

ON DECOMPOSITION AND RECOMPOSITION OF RUSSIAN FEMINITIVE SUFFIXES

Slavic Department of Humboldt University, Berlin, May 7, 2026

1 INTRODUCTION: COMPLEX AFFIXES

Morphological decomposition usually assumes only one mode of composition:



However, syntax-based approaches to morphology, such as DM, should allow another:



Formation of a complex affix cannot be interpreted compositionally, so **semantic deletion of one of the two affixes is presupposed**

What do we need this novel composition for?

1.1 Augmented stem formation?

Stem and affix augmentation often happens in non-native vocabulary in English:

- (3) a. abolish → abolition, absorb → absorption suffix *-tion-*
 b. truncate + tion → truncation or *-[t]ion-?*
 c. explain → **explanation*, ✓ **explanation**, cf. **explanatory** phonology?
 d. expect → **expectation*, ✓ **expectation**, cf. **protect/protection**

The insertion of *-a[t]-* does not seem to be straightforwardly phonologically motivated and is not limited to one suffix:

- (4) a. event → eventive, expense → expensive, immerse → immersive suffix *-iv-*
 b. provoke → **provocative**, **provocation**; form → **formative**, **formation**

Historically, some nominalizations and adjectives were borrowed from or based on Latin

Stump 2019: the English suffix *-at(e)-* has a dual status: as a verbalizer (*saliva/salivate*) and as a creator of a T-stem used in further derivation (*form/*formate*; *thematizing* use in Stump 2023)

Does this mean that there are two separate suffixes *-ate*? If not:

- How to achieve the semantic inertness of *-ate* in *formation*?
- Why is the addition of *-ate* necessary?

How? and *Why?* are separate issues

And sometimes *-at[e]-* is not enough:

- (5) a. classify → **classification**, **classificatory** suffixal complex *-ic-at-ion-*
 b. simplify, gamify, spotify...

What is *-ic-* doing here?

And is it the same *-ic-* as in (6)?

- (6) a. history + ic → historic (important in history), + al → historical (related to history)
 b. electr- + ic → electric (uses electricity), +al → electrical (related to electricity)
 c. meter + ic → metric (using meters as base), metrical (related to poetic meter; involving measurement)
 d. nonsense → *nonsensic, ✓ nonsensical
 e. whimsy → whimsical, type → typical

Note that **for many of these doublets native speakers are not sure of the difference**, which suggests that the inner suffix is semantically null

- (7) a. b.
- Diagram (7) a shows a tree for 'provokative'. The root node A branches into a vowel 'v' and a node 'a'. 'v' is above 'provok-'. Node 'a' branches into a vowel 'v' and a node 'a'. The second 'v' is above '-at-'. The second 'a' is above '-ive-'.
 Diagram (7) b shows a tree for 'historical'. The root node A branches into a vowel 'v' and a node 'a2'. 'v' is above 'histori-'. Node 'a2' branches into a node 'a1' and a node 'a2'. Node 'a1' is above '-ic-'. Node 'a2' is above '-al-'.

Reasons for the formation of a complex affix may vary (and are not always identifiable)

But complex affixes are very cross-linguistically pervasive phenomena

1.2 The missing noun in denominal adjectives

Adjectival derivation may (and very often does) appear non-compositional:

- (8) a. Darwin → Darwinist/Darwinism → Darwinistic
 b. capital → capitalist/capitalism → capitalistic
 c. impression → impressionist →? impressionistic
 d. probable → ? probabilistic

English adjectives in *-istic* need not be semantically linked to the nouns in *-ist* (sometimes not even to those in *-ism*, cf. (8c–d))

In fact, the loss of agentive meaning in denominal adjectival derivation is very widespread

Traditional Russian grammars, Agapova 1974 via Zvezdova & Gou 2013; Haspelmath 1995, citing Kiparsky 1975; Itkin & Leont'eva 2019: new simplex suffix *-tel'n-*:

- (9) a. *osnovátj* 'to found' → *osnovátel'* 'founder' → *osnovátel'nij* 'substantial'
 b. *starát'sja* 'to try hard' → *stará[te]l'* 'prospector' → *stará-[te]l'n-ij* 'assiduous'

But is it truly reanalyzed as a single unanalyzable morpheme, when both component parts are highly productive?

