Some Issues of Reorganizing the Russian One-Stem Verb Classes R. Feldstein Indiana University

I. Stress differences in -avaj- and -j-a- stems.

Problem: In some instances, differently stressed, but segmentally identical stemtypes, have different conjugations, according to the Jakobsonian system. This is an unnecessary complication, especially for pedagogical purposes. Solutions are discussed which remove stress differences as a factor in using stems to predict verbal paradigms.

А. давай-, -ставай-, -знавай- type.

- 1. As introduced by Jakobson, implies a stressed **-vá-** as the environment, in order for this syllable to be deleted in the present tense.
- 2. Therefore, the stem ππάβαἤ– is not considered an exception, in spite of ending in the identical segmental **–avaj**–, and it does not appear in Jakobson's exception list. (The archaic **πομαβάἤ– is** a real exception to Jakobson's system, but is not listed either, perhaps due to its archaic nature or just as an oversight.)
- 3. Reasons for wanting to change the давай- type:
- a. The vast majority of basic stems use only segments, not stress as predictors, so this complicates the system for a small number of verbs.
- b. The rule specifying the loss of -vá- is isolated and was originally grouped with the "disappearing (nu)" verbs, since both lose a whole syllable. But, -vá-truncation is even less motivated, since it is not even stem-final.
- 4. The use of stress as a conditioning factor and the loss of the whole syllable **-vá**-can be eliminated by referring to these stems as: **-ava-**, i.e. **дава-**.
- 5. Analogous to $-\mathbf{ova}$ -, $-\mathbf{ava}$ would be a subspecies of $-\mathbf{a}$ stems, which experience the truncation of $-\mathbf{a}$ before vowel endings of the present tense. They also form a connected group in that they have the glide mutation of $\mathbf{v} \rightarrow \mathbf{j}$, described in detail by Flier.
- 6. Note that when the **-ov** of an **ova** verb is part of the root, a rule specifies that the present tense stress is on the ending (κyκ, κyëτ, etc.). Significantly, the **-ava** type has **-av** as part of the root (dav-a-) and the stress rule is identical (даю́, даёшь, etc.). (It should be noted that Flier, in spite of his use of glide mutation,

retains the rule which deletes the entire $-v\acute{a}$ - sequence in the present tense, with no commentary as to the stress restrictions on this phenomenon).

If one does consider that the basic stem is дава—, belonging to a separate —ava—group, the major difficulty is the imperative, давай, which could be described either as a stem alternation to davaj— in the imperative, or as the use of an irregular imperative ending —j. Although Laskowski opts for the special —j ending in his version of the Polish one—stem system, I prefer the solution of a different stem in the imperative. Irregular imperative stems also can be found in cases such as сыпь, капь, беги, but there is no case for a unique imperative ending. Therefore, I prefer the option of basic дава—, with an irregular imperative. The use of this same irregular stem давай— for the gerund is less of a problem, since —a suffixed verbs do not normally form a gerund from their basic stem in any case, preferring suppletive stems, such as пописывая, in the absence of a gerund from писа—.

- B. Stress and irregular -j-a- stems.
- 1. The major problem here is that of distinguishing the basic stems of Conj. II "ža-verbs" and Conj. I "a-verbs." For Jakobson, this was only an issue when the a-suffix received the stress, since he only differentiated Conj. I and II desinences when they were stressed; i.e. an assignment to Conj. II was only necessary when the endings were stressed. However, due to the less standard status of the neutralized 3pl ending (e.g. *xóдют, instead of xóдят), and the need to teach students the orthography of unstressed present tense endings, modern handbooks correctly seek to assign Conj. I or II even for verbs with constant root-stress, where the endings remain unstressed.
- 2. Based on the above considerations of stress, Jakobson assigned the stems **stojá**–/**bojá** to Conjugation II. The similar Conj. I stem shape, **smejá**–, therefore, was considered to be an exception and entered Jakobson's list of exceptional types. The larger number of root stressed verbs with stems in **-ja**–, such as **séja**–, **lája**–, **véja**–, etc., did not even receive a conjugational assignment, since they used the single neutralized set of unstressed endings in Jakobson's system.
- 3. However, we can solve this differently, in order to avoid the situation in which the three stems **stoja**–, **smeja**–, and **seja** are ambiguous in predicting their paradigm. In the first place, **smeja** and **seja** can predict Conj. I with no accentual information needed for this purpose. We can further observe that stems in **oja** are of the Conj. II type, but others in **ja** belong to Conj. I. Therefore, I would suggest that stoja– and **boja** belong to an **oja** type, which is a subtype of the "**ža**" type, analogous to the **ova** subtype of the **a** type.

