1. It has become customary to derive the accentuation of a word form from inherent accent-generating properties of its constituent morphemes. Though this seems to be a suitable technique in the case of languages with inherent tonal features, such as African languages or Common Slavic, one may wonder if it is equally appropriate for a language like Russian, where accent is a configurational feature. In the words мъна 'torment' and мъна 'flour', the stress on the first vowel conditions the absence of stress on the second, and vice versa: there is no opposition with two or zero accents. Thus, stressed and unstressed u are not different phonemes because they are not found in one and the same position; phonemic stress is a property of the sequence. It is by no means clear that the descriptive technique which assigns inherent accentual properties to the separate morphemes and eliminates the resulting overspecification by rule should yield an adequate description of the facts, not to mention its explanatory power. As Zaliznjak points out in his recent book on the history of Russian accentuation (1985: 37),

and this is why its theoretical premises should be reconsidered.
2. The primary function of stress in contemporary standard Russian is a contrastive one. Since the noun is inflected for number and case, the stress may or may not differentiate
(1) a stem from other stems,
(2) the plural from the singular,
(3) a plural case form from the other plural case forms,
(4) a singular case form from the other singular case forms,
or any combination of these. The plural case with a distinct stress is either the nominative, where the stress is retracted, or the genitive, where it is shifted to the desinence. The singular case with a distinct stress is the accusative, which is in a few instances identical with the nominative; the stress is retracted here. As a consequence, one can predict the accentual paradigm of any Russian noun (except the five words mentioned in footnote 1) on the basis of the four criteria listed here, without specifying the flexion class of the individual words, and without assigning accentual properties to the separate case endings.

3. The large majority of Russian nouns have fixed stress on the stem. If we regard this as the normal type and mark the presence and absence of a stress shift according to the four criteria listed above with the signs - and +, respectively, we arrive at the following classification.

++++: fixed stress on the stem.
-+++: fixed stress on the desinence.
++++: e.g., мастер, сад, глаз, господин, место, мбре.
-+++: e.g., винт, перб, дно, сух, кислотб, тяготб.
-+-+: e.g., кбнь, гвбздь, крыльб, губб, нздрб.
+-++: e.g., волбк, вблбс, йбхо, дербвбня, ночб.
----: 11 nouns, e.g., овцб, сембя, судбя, кольбб.
-----: 19 nouns, e.g., горб, рукб, бородб, йбголь.
+++--: йбголь, йбгорб, йбзел.
+++-: заёбм, наёбм.
+-++: 10 nouns, e.g., водб, збмб, ценб.
-----: зембя.
+++--: господь, перёб.
Only three of the sixteen logical possibilities are not attested \((++-+, \++, \--\)). The accent of a word form can be derived from the product of the relevant markings: if this is +, the stress is on the stem; if it is -, the stress is on the ending.

4. If we want to apply the method advanced here to the adjective, we are faced with the fact that approximately 90 words have accentual variants. The stress of an adjective may or may not differentiate

1. the stem from other stems,
2. the short plural from the long form,
3. the feminine from the neuter short singular form,

or a combination of these. The feminine short singular form has final stress in all mobile types, while the corresponding masculine form is stressed on the stem.\(^6\) If beside + and - we use the sign o to mark an optional stress shift, we arrive at the following classification.

-++: e.g., лукавый, лукава, луково, лукавы.
-++: e.g., смешной, смешная, смешно, смешны.
-++: e.g., горячий, горячка, горячо, горячая.
-++: e.g., тонкий, тонко, тонка, тонки.
-+-: e.g., молодой, молодка, молодо, молоды.
+-o: e.g., властный, властен, властна, властно, властны.
+o0: e.g., полный, полна, полна, полны.
+o+: e.g., лёгкий, лёгко, легка, легко, лёгки.
+o-: e.g., сильный, сильна, сильно, сильны.
-o0: e.g., простой, прост, проста, просто, просто.

The accent of the neuter short singular form can be derived either from the corresponding feminine or from the plural, whichever is not marked by o.

5. Pronominal forms are stressed on the ending.\(^7\) In the verb, the stress may or may not differentiate

1. a stem from other stems,
2. the past from the present tense,
3. the 1st sg. from the other present tense forms,
4. the fem. sg. from the other past tense forms,
or certain combinations of these. Examples:

+----: лёзы, лёземь, лёзла, лёзли.
+----: блуду, блудёнье, блюда, блюлъ.
+----: лягу, ляжешь, легла, легли.
+----: грызъ, грызёшъ, грызла, грызли.
+----: могу, могуешь, могла, могли.
+----: буду, будешь, была, были.
+----: пойму, поймешь, пошла, пошли.
+----: приму, примешь, приняла, приняли.

6. The development of the Russian accentual system since Common Slavic times is characterized by a shift from a system where the accent of a word form can be derived from inherent properties of its constituent morphemes to a system where it is determined by the presence or absence of stress shifts in specific categories. This development can be viewed as a corollary of the loss of distinctive tone, which was an inherent feature in Common Slavic times, and the consequent rise of configurational stress as the only prosodic feature of a Russian word form. A similar development is attested in Russian word-formation, where the change is characterized by Zaliznjak as follows (1985: 382):

в терминах Б.А. Дыбу, "переход от парадигматического акцента к категориальному", т.е. переход от системы, где ударение производного слова зависит от акцентной парадигмы производящего, к системе, где ударение производного определяется только его принадлежностью к некоторой морфологической категории слов

so that I propose to treat accentuation in flexion and derivation along similar lines. This is only possible if we start from a theory which takes into account the specific characteristics of the language described.
There are five words, belonging to four different accent classes, where the stress is retracted in the genitive plural, viz. дёньги, судия, сажень (variant with mobile stress), кружею, масло, cf. Kortlandt 1974: 62.

There are four words, belonging to two accent classes, where the stress is shifted to the desinence in the nom.-acc. sg., viz. заем, наем, госпёдь, перед, cf. Kortlandt 1974: 62f.

The following description does not account for accentual mobility within the stem, cf. class II sub 3-6 of Kortlandt 1974: 62. Here belong six words which take the plural stem formative -ёз-, eight words which take the singular stem, formative -ён-, and the words знамя, борё, бесенок, чертенок. In accordance with the approach of Kortlandt 1974: 60f. I would assume a plural stem formative -ёз- before the ending in these four words.

Only the last word (variant with mobile stress) does not belong to the α-flexion.

Here belong the numerals восьемь, девять, десять, двадцать, тридцать and сорок.


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