

STEM-FINAL DEFAULT IN RUSSIAN SHORT-FORM ADJECTIVES RESEAU FRANÇAIS DE PHONOLOGIE, AMIENS, JUNE 26-28, 2024

1. INTRODUCTION

Garde 1968a, b, 1998, Halle 1973, Zaliznjak 1985, Melvold 1989, etc.: the position of Russian lexical stress is primarily determined by the underlying accentuation of various morphemes

- **Accented morphemes** carry an accent on themselves (open class)
- **Post-accenting** and **pre-accenting morphemes** set accent on the next or previous syllable correspondingly: while there are no pre-accenting stems, the class of post-accenting stems is large but closed to non-derived stems
- **Unaccented morphemes** have no accentual specification of their own (closed class estimated to contain more than 400 roots)

If none of the morphemes is dominant:

(1) **Basic Accentuation Principle** (Kiparsky and Halle 1977, Halle and Kiparsky 1979):

Assign stress to the leftmost accented vowel; if there is no accented vowel, assign stress to the initial vowel.

Illustration from Russian short-form adjectives:

Table 1: Adjectival declension, short forms

		FEMININE ACCENTED	NEUTER UNACCENTED	MASCULINE UNACCENTED	PLURAL UNACCENTED	MEANING
a.	accented	uprúg-a	uprúg-o	uprúg-Ø	uprúg-i	‘elastic’
b.	post-accenting	gorjač-á	gorjač-ó	gorjáč-Ø	gorjač-í	‘hot’
c.	unaccented	dešev-á	djóšev-o	djóšev-Ø	djóšev-i	‘cheap’

Expected picture therefore: variable stress varies between stem-initial and suffixal positions

Empirical problems:

- (i) plural retraction in nouns (Zaliznjak 1963, 1967, 1977, Halle 1973, 1975, Melvold 1989, Brown et al. 1996, Alderete 1999, Revithiadou 1999, Butska 2002, Dubina 2012, Osadcha 2019, etc.): systematic stem-final stress in the plural (where variant or post-stem stress is expected)
- (ii) stem-final stress with unaccented endings in SF adjectives and unexpected plural stress (Melvold 1989:184-186)
- (iii) unpredictable stress in long-form adjectives: the accented LF-suffix may bear stress or trigger stress retraction in function of the stem

This talk: a reanalysis of what constitutes the default for SF adjectives

Spoiler: post-stem stress with accented endings, stem-final stress with unaccented ones

- reevaluation of the defaults
- postulating an SF suffix
- tone-based proposal

Main contribution: empirical

2. ALTERNATING STRESS PATTERNS

Melvold 1989:184-186 (data from Zaliznjak 1977): vacillating patterns of adjectival stress

Table 2: Adjectival declension, short forms, supplementary patterns

	FEMININE ACCENTED	NEUTER UNACCENTED	MASCULINE UNACCENTED	PLURAL UNACCENTED	
a'.	žestok-á (žestók-a)	žestók-o	žestók-Ø	žestók-i	'cruel'
b'(c").	visok-á	visók-o (visok-ó)	visók-Ø	visók-i (visok-í)	'tall'
c'.	vesel-á	vésel-o	vésel-Ø	vesel-í (vésel-i)	'merry'
d'(b').	svež-á	svež-ó	svéž-Ø	svéž-i (svež-í)	'fresh'

Pattern b' (Zaliznjak's c", identical to a', they differ only in their alternants):

- post-stem stress in the feminine (with an accented ending) expected
- stem-final stress elsewhere (with **unaccented** endings) unexpected

Pattern c':

- post-stem stress in the feminine (with an accented ending) expected
- post-stem stress in the plural (with an **unaccented** ending) unexpected
- stem-initial stress elsewhere (unaccented stem with unaccented endings) expected

Pattern d' (Zaliznjak's b', plural retraction, two adjectives):

