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Form and Function of Expressive Morphology: A Case Study of Russian*

Olga Steriopolo

1. Introduction

In this paper, I conduct a detailed case study of expressive suffixes in Russian. Although the suffixes under investigation have the same function (expressive), they differ significantly in their formal properties. I identify two major semantic types of expressive suffixes: *attitude* suffixes, which convey the speaker's attitude toward the referent, and *size* suffixes, which both convey the speaker's attitude and refer to the size of the referent. I argue that the two different semantic types map onto different syntactic types. Attitude suffixes are syntactic heads, while size suffixes are syntactic modifiers. As heads, attitude suffixes determine the formal properties (syntactic category, grammatical gender, and inflectional class) of the derived form. As modifiers, size suffixes do not determine the formal properties of the derived form. Attitude suffixes can merge with both category-free $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$ and with categories (*n/a/v*), while size suffixes can only merge with a noun category (*n*).

The present study is the first systematic investigation of the functional and formal properties of expressive suffixes in Russian. I analyze the patterns of expressive suffixes with respect to several criteria (gender/class change, category change, subcategorization); an important byproduct of this analysis is the conclusion that grammatical gender of an expressive form can be predicted from its inflectional class (combined with animacy and natural gender of the base). It has been claimed in the literature that Russian grammatical gender can be predicted from inflectional class (Corbett 1982, 1991; Corbett and Fraser 2000). This paper systematically shows how this works with respect to expressive forms, which to the best of my knowledge, has never been done before.

An interesting result of this study is that the formal properties of expressives are no different from those of non-expressives (descriptives), as both expressives and descriptives can attach as heads or modifiers either to $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$ or categories. Furthermore, the formal and functional criteria developed in this

* I wish to thank the anonymous reviewer for his/her valuable comments.

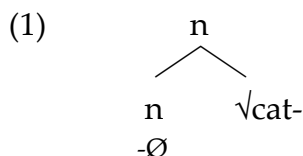
paper can be used to set up a linguistic typology of expressive expressions and, as such, will serve as starting point for further research in this area.

1.1 Theoretical Framework

I assume the Principles and Parameters framework, which contrasts with descriptivist frameworks that focus on a particular language of investigation. The descriptivist frameworks view categorization in terms of *inflection* vs. *derivation*, but this has been proven problematic with respect to the behavior of expressives (Dressler and Barbaresi 1994; Manova 2004; Scalise 1984, 1988; Vinogradov 1972). It has been shown in the literature that the behavior of expressives is not wholly inflectional or derivational. In contrast, the Principles and Parameters framework regards inflection and derivation not as primitives, but as derived notions, and thus, this framework can better account for the behavior of expressives.

I assume a model of grammar in which syntax and morphology are analyzed as a single engine, as in the framework of Distributed Morphology (DM) (Arad 2003; Bobaljik 2002; Embick and Noyer 2005; Halle 1997; Halle and Marantz 1993; Halle and Matushansky 2006; Harley and Noyer 1999, 2003; Marantz 1997; Marantz 2001; Marvin 2002; Müller 2005, among others). The particular assumption I adopt is that words are built by the same principles as phrases and sentences—by syntactic principles.

Another assumption I adopt is in regards to the treatment of $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$ and syntactic categories. $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$ are language-specific combinations of sound and meaning, such as $\sqrt{\text{break-}}$ or $\sqrt{\text{cat-}}$ in English. $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$ have no category *per se*, but can never appear “bare”: they have to be categorized by combining with a category-defining functional head, such as the “little” *n*, *a*, or *v*, to form nouns, adjectives, or verbs, respectively. A single $\sqrt{\text{Root}}$ can be assigned to more than one category, for example: *the break (noun) in the glass* and *John breaks (verb) the glass*. The category-defining functional heads are determined either by phonologically realized or zero affixes (1):



1.2. Descriptive and Expressive Content

A sentence can have both descriptive and expressive content (Potts 2007). For example, the descriptive content of the English sentence in (2) is the proposition that Kresge is famous (2i). The expressive content conveys the negative attitude

of the speaker toward Kresge (2ii). A sentence is expressive if it conveys information about attitudes and emotions of the speaker (Potts and Kawahara 2004).

(2) That **bastard** Kresge is famous.

- i. Descriptive content: 'Kresge is famous'
- ii. Expressive content: 'Kresge is a {bastard in the speaker's opinion}' (Potts 2007:168)

Russian employs many expressive suffixes to convey the speaker's attitudes and emotions. According to Polterauer (1981), there are over 30 simplex and complex expressive suffixes in Russian. For the purpose of this paper, I only investigate simplex expressive suffixes.

Russian expressive suffixes present certain puzzles in terms of both their functional and formal properties. For example, although they are associated with the same expressive function, different Russian expressive suffixes have different meanings. Some expressive suffixes only convey the speaker's attitude toward the referent (3), while others can both convey the speaker's attitude and refer to the size of the referent (4).

- (3) d'ed-**úl'**-a pr'išól
 grandfather-**EXPR-N.SG** came
 '(Grandfather came (affectionate attitude))'
 i. Descriptive: 'Grandfather came'
 ii. Expressive: 'The speaker feels *affection* toward the grandfather'
- (4) zv'er'-**ók** pr'išól
 animal-**EXPR.N.SG** came
 '(The) animal came (affectionate attitude and small size of the referent)'
 i. Descriptive: 'The *small* animal came'
 ii. Expressive: 'The speaker feels *affection* toward the animal'

In terms of their formal properties, some expressive suffixes change the formal properties of the nominal base (e.g., category, gender, inflectional class), while others do not. For example, in (5), the expressive suffix *-ux* changes the category of the base from adjective to noun, while in (6), the expressive suffix *-ok* does not.

(5) adj → noun

a. gr'áz-n-ĭj
dirty-ADJ-MASC.SG
'dirty'

b. gr'az-n-úx-a
dirty-ADJ-EXPR-N.SG
'dirty animate'

(6) *adj → noun

a. gr'áz-n-ĭj
dirty-ADJ-MASC.SG
'dirty'

b. *gr'az-n-ok
dirty-ADJ-EXPR.N.SG
'dirty animate'

Thus, the following question arises: Are we dealing with only one class or different classes of expressives suffixes in Russian? If there are different classes, how do we distinguish between them? Despite the fact that a great deal of descriptive research has been devoted to individual expressive suffixes in Russian (Bratus 1969; Dementiev 1953; Fentslova 1985; Ivanova 1965; Kolomiets 1988; Kosmeda 1999; Mandel'stam 1903; Ogol'cev 1960; Plyamovataya 1955, 1961; Polterauer 1981; Popoff-Böcker 1973; Popov 1967; Protasova 2001; Rakušan 1981; Shvedova et al. 1982; Spiridonova 1999; Stankiewicz 1968; Vaseva 1977, among others), Russian expressive suffixes have not yet been analyzed in a systematic way. Here, I systematically study the functional and formal properties associated with Russian expressive suffixes by (i) analyzing their meaning and (ii) determining whether or not they can change the formal properties of the base.

2. Expressive Content and its Characteristics

The expressive content of a sentence conveys information about the attitudes and emotions of the speaker toward the content of the sentence. The expressive content is usually secondary to the descriptive content of the sentence, but it can have a significant impact on discourse. This is illustrated in the following examples from Japanese. In (7), the subject honorific *o-...-ninat* is used. The descriptive content of this sentence is that Sam laughed. The expressive content is that the speaker views Sam with honor.

- (7) Sam-ga o-warai-ninat-ta.
Sam-N.SG SUBJ.HON-laugh-SUBJ.HON-PAST
'Sam laughed (with honorific)'
i. Descriptive: 'Sam laughed'
ii. Expressive: 'Speaker views Sam with honor'

In contrast, in (8), the antihonorific *-yagat* is used. The descriptive content of this sentence is again that Sam laughed, but now the expressive content is that the speaker does not view Sam with honor.

- (8) Sam-ga warai-**yagat**-ta.
 Sam-N.SG laugh-ANTI-HON-PAST
 'Sam laughed (with antihonorific)'
 i. Descriptive: 'Sam laughed'
 ii. Expressive: 'Speaker does not view Sam with honor'

An example from English of a marker of expressive content is the expressive attributive adjective *damn*. In (9), the expressive *damn* indicates that the speaker views the Republicans negatively.

- (9) Bush says the **damn** Republicans deserve public support.
 i. Descriptive: 'Bush says the Republicans deserve public support'
 ii. Expressive: 'Speaker views the Republicans negatively'

Thus, examples (7)–(9) show that expressive content can be positive or negative.

In Russian, there are a large number of suffixes that serve to convey expressive content, expressing either positive or negative attitudes. For example, in (10a), the expressive suffix *-ul'* indicates that the speaker views his/her grandfather positively, while the expressive content is absent in the unmarked form (10b).

- (10) a. d'ed-**úl'**-a pr'išól
 grandfather-EXPR-N.SG came
 'Grandfather came'
 i. Descriptive: 'Grandfather came'
 ii. Expressive: 'Speaker views grandfather positively'
 b. d'éd pr'išól
 grandfather.N.SG came
 'Grandfather came'
 i. Descriptive: 'Grandfather came'

Similarly, in (11a), the expressive suffix *-ug* indicates that the speaker views the thief negatively; compare this with (11b), where expressive content is absent.

