This paper describes predicate adjective usage in modern standard Russian using a corpus of written Russian derived from "Pravda" (neutral literary style) and "Krokodil" (conversational material). The short, long nominative, and instrumental forms are examined in relation to the type of adjective, copulative verb, sentence subject, and other lexicological-semantic factors. Samples cited are similar in structure to Bloomfield's "equational sentences", consisting essentially of a subject noun or pronoun, copulative verb, and a predicate adjective. The body of the text is comprised of: (1) the basic sentences with zero as copula, (2) special lexicological-semantic factors, (3) syntactic factors, and (4) the effect of the copulative verb. (RL)
Predicate Adjective Usage in Standard Russian

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to describe predicate adjective usage in modern Standard Russian. The main corpus consisted of a considerable amount of written Russian as examined in the newspaper Pravda and the periodical Krokodil. The former uses mostly a neutral literary style; the latter contains much conversational material. Most of the examples given in this paper were drawn from these two sources. To save space, many of the sentences have been shortened. Other examples cited in this study were checked by five highly literate native informants. In addition, these informants were utilized in an attempt to establish the existence of variants and any semantic differentiation between such variants.

Russian predicate adjectives may appear in one of three forms: short, long nominative, and instrumental (designated here as S, L, and I, respectively). In a description of their usage, it is necessary to take into account not only the type of adjective, the copulative verb, and the subject of the sentence in which it appears, but also the effect of certain other syntactical factors, of lexicological-semantic factors, and of style considerations.

Russian predicate adjectives occur in what Bloomfield calls 'equational sentences'. This sentence-type consists essentially of a subject noun or pronoun, copulative verb, and a predicate adjective (or noun or pronoun; predicate nouns and pronouns do not concern us here). All the examples


2 Language (New York, 1933), 172f.
cited below belong to this sentence-type. We shall begin the description of usage with basic sentences, containing the present tense of byt' (= zero) 'to be' as copula. In the following sections, other factors will be considered.

1. Basic Sentences With Zero as Copula

1.1. The corpus revealed that many adjectives are either L or S. These adjectives will be called Class I in this study. Examples: on slaboy or slab 'he is weak'; kniga interesnaja or interesna 'the book is interesting'; pol chistoj or chist 'the floor is clean'; plat' krasivo or krasivoy 'the dress is pretty'; urok ochen' trudnyj or truden 'the lesson is very difficult'; povestka dniya obsirnaja or obsirna 'the agenda is vast'; itogi pol'eta otlichnoy or otlichny 'the results of the flight are excellent'; etot priem novoj or nov 'this method is new'; dovec grandioznij or grandiozn 'the palace is enormous'; Ivan umnyj or umny 'Ivan is intelligent'; takoe povedenie nepriilichenno or nepriilichenno 'such behavior is not decent'; otvet jasnij or jasen 'the reply is clear'; uk'erb neznachitel'nij or neznachitel'n 'the damage is slight'. The informants were unable to establish any clear semantic difference between L and S in such sentences. The forms just cited can be considered synonymous. Thus, the assertion often made in normative works on Russian grammar that L denotes a permanent quality and S a temporary quality was found often not to be valid. However, in certain instances such a distinction does exist. In addition, L forms are sometimes felt to be partly substantivized. Examples: on bol'noj 'he is sick' (always) or 'he is a sick man' but on bolen 'he is sick' (now); ona veselaja 'she is a gay person' but ona veseļa 'she is gay' (now). The time modifier may, of course, be expressed: segodnya ja svolbden 'today I am free'; teper' ix radost 'bespredel'na 'now their joy is supreme'. To be sure, examples of L usage when a temporary quality is clearly expressed or understood do occur: rubaska es'che mokraja 'the shirt is still wet'; dela teper' tjazelye 'the situation is difficult now'; pol chistij 'the floor is clean' (now). In the proper context, the latter sentence could have the meaning 'the floor is a clean one' (i.e., always clean).