- stem stress in the plural (with an **unaccented** ending): retraction unexpected
- post-stem stress everywhere else (with accented and unaccented endings) expected

The forms in parentheses provide the well-behaved accented, post-accenting and unaccented variants; notation in parentheses indicates Zaliznjak's classes

These are new patterns, which is why they always have well-behaved variants

Melvold 1989 (following Zaliznjak 1977, labels mine):

No one else has bothered, as far as I know

- **a'** pattern: b with retraction in the neuter and in the plural
- **b'** pattern: b with optional retraction in the neuter and in the plural
- **c'** pattern: c with an optional accented allomorph of the plural ending
- **d'** pattern: b with optional retraction in the neuter and in the plural

Retraction in the neuter is not independently motivated (unlike retraction in the plural) and does not occur by itself (only in concert with retraction in the plural, as in Table 2-b')

My proposal: there has occurred a major change in the system:

- i. with unaccented endings **the default stress position in adjectives is stem-final**
- ii. this default position is obtained because **SF adjectives are not underived**

Question: how does the SF suffix derive the patterns in Table 1 and Table 2?

3. SHORT-FORM ADJECTIVES AS A DERIVED FORM

Standard (historical) view: the SF is basic, the LF is derived from it by the LF-suffix (-Vj-, see Halle and Matushansky 2006, Enguehard 2017 on its underlying representation)

Historically, the long form corresponds to the combination of the short form with the definite (or specific) article

Proposal: both the short and the long forms are derived from the adjectival stem:



Halle and Matushansky 2006: the LF-suffix *-Vj-* is a thematic suffix, which can also be found in nouns (e.g., *portnóĵ* ‘tailor’, *zap’atáĵa* ‘comma’)

The hypothesis that the short form is derived better captures the synchronic state of the Russian adjective (Section 7.1)

And the LF could still be derived from the SF (by the suffix *-j-*; see also Section 7.2)

4. SF STRESS AND HIATUS RESOLUTION

Halle 1973, Dubina 2012, Matushansky 2023: underlying accent as a high tone on the accented vowel

Setting aside post-accentuation, which Halle treats by a default rule, Dubina, by lexical stress on the endings, and Matushansky, by a low tone

Jakobson 1948, Lightner 1965, Halle 1973, Melvold 1989, etc.: verbal conjugation provides evidence for vowel-before-vowel deletion

Halle 1973:313, Halle and Kiparsky 1979:133, Melvold 1989:225: the deletion of an accented vowel forces the accent to the preceding syllable

Suppose the SF suffix is vocalic and accented (*-Vj-*):

- It will be deleted before vocalic endings (i.e., before all endings)
- Its accent will move to the preceding syllable
- There will then be no unaccented SF adjectives

Table 3: Adjectival declension, pattern summary

Zaliznjak’s (1977, 2010) pattern notation given in parentheses

	FEMININE ACCENTED	MASCULINE UNACCENTED	NEUTER UNACCENTED	PLURAL UNACCENTED	
a (a)	uprúg-a	uprúg-Ø	uprúg-o	uprúg-i	‘elastic’
a’ (a’)	žestok-á (žestók-a)	žestók-Ø	žestók-o	žestók-i	‘cruel’
b (b)	gor’jač-á	gor’jač-Ø	gor’jač-ó	gor’jač-í	‘hot’
b’ (c’)	visok-á	visók-Ø	visók-o (visok-ó)	visók-i (visok-í)	‘tall’
c (c)	dešev-á	díšev-Ø	díšev-o	díšev-i	‘cheap’
c’ (c’)	vesel-á	vésel-Ø	vésel-o	vesel-í (vésel-i)	‘merry’
d’ (b’)	svež-á	svéž-Ø	svež-ó	svéž-i (svež-í)	‘fresh’

Important: some patterns can be distinguished only in disyllabic stems (e.g., a’ and c)