- (11) a. vor'-úg-a pr'íšól
 thief-EXPR-N.SG came
 '(The) thief came'
 i. Descriptive: 'The thief came'
 ii. Expressive: 'Speaker views the thief negatively'
- b. vór pr'íšól
 thief.N.SG came
 '(The) thief came'
 i. Descriptive: 'The thief came'

Positive expressive suffixes in Russian indicate an attitude of affection and tenderness toward the referent on the part of the speaker (Bratus 1969; Efremova 2006; Kosmeda 1999; Shvedova et al. 1982); I call these *affectionate* (affect) suffixes. In (12a), the affectionate suffix *-us'* indicates that the speaker views his/her mother with affection; compare this with the neutral statement in (12b).

- (12) a. mam-ús'-a pr'íšlá
 mother-EXPR-N.SG came
 'Mother (affect) came'
 i. Descriptive: 'Mother came'
 ii. Expressive: 'Speaker views mother positively'
- b. mám-a pr'íšlá
 mother-N.SG came
 'Mother came'
 i. Descriptive: 'Mother came'

Evidence that this suffix indeed conveys the affection of the speaker stems from the fact that this affection cannot be denied. In (13a), the speaker denies his/her affection toward the referent *mother* used with an affectionate suffix; as a result, the sentence is infelicitous. Compare this with the felicitous (13b), where the speaker expresses his/her affection toward mother.

- (13) a. #Já n'e l'ubl'ú svojú mam-ús'-u.
 I not love self's mother-EXPR-N.SG
 'I do not love my mother (affect)'
 i. Descriptive: 'Speaker does not love his/her mother'
 ii. Expressive: 'Speaker views his/her mother positively'

- b. Já l'ubl'ú svoju mam-ús'-u.
 I love self's mother-EXPR-N.SG
 'I love my mother (affect)'
 i. Descriptive: 'Speaker loves his/her mother'
 ii. Expressive: 'Speaker views his/her mother positively'

Negative expressive suffixes express vulgarity (Bratus 1969; Efremova 2006; Kosmeda 1999; Shvedova et al. 1982); I call these *vulgar* (vulg) suffixes. For example, in (14a), the vulgar suffix *-an* indicates that the speaker views an old man with contempt; compare this with the neutral statement in (14b).

- (14) a. star'-ik-án pr'išól
 old-NOM-EXPR.N.SG came
 '(The) old man came (vulg)'
 i. Descriptive: 'The old man came'
 ii. Expressive: 'Speaker views the old man negatively'
- b. star'-ík pr'išól
 old-NOM.N.SG came
 '(The) old man came'
 i. Descriptive: 'The old man came'

Table 1 lists simplex affectionate and vulgar suffixes in Russian.

Table 1: Affectionate and vulgar suffixes in Russian

Affectionate suffixes	-án', -áš, -ón, -úl', -ún', -úr, -ús', -úš
Vulgar suffixes	-ág, -ák, -ál, -án, -ár, -áx, -íl, -in, -ób, -ot, -óx, -úk, -úk, -úx

Expressive content is independent of the descriptive content of a sentence (Potts 2007)—the former can be changed or removed without affecting the latter. For example, in the Japanese example (15a), the antihonorific *-chimat* is used, adding expressive content ('*It sucks* that I overslept'). In (15b), the antihonorific is removed, which immediately removes the expressive content of the phrase. Although the expressive content is changed, the descriptive content that the speaker overslept remains the same.

- (15) a. nesugoshi-**chimat**-ta
overslept-ANTIION-PAST
'It sucks that I overslept (with antihonorific)'
i. Descriptive: 'I overslept'
ii. Expressive: 'Speaker views oversleeping negatively'
- b. nesugoshi-ta
overslept-PAST
'I overslept'
i. Descriptive: 'I overslept' (Potts 2007:168)

Russian expressive suffixes display the same kind of behavior—they add expressive content that is independent of descriptive content. For example, in the Russian example (16a), the affectionate suffix *-ul'* expresses the speaker's affection toward his/her mother. In (16b), when the affectionate suffix is removed, the expressive content is removed, but the descriptive content indicating that mother came remains unchanged.

- (16) a. mam-**úl'**-a pr'íšlá
mother-EXPR-N.SG came
'Mother came (affect)'
i. Descriptive: 'Mother came'
ii. Expressive: 'Speaker views mother positively'
- b. mám-a pr'íšlá
mother-N.SG came
'Mother came'
i. Descriptive: 'Mother came'

The same occurs with vulgar suffixes (17).

- (17) a. vor'-**úg**-a pr'íšól
thief-EXPR-N.SG came
'(The) thief came (vulg)'
i. Descriptive: 'The thief came'
ii. Expressive: 'Speaker views the thief negatively'
- b. vor pr'íšól
thief.N.SG came
'(The) thief came'
i. Descriptive: 'The thief came'

Thus, we see that Russian affectionate and vulgar suffixes behave similarly to the Japanese antihonorific in (15)—they contribute expressive content that is independent of descriptive content. This property of Japanese honorifics and antihonorifics has received a lot of attention in the Japanese literature (Kikuchi 1994; Oishi 1975; Tokieda 1940), where they are identified as a case of “Taiguu Hyoogen” (Attitudinal Expressions). Following the Japanese tradition, I call Russian affectionate and vulgar suffixes *attitude* suffixes, as defined in (18).

(18) *Attitude suffixes:*

Attitude suffixes express the speaker’s attitude (affection or vulgarity) toward the referent.

Another type of expressive suffix exists in Russian—suffixes that have both expressive and descriptive content. Such suffixes express the speaker’s attitude and, at the same time, indicate the size of the referent (small or big) (Apres’an 1995; Kosmeda 1999; Mandel’shtam 1903; Popov 1967; Spiridonova 1999; Stankiewicz 1954, 1968; Volek 1987, among others).. In (19a), the sentence contains only descriptive content. In (19b), the expressive suffix *-ik* is added to *dóm* ‘house’, which indicates both the small size of the house (descriptive content) and the positive attitude of the speaker toward the house (expressive content).

- (19) a. *Dóm* *stoít* *na* *gor’é*.
house.N.SG stands on mountain
‘(A) house stands on a mountain’
i. Descriptive: ‘A house stands on a mountain’
- b. *Dóm’-ik* *stoít* *na* *gor’é*.
house-EXPR.N.SG stands on mountain
‘(A) house stands on a mountain’
i. Descriptive: ‘A small house stands on a mountain’
ii. Expressive: ‘Speaker views the house positively’

Example (20a) shows that *dóm’-ik* cannot be modified by the adjective ‘huge’; compare this with (20b), where it can be modified by ‘small’:

- (20) a. #Ogrómnij dóm'-ik stoít na gor'é.
huge house-EXPR.N.SG stands on mountain
'A huge (small) house stands on a mountain'
- b. Mál'en'k'ij dóm'-ik stoít na gor'é.
small house-EXPR.N.SG stands on mountain
'A small house stands on a mountain'

Example (21a) shows that *dóm'-ik* cannot be used in a context when the speaker denies his/her positive attitude toward the referent 'house'; compare this with (21b), where the speaker expresses a positive attitude:

- (21) a. #Já n'enav'ížu étot dóm'-ik.
I hate this house-EXPR.N.SG
'I hate this house'
- b. Mn'é nráv'its'a étot dóm'-ik.
Me like this house-EXPR.N.SG
'I like this house'

To distinguish this type of expressive suffix from the attitude suffixes, I call them *size suffixes*, as defined in (22).

(22) *Size suffixes*

Size suffixes express the speaker's attitude toward the referent and indicate the size of the referent.

Size suffixes are traditionally referred to as diminutive (dim) or augmentative (aug) (Derkach 2005; Nessel 2003; Polterauer 1981; Popov 1967; Shvedova et al. 1982; Stankiewicz 1954, 1968; Wade 2000, among others). Diminutive suffixes can express the speaker's positive attitude (19b), or, less frequently, they can also express the speaker's negative (pejorative) attitude (Shvedova et al. 1982:210). For example, in (23a), *id'éj-k-a* 'idea (dim)' is used with the diminutive suffix *-k*, which indicates that the speaker views the idea negatively; compare this with the neutral sentence in (23b), where the expressive suffix is absent.

- (23) a. Mn'é v gólovu pr'íšlá id'éj-k-a.
Me prep head came idea-EXPR-N.SG
'(An) idea (dim) came to my mind'

- i. Descriptive: 'A small idea came to the speaker's mind'
- ii. Expressive: 'Speaker views the idea negatively'
- b. Mn'é v gólovu pr'íšlá id'ěj-a.
Me prep head came idea-N.SG
'(An) idea came to my mind'
- i. Descriptive: 'An idea came to the speaker's mind' (Shvedova et al. 1982:210)

The same occurs with augmentative suffixes (Derkach 2005; Nessel 2003; Schneider 2003). In (24a), *sobáč'-išč'-a* 'big/malevolent dog' (translation from Derkach 2005:11) is used with the augmentative suffix *-išč'*, which indicates that the speaker views the dog negatively; compare this with the neutral (24b), where the expressive suffix is absent.

- (24) a. Sobáč'-išč'-a pr'íšlá.
dog-EXPR-N.SG came
'(A) dog (aug) came'
- i. Descriptive: 'A big dog came'
- ii. Expressive: 'Speaker views the dog negatively'
- b. Sobák-a pr'íšlá.
dog-N.SG came
'(A) dog came'
- i. Descriptive: 'A dog came' (Derkach 2005:11)

The data in (25a) illustrate that *sobáč'-išč'-a* cannot be modified by the adjective 'small'; compare this with (25b), where it can be modified by 'huge'.

