

**Genitiv-Akkusativ-Synkretismus bei belebten Stämmen  
 im Russischen: Wunderlichs Alternative**

*Lit.:* Wunderlich (2004)

- (1) *Russian nouns with animacy split in forms that are used in accusative contexts*

	inanimates				animates		
	class 2	class 3	class 1	class 4	class 2	class 3	class 1
	fem. 'map'	fem. 'door'	masc. 'table'	neut. 'word'	fem. 'squirrel'	fem. 'mother'	masc. 'student'
N.sg.	kárt-a	dver'	stol	slov-o	bélk-a	mat'	studént
A.sg.	kárt-u	dver'	stol	slov-o	bélk-u	mat'	studént-a
G.sg.	kárt-y	dvér-i	stol-á	slov-á	bélk-i	máter-i	studént-a
N.pl.	kárt-y	dvér-i	stol-ý	slov-á	bélk-i	máter-i	studént-y
A.pl.	kárt-y	dvér-i	stol-ý	slov-á	bélok	máter-ej	studént-ov
G.pl.	kart	dver-éj	stol-óv	slov	bélok	máter-ej	studént-ov

- (2) *Case features:*

- Nom = ( )
- Acc = (+hr)<sub>V</sub>
- Gen = (+hr)<sub>N</sub>

- (3) *Suffixes*

- /-y/, +pl N.pl (class 1,2 & 3)
- /-a/, +pl/neuter N.pl (class 4)
- /-u/, (+hr)<sub>V</sub> / a] A.sg (class 2)
- /-y/, (+hr)<sub>N</sub> / a] ∨ PAL] G.sg (class 2 & 3)
- /-a/, +hr / C] ∨ o] A/G.sg (class 1 & 4)
- C], +pl,+hr / a] ∨ o] A/G.pl (class 2 & 4)
- /-ej/, +pl,+hr / PAL] A/G.pl (class 3)
- /-ov/, +pl,+hr A/G.pl (class 1)

- (4) *Lexical entries for some Russian case affixes*

	inanimates			animates		
	class 2	class 3	class 1	class 2	class 3	class 1
	'map'	'door'	'table'	'squirrel'	'mother'	'student'
N.sg.	a]	PAL]		a]	PAL]	
A.sg.	/-u/, (+hr) <sub>V</sub>			/-u/, (+hr) <sub>V</sub>		
G.sg.	/-y/, (+hr) <sub>N</sub>		/-a/, +hr	/-y/, (+hr) <sub>N</sub>		/-a/, +hr
N.pl.	/-y/, +pl			/-y/, +pl		
A.pl.						
G.pl.	C], +pl,+hr	/ej/, +pl,+hr	/ov/, +pl,+hr	C], +pl,+hr	/ej/, +pl,+hr	/ov/, +pl,+hr

*Observation:*

The interaction of the suffixes alone does not yet make the correct predictions in all cases.

*Assumption:*

In addition, the distribution of suffixes is regulated by a system of violable constraints in an optimality-theoretic approach.

- (5) *Constraints*

- \*(+hr)<sub>V</sub> inanim. Do not realize the feature [+hr] in accusative contexts of inanimate nouns.
- MAX(+hr). Realize the feature [+hr].
- Ranking of the constraints:  
 \*(+hr)<sub>V</sub> inanim  $\gg$  MAX(+hr)  $\gg$  \*(+hr)<sub>V</sub> anim

- (6) *More constraints*

- MAX(+hr)/ -pl, a]
- SPECIFICITY  
 Choose the affix with the more specific selectional information.
- COMPATIBILITY  
 Do not insert a form in a context in which the categorial specifications are incompatible.

- (7) *Ranking of the constraints*

SPEC, COMP, MAX(+hr)/-pl, a]  $\gg$  \*(+hr)<sub>V</sub> -anim  $\gg$  MAX(+hr)

Put into words: "Realize both accusative and genitive, unless inanimate nouns occur in accusative contexts, excluding class 2 nouns (ending in -a, where there exists the accusative morpheme /-u/)."

(8) Selection of optimal forms in an accusative singular context

a. Inanimate class 2 nouns ( a ] )

	SPEC	COMP	MAX(+hr)/ -pl, a]	*(+hr)/ <sub>V</sub> -anim	MAX(+hr)
karta			*!		*
kart-y		*!			
☞ kart-u					

b. Inanimate class 1 nouns ( masc )

	SPEC	COMP	MAX(+hr)/ -pl, a]	*(+hr)/ <sub>V</sub> -anim	MAX(+hr)
☞ stol					*
stol-a				*!	
stol-y		*!			

c. Animate class 1 nouns ( masc )

	SPEC	COMP	MAX(+hr)/ -pl, a]	*(+hr)/ <sub>V</sub> -anim	MAX(+hr)
student					*!
☞ student-a					
student-y		*!			

d. Animate class 3 nouns ( PAL ] )

	SPEC	COMP	MAX(+hr)/ -pl, a]	*(+hr)/ <sub>V</sub> -anim	MAX(+hr)
☞ mat'					*
mater'-i		*!			

(9) A/N and A/G syncretisms in Russian nouns

A/N syncretism		A/G syncretism	
appears because	is blocked because	appears because	is blocked because
no affix is available (class 3)	an affix is available (class 2)	only underspecified affixes are available (class 1 and plural)	two specific affixes are available (class 2)
a higher-ranked constraint blocks the existing affix (class 1, class 4)	an even higher-ranked constraint forces the existing affix to appear (class 2)		only one specific genitive affix is available (class 3)

Note:

This analysis can be extended to the plural.

(10) Selection of optimal forms in an accusative plural context

a. Inanimate class 2 nouns ( a ] )

	SPEC	COMP	MAX(+hr)/ -pl, a]	*(+hr)/ <sub>V</sub> -anim	MAX(+hr)
☞ kart-y					*
kart-ov		*!		*	
kart				*!	

b. Animate class 2 nouns ( a ] )

	SPEC	COMP	MAX(+hr)/ -pl, a]	*(+hr)/ <sub>V</sub> -anim	MAX(+hr)
belk-i					*!
belk-ov		*!			
☞ belok					

Literatur

Wunderlich, Dieter (2004): Is There Any Need for the Concept of Directional Syncretism?. In: G. Müller, L. Gunkel & G. Zifonun, eds., *Explorations in Nominal Inflection*. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, pp. 373–395.