4.1. Stem final-default (pattern a’) and pattern a

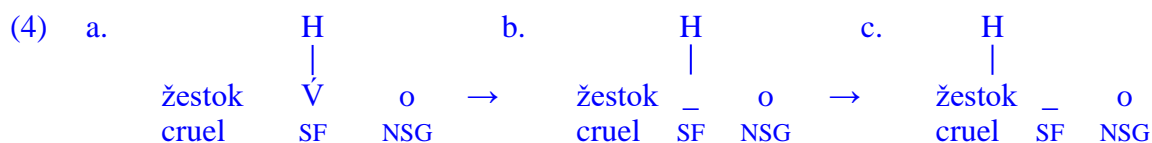
Accented stems (pattern a) will not be affected by the accent of the suffix because of the BAP (1): leftmost stress wins

Pattern a’ is the same as b’, they differ is in what they alternate with: a’ arises from the reanalysis of an accented stem, b’, of a post-accenting one

Pattern a'/b' is derived by **an unaccented root** combined with an accented SF suffix:

- (3) a. *žestoká/žestók/žestóko/žestóki* ‘cruel.F/M/N/PL’ a’
 b. *visoká/visók/visóko/visóki* ‘tall.F/M/N/PL’ b’
 c. accented ending (f): □□●
 unaccented asyllabic ending (m): □■(○)
 other unaccented endings: □■○

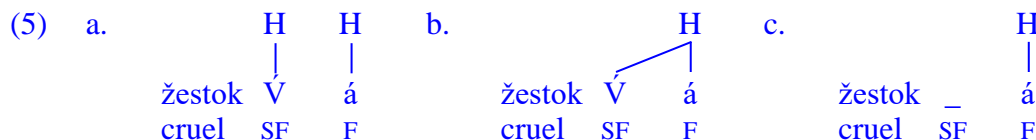
For an unaccented ending the result is stem-final stress:



How to achieve post-stem stress for an accented ending?

Answer: the OCP (Leben 1973): sequences of adjacent identical tones are prohibited (and are replaced with a multiply linked tone)

The deletion of the SF suffix will now not cause the delinking and reattachment of its tone:



Stem-final stress arises as a default in unaccented stems combined with unaccented endings

- (6) a. *žestok-* ‘cruel’, *velik-* ‘great’ a’
 b. *daliok-* ‘far’, *glubok-* ‘deep’, *širok-* ‘wide’, *visok-* ‘tall’ b’
 c. *ostʙr-* (also *ostr-*): *ostrá/ostjór/ostjó/ostrj* ‘sharp.F/M/N/PL’ b’

The alternations characterizing the a’ pattern serve as a diagnostic for monosyllabic adjectives in this category (12 more)

4.2. Stem-initial stress except in the feminine: patterns c and c’

If the a’ pattern in (4-5) rather than the c pattern represents unaccented stems, where does the stem-initial stress with unaccented (i.e., non-feminine) endings come from?

Recall, the c’ pattern means unexpected final stress in the plural, this will be dealt with later

Table 4: Adjectival short forms, stem-initial patterns

	FEMININE accented	NEUTER unaccented	MASCULINE unaccented	PLURAL unaccented	
c.	dešev-á	dióšev-o	dióšev-Ø	dióšev-i	‘cheap’ (5)
c’.	vesel-á	vésel-o	vésel-Ø	vesel-í (vésel-i)	‘merry’ (6)

The pattern unexpected under my view is the default unaccented stem behavior under all others

- (7) a. accented ending (f): □□● I expect (a’) attested (c)
 b. unaccented asyllabic ending (m): □■(○) □■(○)
 c. other unaccented endings: □■○ □■○

How does the stress end up on the stem-initial syllable?