- (25) a. #Mál'en'kaja sobáč'-išč'-a pr'i-š-l-á
small dog-EXPR-N.SG came
'(A) small dog (aug) came'
- b. Ogrómnaja sobáč'-išč'-a pr'i-š-l-á
huge dog-EXPR-N.SG came
'(A) huge dog (aug) came'

The data in (26a) show that *sobáč'-išč'-a* cannot be used in a context when the speaker denies his/her negative attitude toward the dog; compare this with (26b), where the speaker expresses a negative attitude.

- (26) a. #Mn'é nráv'its'a éta sobáč'-išč'-a.
 Me like this dog-EXPR-N.SG
 'I like this dog (aug)'
 b. Já bojús' étu sobáč'-išč'-u.
 I fear this dog-EXPR-ACC.SG
 'I am afraid of this dog (aug)'

A list of Russian simplex size suffixes is given in Table 2.

Table 2: Size suffixes in Russian

Diminutive suffixes	-k (allomorphs: -ok/-ek/-ik) -c (allomorphs: -ec/-ic)
Augmentative suffix	-išč'

To summarize, attitude and size suffixes in Russian differ in that the former have expressive content, while the latter have both expressive and descriptive content. Attitude suffixes can be removed without affecting the descriptive content of a phrase, which confirms Potts' (2007) criterion of independence. In contrast, size suffixes have descriptive content of their own, and thus, by removing a size suffix, its descriptive content is also removed.

The proposed classification of expressive suffixes in Russian is shown in Table 3.

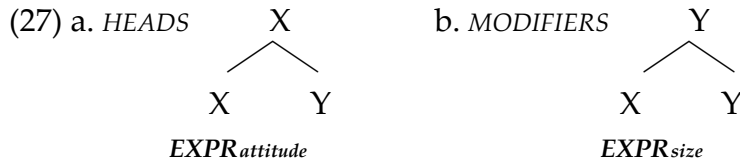
Table 3: Expressive suffixes in Russian

Attitude suffixes	affectionate	-án', -áš', -ón, -úl', -ún', -úr, -ús', -úš'
	vulgar	-ág, -ák, -ál, -án, -ár, -áx, -íl, -in, -ób, -ot, -óx, -úg, -úk, -úx
Size suffixes	diminutive	-k (allomorphs: -ok/-ek/-ik) -c (allomorphs: -ec/-ic)
	augmentative	-išč'

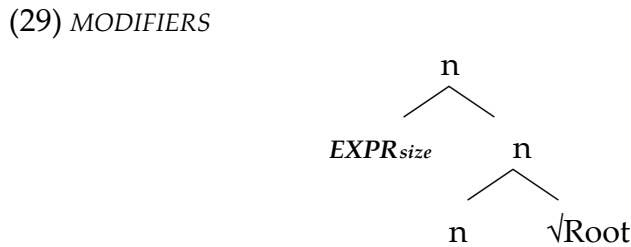
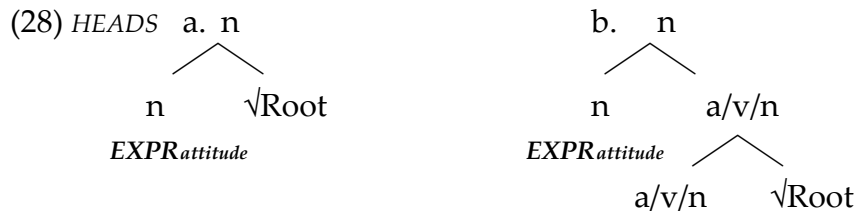
3. A Syntactic Analysis

I propose that expressive suffixes (EXPR) in Russian vary syntactically along two dimensions: (i) how they merge (as a head or as a modifier), and (ii) where they merge (with category-free $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$ or with categories).

Attitude suffixes are syntactic heads (27a), while size suffixes are syntactic modifiers (27b).



Attitude suffixes are noun heads that can merge either with $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$ (28a) or with various syntactic categories (*a/v/n*) (28b). Size suffixes are noun modifiers that can only merge with a noun category (29).



This results in the classification shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Classification of expressive suffixes in Russian

	<i>EXPR_{attitude}</i> HEADS	<i>EXPR_{size}</i> MODIFIERS
ATTACHMENT TO $\sqrt{\text{ROOTS}}$	-án', -áš', -ón, -úl', -ún', -úr, -ús', -úš', -ág, -ák, -ál, -án,	
ATTACHMENT TO NOUNS	-ár, -áx, -íl, -in, -ób, -ot, -óx, -úg, -úk, -úx	-k/-ok/-ek/-ik; -c/-ec/-ic; -išc'

3.1. How do Expressive Suffixes Merge: As Heads or as Modifiers?

3.1.1. Expressive Heads

The distributional properties of attitude suffixes show that they are syntactic heads. Attitude suffixes can result in (i) a change in syntactic category (section

3.1.1.1), (ii) a change in grammatical gender (section 3.1.1.2), and (iii) a change in inflectional class (section 3.1.1.3).

3.1.1.1. Change in Syntactic Category

Expressive affixation of this type always results in a noun, regardless of the category of the base. For example, in (30), the attitude suffix *-uš* turns an adjective into a noun. In (31), the attitude suffix *-aš* turns a verb into a noun. And in (32), there is no change: a noun remains a noun.

(30) A → N

- | | |
|---|--|
| a. rod-n-ój
dear-ADJ-MASC.SG
'dear' | b. rod-n-úš-a
dear-ADJ-EXPR-MASC/FEM.N.SG
'dear person (affectionate)' |
|---|--|

(31) V → N

- | | |
|---|---|
| a. ras-t'er'-á-t'
VERB.PREF-lose-TH ² -INF
'to lose' | b. ras-t'er'-áš-a
VERB.PREF-lose-EXPR-MASC/FEM.N.SG
'absent minded person (affectionate)' |
|---|---|

(32) N = N

- | | |
|---|---|
| a. mám-a
mother-FEM.N.SG
'mother' | b. mam-úl'-a
mother-EXPR-FEM.N.SG
'mother (affectionate)' |
|---|---|

3.1.1.2. Change in Grammatical Gender

Expressive affixation of this type can change grammatical gender of the base. Inanimate nouns of all grammatical genders (masculine, feminine, and neuter) become feminine nouns (33). Animate nouns unspecified for sex become common gender nouns that can trigger either masculine or feminine agreement (MASC/FEM) (34).

(33) inanimate (masc/fem/neut) → fem

- | | |
|--|--|
| a. bolót-o
swamp- <u>NEUT.N.SG</u>
'swamp' | b. bolót'-in-a
swamp-EXPR- <u>FEM.N.SG</u>
'swamp (vulgar)' |
| c. gólod
hunger- <u>MASC.N.SG</u>
'hunger' | d. golod-úx-a
hunger-EXPR- <u>FEM.N.SG</u>
'hunger (vulgar)' |

- (34) animate (unspecified for sex) → common
- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a. č'elov'ék | b. č'elov'éc'- in -a |
| person. <u>MASC.N.SG</u> | person-EXPR- <u>MASC/FEM.N.SG</u> |
| 'person' | 'person (vulgar)' |
| c. tvár' | d. tvár'- úk -a |
| animal. <u>FEM.N.SG</u> | animal-EXPR- <u>MASC/FEM.N.SG</u> |
| 'animal' | 'animal (vulgar)' |

Why do we get nouns of different grammatical genders when attitude suffixes are attached? If attitude suffixes were themselves associated with the category "gender", we would expect that all nouns used with the attitude suffixes should have the same grammatical gender. On the other hand, if attitude suffixes are not associated with the category "gender", what determines a change in gender? The answer to this question lies in the interaction of grammatical gender with inflectional class.

3.1.1.3. Change in Inflectional Class

Expressive affixation of this type can change the inflectional class of the base. I assume the traditional approach to the number of inflectional classes in Russian, distinguishing three classes: Class I (masculine nouns with $-\emptyset$ ending in Nom sg and neuter nouns with $-o/-e$ endings in Nom sg); Class II (masculine, feminine, and common gender nouns with $-a$ ending in Nom sg), and Class III (feminine nouns with $-\emptyset$ ending in Nom sg) (Durnovo 1922; Durovich 1964; Isachenko 1962; Karcevskij 1948; Shvedova et al. 1982; Stankiewicz 1968; Timberlake 2004; Trager 1940; Unbegaun 1957; Vinogradov et al. 1952, among others).¹ The majority of expressive suffixes (except $-an$) form Class II nouns (35). The suffix $-an$ forms Class I nouns (36).

