оно	соскребёт
мы	соскребём
вы	соскребёте
они	соскребут

Past Tense Form

Masculine	соскрёб
Feminine	соскребла
Neuter	соскребло
Plural	соскребли
Imperative	соскреби(те)
Verbal Adverb	соскрёбши

Participles

*Active*

*Passive*

*Present*

*Past*

соскрёбший

соскребённый

### 2.14.7 Verbs with the bound particle -ся

All verbs in -s'а are intransitive by definition and occur in 6 basic types:

- (1) 'reflexive' (возвратный)
- (2) 'mutual actions' (взаимный)
- (3) 'passive' (страдательный)
- (4) 'impersonal' (безличный)
- (5) verb only occurs with -s'а particle
- (6) a small group of verbs that have an iterative meaning

In some instances, a single verb may belong to several of the 6 types given above. Note the following examples of -s'а verbs. I will give aspectual pairs (HCB/CB) where feasible, but in many instances only one aspect has the -s'а.

(1) Reflexive: the verbal action refers back to the nominative subject. In this class, it is possible to occasionally encounter minimal pairs with the non-s'а verbal equivalent + the reflexive, unbounded pronoun себя 'self'. Examples will be included below.

заниматься/позаниматься (чем, с кем, у кого)	'occupy oneself, study, spend time doing smthg'
мыться/помыться	'wash, bathe (oneself)'
одеваться/одеться	'dress (oneself)'
одевать/одеть себя	'dress (oneself)' - emphatic

Compare the following:

Он встал в шесть, быстро помылся, оделся и ушёл на работу.  
'He got up at six, bathed quickly, got dressed and left for work.'

После аварии брат долго не мог одеваться без помощи, а теперь, год спустя, он сам себя одевает.

'After the accident my brother was unable to get dressed without assistance for quite a while, but now, a year later, he is able to dress himself.'

возвращаться/вернуться (куда, откуда)	'return (oneself)'
смотреться/посмотреться (во что)	'look at yourself; look' (passive)

Сестра всё время смотрится в зеркало. 'My sister is always looking at herself in the mirror.'

Фильм хорошо смотрится. 'The film is worth seeing.'

Платье отлично смотрится на тебе. 'That dress looks great on you.'

(2) Mutual actions: the verbal action is done to 'each other'

созваниваться/созвониться (с кем)	'call each other'
целоваться/поцеловаться (с кем)	'kiss each other'
встречаться/встретиться (с кем)	'meet with each other, date'
видеться/увидеться (с кем)	'see each other'
Увидимся скоро!	'See you soon!'

знакомиться/познакомиться (с кем)	'become acquainted, meet'
переписываться (с кем)	'correspond' (be pen pals)

(3) Passive: the verbal action is done by a “logical” subject that may be given in the instrumental case. The nominative subject is what is generally the object in a transitive construction and is inanimate.

кончатся/кончиться	'end, conclude'
начинаться/начаться	'begin, start'
читаться	'read'
(cf. Это книга легко читается -	'That book's a good read.')
открываться/открыться	'open'
закрываться/закрыться	'close'
делаться/сделаться	'occur, be happening, become'
Что тут делается?	'What's going on in here?'
Мне делается грустно от его поведения.	'I get sad when he acts like that.'

(4) Impersonals: there is no nominative subject. The actor of the verb, if expressible at all, is often in the dative case. This category is much broader than -s'а verbs and may occur with a variety of forms (see Impersonal constructions in section 3.5).

хотеться/захотеться	'want, desire'
думаться/подуматься	'think'
нездоровиться	'be unwell'
спится, спалось (no infinitive)	'sleep'
писаться	'write'
работаться	'work'
житься	'live'
сидеться	'sit'
представляться/представиться	'imagine'
Нам хочется завести собаку, но нет денег.	'We want to get a dog, but we don't have any money.'
Мне думается, что его вывод неправильный.	'I think that his conclusion is incorrect.'
Матери нездоровится.	'Mother isn't well.'
Ире хорошо спится на даче.	'Ira sleeps well at her summer home.'
Коле не пишется уже второй год.	'Kolya has had writer's block for two years now.'
Как-то сегодня не работается нам!	'We're just not in a working mood today!'
Как вам живётся на юге?	'How's life treating you in the south?'
Ребёнку не сидится.	'The child can't sit still.'
Мне плохо представляется её состояние в данный момент	
'It's hard for me to imagine at the moment her state of mind.'	