1.1.1. Both the corpus and previous investigators agree that for Class I adjectives, L is used more frequently in conversation. Conversely, S can

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3 The zero copula may be marked in speech by a non-distinctive pause before L. See Vinogradov, 265, and Bloomfield, 185.
4 For example, A. N. Gvоздев, Очерки по стилистике русского языка (Moscow, 1952), 101.
5 See Vinogradov, 268.
6 For example, see Fontenoy, 368-370.
be characteristic of a literary style. In view of the fact that \( L \) (and \( I \)) usage has greatly increased in the last hundred years, it is not surprising that \( S \) can sometimes appear bookish and obsolete, recalling the syntax of Pushkin-era literature.\(^7\) (See sections 3.5.1.1, 4.4.5, and 4.5.1.1.) Interesting confirmation of the literary character of \( S \) for Class I has been recently provided by a report of a Soviet school teacher. He points out that young Russian children use \( S \) forms rarely until they have mastered the literary language in school.\(^9\)

1.1.2. Certain adjectives are always \( L \) in some semantic situations and \( S \) in others:\(^{10}\) naše delo pravoe ‘our cause is just’ (but on praw ‘he is right’); cenno tečerno ‘prices are fixed’ (but on tvěrd v matematike ‘he is good in math’); ètot zvuk gluxoj ‘this sound is unvoiced’ (but on glux k vsem pros‘bam ‘he turns a deaf ear to all requests’); reběnok živoj ‘the child is lively’ (but on živ ‘he is alive’); koržinka polna ‘the basket is full’ (but ona polnaja ‘she is stout’); on plox ‘he’s in poor health’ (but ëtot restoran ploxoj (or ploх) ‘this restaurant is bad’); ona xorŏšaja ‘she is pretty’ (but ona xorŏšaja ‘she is a good person’).

On participles, see also section 1.3.1.

1.2. Certain adjectives are always \( L \). These will be called Class II. Many have no corresponding \( S \) at all: dom bolšoj ‘the house is large’; traktory amerikanske ‘the tractors are American’; predprijatie gosudarstvennoe ‘the enterprise is state-owned’; ix technika peredovaja ‘their technology is advanced’; stav grošovoj ‘the fine is trifling’; pol zemľanoj ‘it’s a dirt floor’; usad platnyj ‘there is an admission fee’; oni kak čudie ‘they are like strangers’. Superlative forms in -iťi are included here: ta reka dlimešja ‘that river is the longest’.

1.3. Certain adjectives are always \( S \). These will be called Class III.\(^{11}\) Several lack \( L \) completely: rad ‘glad’, gorazd ‘capable’ and simple

\(^7\) For further discussion see A. M. Peškovskij, Russkiy sintaksis v naučnom ocenčenii, 7th ed. (Moscow, 1956), 225f, and Vinogradov, 264f.

\(^8\) The increase of \( L \) and \( I \) usage has been discussed by several investigators. See, for example, Academy, Grammatika, II, 445 and A. A. Ščamidov, Sintaksis russkogo jazyka, 2 vols. (Leningrad, 1925), I, 178. Ščamidov also points here to the disappearance of semantic differentiation between \( L \) and \( S \) in popular speech. For the obsolete character of \( S \) in certain constructions, see Academy, Grammatika, II, 453-455.


\(^{10}\) See also N. Švedova, “Polnye i kratkie formy imen prilagatel’nyx v sostave skazanenego v sovremennom russkom literaturnom jazyke,” Učenye zapiski, Moscow University, CL (Moscow, 1952), 74ff., and Vinogradov, 262f.

\(^{11}\) In substandard Russian, Class III may be \( L \). See, for example, Academy, Grammatika, II, 459.
comparatives such as novoee 'newer'. Most, however, do possess a corresponding L, which is used attributively. Examples of predicate usage:
očerk gotov 'the outline is ready'; den'gi ne nužny 'money is not needed';
oni dovol'ny 'they are content'; Grisha ne soglasen 'Grisha does not agree';
muzýka slyšna 'music can be heard'; gorod viden 'the city is visible'; my
dolžny 'we must'; oni paxoží drug na drug 'they look alike'; kto vinovnen?
'who is guilty?'

1.3.1. Past passive participles are normally Class III: magaziny zakryty
'the stores are closed'; zamóč isporéčen 'the lock is broken'; soldát ranen 'the
soldier has been wounded'; zdanie postroeno 'the building has been built'.
However, a few words of participial origin have become Class I adjectives:
professora rassejamnye (or rassejamny) 'the professors are absent-minded'
and vražske polki rassejamny 'the enemy regiments have been scattered';
ěti ljudi ograničenyye (or ograničenyy) 'these people are narrow-minded'
and naši sredstva ograničenyy 'our resources are limited'.12

1.3.2. Certain adjectives which are Class III in the predicate function
have a different meaning when used attributively: vidnyj inžinjer 'a promi-
inent engineer' (vs. viden 'visible'); dolžnym obrazom 'in a suitable manner',
dolžnyj układ 'a proper contribution' (vs. dolžen 'obliged'); gotovoe platě
'ready-made clothing' (vs. gotov 'ready').