- (35) Class I → Class II (the majority of suffixes)
- | | |
|--|--|
| a. vór | b. vor'- úg -a |
| thief. <u>MASC.N.SG</u> (<u>CLASS I</u>) | thief-EXPR- <u>MASC/FEM.N.SG</u> (<u>CLASS II</u>) |
| 'thief' | 'thief (vulgar)' |

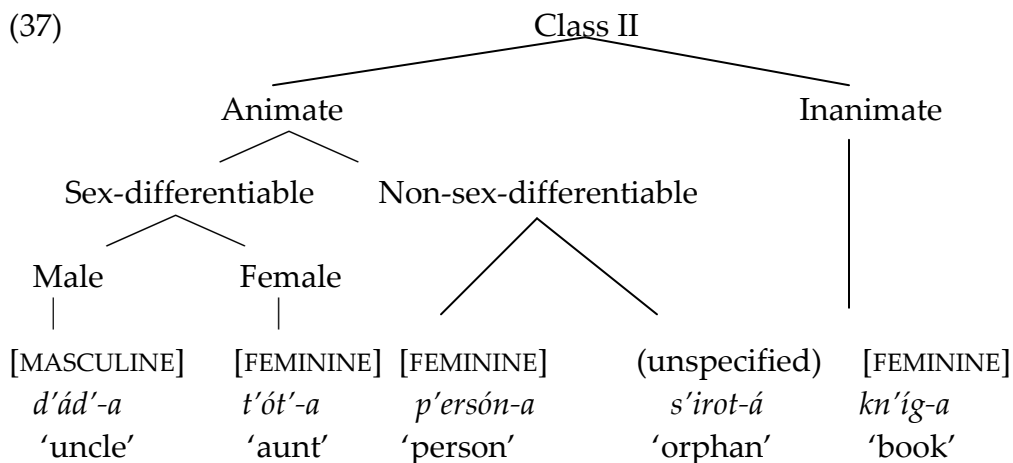
¹There are other approaches to the number of Russian inflectional classes that identify two classes (Stankiewicz 1978; Shvedova 1970; Zalizniak 1967), four classes (Corbett 1982, 1991; Corbett and Fraser 2000; Karcevskij 1932; Müller 2005; Nessel 1994), or five classes (Jakobson 1958; however, Jakobson mentions three main inflectional classes and two subclasses, so his proposal may also be classified as belonging to the three-class approach, rather than a five-class approach). See Steriopolo 2008 (pp. 42–56) for a discussion of these different approaches.

(36) Class II → Class I (the suffix *-an*)

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| a. gub-á | b. gub-án |
| lip-FEM.N.SG (CLASS II) | lip-EXPR.MASC.N.SG (CLASS I) |
| ‘lip’ | ‘person with distinct lips (vulgar)’ |

Now we are in a position to understand how the same attitude suffix can form nouns of different grammatical genders. I argue that attitude suffixes are associated with an inflectional class of their own, and grammatical gender is predicted from the inflectional class of a suffix.

Russian Class II nouns are animate or inanimate, as illustrated in (37). Animate nouns are sex-differentiable (specified for natural gender/sex) or non-sex-differentiable (not specified for natural gender/sex) (this terminology is from Corbett 1982). Both sex-differentiable and non-sex-differentiable nouns can be either masculine or feminine. The difference between them is that grammatical gender of sex-differentiable nouns is determined by their natural gender “male” or “female” (Corbett 1982, 1991; Corbett and Fraser 2000), while the grammatical gender of non-sex-differentiable nouns is arbitrary. Inanimate nouns of this class are all feminine.



It follows from the current proposal that animate nouns used with a Class II attitude suffix can be either masculine or feminine, while inanimate nouns can only be feminine. This is indeed what we find. For example, in (38a), *brát* ‘brother’ belongs to Class I (-Ø ending in Nom sg.). In (38b), the attitude suffix *-ux* is added, and the inflectional class changes to Class II (-a ending in Nom sg.). Since *brát* has the natural gender “male”, the resulting noun *brat-úx-a* ‘brother (vulg)’ is masculine. Thus, knowing the animacy, natural gender, and inflectional class of a noun, it is possible to predict its grammatical gender. That is, if a noun

is animate, male, and belongs to Class II, its grammatical gender is always masculine, as shown in (38c).

(38) (male) and [class II] → [masculine]

- a. brát
brother.N.SG (MASC; CLASS I)
'brother'
- b. brat-úx-a
brother-EXPR-N.SG (MASC; CLASS II)
'brother (vulg)'
- c.
$$\begin{array}{c} n2_{[class II]} \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ n2_{[class II]} \quad n1_{[class I]} \\ -ux \quad \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ n1_{[class I]} \quad \sqrt{\text{brat-}} \\ \text{(animate) (male)} \end{array}$$
 ← predicted grammatical gender [masculine]

Similarly, in (39), *s'estr-á* 'sister' belongs to Class II (-a ending in Nom sg.). When the attitude suffix *-ux* is added, there is no change in class—the resulting noun *s'estr-úx-a* 'sister (vulg)' is still in Class II. Since *s'estr-a* has the natural gender "female", the resulting noun *s'estr-úx-a* 'sister (vulg)' is feminine. Here again, knowing animacy, natural gender, and inflectional class of a noun, it is possible to predict its grammatical gender—if a noun is animate, female, and belongs to Class II, its grammatical gender is always feminine, as illustrated in (39c).

(39) (female) and [class II] → [feminine]

- a. s'estr-á
sister.N.SG (FEM; CLASS II)
'sister'
- b. s'estr-úx-a
sister-EXPR-N.SG (FEM; CLASS II)
'sister (vulg)'
- c.
$$\begin{array}{c} n2_{[class II]} \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ n2_{[class II]} \quad n1_{[class II]} \\ -ux \quad \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ n1_{[class II]} \quad \sqrt{s'estr-} \\ \text{(animate) (female)} \end{array}$$
 ← predicted grammatical gender [feminine]

In (40), the same attitude suffix *-ux* is added to the inanimate noun *gólod* 'hunger'. The noun *gólod* 'hunger' belongs to Class I (-∅ ending in Nom sg.), but when the attitude suffix *-ux* is added, the resulting noun *golod-úx-a* 'hunger (vulg)' is in Class II (-a ending in Nom sg.). Since inanimate Class II nouns are all feminine in Russian, here again it is possible to predict grammatical gender from

inflectional class—if a noun is inanimate and belongs to Class II, its grammatical gender is always feminine (40c).

(40) (inanimate) and [class II] → [feminine]

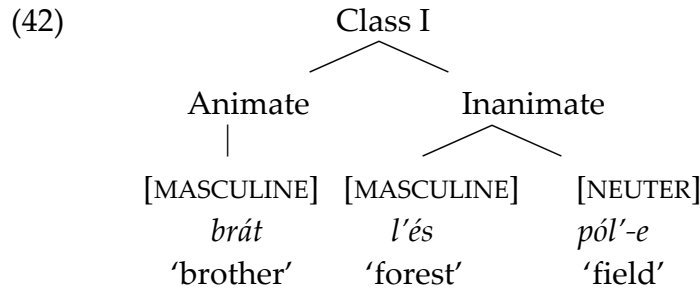
- a. *gólod*
 hunger.N.SG (MASC; CLASS I)
 'hunger'
- b. *golod-úx-a*
 hunger-EXPR-N.SG (FEM; CLASS II)
 'hunger (vulg)'
- c.
$$\begin{array}{c} n2_{[class II]} \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ n2_{[class II]} \quad n1_{[class I]} \\ -ux \quad \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ n1_{[class I]} \quad \sqrt{\text{golod-}} \\ \text{(inanimate)} \end{array}$$
 ← predicted grammatical gender [feminine]

Finally, in (41), *zv'er'* 'animal' belongs to Class I (-Ø ending in Nom sg.). When the attitude suffix *-ux* is added, the resulting noun *zv'er'-úx-a* 'animal (vulg)' is in Class II (-*a* ending in Nom sg.). Since *zv'er'* is animate but non-sex-differentiable, its grammatical gender cannot be determined by its natural gender. As a result, when it becomes a Class II noun, its grammatical gender is unspecified, which accounts for its status as a common gender noun. If a noun is animate, non-sex-differentiable, and belongs to Class II, its grammatical gender is unspecified and thus, it can be either masculine or feminine (41c).

(41) (animate) and [class II] → unspecified gender

- a. *zv'er'*
 animal.N.SG (MASC; CLASS I)
 'animal'
- b. *zv'er'-úx-a*
 animal-EXPR-N.SG (MASC/FEM; CLASS II)
 'animal (vulg)'
- c.
$$\begin{array}{c} n2_{[class II]} \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ n2_{[class II]} \quad n1_{[class I]} \\ -ug \quad \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ n1_{[class I]} \quad \sqrt{\text{zv'er'-}} \\ \text{(animate)} \end{array}$$
 ← unspecified grammatical gender (common gender)

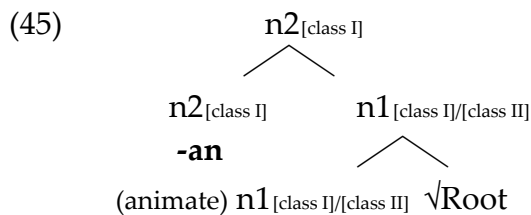
Next we turn to the attitude suffix *-an* that assigns inflectional Class I. Russian Class I nouns can be animate or inanimate. Animate nouns are masculine, while inanimate nouns are either masculine or neuter (42). The attitude suffix *-an* attaches to both animate and inanimate nouns of different classes. As a result, it produces a change in both animacy and inflectional class of a noun. The resulting words are always animate Class I nouns.



For example, in (43), *gub-á* 'lip' is an inanimate Class II noun (-*a* ending in Nom sg.); when the attitude suffix *-an* is added, the resulting noun *gub-án* 'animate with distinct lips' becomes animate and changes to Class I (-∅ ending in Nom sg.). In (44), *púz-o* 'belly' is an inanimate Class I noun (-∅ ending in Nom sg.). When the attitude suffix *-an* is added, the resulting noun *puz-án* 'animate with distinct belly' becomes animate, but it remains in Class I.