1.3 Intermediate summary: complex affixes

There is evidence for derivation involving the addition of more than one morpheme at once

The semantic and/or phonological composition of these affixal complexes may be incompatible with iterative suffixation

Reasons for affixal complexes are not always clear (and this is why I do my work in Russian)

Could there be different suffix structures for animate and inanimate *-nic-* nouns?

No: similar pairs can be found for simplex suffixes

- (15) a. gubka 'sponge (inanimate); sea sponge (animate)'
 b. boevik 'action movie; fighter'
 c. begun 'runner' (both a person and a mechanism)

Feminine formation is only possible for human nouns

- (16) walker
 a. a person who walks, especially for exercise or enjoyment
 b. a seat on wheels that a baby can use to move along
 c. a metal frame with four legs used for walking
- (17) golubiatnik (from golubi 'pigeon, dove')
 a. pigeon fancier
 b. bird of prey used to hunt pigeons
 c. dovecote

The animacy feature is not enough to distinguish the multiple homophonous derived nouns

But manipulating the formal [α count] and [α abstract] can provide 4 or 9 options

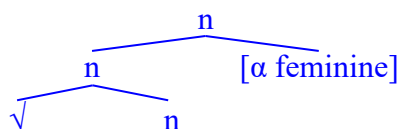
A formal privative feature [abstract] may be present or missing even on an abstract noun

Gender and animacy features obviously increase the range of available options

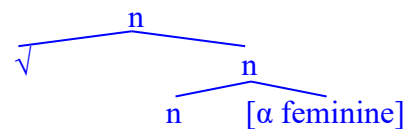
2.2 How can a feminine feature be added?

Complex affixes provide an additional option:

- (18) a. **iterative suffixation**



- b. **complex suffix**



(18a) creates the possibility of creating the feminine by a null affix, which is not attested

(18b) is excluded as a substitutive feminine if the semantics of the inner suffix is deleted

2.2.1 The lack of null-derived feminization in Russian

(19) is the full list of underived nouns with null-derived feminine counterparts

- (19) a. *vóron/voróna* 'raven/crow', *lis/lisá* 'he-fox/fox', *žiráf/žiráfa* 'giraffe/giraffe'
 b. *kum/kumá* 'godparent (not in relation to the child)', *suprúg/suprúga* 'spouse'
 c. *rab/rabá* 'slave', *slugá/sluzhánka* 'servant'

Otherwise, feminization needs to be signaled:

- pairs in (19a) do not, strictly speaking, involve a feminine
- the feminines in (19c) are obsolete (*rabyn'a* and *služánka* are used instead)
- the colloquial pair *supružnik/supružnica* 'spouse' attests to the avoidance of null-derived feminines

The constraint may be non-structural (homophony avoidance, the genitive of C-final nouns is the same as the nominative of feminine *a*-nouns)

Null-derived deadjectival human-denoting nouns are substitutive:

Some such nouns have fixed gender: *górničnaja* ‘a service maid’ (1 animate), *portnój* ‘tailor’

- (20) a. *zavéduščij/zavéduščaja* ‘manager’
 b. *rússkij/rússkaja* ‘a Russian’

The lack of an overt gender-changing suffix does not lead to systematic homophony (except for post-accenting adjectives, which do not seem to allow feminization)

However, *-nic-* feminitives are not null-derived: k2c palatalization is attested in another suffixal pair, the suffixes *-ščik-* and *-ščic-*:

And in their allomorphs *-čik-* and *-čic-* (used with stems ending in a non-sonorant coronal, except when preceded by a sonorant)

- (21) a. *frezeróvščik/frezeróvščica* ‘milling-machine operator.M/F’
 b. *zaprávščik/zaprávščica* ‘refueller.M/F’

Can we have a non-segmental feminizing suffix?