C. Thus, in order to avoid the need to consider stress as a factor which differentiates verbal stem-types, I would include the following:

Conj. I

1. a- pisa-, seja-, smeja- (sja)

2. ova-type: trebova-, kova-

3. **ava-**type: dava-, -stava-, -znava- (irregular imperative and gerund in -aj)

Conj. II

1. ža-type: derža-, dyša-

2. **oja-**type: stoja-, boja- (sja)

II. Regular properties of exceptional verb stems.

Jakobson divides exceptional stems into two types:

- a. A less regular type, in which a secondary stem is used in a somewhat haphazard number of forms that is hard to classify. E.g. **бег** in 1sg, 3pl, and impv.; **бежа** otherwise.
- b. A second type of "regular irregulars," in which there are two stems, with one used before vocalic endings and the other before consonantal.

Some of the regular properties of the second type can be incorporated in listings of verbs, rather than just listing them as exceptional. All such verbs can be divided into two types:

- 1. Those with unexpected (or reversed) mutation: if the basic form predicts any present tense mutation, there is none; if the basic form predicts no mutation, there is constant mutation in all present and imperative forms. These stems can be represented by indicating "(M)" after the basic stem. For example, basic stems stona- (M) and reve- (M) both predict at least some present tense mutation, but the "M" means that the mutation is reversed and there is none in the present. Conversely, st/la- (M) and sla- (M) have basic stems with non-syllabic roots that predict no mutation, but the "M" means that full mutation does occur in the present tense (in the case of sla- the mutation is of the Church Slavonic type, sl→šl').
- 2. Those with a switch in the first vowel of the basic stem. If the basic stem ends in a vowel, the primary basic stem occurs before consonantal endings and the "switched" stem occurs before vowel endings; conversely, if the basic stem ends in a consonant, the primary stem occurs before vowel endings and the "switched" stem occurs before consonant endings.

Examples:

Primary Basic Stem	E.g.	Secondary Stem With Switched Vowel	E.g.
моло- (е)	моло-л моло-ть	мело-	мело−у⊶мелю́
пой- (е)	пой-у (пою)	пей-	пей-л⊸пел, пей-ть→петь
сяд- (е)	сяд-у	сед-	сед−ла→села, сед−ть→сесть
брей- (и	брей-у (брею)	брий-	брий-тьбрить
спа- (и)	спа-л спа-ть	СПИ-	спи−у→сплю
г/на- (и)	гна-л гна-ть	г/о/ни-	г/о/ни-ат⊸гонят

(In the anomalous $6y_{\pi}$, the secondary stem changes not only the vowel, but consonant to zero as well: $6y_{\pi}$ (ы-).)

Thus, exceptional verbs could be presented as follows: **sosa**- (M), **reve**- (M), **poj**- (e), **spa**- (i), etc.