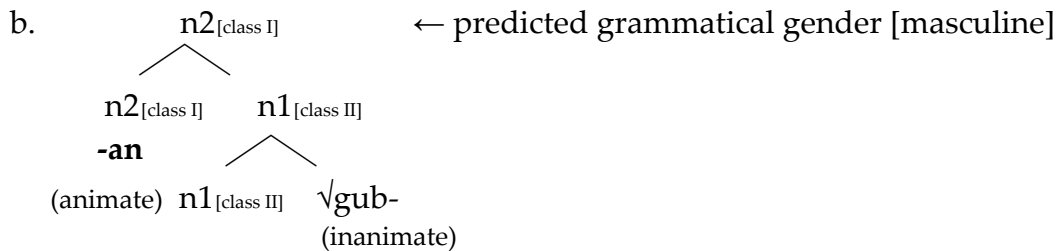
- (43) a. *gub-á*
lip-N.SG (FEM; CLASS II)
'lip'
- b. *gub-án*
lip-EXPR.N.SG (MASC; CLASS I)
'animate with distinct lips (vulg)'
- (44) a. *púz-o*
belly-N.SG (NEUT; CLASS I)
'belly'
- b. *puz-án*
belly-EXPR.N.SG (MASC; CLASS I)
'animate with a distinct belly (vulg)'

Because the suffix *-an* always produces a Class I animate noun, regardless of the class or animacy of the base, I propose that it is associated with both animacy and Class I (45).

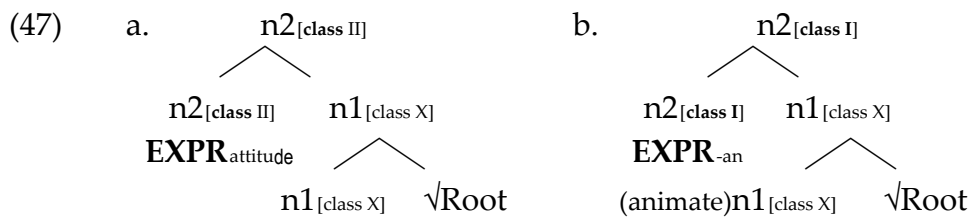


It is possible to predict grammatical gender of nouns used with the suffix *-an*. It always produces a masculine noun, because animate nouns of Class I are all masculine (46).

(46) a. (animate) and [class I] → [masculine]



To summarize, attitude suffixes are associated with inflectional classes of their own, which is consistent with their status as a syntactic head. The majority of attitude suffixes (except *-an*) are associated with Class II (47a). The suffix *-an* is associated with both animacy and Class I (47b).



Thus, knowing animacy, natural gender, and inflectional class of a derived expressive noun, it is possible to predict its grammatical gender, which accounts for the variation in grammatical genders observed above.

3.1.2. Expressive Modifiers

The distributional properties of size suffixes show that they behave as syntactic modifiers. The addition of a size suffixes results in: (i) no change in syntactic category (section 3.1.2.1), (ii) no change in grammatical gender (section 3.1.2.2), and (iii) no change in inflectional class (section 3.1.2.3).

3.1.2.1. No Change in Syntactic Category

Expressive affixation of this type does not change syntactic category of the base. For example, in (48), an adjective does not become a noun; in (49), a verb does not become a noun; and in (50), a noun remains a noun.

(48) *A → N

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a. rod-n-ój
 dear-ADJ-MASC.SG
 'dear'</p> | <p>b. *rod-n-(o/e/i)k/(e/i)c-(a)
 dear-ADJ-EXPR-MASC.N.SG-(FEM.N.SG)
 'dear person (diminutive)'</p> |
|--|--|

(49) *V → N

a. ras-t'er'-á-t'
 VERB.PREF-lose-TH-INF
 'to lose'

b. *ras-t'er'-(o/e/i)k/(e/i)c-(a)
 VERB.PREF-lose-EXPR-MASC.N.SG-(FEM.N.SG)
 'absent minded person (diminutive)'

(50) N = N

a. zv'er'
 animal.MASC.N.SG
 'animal'

b. zv'er'-ók
 animal-EXPR.MASC.N.SG
 'animal (diminutive)'

3.1.2.2. No Change in Grammatical Gender

Expressive affixation of this type does not change grammatical gender of the base. For example, in (51), a masculine noun remains masculine; in (52), a feminine noun remains feminine; and in (53), a neuter noun remains neuter.

(51) masc = masc

a. č'elov'ék
 person.MASC.N.SG
 'person'

b. č'elov'éc'-ek
 person-EXPR.MASC.N.SG
 'person (diminutive)'

(52) fem = fem

a. ovc-á
 sheep-FEM.N.SG
 'sheep'

b. ov'éc'-k-a
 sheep-EXPR-FEM.N.SG
 'sheep (diminutive)'

(53) neut = neut

a. bolót-o
 swamp-NEUT.N.SG
 'swamp'

b. bolót-c-e
 swamp-EXPR-NEUT.N.SG
 'swamp (diminutive)'

3.1.2.3. No Change in Inflectional Class

Expressive affixation of this type does not change inflectional class of Class I and Class II nouns. For example, in (54), a Class I noun remains in Class I; and in (55), a Class II noun remains in Class II.

(54) Class I = Class I

a. s'ĭn
 son.MASC.N.SG (CLASS I)
 'son'

b. s'ĭn-ók
 son-EXPR.MASC.N.SG (CLASS I)
 'son (diminutive)'

(55) Class II = Class II

a. s'estr-á

b. s'estr'-íc-a

sister-FEM.N.SG (<u>CLASS II</u>)	sister-EXPR-FEM.N.SG (<u>CLASS II</u>)
'sister'	'sister (diminutive)'

Class III nouns, however, show a different behavior. When size suffixes merge with these nouns, their inflectional class changes to Class II. For example, in (56), *nóč'* 'night' is a feminine Class III noun ($-\emptyset$ ending in Nom sg.). When the size suffix *-k* attaches, the newly formed noun is in Class II (*-a* ending in Nom sg.). In (57), *kr'ép-ost'* 'fortress' is in Class III. When the size suffix *-c* attaches, the newly formed noun belongs to Class II.

- | | |
|--|--|
| (56) a. <i>nóč'</i>
night.N.SG (FEM; CLASS III)
'night' | b. <i>nóč'-k-a</i>
night-EXPR-N.SG (FEM; CLASS II)
'night (dim)' |
| (57) a. <i>kr'ép-ost'</i>
stong-NOM.N.SG (FEM; CLASS III)
'fortress' | b. <i>kr'ép-ost-c-á</i>
stong-NOM-EXPR-N.SG (FEM; CLASS II)
'fortress (dim)' |

What accounts for this behavior of Class III nouns? Does it mean that size suffixes are syntactic heads associated with inflectional class of their own, just as attitude suffixes are? If size suffixes were associated with inflectional class, they would always produce nouns of the same inflectional class, as attitude suffixes do. For example, the size suffix *-k* would always produce nouns of Class II and thus, it would be able to turn a Class I noun into a Class II noun. But as the data above show, this is not the case; Class I nouns remain in Class I when a size suffix attaches. I propose that the change in inflectional class from Class III to Class II has nothing to do with the syntactic properties of size suffixes. Instead, this change is determined by the phonological properties of Class III nouns.

As observed by Thelin (1975), there is a systematic correlation between the final consonants of a feminine stem and its inflectional class. A "stem" is traditionally understood as a $\sqrt{\text{Root}}$ + derivational and/or modifying suffix, excluding an inflectional ending (58).

- (58) Root + suffix + inflectional ending
 Stem

For example, in (59), the stem consists of the $\sqrt{\text{Root}}$ *kr'ép-*, the derivational nominal suffix *-ost'*, and the modifying suffix *-c*. The stem does not include the inflectional nominative singular ending *-a*.

- (59) *kr'ep-ost-c-á*
 stong-NOM-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)
 'fortress (dim)'

Thelin notes that feminine stems can end in a “hard” (non-palatalized) or “soft” (palatalized) consonant (e.g., /n/ ~ /n'/, /t/ ~ /t'/). Most consonants can be hard or soft, but *c, š, ž* are only hard, while *j, č', šč'* are only soft. If the final consonant of the stem is *c, j*, or the hard member of a hard-soft pair, the noun belongs to Class II (e.g., *pt'íc-a* 'bird', *all'éj-a* 'alley', *stran-á* 'country'). If the final consonant of the stem is *š, ž, č', šč'* or the soft member of a hard-soft pair, the inflectional class cannot be predicted. Table 5 shows some contrasting examples from Thelin (cited in Corbett 1982:213); the final consonant of the stem is indicated in bold.

Thus, based on Thelin's generalizations, the difference between Class II and Class III stems is that Class II stems can end in a hard or soft consonants, while Class III stems can only end in a soft consonants (including *č', šč'* that are always soft) or the hard consonants *š, ž*. The final consonants of Class III stems are summarized in Table 6.

Table 5: Contrasting examples (Class II and Class III nouns)

Class II	Class III
p'és n' -a 'song'	žiz n' 'life'
grú š -a 'pear'	tú š 'ink'
dá č' -a 'country house'	nó č' 'night'

Table 6: Final consonants of Class III stems

	Soft	Hard
Final consonants of Class III stems	t', d', n', s', z' č', šč'	š, ž

But what do soft consonants and hard consonants *š, ž* have in common? Under Clements and Hume's (1995) version of feature geometry, front vowels/glides including the secondary palatalization aspect of palatalized consonants, are represented as having a [coronal] place node containing the [–anterior] ([–ant]) feature, situated underneath their VPlace (vocalic place) node. According to this feature-geometric model, both palatalized consonants and the hard consonants *š, ž* share the [–ant] feature. This means that all Class III nouns

in Russian contain [-ant] at the end of the stem. One way to account for this is to assume a floating [-ant] morpheme that marks Class III as such. For example, under this assumption, the stem of the Class III noun *króv'* 'blood' consists of the $\sqrt{\text{Root}}$ *krov-* and the [-ant] morpheme (60).