2.2.2 Does a feminizer have semantic content?

Recall, a complex affix cannot be interpreted compositionally (theoretically and empirically):

- English adjectives in *-istic* need not be semantically linked to the nouns in *-ist*
- Russian adjectives in *-tel’in-* are not derived from nouns in *-tel’i-* (see Haspelmath 1995, citing Kiparsky 1975, Itkin & Leont’eva 2019, my own work **REF**)
- see Haspelmath 1995 for other cases of **affix conglutination** (the fact that the inner affix is semantically null)

In gendered suffixal pairs, the feminine variant has the same semantics as the masculine, plus the gender

The full picture for *-nic-*:

- (22) a. *krapivnica* ‘hives; small tortoiseshell butterfly.F’ pure nominalizer
 b. *provodnik/provodnica* ‘train conductor.F’ nominalizer + gender change
 c. *predstavitel’/predstavitel’nica* ‘representative.F’ pure gender change
 d. *plevatel’nica* ‘spittoon’ pure nominalizer with *-tel’-* (4)

Nouns ending in *-tel’i-* always feminize by *-nic-*, cases like (22d) are exceptional (deadjectival)

Human-denoting nouns derived with the suffix *-nik-* do not always feminize by substitution:

- (23) a. *mél[nik]/mél[nič]ixa* ‘miller’, *dvór[nik]/dvór[nič]ixa* ‘yard caretaker’ 5 nouns
 b. *polkóv[nik]* ‘colonel’/ *polkóv[nica]*~*polkóv[nič]ixa* both: ‘wife of’ 1 noun

2.2.3 The complex structure of *-nic-*

Kiparsky 1975 via Haspelmath 1995, Itkin 2007:169: ***-nik-*** (underlying representation: *-inik-*) historically arose from suffix stacking (the adjectivizer *-in-* and the nominalizer *-ik-*)

Luschützky 2011: very **little evidence for the independent nominalizer *-ik-*** in OCS

Shaky evidence for a synchronic nominalizer *-ik-*:

- (24) a. *bolšev[ik]* ‘bolshevik’ (from *bólšij* ‘bigger’) native
 b. *alkogól[ik]* ‘alcoholic’ loanword

Semi-productive with borrowings and **forms part of another nominalizer** (a purely agentive one, forming actors and instruments):

- (25) a. plazmenščik ‘physicist who studies plazma’ ← plazm-enn-yj ‘plasma’_{ADJ} -ščik-
 b. bombardirovščik ‘bomber/bomber pilot’ ← bombardirov-a-tj ‘to bomb’
 c. svadebščik ‘a wedding professional’ ← svad’b-a ‘a wedding’
 d. tralščik ‘trawler, mine-sweeper’ ← tral-i-tj ‘to trawl’, tral ‘trawl’

Historically, -ščik (allomorph -čik-) is complex:

- Kiparsky 1975: -ščik- is derived from the combination of the adjectivizer -isk- and the nominalizer -ik-
- Vaillant 1964 via Witkowski 1981: -ščik- is derived from the combination of the Turkic suffix -či- and the nominalizer -ik-

The nominalizer -ic- is independently motivated and can be deadjectival:

- (26) a. lukovica ‘bulb (bot.)’ (cf. lukovij ‘onion.ADJ’)
 b. peredovica ‘editorial’ (cf. peredovoj ‘front-edge.ADJ’)

Which means that the purely nominalizing -nic- may involve complex deadjectival derivation:

- (27)  plevatel'nica ‘spittoon’

And in fact, three out of the four inanimate -tel-nic- nouns have corresponding -tel- adjectives and share non-agentive semantics with them

The unique exception is *daroxranitel'nica* ‘tabernacle’

Conversely, animate agentive nouns in -tel- do not form n-adjectives (Matushansky **REF**)

Vinogradov 1952:346, Bobkova 2022: the adjectivizing suffix -in- strongly disprefers animate (or [+human]) bases

So are -nic- nouns actually deadjectival -ic- nouns?

Potential objection: -nic- nouns derived from adjectives

2.2.4 Deadjectival -nic-

There exist nouns in -nik- and -nic- (animate and inanimate) that are based on adjectival bases not involving the adjectivizing suffix -in-:

- (28) a. sadovnik/sadovnica ‘gardener’ (cf. sadovij ‘garden.ADJ’)
 b. poroxovnica ‘gunpowder holder’ (cf. poroxovoj ‘gunpowder.ADJ’)
 c. kedrovnik ‘cedar forest’ (kedrovij ‘cedar.ADJ’)

This is not the knockdown argument it should be because doubly marked adjectives exist:

- (29) a. dux ‘air, spirit’: duxovnyj ‘spiritual’, dušnyj ‘stuffy’, duxovoj ‘air.ADJ, wind.ADJ’
 b. verx ‘top’: verxovnyj ‘superior’, verxnij ‘upper’, verxovoj ‘riding; up-river’

Out of the 12 of them two have corresponding *-nik/-nic-* nouns:

- (30) a. činovník/činovnica ‘functionary, bureaucrat’ (činovníj ‘official; of high rank’
 b. sanovník/sanovnica ‘dignitary’ (cf. sanovníj ‘of exalted rank’)

The only productive type are masculine nouns in *-ovnik-* derived from adjectives in *-ov-*

2.3 Intermediate summary

The suffix *-nic-* may function as a feminizer, as a nominalizer, and as a combination of the two

Its use as a pure feminizer is restricted to nouns derived with the suffix *-tel-*

Its nominalizing use has no special semantics and may yield animate or inanimate nouns

Both *-nik-* and *-nic-* might be internally complex, containing the adjectivizer *-in-* (but this does not seem to be relevant here)

The question remains how substitutive feminization works

Intuition: *-nik-* and *-nic-* are related synchronically

But does this mean that *-nic-* is derived from *-nik-*?

3 THE NOMINALIZING *-NIC-* AND THE SEMANTICALLY EMPTY *-NIK-*

Proposal: the nominalizing *-nic-* properly contains the nominalizing *-nik-* as part of a complex suffix

Evidence: other instances of semantically empty *-nik-* inside complex suffixes

- (31) root-based verbalizer *-niča-* ‘to systematically engage in the associated activity’

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| <p>a. sapož- nik
 boot AGT
 ‘shoemaker’</p> | ⇒ | <p>b. sapož-nič- a- ěj
 shoemaker VBZ INF
 ‘to work as/be a shoemaker’</p> |
|---|---|--|

The verbalizing suffix *-e-* causes the mutation of the velar ([k]→[č]), which in turn causes the backing of the vowel ([e]→[a]), all independently motivated

The suffixal combination is reanalyzed; the agentive component is lost:

- (32) a. sapož- niča- ěj (cf. sapožnyj ‘boot.ADJ’, sapožnik ‘shoemaker’)
 boot VBZ INF
 ‘to work as/be a shoemaker’
- b. podxalím-niča- ěj (cf. podxalím ‘lickspittle’, already agentive)
 lickspittle VBZ INF
 ‘to toady’
- c. grimás- niča- ěj (cf. grimása ‘a grimace’, *grimásnik, *grimasnyj)
 grimace VBZ INF
 ‘to grimace’

The intermediate links can easily be missing:

- (33) a. žádničatĭ ‘to act greedily’ (žádnij ‘greedy’, *žádnik) ěn-adjective
 b. žúlničatĭ ‘to cheat, swindle’ (cf. žúlik ‘a con artist’, *žúlĭnij, *žúlĭnik) cranberry root
 c. čajóvničatĭ ‘to have tea’ (from čaj ‘tea’ + *-ov-*_{ADJ}, *čajóvĭnij, *čajóvĭnik) *ov-*adjective

Haspelmath 1995, citing Kiparsky 1975: Russian denominal abstract nouns in *-ničestvo*:

- (34) a. ogorod**nik** ‘gardener’ ogorodničestvo ‘gardening, gardener’s work’ transparent
 b. stolj**ar** ‘carpenter’ stoljarnicestvo ‘carpenter’s work’ de-agentive

Actually, two distinct derivations: from agentive nouns in *-nik-* and from verbs in *-nič-*, there seem to be no nouns in *-ničestvo* that lack both correspondents

Non-productive nominalization in *-ničij* (10 nouns in all):

- (35) a. gorod**ničij** ‘mayor’ (cf. gorod ‘city’; *gorodnoj, *gorodnik)
 b. sokol**ničij** ‘court falconer’ (cf. sokol**nik** ‘falconer’)

If *-nik-* can form part of a verbalizer, why not of a feminizer?

- (36)  predstavitel'nica ‘representative.F’

The [+feminine] nominalizer [+palatal] has no semantics beyond feminization

The complex suffix, by hypothesis, will also have none

3.1 The emptiness of the [+feminine] nominalizer

What is feminization?