(5) These verbs never occur in CSR without the -s'а particle. Below is a list of the most important examples of this category.

нравиться/понравиться	'like'
бояться/(побояться)	'be afraid, fear'
-/понадобиться	'need, become necessary'
ложиться/лечь	'lie down'
садиться/сесть	'sit down'
присаживаться/присесть	'sit down and make yourself comfortable'

(6) This is the smallest set of -s'а verbs. These verbs are very restricted in meaning and this usage should not be generalized to other verbs without checking a reliable Russian dictionary or grammar.

кусаться	'bite'
Осторожно! Собака кусается!	'Watch out! The dog bites!'
рыться	'dig'
чесаться	'scratch, itch'

In addition to the six groups given above, there are some forms in -s'а that are either very close in meaning to their non-s'а counterpart (cf. решаться/решиться - 'come to a decision after giving it serious thought', проситься/попроситься - 'ask permission, ask to go potty' (said of a child), 'begging to be done/said') or the semantics of the verb are considerably different from the non-s'а form (cf. полагаться/положиться - 'depend upon someone, put your trust in someone', -/заняться - 'get busy, take care of', браться/взяться - 'get a hold of each other, get a grip on yourself, get busy doing something').

#### 2.14.8 Verbs of motion

The Russian system of verbs of motion has been one of the more popular topics in scholarly and pedagogical works on CSR. I will briefly review the major formal and semantic principles of the category with examples. [For a complete listing of all prefixed and non-prefixed verbs of motion, together with their prepositional government, case usage, examples and exercises, see Andrews, Averjanova, Pjadusova 2001: 124 - 225. There are two imperfective forms of non-prefixed verbs of motion - determinate and indeterminate. The perfective is only possible with a prefix, but not all prefixed verbs of motion are perfective.

##### 2.14.8.1 Determinate verbs

1. Determinate verbs are either irregular in conjugation or belong to the following classes:  
-aj, -e, t/d, s/z.
2. The meaning of the determinate verb is like a "freeze frame," i.e. the action characterized is like a snapshot, a *moment* in the space/time continuum.

3. The determinate form is most often translated as a progressive *-ing* form.

Куда ты идёшь? 'Where are you going?'

Я иду домой. 'I'm going home.'

4. The determinate has an embedded goal that, when explicit, is almost always accusative.

There are exceptions to this generalization (cf. example 4c).

a. Автобус идёт в парк. 'The bus is heading for the park.'

b. Автобус идёт по улице. 'The bus is going down the street.'

с. И корабли и катера плывут в краю ночном.

'Ships and boats are going to the night world' (lyrics of  
2001 T. Bulanova song)

5. There are some expressions that may only use a determinate form.

Сколько идти/ехать? 'How long does it take on foot/by vehicle?'

Дождь/снег идёт. 'It's raining, snowing.'

Дождь/снег шёл. 'It was raining, snowing.'

[Note the following perfective form:

Дождь/снег пошёл. 'It started to rain, snow.']

Новый фильм идёт. 'A new film is playing/showing.'

Тебе это платье очень идёт. 'That dress is becoming to you/looks good on you.'

6. If the determinate occurs in the past tense, it must mean one of the following:

a. Часы пробили двенадцать, когда мы шли по набережной.

'The clock struck twelve while we *were walking along* the embankment.'

b. Когда я ехал на работу, я видел страшную аварию.

'I was *on my way* to work when I saw a horrible accident.'

#### 2.14.8.2 Indeterminate verbs

1. Past tense form often gives meaning of a "round trip."

Вчера вечером мы ходили в гости к Саше.