- (60) *króv'*
króv+[-ant]
 'blood'

If [-ant] is a floating morpheme and not part of the $\sqrt{\text{Root}}$, we would expect to find the $\sqrt{\text{Root}}$ *krov-* without palatalization. This is indeed what we find. For example, in the adjective *krov-áv'-ij* 'bloody,' the $\sqrt{\text{Root}}$ *krov-* ends in a hard consonant /v/. More examples illustrating that there exists a separate floating [-ant] morpheme that marks Class III nouns are given in (61)–(62) (compare *a* and *b*).

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| (61) | a. <i>vís'</i>
height+[-ant]
'height' | b. <i>vís-ot-á</i>
height-NOM-N.SG
'height' |
| (62) | a. <i>glúb'</i>
depth+[-ant]
'depth' | b. <i>glúb-ók'-ij</i>
deep-ADJ-MASC.SG
'deep' |

The assumption that Class III stems end in the [-ant] morpheme is also supported by historical evidence. In the pre-history of Slavic, all Class III nouns ended in /i/, which caused historical palatalization of the preceding consonant. In the course of history, /i/ turned into a so-called *jer* vowel and eventually disappeared in this position (Hermans 2002; Rubach 1986; Yearley 1995; among others). In modern Russian, this suffixal vowel is no longer present, but we can see the traces of it in the [-ant] feature of Class III stems.

The representation for Class III nouns is given in (63). Here, Class III nouns have an internal structure consisting of a $\sqrt{\text{Root}}$ and a floating [-ant] morpheme. This means that all Class III nouns are morphosyntactically derived.

- (63)
- $$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{n}_{[\text{class III}]} \\
 \diagup \quad \diagdown \\
 \text{n}_{[\text{class III}]} \quad \sqrt{\text{Root}} \\
 [-\text{ant}]
 \end{array}$$

Let us now come back to the problem discussed above: the issue of size suffixes turning Class III into Class II nouns. As I suggested, this is related to the phonological properties of Class III nouns. When the size suffixes *-k* (allomorphs: *-ok/-ek/-ik*) or *-c* (allomorphs: *-ec/-ic*) merge with Class III nouns, the stem no longer ends in [-ant], but instead it ends in a hard consonant of the suffix. For example, in (64), the stem is *noč'-k*; it ends in /k/, a consonant which is not [-ant]. In (65), the stem is *kr'ep-ost-c*; it ends in /c/, a consonant which is likewise not [-ant] (and is in fact [+ant]).

- (64) *nóč'-k-a*
 night-EXPR-N.SG (FEM; CLASS II)
 'night (dim)'
- (65) *kr'ep-ost-c-á*
 stong-NOM-EXPR-N.SG (FEM; CLASS II)
 'fortress (dim)'

Since the stems above do not end in [-ant], the newly formed nouns *nóč'-k-a* 'night (dim)' and *kr'ep-ost-c-á* 'fortress (dim)' cannot belong to Class III either. The only class to which they can belong is Class II, because it is the only class besides Class III that contains feminine nouns. Thus, by changing the final consonant of the stem, the inflectional class also changes.

3.1.3. Predictions from the Analysis

This analysis makes the following predictions. First, size suffixes, being syntactic modifiers, should allow for repetition of the same morpheme (in the sense of Scalise 1988). Second, since attitude suffixes are noun heads and size suffixes are noun modifiers, size suffixes should be able to modify nouns formed by attitude suffixes. In other words, size suffixes should be able to merge outside of attitude suffixes. Below, I show that these predictions are borne out.

3.1.3.1. Repetition of the Same Morpheme

Size suffixes do allow repetition of the same morpheme, in accordance with this analysis. When a size morpheme is repeated, it indicates a strengthening of the speaker's emotions. For example, in (66b), *ovráž-ek*, the diminutive suffix *-ek* is used once to mean 'small ditch'. In (66c), this suffix is used twice; the resulting word is *ovráž-eč'-ek²* 'very small ditch'.

² In Russian, there are *g ~ ž* and *k ~ č* alternations which take place in front of diminutive suffixes.

- | | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| (66) a. ovrág | b. ovráž-ek | c. ovráž-eč'-ek |
| ditch.MASC.N.SG | ditch-EXPR.MASC.N.SG | ditch-EXPR-EXPR.MASC.N.SG |
| 'ditch' | 'small ditch' | 'very small ditch' |

Since attitude suffixes are syntactic heads, we expect that they will not allow repetition of the same morpheme. This is indeed the case in Russian. In (67b), the attitude suffix *-ul'* is used once, and the resulting word is grammatical: *s ĭn-úl'-a* 'nice son'. In (67c), it is used twice, and the resulting word is ungrammatical: **s ĭn-ul'-ul'-a* 'very nice son'.

- | | | |
|---------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| (67) a. s ĭn | b. s ĭn-úl'-a | c. *s ĭn-ul'-ul'-a |
| son.MASC.N.SG | son-EXPR-MASC.N.SG | son-EXPR-EXPR-MASC.N.SG |
| 'son' | 'nice son' | 'very nice son' |

3.1.3.2. Size Suffixes Modify Attitude Suffixes

This analysis predicts that size suffixes should be able to merge outside of attitude suffixes in Russian. This prediction is borne out. In (68b), the attitude suffix *-ul'* turns an adjective into a noun. In (68c), the size suffix *-k* merges outside the attitude suffix.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (68) a. gr'áz-n-ĭj | b. gr'az-n-úl'-a |
| dirty-ADJ-MASC.SG | dirty-ADJ-EXPR-MASC/FEM.N.SG |
| 'dirty' | 'nice dirty person' |
| c. gr'az-n-úl'-k-a | d. *gr'az-n-(o/e/i)k-úl'-a |
| dirty-ADJ-EXPR-EXPR-MASC/FEM.N.SG | dirty-ADJ-EXPR-EXPR-MASC/FEM.N.SG |
| 'nice and small dirty person' | 'nice and small dirty person' |

3.1.4. Summary

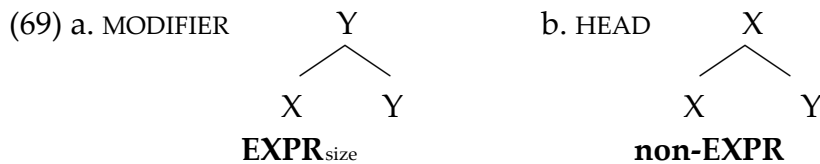
Attitude suffixes are syntactic heads because they produce a change in syntactic category, grammatical gender, and inflectional class. Size suffixes are syntactic modifiers because they produce no such changes. These findings are summarized in Table 7.

Table 7: EXPR heads vs. EXPR modifiers

	<i>EXPR</i> _{attitude} HEADS	<i>EXPR</i> _{size} MODIFIERS
Change in category	✓	✗
Change in gender	✓	✗
Change in class	✓	✗

3.2 Non-expressive Suffixes that are Homophonous with Size Suffixes

In Russian, there are non-expressive suffixes that are homophonous with the expressive size suffixes discussed above. I argue that size suffixes and their homophonous counterparts differ not only in meaning, but also in their syntactic structure. Unlike size suffixes that are syntactic modifiers, non-expressive homophones are syntactic heads, as illustrated in (69).



3.2.1. The suffix *-išč'*

The non-expressive suffix *-išč'* means 'place or site'. I treat this suffix as non-expressive, because it does not convey any information about the attitudes or emotions of the speaker, and therefore, it has no expressive content. For example, the sentence in (70) has the descriptive content 'I saw a site of fire,' but expressive content is absent.

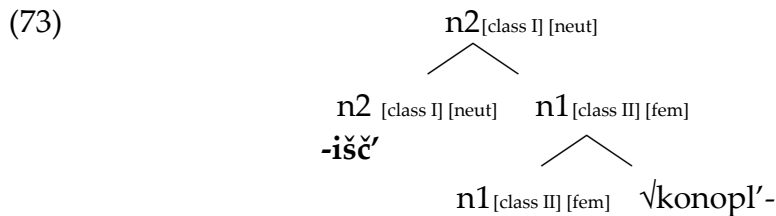
- (70) Ja uv'id'el požár'-išč'-e
 I saw fire-PLACE-N.SG
 i. Descriptive: 'I saw a site of fire'

Unlike the augmentative suffix *-išč'* that is a syntactic modifier, the non-expressive suffix *-išč'* has the properties of a syntactic head. The first piece of evidence stems from the fact that it can change syntactic category. For example, in (71), the non-expressive *-išč'* acts as a nominalizer: it attaches to a verb and forms a noun with the meaning 'place to run away (shelter)'. More data are given in (72).

- (71) a. u-b'ež-á-t'
 VERB.PREF-run-TH-INF
 'to run away'
- b. u-b'éž-išč'-e
 VERB.PREF-run-PLACE-N.SG (NEUT; CLASS I)
 'shelter'

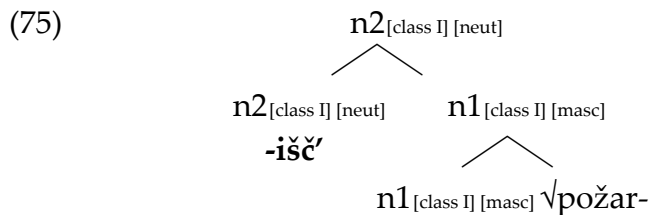
- (72) a. pr'i-b'ež-á-t'
 VERB.PREF-run-TH-INF
 'come running'
- b. pr'i-b'éž-išč'-e
 VERB.PREF-run-PLACE-N.SG (NEUT; CLASS I)
 'refuge'

The second piece of evidence comes from the fact that the non-expressive *išč'* can change the inflectional class and grammatical gender of a noun. For example, in (73)–(74), the non-expressive *-išč'* changes the inflectional class from Class II to Class I and it changes the grammatical gender from feminine to neuter.