- adding the semantic feature [female] yielding the formal feature [+F]
- adding the formal feature [+F], which somehow gives rise to the semantic feature [female] with human-denoting nouns

Can we draw some clues from real syntax?

Social-gender features are established via agreement

- (37) presupposition: our doctor is a woman mixed agreement
- a. Naš vrač prišël vovremja.
 our.MSG doctor.M arrived.MSG on.time
Our doctor arrived on time.
- b. %Naš vrač prišla vovremja.
 our.MSG doctor.M arrived.FSG on.time
- c. *Naša vrač prišël vovremja.
 our.FSG doctor.M arrived.MSG on.time
- d. Naša vrač prišla vovremja.
 our.FSG doctor.M arrived.FSG on.time

This is a syntactic phenomenon (Asarina 2008, Pesetsky 2013, Matushansky 2013, 2022, etc.)

Rothstein 1980, Nikunlassi 2000, Asarina 2008: reference-modifying and referent-modifying adjectives do not behave the same with respect to mixed agreement:

- (38) a. zubnoj/*zubnaja vrač ex. and judgments from Asarina 2008
 dental.MSG doctor.M
dentist
- b. Umelyj/umelaja vrač bystro postavila plombu.
 skillful.MSG/FSG doctor.M quickly stood.up.FSG filling
The skillful doctor quickly put in the filling. (i.e. skillful as a doctor)
- c. Umelaja/*umelyj vrač bystro postroila lodku.
 skillful.FSG/MSG doctor.M quickly built.FSG boat
The skillful doctor quickly built a boat. (i.e. skillful as a person, e.g., on a reality TV show)

This suggests that **the social-gender feature is an intersective modifier**

For people who accept *zubnaja vrač*, it becomes subjective (with a presupposition on the outcome). Inconclusive Empirically, can adding a semantically empty feminine suffix to a human noun yield anything other than a feminine?

- the unproductive pejorative post-accenting dominant suffix *-nⁱ-* creates collectives (*matrosnⁱá* ‘sailors’, *soldatnⁱá* ‘soldiers’, etc.)
- it can also combine with verbal roots (*maznⁱá* ‘painting’, *strⁱapnⁱá* ‘cooking’)

Is *-nⁱ-* is semantically empty? Well, it is clearly collective

I have yet to find a feminine suffix that can derive ‘a person, place or thing’ when applied to human nouns

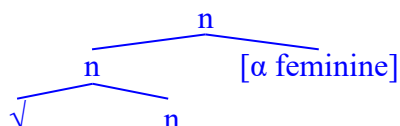
If the feminizing suffix is just [+F], a complex suffix containing n_F need not lose the semantics of the inner suffix

On the one hand, it is good: complex feminine agentives (*-nic-*, *-ščic-*) can remain agentive
 On the other hand, it is bad: the semantics of complex suffixes becomes non-deterministic

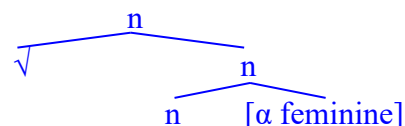
3.2 Substitutive feminization as non-segmental suffixation

Recall: two options for feminine formation:

(39) a. **iterative suffixation**



b. **complex suffix**



Feminine formation for nouns in *-nik-* can be non-deterministic:

- (40) a. *mélⁱnik/mélⁱničⁱx^a* ‘miller’, *dvórnⁱnik/dvórnⁱničⁱx^a* ‘yard caretaker’
 b. *urⁱádnⁱnik* ‘village constable, Cossack sergeant’/*urⁱádnⁱničⁱx^a* ‘wife of u.’ obsolete
lesⁿik ‘forest-guard’/*lesⁿičⁱx^a* ‘wife of l.’
sótnⁱnik ‘Cossack lieutenant’/*sótnⁱničⁱx^a* ‘wife of s.’ obsolete
- c. *polkóvⁿnik* ‘colonel’/*polkóvⁿničⁱx^a*~*polkóvⁿničⁱx^a* both: ‘wife of’

There is no reason to assume complex suffix formation in (40)

But *-ix-* is perceived as pejorative and it also applies to animals, so it is not semantically empty, and it is probably “female of the kind”

If adding an [+F] to a human-denoting noun yields the corresponding feminine, why not an additive non-segmental [+F] suffix in the structure (39a)?