1.4. The intensifiers kakoj 'what a', 'so', takoj 'such a' and samoj 'the most'
may stand before L; kak 'how' and tak 'so' may precede S: kakoj on
vysočij 'he is so tall!'; on takoj lenij 'he is such a lazy one'; on takoj
bol'soj 'he is such a big fellow'; etot paviljon samoj interesný 'this pavilion
is the most interesting (one)'; kak ona krásna 'how pretty she is!'; on ne
znal, čta artysty tak populjarny 'he didn't know that actors were so popular';
my tak dovol'ny 'we're so satisfied'.

2. Special Lexical-Semantic Factors

2.1. The S form of adjectives denoting measurements or age can have
the additional meaning of 'too':13 bolšiki veliki 'the shoes are too large';
broški široki 'the trousers are too wide'; on eščě molod 'he is still too young'
(cf. on molodoj 'he is young'); ulica uzka 'the street is too narrow' (cf. ulica
uzkaja 'the street is narrow'); rukava korotki 'the sleeves are too short';
kommata mala 'the room is too small'. However, in certain contexts the

12 See also ibid., I, 305–307, and Vinogradov, 278–284.
13 When sliškom 'too' is expressed, S or L can follow: etot stol sliškom nizok or nizkij
'this table is too low'.

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implication of ‘too’ is absent: naslednie Čajkovskogo velika ‘Tchaikovsky’s heritage is great’; ēta skantja dostatočno široka ‘this bench is wide enough’; ix moral’nye kačestva vysoki ‘their moral qualities are high’. Perhaps a larger corpus would make possible a hypothesis as to the kinds of context which imply and do not imply ‘too’.

2.2. Certain adjectives which are often used attributively with specific nouns in fixed expressions usually remain L when shifted to the predicate function: polozhenie beznadežnoe ‘the situation is hopeless’; porjadok slov slobodnij ‘word-order is free’; vrenja trudnoe ‘times are difficult’; delo sročnoe ‘the matter is urgent’; bor’ba uporna ‘the struggle is bitter’; pogoda teplaja ‘the weather is warm’; noč těmna ‘the night is dark’; zima xolodnaja ‘winter is cold’. These are not Class II adjectives since S is possible: noč’ temna, bor’ba uporna, pogoda teplja, etc.

2.3. Certain Class I (and Class III) adjectives are always S in fixed idiomatic expressions and proverbs. In these expressions the word-order may be fixed; at any rate it plays no special role. Complements may be present: gorek čišoj xleb ‘a stranger’s bread is bitter’; gol’ na vydunke xitra ‘necessity is the mother of invention’; neroven čas ‘anything might happen’; ruki korotki ‘he cannot do anything’; v strax glaza veliki ‘through the eye of fear danger looks greater’; dolg platežom krasen ‘one good turn deserves another’; on zadnim unom krepok ‘he likes to second-guess’; on fjažel na pod’em ‘he is sluggish’; ne velika beda or beda ne velika ‘there’s no harm’; on vrublja cel i nevredin ‘he returned safe and sound’; u menja xlopot polon rot ‘I have a million things to do’; opjet’ strelčenik vinovat ‘the little guy always gets it in the neck’; ljubov’ zla—poljubiš’ i kožla ‘love is blind’; legok na pomine ‘speak of the devil’; ne tak strašen ěort, kak ego maljujut ‘things aren’t as bad as they are painted’; čem bogaty, tem i rady ‘we’ll be happy with what we have’; on ni živ ni měrjo ‘he is scared to death’.