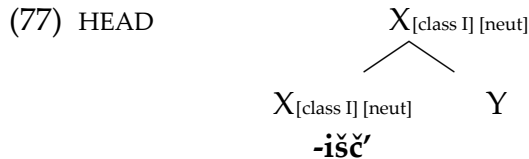
- (74) a. konopl'-á
 hemp-N.SG (FEM; CLASS II)
 'hemp'
- b. konopl'-išč'-e
 hemp-PLACE-N.SG (NEUT; CLASS I)
 'place for gathering hemp'

In (75), the non-expressive *-išč'* does not change the inflectional class, but it changes the grammatical gender from masculine to neuter (76a, b).



- (76) a. požár
 fire.N.SG (MASC; CLASS I)
 'fire'
- b. požár'-išč'-e
 fire-PLACE-N.SG (NEUT; CLASS I)
 'site of fire'

To summarize, the non-expressive suffix *-išč'* 'place/site' is a syntactic head, as it can change syntactic category, inflectional class, and grammatical gender (77).



Thus, the non-expressive suffix *-išč'* 'place/site' and the expressive augmentative suffix *-išč'* have distinct syntax. This homophony between expressive size suffixes and their non-expressive counterparts is wide-spread in Russian: every expressive size suffix has a non-expressive homophone; see below for more examples.

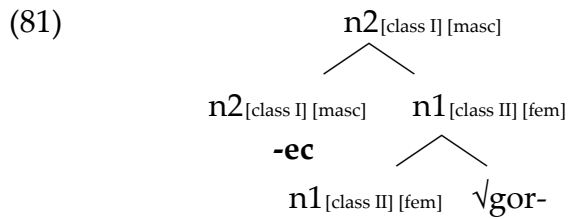
3.2.2. The suffix *-ec*

The non-expressive counterpart of the expressive diminutive suffix *-ec* means 'person'. This suffix has no expressive content, as illustrated in (78).

- (78) gór'-**ec** pr'išól
 mountain-PERS.N.SG came
 i. Descriptive: 'A mountain dweller came.'

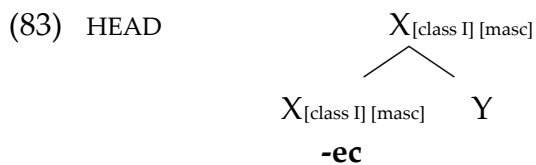
Unlike the diminutive *-ec*, which is a syntactic modifier, the non-expressive *-ec* is a syntactic head. As with non-expressive suffix *-išč'*, the evidence for this is that it can change the syntactic category (79)–(80), and it can change inflectional class and grammatical gender of a noun. In (81), the non-expressive *-ec* changes inflectional class from Class II to Class I, and it changes grammatical gender from feminine to masculine (82).

- (79) a. čít-á-t' b. č't'-éc
 read-TH-INF read-PERS.N.SG (MASC; CLASS I)
 'to read' 'reader'
- (80) a. u-pr'ám-ij b. u-pr'ám'-ec
 VERB.PREF-stubborn-MASC.N.SG VERB.PREF-stubborn-PERS.N.SG (MASC; CLASS I)
 'stubborn' 'stubborn person'



- (82) a. gor-á
 mountain-N.SG (FEM; CLASS II)
 'mountain'
- b. gór'-ec
 mountain-PERS.N.SG (MASC; CLASS I)
 'mountain dweller'

To summarize, the non-expressive suffix *-ec* is a syntactic head, as it can change syntactic category, inflectional class, and grammatical gender of a noun (83).



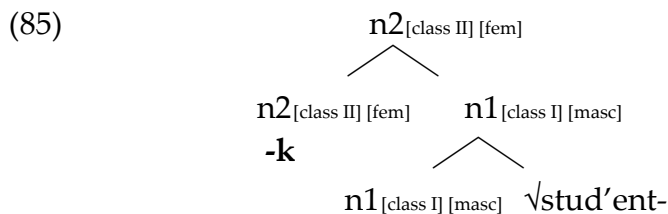
Thus, the non-expressive suffix *-ec* 'person' and the diminutive expressive suffix *-ec* have distinct syntax.

3.2.3. The suffix *-k*

One meaning of the non-expressive suffix *-k* is 'female.' I treat this suffix as non-expressive, because it has no expressive content (84).

- (84) Ja uv'id'el vnúč'-k-u
 I saw grandchild-FEM-ACC.SG
 i. Descriptive: 'I saw a granddaughter'

Unlike the diminutive suffix *-k*, which is a syntactic modifier, the non-expressive *-k* is a syntactic head. Again, the evidence stems from the fact that the non-expressive *-k* can change inflectional class and grammatical gender (85)–(86).



- (86) a. stud'ént
student.N.SG (MASC; CLASS I)
'student'
- b. stud'ént-**k**-a
student-FEM-N.SG (FEM; CLASS II)
'female student'

To summarize, the non-expressive suffix *-k* 'female' is a syntactic head, as it can change inflectional class and grammatical gender of a noun (87).

- (87) HEAD
- $$\begin{array}{c}
 X_{[\text{class II}] [\text{fem}]} \\
 \diagdown \quad \diagup \\
 X_{[\text{class II}] [\text{fem}]} \quad Y \\
 \text{-k}
 \end{array}$$

Thus, the non-expressive suffix *-k* 'female' and the diminutive expressive suffix *-k* have distinct syntax.

3.2.4. Summary

The difference between expressive size suffixes and their non-expressive homophones is not only of a semantic nature, but also of a syntactic one. Expressive size suffixes are syntactic modifiers, while their non-expressive homophones are syntactic heads. A conclusion that we can draw from this is that homophones are linguistic objects that are not just different in meaning, but also different in syntax, leaving just the sound the same.

3.3. Where do Expressive Suffixes Merge: With $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$ or with Categories?

I argue that attitude suffixes can merge at two sites: with $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$ and with categories. In contrast, size suffixes can merge only at one site, namely, with a noun category.

3.3.1. Attitude Suffixes Merging with $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$

Evidence that attitude suffixes merge with $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$ stems from the fact that they can attach to bases that are deprived of any categorial morphology. For example, in (88a), the adjective *žád-n-ĭj* 'greedy' is formed by a categorial suffix *-n*, which is a productive adjectival suffix in Russian. In (88b, c), the attitude suffixes *-ob* and *-ug* merge with the $\sqrt{\text{Root}}$ *žad-*, which is deprived of the categorial suffix.

- (88) a. žád-**n**-ĭj
greedy-ADJ-MASC.SG
'greedy'
- b. žad-**ób**-a
greedy-EXPR-MASC/FEM.N.SG
'greedy person (vulgar)'

- c. *žad'-úg-a*
 greedy-EXPR-MASC/FEM.N.SG
 'greedy person (vulgar)'

The proposed structure for (88b, c) is given in (89).

- (89)
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{n} \\ \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ \text{n} \quad \sqrt{\text{žad}} \\ \text{-ob/-ug} \end{array}$$
 žad'-úg-a 'greedy person (vulgar)'

3.3.2. Attitude Suffixes Merging with Categories

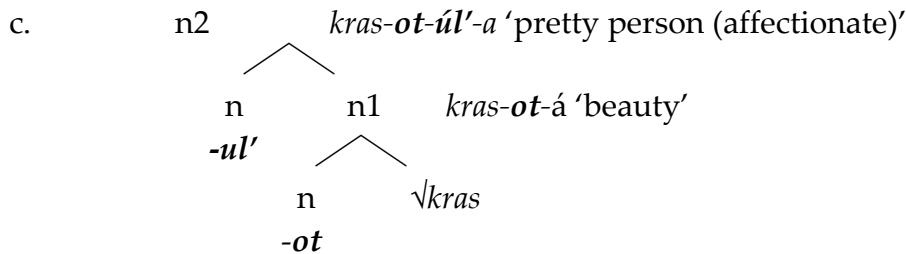
Evidence that attitude suffixes merge with categories stems from the fact that expressive morphology appears outside of categorial morphology. For example, in (90a), the adjective *žad-n-ij* 'greedy', has the categorial suffix *-n*. In (90b), the attitude suffix *-ug* merges outside this suffix, which means that it attaches after an adjective has been formed.

- (90) a. *žad-n-ij*
 greedy-ADJ-MASC.SG
 'greedy'
- b. *žad-n'-úg-a*
 greedy-ADJ-EXPR-MASC/FEM.N.SG
 'greedy person (vulgar)'

- c.
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{n} \\ \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ \text{n} \quad \text{a} \\ \text{-ug} \quad \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ \text{a} \quad \sqrt{\text{žad}} \\ \text{-n-} \end{array}$$
 žad-n'-úg-a 'greedy person (vulgar)'
žad-n-ij 'greedy'

In (91a), the noun *kras-ot-á* 'beauty' is formed by the nominal suffix *-ot*. In (91b), the attitude suffix *-ul'* merges outside this suffix. The proposed structure for (91b) is given in (91c).