Two issues:

- there is no independent evidence for such a suffix (only as part of *-nic-* and *-ščic-*)
- it seems odd to have different structures for human and non-human derivation

And substitutive suffixation exists independently

3.3 Simplex and complex substitutive feminization

Nouns in *-ič-* (surface [ec]/[c]) can be feminized in three different ways

Vinogradov 1986:117fn.: If the masculine noun in *-ič-* is deverbal or deadjectival, its feminine form is built with the suffix *-ic-* (41a), if it is denominal, the suffix *-ŭk-* is used (41b). Clearly, a tendency at most

- | | | | |
|------|----|--|--------------|
| (41) | a. | <i>pev^{ec}/pev^{ica}</i> ‘singer’, <i>kras^{av}ec/kras^{av}ica</i> ‘a beauty’ | substitution |
| | b. | <i>torg^{ov}ec/torg^{ov}ka</i> ‘merchant’, <i>n^{em}ec/n^{em}ka</i> ‘a German’ | substitution |
| | c. | <i>kup^{ec}/kup^čca</i> ‘merchant’, <i>bor^{ec}/bor^čca</i> ‘wrestler’ | addition |

These substitutive feminines cannot be derived by the addition of a (null) [+F] suffix

The suffix *-ščic-* is the only possible feminizer for the suffix *-ščik-*:

- | | | |
|------|----|--|
| (42) | a. | <i>sortir^{ov}ščik/sortir^{ov}ščica</i> ‘sorter.M/F’ |
| | b. | <i>zapr^{av}ščik/zapr^{av}ščica</i> ‘refueller.M/F’ |

The masculine *-ščik-* can form inanimate nouns, the feminine can’t:

- | | | |
|------|----|---|
| (43) | a. | <i>sortirovščik</i> ‘sorter (human or machine)’ |
| | b. | <i>bombardirovščik</i> ‘bomber/bomber pilot’ |

Crucial distinction between *-nic-* and *-ščic-*: the latter can only be a substitutive feminizer

Which means that *-nic-* in its substitutive feminizing function differs from the corresponding nominalizer

We therefore might have evidence for the non-segmental [feminine] suffix triggering k2c and selecting only the human-deriving *-nik-* and *-ščik-*

Which makes both of them non-amenable to an analysis as iterative suffixation (*a⁰+n⁰)

4 SUMMARY AND REMAINING QUESTIONS

On the empirical side, there is clear evidence for **the ability of the nominalizing suffix *-nik-* to form part of complex suffixes**:

- root-based verbalizer *-niča-* ‘to systematically engage in the associated activity’
- non-productive nominalization in *-ničij* (10 nouns in all)
- pure feminization and nominalization in *-nic-*

Complex suffix formation correctly predicts the systematic lack of an agentive component (as opposed to iterative suffixation)

Given the existence of productive *-nik-*-containing derivation, it seems **counterintuitive not to assume containment** (as opposed to new simplex suffixes)

The variety of feminine nouns in *-nic-* brings to the fore the question of **derived homonyms**:

- (44) golubiátnik (from golubi ‘pigeon, dove’)
- a. pigeon fancier
 - b. bird of prey used to hunt pigeons
 - c. dovecote (along with golubiátnia)

The human/non-human homophony is quite frequent; the human/animate one is rare

Given the **bound derived stem** (*golubiat-*), an analysis in the terms of **root-based vs. stem-based derivation is highly unlikely**

The contribution of *-at-* is unclear. See Gouskova & Bobaljik 2022 for its use as the suppletive plural *-at-* of the offspring-denoting suffix *-onok-*, as well as in adjectives (e.g., *košáčij* ‘cat.ADJ’ and in meat-denoting nouns (e.g., *golubiatina* ‘pigeon meat’) based on animal-denoting nouns

Simplex substitutive femininives strongly suggest **parallel derivation in feminization**

Perhaps with an added null [+F] suffix, cf. *avtorka* ‘female author; authored work’