3. SYNTACTIC FACTORS

3.1. When a Class I adjective is placed before the subject to achieve stress, a stylistic effect, or both, S generally prevails: slab čelovek? ‘man is weak!’; xoroša para urožaja ‘harvest time is beautiful!’; tjažela soldatskaia dolga ‘a soldier’s lot is hard!’; krasivy tam devuški ‘the girls are pretty there’; krasnozvëtva zapis’ gospodina Ivanova ‘Mr. Ivanov’s record is eloquent’; ljubopytna istorija vozniknovenija pada ‘the story of the garden came into being is curious’; xoroši večera osen’ju ‘the autumn evenings are beautiful’. Occasionally, however, L is anteposed: strannyj ty! ‘you are strange!’; umnyj ćetot čelovek ‘this fellow is clever’.
3.2. When a complement is present, the situation varies with the Class.

3.2.1. S prevails for Class I and is always used for Class III: ěti oktyťja važny dlja vse x ‘these discoveries are important for everyone’; on nastřelen po nature ‘he is vengeful by nature’; mašina ekonomična v rassxodovanii gorjučego ‘the engine is economical in fuel consumption’; vaša strana bogata neš’tju ‘your country is rich in oil’; moj kollegi ravnodušny k čet ru įstorii ‘my colleagues are indifferent to this story’; kompanija svobody ot vsjakogo kontroľja ‘the companies are free of any control’; spuitnik raven zvezde platoj veličiny ‘the satellite is equal to a star of the fifth magnitude’; naša strana čužda bol’šinou sovetskich graždan ‘our country is alien to the majority of Soviet citizens’; my dovol’ny komnataj ‘we are satisfied with the room’; on pokož na teba ‘he looks like you’; studenty gotovy k ďakam inam ‘the students are ready for the exams’.

3.2.1.1. L for Class I is encountered infrequently: on ko vsem dobryj ‘he is kind to everyone’; rajon dlja turistov neinteresnyj ‘the region does not interest tourists’.

3.2.2. Class II is L: ruki koriščevye ot zagary ‘his hands are brown from the sun’; ěta komnata podxodjačaja dlja menja ‘this room is suitable for me’.

3.3. When the adjective is the auxiliary of an infinitive, Classes I and III are encountered as such auxiliaries. They are always S: Šta sposoben rabotat’ ‘Sasha is capable of working’ (cf. on sposobnyj (or sposoben) ‘he is capable’); ne budet li on ljubezen ěto objasnit’? ‘will he be so kind as to explain this?’; ja sčastliv ob ětom uznat’ ‘I am happy to learn of this’; deti dolžny otduxat’ ‘children must rest’; S.S.S.R. ne nameren ispol’zovat’ ěto zakon ‘the U.S.S.R. does not intend to use this law’; Gorja gorazd torgovat’jaja ‘Gorja is good at bargaining’; gosti gotovy uexat’ ‘the guests are ready to leave’; Petrov prizvan sledit’ za sobljudeniom dogovora ‘it’s Petrov’s mission to see that the treaty is carried out’.

3.4. When the subject is a neuter pronoun, S prevails for Class I and is always used for Class III: ěto važno ‘this is important’; vsě jasno ‘everything is clear’; ěto interesno ‘this is interesting’; vsě gotovo ‘everything is ready’; odno mužno ‘one thing is necessary’; interesno to, ěto on ne prišel ‘it’s interesting that he didn’t come’. Class II occurs rarely with neuter pronouns. It is regularly L: vsě koriščene ‘everything is brown’.

3.5. Constructions of the type u menja occurred in the corpus mostly with Classes I and II.

3.5.1. L predominates for Class I: pokožka u nego pravil’naja ‘his gait is correct’; stixi u neě plow ‘her poetry is bad’; nastroenie u vsex bodroj,
pripodnjaeto 'everyone is in a cheerful, excited mood'; sovest' u II'ina nesposobnaja k dlitel'nomu sprostvleniju 'Ilyin's conscience is not capable of prolonged resistance'; den' u menja svobodnyj 'I am free today'; narod unas xoroshy 'our people are good'; pis'ca u nix vsegda gorjačaja 'they always have hot food'.

3.5.1.1. S usage for Class I is infrequent and may appear bookish: lico u nego bledno 'his face is pale'; jabloko u vas xorosì 'your apples are good'; glaza u née svezi 'her eyes are clear'.

3.5.2. Class II is L: dom u vas bol'soj 'you have a large house'; pal'to u nego korìchnoje 'he has a brown coat'; jazyk u nix russkij 'their language is Russian'; akcent u nego nastojačij 'his accent is real'.