Proposal: stress is stem-initial because it cannot be stem-final

4.2.1. The second full vowel cannot be stressed because of pseudo-pleophony

East-Slavic **pleophony** (see, e.g., Bethin 1998:47-68, Sussex and Cumberley 2006:36-37;207): sequences CVRC historically turned into CV₁RV₂C, with V₁= V₂

The second vowel was epenthetic

Pseudo-pleophony (cf. Worth 1983): some underlying *oC(C)o* and *eC(C)e* sequences have a special status in contemporary Russian (non-obligatorily, cf. (14b-c))

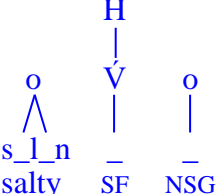
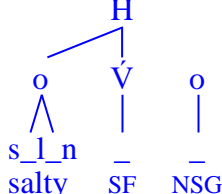
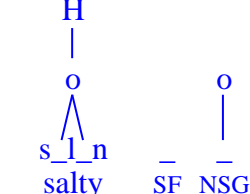
Disyllabic adjectival stems exhibiting the c and c' patterns are unexpectedly uniform:

The LF of the adjectival root *solon-* 'salty' is *sol'ónij* (formerly the participle 'salted')

- (8) a. *dorog-* 'dear', *molod-* 'young', *xolost-* 'bachelor' c
 b. *dešev-* 'cheap'
 c. *torop'k-* 'hasty'
 d. *zelen-* 'green', *vesel-* 'merry', c'
 e. *solon-* 'salty'
 f. *golod'bn-* 'hungry', *xolod'bn-* 'cold'
 g. *korot'k-* 'short'

The full vowels in each of these roots are identical to each other

Hypothesis: the stem vowel can be linked to two positions, as is its accent:

- (9) a.  b.  c. 

Stress is assigned at the leftmost high tone

Or pseudo-pleophony could have a brute-force solution: an extrametrical final syllable

But these adjectives can bear stem-final stress in long forms, why? (Because it is stress that is shifted, not accent?)

4.2.2. The final yers in the trisyllabic roots (8c, f-g) cannot be stressed

The stem-final yer in the trisyllabic roots (8c, f-g) is disregarded by stress

Independent evidence: **yer-containing post-accenting stems** (the b pattern)

Post-accenting stems are characterized by systematic post-stem stress:

There are 27 adjectival stems with this pattern (7 of them disyllabic) and 45 PPPs

- (10) a. *gor'iačá/gor'áč/gor'iačó/gor'iačí* 'hot.F/M/N/PL'
 b. *xorošá/xoróš/xorošó/xoroší* 'good.F/M/N/PL'

The MSG ending is surface zero, and stress falls on the final syllable of the stem:

- (11) accented ending (f): □□●
 asyllabic ending (m): □■(○)
 unaccented endings: □□●

Yer-containing adjectival stems with the b-pattern: the stem-final yer is disregarded by stress:

- (12) a. *ravná/ráven/ravnó/ravní* ‘equal.F/M/N/PL’
 b. *bolná/bólen/bolnó/bolní* ‘sick.F/M/N/PL’

- (13) accented ending (f): □(□)● yer stems
 asyllabic ending (m): ■□(○)
 unaccented endings: □(□)●

The yer-containing stems in (8c,g) allow stem-final stress:

- (14) a. *toropká/torópok/torópko/torópki* ‘hasty.F/M/N/PL’
 b. *korotká/korótok/korótko/korótí* ‘short.F/M/N/PL’

If the roots are analyzed as pseudo-pleophonic, stem-initial stress in the yer-containing stems in (8c,g) ensues:

- (15) a. *golodná/góloden/gólodno/gólodni* ‘hungry.F/M/N/PL’
 b. *toropká/tóropok/tóropko/tóropki* ‘hasty.F/M/N/PL’
 c. *korotká/kórotok/kórotko/kórotí* ‘short.F/M/N/PL’

The optional final stress in the plural in (15c) is discussed in Section 5

4.2.3. Further complication: a’ passive past participles (*t*-allomorph)

The hypothesized stem-final default in SF adjectives easily accounts for a’ but requires pseudo-pleophony (or some other assumption) for c and c’:

- (16) a’: *žestoká/žestók/žestóko/žestóki* ‘cruel.F/M/N/PL’ stem-final default
 c: *deševá/d’óšev/d’óšev/d’óševí* ‘cheap.F/M/N/PL’ pseudo-pleophony
 c’: *veselá/véselo/vésel/veselí (véselí)* ‘merry.F/M/N/PL’ pseudo-pleophony

Issue: four adjectival PPPs derived with the *t*-allomorph:

One and the same root is involved in (17b-d), yielding different stress variants. Unexpected and unpredictable

- (17) a. *razvitá/rázzvit/rázzvito/rázzviti* ‘developed, advanced.F/M/N/PL’ c
 b. *zan’atá/zán’at/zán’ato/zán’ati* ‘busy.F/M/N/PL’ c
 c. *prín’atá/prín’at/prín’ato/prín’ati* ‘accepted, comme il faut.F/M/N/PL’ a’
 d. *pripódniatá/pripódniat/pripódniato/pripódniati* ‘elevated.F/M/N/PL’ a’

Looks like initial stress, except for (17d) with **stem-medial stress with unaccented endings**

If the adjectival stems in (17) were unaccented, initial stress would be expected

Medial stress can be analyzed as retraction from the stem-final syllable if that syllable cannot be accented or stressed

The root in (17a) contains a yer (verbal imperative *razvéj*; [e] is expected when an underlying front yer (ɚ) is vocalized)

The root in (17b-c), surfacing as [(n)im] in the present, as [ja] in the past, could contain a yer: present-tense allomorphy is needed either way to explain the unexpected [n]

Both verbal roots exhibit past-tense stress mobility serving as a diagnostic for an underlyingly unaccented root (cf. Zaliznjak 1977)

Medial stress is also observed in past-tense verbs (17d), for which retraction has not been assumed. But if the root is unaccentable (note that it can be stressed in the present, e.g., in the 2SG *podnímeš*), prefixal stress would be obligatory

Alternative explanation: cyclicity?

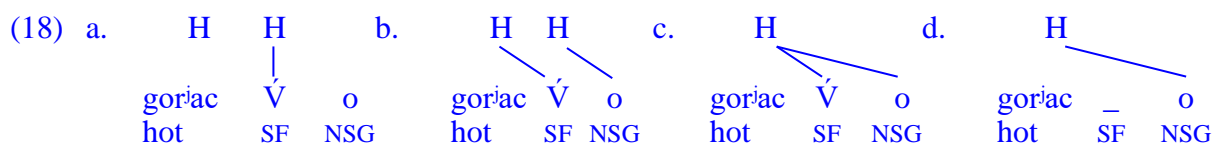
4.3. Pattern b

Dubina 2012 (cf. also Revithiadou 1999): post-accentuation corresponds to a floating tone on the stem

Suppose...

- the floating tone of the stem and the tone of the SF suffix both attach one syllable to the right from their original positions (18b)
- the OCP forces multiple linking (18c)
- and the deletion of the SF suffix will not affect the position of the accent (18d)

Problem: The usual outcome of such a sequence without vowel deletion is stress on the second morpheme (see Appendix II)



The difference between b and d' is that the latter has post-stem stress also in the plural

5. THE PLURAL STRESS (PATTERNS C', D')

The distinction between patterns c and c' lies in the plural:

- (19) a. *deševá/d'óševo/d'óšev/d'óševi* 'cheap.F/M/N/PL' c
 b. *veselá/véselo/vésel/veselí (véseli)* 'merry.F/M/N/PL' c + stressed plural (c')

Melvold explains c' as c with an optionally accented plural allomorph

Where c is analyzed via unaccented stems: stem-initial default with unaccented endings

The adjectival plural suffix *-i-* ([i] after palatalized consonants and velars) is (assumed to be) identical to the nominal nominative plural suffix *-i-* and perhaps the verbal plural suffix *-i-*