'Yesterday evening we went to Sasha's house.'

2. The indeterminate *names the action*.

Мой ребёнок уже ходит. 'My child can already walk.'

Я люблю кататься на лыжах. 'I love to ski.'

Мать в последнее время плохо ходит. 'My mom's having trouble walking lately.'

Я люблю ездить поездом. 'I like to ride the train.'

3. The indeterminate may *characterize the action*.

На чём вы ездили? - На машине. 'How did you go? - By car.'

4. The indeterminate may refer to 'using the bathroom.'

Я очень часто хожу в туалет. 'I go to the bathroom frequently.'

[also perfective - *сходить*]

#### 2.14.8.3 Simple perfective verbs of motion with *po-* prefix

1. The *po-* perfective has the following meanings when used with a determinate stem:

inception of the action

Мы пошли в кино. 'We set off for the movies.'

change of speed or direction

Пойдём быстрее!

'Let's go faster!'

2. When the prefix *po-* is combined with an indeterminate stem, the meaning is usually one of duration with no culminating spatial goal:

походить 'walk around for a little while'

поездить 'drive around for a while'

Note that there are a number of perfectives formed from both determinate and indeterminate verbal stems.

Как вы съездили? - Спасибо, хорошо!

'How was your trip? - Great, thanks!'

[here, a round trip meaning is obligatory]

Как вы доехали? - Нормально!

'How was your trip? - Fine.'

[here, only one leg of the trip is completed]

#### 2.14.8.4 Different modes of motion

Russian verbs of motion will often distinguish between motion 'on foot' and motion 'by vehicle.' In fact, the traditional description is misleading. Note the following parameters concerning this distinction:

1. Vehicles on tracks or routes (especially trains, buses, trolleys, trams, boats and some taxis) use the forms *ходить/идти*.

2. When going about town (to work, to the movies, to a game), the verbs *ходить/идти* are generally used., even when a mode of transportation was engaged.

3. The forms *ездить/ехать* must be used when going beyond the city limits or between countries. If flying is involved, then use *летать/лететь*.

### 3. Syntax

#### 3.1 Syntax and syntactic categories

Word order in CSR has typologically been categorized in the context of the world's languages as SOV and SVO. In terms of these 2 generalizations, if the object is pronominal or an animate common or proper noun, then it is more likely to occur before the verb. Inanimate and non-pronominal objects often occur after the verb. The orders OSV, OVS, VSO are also possible. In general, there is a great deal of variety and flexibility in Russian word order. However, a change in word order may not only change the tone of the utterance, but may indeed change the referential meaning in a profound way. Compare the following sentences:

Я должен тебе сказать кое-что.

'I should tell you something.'

Я ему должен десять долларов.

'I owe him \$10.'

Ему сорок лет.

'He's forty years old.'

Ему лет сорок.

'He's about forty years old.'

#### 3.2 Conditionals/Hypotheticals

The Russian realization of the conditional mood is straightforward. The future tense is generally required in conditional clauses following *если* 'if'. *Если* may also be used together with the hypothetical particle *бы*. The particle *бы* is used either before or after

the verb, which is obligatorily in the past-tense form. Like all particles in CSR, does not take the stress, but shares it with either the word preceding or following it. Not all hypothetical constructions are conditionals and vice-versa. Because CSR does not have a complex tense system, many of the nuances found in the English verb tenses in conditional constructions are ambiguous in Russian. Note the following examples and their multiple English translations:

Если ты не придёшь вовремя, (то) мы не успеем на концерт.  
'If you don't come on time, we won't make it to the concert.'

Если бы ты знала, что я думаю по этому поводу, (то) ты бы не завела эту тему.  
'If you (only) knew what I think about that, you wouldn't have brought it up.'  
'If you hadn't known what I thought about that, you wouldn't have brought it up.'

Я бы позвонила ему, но что-то меня останавливает.  
'I would call him, but something is stopping me.'