3.5.3. Class III is usually S: ruki u nego vmyty 'his hands are washed'; topos u nix razrabočen 'they have the question worked out'.

4. Effect of the Copulative Verb

4.1. After byl'-budet 'was' 'will be', i.e., the past or future of byl', usage varies with the Class.

4.1.1. For Classes I and II, I predominates: ego doklad byl' obstojatel'nym 'his report was detailed'; vystorovlienie ne budet lègkim 'the recovery will not be easy'; programma byla neobyčnoj 'the program was unusual'; peregovory budut besplozhnymi 'negotiations will be fruitless'; nastroenie u nas bylo tem boleè pripodnjaet'mu, čto on tam 'our mood was all the more enthusiastic since he was there'; vsè budet poleznyj 'everything will be useful'; to, čto proizšlo, bylo nezametnym dlja menja 'I had not expected this to happen'; štot sotrudnik byl takim že nenadèzhnym, kak i vse predydačie 'this worker was as unreliable as all his predecessors'; trudnymi byli isgovorja 'conditions were difficult'; pogoda byla tèploj 'the weather was warm'; ego vystuplenie bylo lučšim 'his performance was the best'.

4.1.1.1. L and S occur less frequently: on byl' očen' umnyj 'he was very clever'; pogoda byla xolodnaja 'the weather was cold'; upakovka byla plxoaj 'the packing was bad'; dom byl' bol'soj 'the house was large'; starik byl' očen' privetliv 'the old man was very friendly'; zadača budet interesno 'the problem will be interesting'.

4.1.1.2. In certain instances there may be a semantic difference between I or S and L.14 I or S can sometimes suggest a temporary quality, whereas L can point to a permanent quality or can attribute a quality to the subject.

14 Cf. Academy, Grammatika, II, 462 and 466.
with no implication at all as to permanency or non-permanency. Examples: 
vo vtoroj časti koncerta skrivač byl menee ubeditel'nym 'during the second 
part of the concert the violinist was less convincing'. The time modifier in 
this sentence underscores the temporary nature of the quality described by 
the adjective. The following example is similar: v tečenje goda rabota byla 
trudnoj 'the work was difficult during the year'. On the other hand, in the 
ext example no implication as to permanency is made: stixi byli ploxe 
'the poetry was bad'. In this sentence could imply 'at that time', 'in that 
spot', etc. L in dom budet bol'saj implies 'the house (which they will find) 
will be big', whereas I (dom bydjet bol'sim) suggests 'the house (which they 
will build)'. Likewise, the sentence on byl p'janyj (or p'jan) could 
suggest 'he was drunk then', whereas on byl p'janyj suggests 'he was a 
drunk'. 

However, in modern Russian this distinction is often not observed. The 
great increase in I usage with byl-budet in the last hundred years has 
tended to obscure any semantic differentiation. Thus, in contemporary 
Russian it is quite possible to say steny byli tonkim 'the walls were thin' 
with I, even though a permanent quality is manifest. In several of the 
examples cited in 4.1.1 there is no connotation of a temporary quality.

4.1.2. Class III remains S: my budem dovol'ny 'we will be satisfied'; 
spuitnik byl viden 'the satellite was visible'; on byl vinovat 'he was guilty'; 
vzryv budet slyšen 'the explosion will be heard'; on dolžen byl uexar 'he had 
to leave'; muzny byli den'gi 'money was needed'; autobus budet gotov 'the 
bus will be ready'; otec byl praw 'father was right'; mir byl by obepečen 
'peace would be assured'; spasatel'nye rabota byli zaveršeny 'rescue work 
was completed'.

4.2. After the infinitive byt', usage also varies with the Class.

4.2.1. When no finite verb or S adjective (see 3.3) serves as the auxiliary 
of byt', I is used for all classes: u nas est' osnovanja byt' nedoverčchymi 'we 
have reasons to be incredulous'; čelovek s talantom možet sebe pozvolit' byt' 
skromnym 'a man with talent can afford to be modest'; seržant poprosil 
rasrešenja byt' svobodnym 'the sergeant asked for permission to be 
dismissed'; muzno byt' bol'sim, čtoby esto selat 'you have to be tall in order 
to do that'; on stojal ostarozhno, čtoby byt' gotowym k ostuplenju 'he stood 
cautiously so as to be ready for a withdrawal'; on prigibalsja, čtoby ne byt' 
zamečennym uragom 'he stooped down so as not to be spotted by the

15 In all of Pushkin's prose, I was used with byl-budet only four times. See Benson, 
163.
enemy'; zalog našej nezávislosti podvergaetsja opasnosti byť prodannym 'the guarantee of our independence is in danger of being sold out'.