- The verbal plural suffix *-i-* is unaccented
 - The nominal nominative plural suffix *-i-* is unaccented
- Except maybe in a class of masculine nouns that are monosyllabic with stem stress in the singular and post-stem stress in the plural. I think they represent retraction in the singular

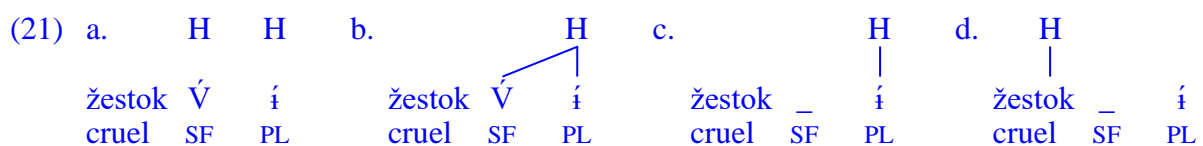
My alternative: **the plural ending is accented, with retraction after certain stems** (just like in nouns; I will not try to analyze retraction here)

Motivation: the contrast between b and d':

- (20) a. *gor'acá/gor'áč/gor'acó/gor'áci* 'hot.F/M/N/PL' b
 b. *svežá/svéž/svežó/svéží* 'fresh.F/M/N/PL' b + unstressed plural (d')

Three adjectives (*svež-* 'fresh', *obšč-* 'general', *nelogĭk-* 'not easy') exhibit post-stem stress in the singular and variation between stem-final and post-stem stress in the plural

Since retraction is independently motivated in the plural, pattern d' can be analyzed as optional retraction:



Retraction places surface stress on the stem-final syllable, just like an unaccented suffix in (4)

Plural ending options then are:

- unaccented: default, independently motivated in nouns and past-tense verbs
- accented: marginally motivated in nouns
- retracting: motivated in nouns; in SFs yields the same outcome (stem-final stress) as an unaccented plural ending

In my approach the retracting option can handle all the cases that the unaccented ending can, and also the d'-pattern (20b)

Prediction: three types of non-accented stems (unaccented, post-accenting, pseudo-plephonic)
* two types of plural endings (accented, retracting)

Table 5: Stem/plural ending interaction

The existence of an alternative variant is indicated by a plus-sign

	ACCENTED PLURAL ENDING	RETRACTING PLURAL ENDING
unaccented	<i>udalá/udál/událo/událí</i> ⁺ 'daring.F/M/N/PL'	<i>žestoká/žestók/žestóko/žestóki</i> 'cruel.F/M/N/PL' (a'/b')
post-accenting	<i>gor'áčá/gor'áč/gor'áčó/gor'áčí</i> 'hot.F/M/N/PL' (b)	<i>svežá/svěž/svežó/svěži</i> ⁺ 'fresh.F/M/N/PL' (d')
pseudo-plephonic	<i>veselá/véselo/vésel/veselí</i> ⁺ 'merry.F/M/N/PL' (c')	<i>deševá/d'óševo/d'óšev/d'óševi</i> 'cheap.F/M/N/PL' (c)

Non-pseudo-plephonic stem-final default adjectives always require plural retraction (a'), one exception (not listed in Table 1):

(22) *udalá/udál/událo/událí* 'daring.F/M/N/PL' no plural retraction with stem-final default

Paradigm uniformity?