Если бы он был умным, он бы поступил в университет с первого раза.  
'If he were smart, he'd get in to college on the first try.'  
'If he would have been smart, he would have gotten into college on the first try.'  
'If he were to have been smart, then he would have gotten into college on the first try.'

### 3.3 Grammatical particles

In addition to the hypothetical particle бы, there is the interrogative particle ли. The rules for placement of the interrogative particle ли are more rigid than for the other particles. Namely, ли must follow the first word-form that carries stress in the clause. This means that ли may not be the second word if the first word is a preposition or a negative particle. The particle ли is required in reported questions and when evoking the meaning of 'whether [or not].' Note the following examples:

Лариса спрашивает, знаете ли Вы, когда будут давать зарплату?  
'Larisa is asking if you know when they're going to be giving out our monthly salary.'

Саша интересуется, идут ли ему новые брюки?  
'Sasha wants to know if his new pants look good on him.'

Мы не знаем, есть ли у неё греческий словарь.  
'We don't know whether or not she has a Greek dictionary.'

Кира собирается звонить в девять, что ли?  
'Kira is going to call at nine, right?'

Purpose clauses or constructions in which the subject wants someone to do something require the use of чтобы in CSR. Note the following examples:

Чтобы все твои мечты сбылись!  
'So that all of your dreams come true!' (said as a toast or a wish)

Он хочет, чтобы ты позвонил сестре.  
'He wants you to call your/his sister.'

Я переехала в Петербург работать.  
'I moved to St. Petersburg to work.'

Я переехала в Петербург, чтобы найти хорошую работу.  
'I moved to St. Petersburg in order to find a job.'

### **3.4 Verbal government**

In earlier sections on nouns and prepositions, we have seen the importance of syntactic constraints of case usage following particular word forms. The cases required with verbs in CSR is a rich combination of the entire system. In some instances, a verb will require only one object case, while in other instances multiple cases and prepositional phrases are possible. Substantial lists of verbs and their government are given in the discussion sections of each of the Russian cases, as well as in the section on prepositions. In order to show the complexity of verbal government in CSR, consider the following examples:

Папа вызывает интерес у нас к своей работе.  
'Dad is getting us interested in his work.'

Ребёнок наконец-то взялся за ум.  
'My kid finally got his head on straight/got his act together.'

Я решил остаться в Москве у друзей ещё на неделю.  
'I decided to stay with friends in Moscow for another week.'

Не сбивай меня с толку!  
'Don't get me off track/make me lose my train of thought.'

На твоём примере я убедился в том, что нельзя пить!  
'After watching you I became convinced that no one should drink!'

### **3.5 Impersonal constructions**

Impersonal constructions play a major role in sentence-level discourse in CSR. We have already seen one example of impersonal constructions in connection with a set of verbs with the particle -s'a (cf. Мне не сидится - 'I can't sit still.' Нам сегодня ночью не спалось - 'We couldn't sleep last night'). In the present section, I will survey the range of forms that are used as impersonals and the semantic space which they occupy. Impersonal constructions are not bound only to verbal constructions, but can occur with the zero-copula 'be' in present tense constructions with adverbs. Those truly impersonal

verbs will always have a neuter singular form in the past tense, and a third singular form in the present and future.

The semantic fields that are generally associated with impersonal expressions include:

### **Weather and nature**

Мне холодно.	'I'm cold.'
Нам было тепло, пока Ксюша не открыла окно.	'We were warm until Ksyusha opened the window.'
Дует.	'There's a draft.'
Тебе не дует?	'Is the draft getting you?'
Морозит.	'It's freezing outside.'
В январе очень холодно.	'It's very cold in January.'
Дождит.	'It's raining. It's rainy.'