4.2.2. When a finite verb or S adjective (see 3.3) serves as the auxiliary of byť, usage seems to be as follows:

4.2.2.1. For Classes I and II, I prevails: ja xoču byt' otkrovennym s toboj 'I want to be frank with you'; Ol'ga ne mogla byť veselaj 'Olga couldn't be gay'; creš staraja byť vežšiym 'the doctor is trying to be polite'; koncert obeščaet byť zanimatel'nym 'the concert promises to be entertaining'; eti gruppy mogut byť poležnymi dlja dela mira 'these groups can be useful for the cause of peace'; naši divizii dolžny byť peredovymi 'our divisions must be first-rate'.

4.2.2.2. Although I does dominate for Class I, the corpus reveals that S can also be encountered: my dolžny byť ostožnoj 'we must be careful'; on xočet byť ljuboznov 'he wants to be nice'; kniga možet byť poleznaja dlja tex, kto izučaet ispanskij jazyk 'the book can be useful for those who are studying Spanish'. The use of L is rare: ona staraja byť veselaja 'she is trying to be gay'.

4.2.2.3. For Class III the corpus showed a prevalence of S: otsjuda gorod ne mog byť viden 'from here the city could not be seen'; naši sojuzniki dolžny byť gotovy 'our allies must be ready'; malye strany mogut byť polnoj uiničiženy 'small countries can be wiped out completely'; mir možet byť brošen v vojn 'the world can be thrown into war'. I is sometimes encountered: on dolžen byť gotovy 'he must be ready'.

4.2.2.4. L may occasionally occur for Classes I and II: mesto dolžno byť spokojnoe 'it has to be a quiet spot'; zvuk možet byť gluxoj 'the sound may be unvoiced'.

4.3. After the imperative bud'(te) 'be!', Classes I and III were encountered. They were always S: bud' te ljubozny, ostožnoj, gotovy 'be nice, careful, ready'. In the following example the adjective after bud' te serves as the auxiliary of an infinitive: bud' te dobry zapolnit' anketu 'be so kind as to fill out the questionnaire'.

4.4. A separate statement may be made for cases when the copulative verb is one that usually serves as an independent predicate in an action-construction. (In most instances, the verb denotes motion or position—xodit' 'go', sidi 'sit', idít' 'go', prixodit' 'come', priežvat' 'come', vozvraščat'sja 'return', etc.).

4.4.1. When predicate adjectives appeared with these verbs they were chiefly Class I or III. L and I are apparently free variants for any Class w. — 4
when the verb is finite. No semantic differentiation could be established. Examples of L: Kolja přišel trezýj `Kolja came sober'; ja šel p’jamýj `I walked along drunk'; Volodja ustal bledýj n i nračnýj `Volodja got up pale and sullen'; Ivan vysel iz kabineta ozabočenýj, ustalýj `Ivan left the office worried and tired'; predloženie vernulos’ odobrenoe i rekomen dovannoe k vnedreniju `the proposal came back approved with a recommendation to put it into effect`; on sošel gotovyj k boju `he came down ready for a fight`; on lég spot’ dovol’nyj soboj `he went to bed satisfied with himself`; ženéšna sidela okružennaja det’mi `the woman sat surrounded by children`. Examples of I: Paša vernulsja k sebe zadumčivym `Pasha returned home wrapped in thought`; boz upal měrtvym `the soldier fell dead`; píš’mo vyslo súxim `the letter came out uninspiring`; ja vozvraščaújsja bodrým `I am returning in good spirits`; on přišel pervym `he came first`; naše pravitel’stvo vyslo iz vojny ešče bolee okrepsim `our government emerged from the war stronger than ever`; on sgorel živym `he was burnt alive`; on vošel gotovyj k puti `he came in ready to leave`; ego prebyvani v gorede prošlo neza mečenym `his stay in town passed unnoticed`; Boris uxođit domoj razbitym `Boris is leaving for home crushed`.