REFERENCES

- Agapova, G.V. [Zvezdova, G.V.]. 1974. К проблеме становления сложных суффиксов [On the problem of complex suffix establishment]. Doctoral dissertation, Saratov State University.
- Asarina, Alya. 2008. Gender and adjectives in numeral constructions in Russian. Ms., MIT. <http://web.mit.edu/alya/www/russian-gender.pdf>.
- Bobkova, Natalia. 2022. Statistical modelization of suffixal rivalry in Russian: adjectival formations in *-sk-* and *-n-*. *Corpus* 23. <https://doi.org/10.4000/corpus.6580>.
- Gouskova, Maria & Bobaljik, Jonathan David. 2022. The lexical core of a complex functional affix: Russian baby diminutive *-onok*. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 40 (4), 1075–1115. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11049-021-09530-1>.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1995. The growth of affixes in morphological reanalysis. In Booij, Geert & Marle, Jaap van (eds.). *Yearbook of Morphology 1994*, 1–29. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Itkin, Ilja B. 2007. *Русская морфология [Russian morphonology]*. Moscow: Gnozis.
- Itkin, Ilja B. & Leont'eva, Anna L. 2019. Морфологические и семантические особенности русских прилагательных с суффиксом *-тельн-* в синхронии и диахронии [Morphological and semantic peculiarities of Russian adjectives with the suffix *-tel'n-* in synchrony and diachrony]. (Paper presented at VI конференция «Русский язык: конструкционные и лексико-семантические подходы» [The 6th conference "The Russian language: constructionist and lexical-semantic approaches"], Saint-Petersburg, October 3–5, 2019).
- Kiparsky, Valentin. 1975. *Russische historische Grammatik. Band III. Entwicklung des Wortschatzes*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Luschützky, Hans Christian. 2011. Agent-noun polysemy in Slavic: some examples. 64 (1), 75–97. <https://doi.org/10.1524/stuf.2011.0007>.
- Matushansky, Ora. 2013. Gender confusion. In Cheng, Lisa L.-S. & Corver, Norbert (eds.). *Diagnosing Syntax*, 271–294. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Matushansky, Ora. 2022. On the semantics of inanimate gender. In *QMUL Occasional Papers in Linguistics*, ed. by Stockall, Linnaea & Martí, Luisa & Adger, David & Roy, Isabelle & Ouwayda, Sarah, <https://www.qmul.ac.uk/sllf/media/sllf-new/departement-of-linguistics/hagit-borer-celebration/Matushansky.pdf>.
- Nikunlassi, Ahti. 2000. On gender assignment in Russian. In Unterbeck, Barbara & Rissanen, Matti (eds.). *Gender in Grammar and Cognition*, 771–791. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110802603.771>.

- Pesetsky, David. 2013. *Russian Case Morphology and the Syntactic Categories*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Rothstein, Robert A. 1980. Gender and reference in Polish and Russian. In Chvany, Catherine V. & Brecht, Richard D. (eds.). *Morphosyntax in Slavic*, 79–97. Columbus, Ohio: Slavica.
- Stump, Gregory T. 2019. Some sources of apparent gaps in derivational paradigms. *Morphology* 29 (2), 271–292. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11525-018-9329-z>.
- Stump, Gregory T. 2023. *Morphotactics: A Rule-Combining Approach* 169. Cambridge Studies in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009168205>.
- Vaillant, André. 1964. Le suffixe -čii. *Prace filologiczne* XVIII (2), 157–160.
- Vinogradov, V. V. 1986. *Русский язык [Russian language]*. Moscow: Vysshaja škola.
- Vinogradov, V. V. 1952 (ed.^eds.). *Грамматика русского языка [The Grammar of the Russian Language]*. Moscow: Soviet Academy of Sciences.
- Witkowski, Wieslaw. 1981. Еще раз о происхождении русского агентивного суффикса -щук/-чук [Once more about the origin of the Russian agentive suffix -ščik/-čik]. *Russian Linguistics* 5 (3), 211–216.
- Zaliznjak, Andrey A. 2010. *Грамматический словарь русского языка [Grammatical Dictionary of the Russian Language]*. Moscow: AST.
- Zvezdova, G.V. & Gou, Xuetao. 2013. Словообразовательная динамика в группе прилагательных на -тельн- (на материале словарей современного русского языка) [Word-formation dynamics in the group of adjectives in -tel'n- (on the basis of dictionaries of Contemporary Russian)]. *Обрії сучасної лінгвістики [Frontiers of modern linguistics]* 4, 40–45, http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/obsl_2013_4_8.