### **Psychological and physiological human states (and smells)**

Ему грустно.	'He's sad.'
Ей будет скучно на этой лекции.	'She's going to be bored at that lecture.'
Мне нездоровится.	'I'm not well.'
Меня знобит.	'I've got chills.'
У меня болит в груди.	'I have a pain in my chest.'
У него заложило уши.	'His ears are stopped up.'
Пахнет хлебом.	'It smells like bread.'
От него воняет.	'He stinks.'
В саду благоухает.	'It smells wonderful in the garden.'
Люсю клонит в сон.	'Lucy can't keep her eyes open.'
У Вани потемнело в глазах.	'Everything went dark' (Vanya passed out).
У мамы звенит в ушах.	'There's a ringing in my ears.'
Его бросает в жар.	'He's broken out in a fever.'
Нам неудобно.	'We're uncomfortable' (emotionally and/or physically), 'it's awkward for us'
Ребёнка вырвало в школе.	'The child threw up in school.'

### **Use of infinitive in simple statements and questions**

Заказать вам такси?	'Can I call you a cab?'
Вам помочь?	'Do you need some help? Can I help you?'
Не сходить ли нам в кино?!	'Would you like some help?'
Положить ещё?	'What about us going to a movie?'
Дать тебе ручку?	'Would you like some more?'
	'Do you want me to get you a pen?'
	'Would you like a pen? Can I get you a pen?'

### 3.6 Proverbs and collocations

The use of proverbs and collocations remains a very important part of normal Russian discourse. Because of the frequency of proverb/collocation usage, in many instances only a portion of the saying is pronounced. In other instances, the entire proverb is stated, and the hearer may add on what could be considered a continuation of the proverb itself. Note the following examples: [The parts in parentheses are optional in the recitation. The parts in brackets are potential retorts.] My translations are not literal, but attempts at an English equivalent. For a thorough treatment of proverbs and collocations, see Dal' (1862/1957), Mertvago (1995), Mixel'son (1994), Mokienko (1999), Moščevitina (1996), Permjakov (1970).

За что боролись, (на то и напоролись!)	'Be careful what you wish for!'
Твоими бы устами (да мёд пить!)	'From your mouth to God's ear.'
Век живи, век учись... [а дураком умрёшь!]	'Live and learn...and die a fool!'
Старость не радость! - [А молодость гадость!]	'Old age sucks... and being young is yucky too.'
Первый блин (комом!)	'If at first you don't succeed...'
Тише едешь, (дальше будешь.)	'Slow and steady wins the race.'
Любишь кататься, (люби и санки возить!)	'You can't have your cake and eat it too.'
Язык до Киева (доведёт!)	'You have a tongue -- use it!'

### 3.7 Use of profanity in CSR

The subject of profanity in Russian has long been taboo. In the following remarks, I would like to outline the basic trends in the use of obscenity in spoken and written Russian, and provide some simple euphemisms that are used by a broad range of the population.

Until the early 1990's, it was impossible to imagine seeing in official print any form of verbal obscenity. This trend is no longer as true as it once was, but it is no exaggeration to state that the Russian media is still more conservative in its use of profanity in public than many of its western counterparts. The situation in spoken Russian is also rather complicated. It is still the case that women are less likely to use profanity than men, especially beyond the immediate family. However, contemporary speakers of Russian are more freely using profanity in larger discourse situations than was true in the Soviet era. Some of the words that one will commonly encounter in media and discourse include:

Иди к чёрту!	'Go to the devil!'
сука, стерва	'bitch/bastard'
сукин сын	'son-of-a-bitch'
ёлки-палки, ёлки-моталки,	
ёкси-шмокси , ё-кэ-лэ-мэ-нэ	'fiddlesticks'
Б-лин!	'Crap! (lit. 'pancake')'
ё-моё, ёшкин кот, едрёна мать	'Dammit!'

The use of the 3 Slavic roots in various word-formative combinations is often referred to as “three-story obscenity” (трёхэтажный мат) and no examples of that phenomenon will appear here. One of the more interesting uses of this type of obscenity (from a purely linguistic point of view) is the ability to replace the root of a given word with an obscene root in order to achieve a mundane meaning like 'steal' or 'bore.' For the curious reader who is interested in this topic, there are a series of Russian dictionaries of obscenities published both in Russia and abroad that are easily available.



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