Strong evidence against the singular-plural contrast here (contra the usual treatment of plural retraction in nouns, cf. Alderete 1999, Butska 2002, Feldstein 2006, 2017, Dubina 2012, Steriade and Yanovich 2015, Osadcha 2019)

6. EMPIRICAL CONCLUSION (TEMPORARY, WORK IN PROGRESS)

A non-insignificant class of adjectives exhibit the stem-final default in SF (-ok- adjectives, the two adjectives in (23), and potentially, most of the 78 a' adjectives (out of ca. 350 non-accented adjectival stems with SFs))

- (23) a. *velíká/velík/velíko/velíki* 'great.F/M/N/PL'
b. *udalá/udál/událo/událí* 'daring.F/M/N/PL'

An additional accented post-stem vowel (hypothesized to be the SF suffix) can derive this

An SF suffix can be independently motivated, and its effect on stem-initial default adjectives (patterns c and c'), explained by an appeal to pseudo-plephony

Something like pseudo-plephony is also observed in nouns: all a-declension nouns with unaccented stems in the singular are either monosyllabic or share the same vowel across the root

Unexpected post-stem stress in the plural (patterns c', d'): the adjectival plural suffix is always accented, but some adjectives are subject to retraction in the plural

The solutions proposed work for this subset of data but not for the extended picture (long-form adjectives, Section 7)

And the same issues arise for verbal stress (where I argued for the second, low tone in Russian)

7. THE ELEPHANT IN THE ROOM: LF ADJECTIVES

Two issues: (a) no obvious link between the LF stress position (stem-final or post-stem) and the SF stress pattern, and (b) general unpredictability of the LF stress position

7.1. The SF-LF relationship

Babby 1973, 1975, 2010, Siegel 1976a, b, Bailyn 1994, Geist 2010, Borik 2014, etc.: syntactic and semantic distinctions between short-form (SF; predicative) and long-form (LF) adjectives

General assumption: LFs are derived from SFs, which is underived

7.1.1. Semantic divergence

Most Russian adjectives have no short form (e.g., those formed with the suffix *-isk-*, many of those formed with the suffix *-ov-*). If SFs were the basis for LFs, this would be inexplicable
Certain adjectives (ca. 7) have no long form

Derived adjectives containing the suffix *-enik-* (Zaliznjak 1977):

- LF: diminutive (caritive) semantics
- SF: attenuative (low-level) or pejorative semantics

If SF adjectives corresponded to the stem, the primary status of the LF would be inexplicable

7.1.2. Phonological divergence

Halle 1973, Levin 1975, Melvold 1989, etc.: LF stress does not predict SF stress, or vice versa

Most adjectives are in the productive *a* (*a/a*) class: consistent stem stress in the SF indicates an accented stem, which trumps any suffixal accents

Table 6: Adjectival inflection, Zaliznjak's type *b/c'*

<i>nag-</i> 'naked'	FEMININE	NEUTER	MASCULINE	PLURAL	STRESS
SF	nag-á	nág-o	nag	nág-i	variant
LF.NOM	nag-ája	nag-óje	nag-ój	nag-íje	post-stem

Table 7: Adjectival inflection, Zaliznjak's type *b* (*b/b*)

<i>smešn-</i> 'funny'	FEMININE	NEUTER	MASCULINE	PLURAL	STRESS
SF	smešn-á	smešn-ó	smešón	smešn-í	post-stem
LF.NOM	smešn-ája	smešn-óje	smešn-ój	smešn-íje	post-stem

Table 8: Adjectival inflection, Zaliznjak's type *a/b*

<i>gor'iač-</i> 'hot'	FEMININE	NEUTER	MASCULINE	PLURAL	STRESS
SF	gor'iač-á	gor'iač-ó	gor'iač	gor'iač-í	post-stem
LF.NOM	gor'íáč-aja	gor'íáč-oje	gor'íáč-ij	gor'íáč-ije	stem

Adding a suffix is not predicted to yield stem-final stress

Unless the suffix is pre-accenting, but then post-stem stress in LF-adjectives is not predicted

Stem-stressed SF adjectives never yield LFs with stress anywhere else

Otherwise anything goes:

Table 9: Summary of SF-LF relations

SF stress \ LF stress	stem (a)	post-stem (b)	variant
stem (a)	productive	absent	absent
post-stem (b)	18 (17b, 1b') + 45 PPPs	4 (all with the suffix <i>-bn-</i>)	absent
variant	276	37 (c or c')	absent

The LF suffix *-Vj-* introduces an accent, and yet for most adjectival stems is not stressed
Retraction is hugely prevalent, why?