Russian Verb Summary					
I. Simple Non-Suffixed	(All Coni I)				
A. Resonant B/H/k		жи -ть	жи -л		
71. Resonant Bini	ден-ут	деть	дел		
	дуй-ут (дуют)	дуть	дул		
*This type regular	ly drops the stem-final v/	n/i before a consonant e	ending; i.e. its C-C behavior		
is regular.	ly drops the stem man	my obtain a component	manig, ner no e e comurrer		
	ostruent" types all have sp	pecial C-C behavior, oth	ner than simple loss of the		
first C.	_ ,	,			
B. Obstruent δ/c/s	1 ,	грес-ти	грёб, греб-ла		
	нес-ут	нес-ти	нёс, нес-ла́		
sterral of /	грыз-ут	грыз-ть	грыз, грыз-ла		
	lo not drop before conson				
C. Obstruent т/д	мет-ут	мес-ти	мё <u></u> -л, ме <u></u> -ла́		
	вед-ут	вес-ти	вёл, вела		
	ange to c- before infinitiv				
D. Obstruent κ/r	пек-ут	печь	пёк, пек-ла		
	мог-ут	мочь	мог, мог-ла		
*The к/г со:	mbine with -ть to give -ч	(spelled -чь); they act	like б/c/з before past -л.		
Velars к/г mutate to ч/ж	before the -e- (-ë-) ending	gs of the present tense:	печ-ёт, мож-ет.		
II. Suffixed					
	adı. All ahana Einat Danaan	. Cina Mutation if the			
			presuffixal consonant can lus a single vowel suffix.		
1и-	плати-ть	плачу́			
1и- 2е-			платят		
	виде-ть	вижу	видят		
3жа-/-ойа		держу	держат		
	стойа-ть	стойý	стойа́т		
	(стоя-ть)	(стою́)	(стоят)		
D G	g og 1 g 11 1		1 2707		
			do NOT cause mutation, and		
		mutating suffixes contain	in two segments, while the		
mutating type has		\ 1 \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \			
	es (with VC or CV suffix	es) do not nave mutation	on in the present.		
1. ай/ей	делаи-ут (делают	r) <u>де́ла_</u> -ть			
2 // >	имей-ут (имеют)		имел		
2. ну/(ну)	прыгнут	прыгну-ть	прыгну-л		
D (1 : 1/)	ослабнут	ослабну-ть	ослаб		
Parenthesized (Hy	refers to the subtype wh	ich loses the whole suff	ix in the past tense. When		
that happens, the v	erb acts like an a non-sul	ffixed verb with whatev	er consonant preceded (Hy).		
The following	ng four types (all ending	in non high non front	a a) have mutation in all		
present forms, if p		iii iioii-iiigii, iioii-iioiit a	a, o) have mutation in an		
3. a	,	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	77700 T		
	пишут	писа-ть	писа-л		
4. oba	требуй-ут es to -уй- throughout pres	требова-ть	греоова-л		
	ъ ю -уи- un ougnout pres		Taná T		
5. ава	дай-у́т (даю́т)	дава-ть	дава-л		
(-ab- mutates to -a	ий- throughout present ter	=	-		
6. o	ко́ль-ут (ко́лют)	коло́-ть	коло́-л		

III. Stems with vowel complications (mutation of stem vowels or zero-vowel are in the basic stem).

1. ой-	ой > ы before consonant	мой-ут (моют)	мыть	мыл
2. Сь/й-	Inserted -И- before cons. ending. inserted -Е- in imperative: пей!	пь/й-ут (пьют)	пить	пил
3. C/p-	Two inserted -E- vowels in infin. One inserted -E- (-Ë-) in past plus obstruent type behavior of -p-л.	т/р-ут	тере-ть	тёр- <u></u> тёр-ла

4. C/H-, C/M-

Inserted -A- before consonants,	м/н-ут	МЯТЬ	мяла
with softening of previous	нач/н-у́т	нача́ <u></u> -ть	нача <u></u> -ла́
consonant, if possible.			

Nasal n/m appear intact before a vowel ending. Before a consonant, the nasal drops and a- is inserted, together with softening of preceding consonant (looks like inserted -я-).

5. Й/М, НИМ

In the special case of - \Breve{M} /M- (after vowels) and -HИM- (after consonants), the sequence -H \Breve{H} - is used when the stem-final nasal is lost.

6. CC-a (Sometimes called ns-a.)	пой/м-ут сним-ут	понять снять	поняла сняла
o. CC-a (Sometimes canculis-a.)	бер-у́т	бра-ть	бра-л
	зов-ут	зва-ть	зва-л
	жд-ут	жда-ть	жда-л

Lacks the present tense mutation of a-suffixed verbs. If a slash appears in the basic stem (6/pa-, з/ва-, д/ра-), a vowel inserted in the present tense system (present and imperative), i.e. before vowel endings.

7. C/C obstruent stems: ж/г-: жг-у, жж-ешь, жг-ут ж/ё/г, ж/г-ла; же́чь

> -4/T-: учт-у, учт-ёшь, учт-ут уч/ё/__-л, уч/__-ла; уче́сть

8. Exceptions: a. Unexpected present mutation: стона- (М), ст/ла- (М), реве- (М)

> b. "Switch" of first stem vowel: моло- (е), пой- (е), брей- (и), спа- (и), г/на- (и).

c. Isolated exceptions: бежа- (бег- 1sg, 3pl, impv.) хоте- (хота- Sing.)

> сыпа- (сыпи- ітру.) капа- (капи- impv.)

d. Anomalous ид- (и- inf.)