4.4.2. After infinitives I prevails: nel’zja xođit’ mokrym `you can’t walk around wet`; on uspel vyjít súxim iz vody `he managed to get off unpunished`; on ne xođel vernut’sja utomlěným `he did not want to return all tired out`; spektakl’ obehšala vypjali zanimatelnym `the show promised to be entertaining`.

4.4.3. A past passive participle may serve as the copulative verbal form: most byl’ brošen neuvozným `the bridge was abandoned before it was blown up`; čelovek pokazan priniženym, bespomožnym `man is shown humiliated, helpless`.

4.4.4. If a conjunction such as kak ‘as’, ‘like’, točno ‘as’ stands before the predicate adjectival, L is used: lòšad’ stofala kak ukopaunajja `the horse stood as if glued to the spot`; oni xođat kak p’jamnje `they walk around as if drunk`; ona stofala točno uudiščenajja `she stood as if surprised`.

4.4.5. The use of S with verbs of independent predication in contemporary Russian is rare and may have a bookish, obsolescent coloring: on sídel bledén ‘he sat pale’; djadja vošél surov ‘uncle came in looking stern’.

4.5. We come now to verbs such as stanovit’sja `become`; kazat’sja `appear`, okazyvat’ s’ja `turn out`, ostavat’ s’ja `remain`, delat’ s’ja `become`, byvat’ `be habitually`, etc.
4.5.1. *I* prevails for Classes I and II: organizaci* o* stali aktiv* nymi* 'the organizations became active'; *éto kažetsja verojatnym* 'this seems probable'; oni okazali* bessiel'ny* 'they turned out to be powerless'; oni ostajuli* vernymi principam republiki* 'they remain true to the principles of the republic'; on deluets* skupym 'he's becoming stingy'; uslov* na* redko byvajut blagopriyatnymi* 'conditions are rarely favorable'; *xo* stalo bol's* im* 'the farm became large'.

4.5.1.1. *S* is not frequent for Class I, but it does occur. Sometimes it is suggestive of a literary style: rabotnik* o* stali* ravnodus* k *éto* istorii 'the workers remained indifferent to this story'; *slé* y kažutsja iskrenni* 'the tears appear genuine'; on sdelal* razgovorč* 'he became talkative'; *éto* pokažutsja stranno* 'it will seem strange'. L occurs rarely: ona stala strogaja 'she became strict'.

4.5.2. For Class III, *S* prevails: on okazals* prav 'he turned out to be right'; stali vid* rezultat* 'results became visible'; passažir* o* stali* dovol'no* poezd* 'the passengers were satisfied with the trip'; on stal poko* na* mat' *čika* 'he became like a boy'. I also occurs, especially for past passive participles: gorod kažets* poko* 'Tbilisi 'the city looks like Tiflis'; partija ostat* nezakončenn* 'the game remained unfinished'; dver* okazals* otkrytoj* 'the door happened to be open'.

4.5.3. With infinitive forms of the verbs in question, *I* predominates for all Classes: on sumel sdel* da* popul* 'he managed to make himself popular'; on xö*et kazar* bol'sim 'he wants to appear tall'; nel* zja okazali* otrezann* 'you mustn't be cut off'. The use of *S* is rare and did not occur in the corpus. In the following example cited by Šaxmatov,16 the use of *S* falls under section 3.1: *kak durna dožena ja kazar'sja!* 'how wicked I must seem!'.

4.5.4. The corpus indicated that certain verbs of the general type under discussion are ALWAYS used with *I* regardless of Class. Such verbs are vygljad* 'look', 'appear', 'éustvovat' *sebja 'feel', pritvorja* 'pretend to be', sh* 'be known as', etc. Examples: deti vyglijad* zdorovymi 'the children look healthy'; on éustvoet *sebja ustan* 'he feels tired'; on pritvorja* ranen* 'he pretends to be wounded'; ona slyve* 'they say she's clever'.

5. COMMENT

This study has demonstrated the complexity of predicate adjective usage in modern Standard Russian. This complexity is aggravated by diachronic

considerations—the increase of \( L \) and \( I \) usage. The existence of such an involved grammatical structure and free variants led to confusion at times among the native informants. The following statement by André Mazon is a fitting conclusion to this paper: "Il semble parfois que la langue dispose d'un système de moyens d'expressions trop abondant et qui dépasse la subtilité de l'homme moyen" (op. cit., p. 391).

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