7.2. The unpredictable nature of LF stress

Whether an LF-adjective has post-stem stress or stem stress is unpredictable

Minimal pairs:

- (24) a. *vrémennij* ‘temporary’, *vremennój* ‘temporal’
cf. *vrém'a* ‘time’ (plural *vremená*)
- b. *čúdnij* ‘marvelous’, *čudnój* ‘odd, strange’
cf. *čúdo* ‘marvel, miracle’ (plural *čudesá*, cf. *čudésnij* ‘wonderful’)

Usage variations (the tendency is towards retraction):

- (25) a. *razvitój/rázvitij* ‘developed’
b. *udalój/událij* ‘daring’
c. *obščezavodskój/obščezavódskij* ‘common for factories or a factory’

Halle and Kiparsky 1979: the same suffix may derive different variants (here, from an accented root):

- (26) a. *počtóvij* ‘postal’, cf. *póčta/póčtu* ‘post.NOM/ACC’, suffix *-ov-*
b. *bombóvij* ‘bomb-related’, cf. *bómba/bómbu* ‘bomb.NOM/ACC’, suffix *-ov-*
c. *rózovij* ‘pink, rose’, cf. *róza/rózu* ‘rose.NOM/ACC’, suffix *-ov-*

Many post-stem LF adjectives have no SF variants

If SFs are derived, could LF be derived from either SFs or from the roots?

APPENDICES

I. The stem vowel [e] in stem-initial stress adjectives (c and c')

The intuition that pseudo-pleophonic roots contain one double-linked vowel is undermined by *e*-roots:

- (27) a. *dešev-* ‘cheap’ c
b. *zelen-* ‘green’, *vesel-* ‘merry’ c'

Under stress the root vowel in (27a) behaves differently from those in (27b):

- (28) a. *dešev-*: *díóšev* ‘cheap.SF.MSG’, *deš’óvij* ‘cheap.LF.MSG’
 b. *zelen-*: *z’élen* ‘green.SF.MSG’, *zel’ónij* ‘green.LF.MSG’
 c. *vesel-*: *v’ésel* ‘merry.SF.MSG’, *ves’ólij* ‘merry.LF.MSG’

Historically this is because /š/ in (28a) is not palatalized on the surface

The second vowel is the same, the first one seems to not be, unless one assumes that in (28a) the underlying vowel is /o/ and the preceding consonants are palatalized

II. The need for a two-tone system

Sequences of a post-accenting and an accented morphemes are attested elsewhere in Russian

The usual outcome of such a sequence is stress on the second morpheme (i.e., the two accents merge and are realized on the second morpheme):

Table 10: Accentual interaction in the *a*-declension (basic patterns)

suffix/accent stress position	accented SG.NOM	unaccented SG.ACC	unaccented PL.NOM	accented PL.INS	Zaliznjak- class
stem: <i>lúž-</i> ‘puddle’	<i>lúž-á</i>	<i>lúž-u</i>	<i>lúž-i</i>	<i>lúž-ami</i>	a (∞)
post-stem: <i>čert-</i> ‘line’	<i>čert-á</i>	<i>čert-ú</i>	<i>čert-í</i>	<i>čert-ámi</i>	b (435)
variant: <i>nog-</i> ‘leg’	<i>nog-á</i>	<i>nóg-u</i>	<i>nóg-i</i>	<i>nog-ámi</i>	f’ (21)

If this were cyclic, we would expect retraction (contrary to fact)

Intuition: the accent of a post-accenting stem is not deleted when the SF suffix is deleted

Which is why a floating high tone should not associate here... but why?

Alternative: post-accentuation as a (left-spreading) low tone on the final syllable

And this is what I needed for the 1sg pattern in verbs (Matushansky 2023)

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