- (67) a. *kras-ot-á*
 pretty-NOM-FEM.N.SG
 'beauty'
- b. *kras-ot-úl'-a*
 pretty-NOM-EXPR-MASC/FEM.N.SG
 'pretty person (affectionate)'

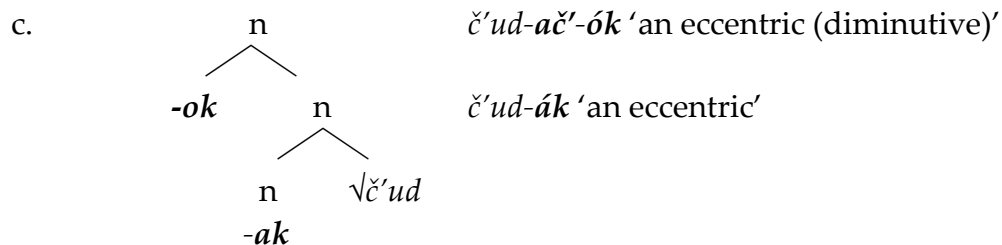


3.3.3. Size Suffixes Merging with a Noun Category

In contrast to attitude suffixes, size suffixes can only merge with a noun category. Evidence comes from the fact that expressive morphology appears outside of nominal morphology. For example, in (92a), the noun *č'ud-ák* 'an eccentric' is formed by the nominal suffix *-ak*. In (92b), the diminutive suffix *-ok* merges outside of this nominal suffix, which means that it adjoins after the noun has already been formed.

(92) a. *č'ud-ák*
wonder-NOM.MASC.N.SG
'an eccentric'

b. *č'ud-ač'-ók*
wonder-NOM-EXPR.MASC.N.SG
'an eccentric (diminutive)'



Size suffixes cannot merge with adjectives and verbs. Evidence comes from the fact that when a size suffix is added outside of adjectival or verbal morphology, the resulting data are ungrammatical (93)–(94).

(93) a. *žád-n-ij*
greedy-ADJ-MASC.SG
'greedy'

b. **žad-n-(o/e/i)k/(e/i)c-ij*
greedy-ADJ-EXPR-MASC.SG
'greedy (diminutive)'

(94) a. *ras-t'er'-á-t'*
VERB.PREF-lose-TH-INF
'to lose'

b. **ras-t'er'-(o/e/i)k/(e/i)c-a-t'*
VERB.PREF-lose-EXPR-TH-INF
'to lose (diminutive)'

3.3.4. No Size Suffixes Merging with $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$

Size suffixes also cannot merge with $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$. When a size suffix is added to a $\sqrt{\text{Root}}$ which is deprived of any categorial morphology, the resulting data are ungrammatical (95)–(96).

- (95) a. $\check{\text{c}}\text{'ud-}\acute{\text{a}}\text{k}$ b. $*\check{\text{c}}\text{'ud-(o/e/i)k/(e/i)c-(a)}$
 wonder-NOM.MASC.N.SG wonder-EXPR.MASC.N.SG-(FEM.N.SG)
 ‘an eccentric’ ‘an eccentric (diminutive)’
- (96) a. $\acute{\text{z}}\acute{\text{a}}\text{d-}\text{n-}\dot{\text{i}}\text{j}$ b. $*\acute{\text{z}}\acute{\text{a}}\text{d-(o/e/i)k/(e/i)c-}\dot{\text{i}}\text{j}$
 greedy-ADJ-MASC.SG greedy-EXPR-MASC.SG
 ‘greedy’ ‘greedy (diminutive)’

3.3.5. Summary

Attitude suffixes can merge with both $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$ and categories (*a/v/n*). Size suffixes can merge only with a noun category. Thus, in Russian there is an asymmetry between expressive heads and expressive modifiers. These findings are summarized in Table 8.

	<i>EXPR</i> _{attitude} HEADS	<i>EXPR</i> _{size} MODIFIERS
<i>EXPR</i> + $\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}$	✓	✗
<i>EXPR</i> + <i>a</i>	✓	✗
<i>EXPR</i> + <i>v</i>	✓	✗
<i>EXPR</i> + <i>n</i>	✓	✓

Table 8: Attachment to $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$ vs. attachment to categories

4. Cross-Linguistic Variation

With respect to the findings above, we observe that there is a typological gap in Russian: there are no expressive modifiers merging with $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$. The current analysis predicts that this type of expressive morphology should be attested across languages. Also, in Russian, the same set of expressive heads merges both with $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$ and with categories. This analysis predicts that across languages, we should find expressive heads that can only merge with $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$ and others that can only merge with categories. Here I show that these predictions are borne out.

4.1. Modifiers that Merge with $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$ in Halkomelem (Salish)

Halkomelem diminutive prefixes (formed by means of reduplication) are syntactic modifiers that merge with $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$ (Wiltschko 2008). The evidence comes from their distributional properties. First, diminutive prefixes produce no change in the syntactic category of the base. Thus, in (97), an adjective remains an adjective when the diminutive prefix merges; in (98), a verb remains a verb; and in (99) and (100), a noun remains a noun. Second, Halkomelem diminutive prefixes never function as classifiers, which gives additional evidence that they do not change categorial properties of the base. Thus, in (99), a count noun remains a count noun and in (100), a mass noun remains a mass noun.

(97) A = A

- | | |
|----------|----------------------|
| a. p'eq' | b. p'í-p'eq |
| white | EXPR-white |
| 'white' | 'a little bit white' |

(98) V = V

- | | |
|-----------|------------------------|
| a. lhí:m | b. lhi -lhi:m |
| pick | EXPR-pick |
| 'to pick' | 'to pick a little bit' |

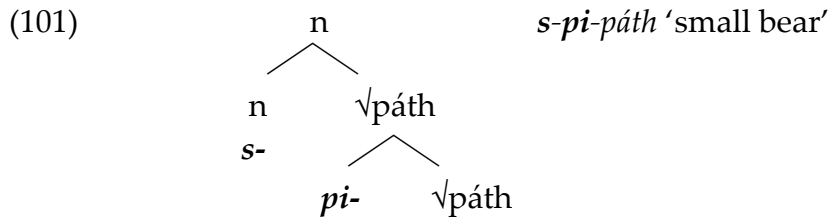
(99) N = N

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| a. s-path | b. s-pi -páth |
| NOM-bear | NOM-EXPR-bear |
| 'bear (<u>count noun</u>)' | 'small bear (<u>count noun</u>)' |

(100) N = N

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| a. s-peháls | b. s-pi -peháls |
| NOM-wind | NOM-EXPR-wind |
| 'wind (<u>mass noun</u>)' | 'little bit of wind (<u>mass noun</u>)' |

Evidence that diminutive prefixes in Halkomelem merge with $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$ comes from the fact that expressive morphology appears inside of categorial morphology. For example, in (99a) and (100a), the nouns *s-páth* 'bear' and *s-peháls* 'wind' are formed by the nominal prefix *s-*. In (99b) and (100b), the diminutive prefixes appear inside this nominal prefix: *s-pi-páth* 'small bear' and *s-pi-peháls* 'little bit of wind'. The structure for (99b) is given in (101).



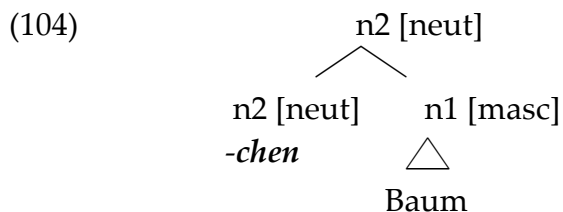
4.2. Heads that Merge with a Noun Category in German

German diminutive suffixes are syntactic heads that merge with a noun category (Wiltschko 2006). The evidence for this is that they produce a change in the grammatical gender of the base: they always form neuter nouns, regardless of the grammatical gender of the base. Thus, in (102), a masculine noun becomes neuter when the diminutive *-chen* is attached. In addition, diminutive suffixes function as classifiers and always turn a mass noun into a count noun. Thus, in (103), a mass noun becomes a count noun when *-chen* is attached. German diminutive suffixes can only attach to nouns and can never attach to adjective or verbs.

- (102)a. der Baum b. das Bäum-**chen**
 DET.MASC tree DET.NEUT tree-EXPR
 'tree' 'small tree'

- (103)a. viel Brot b. viele Bröt-**chen**
 much bread many.PL bread-EXPR
 'much bread (mass noun)' 'many bread rolls (count noun)'

The structure for (102) is given in (104).



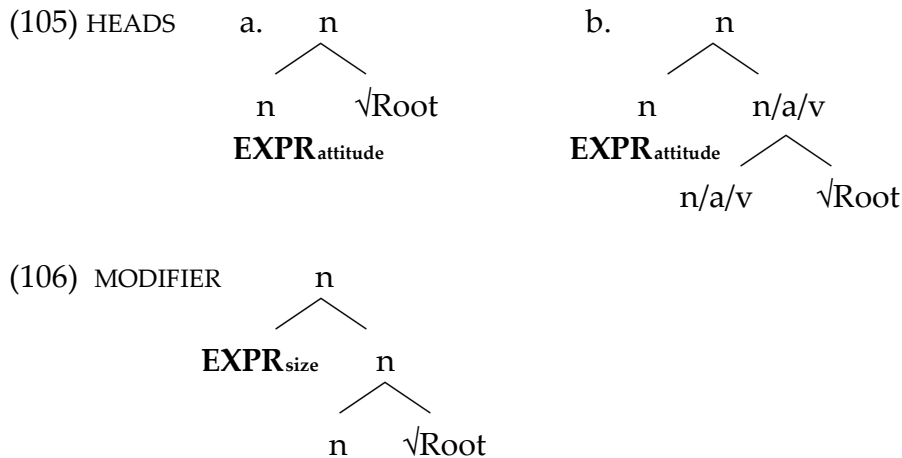
Thus, we see that the types of expressive morphology missing in Russian are found cross-linguistically, as it is predicted by the current analysis. The expressive typology across languages is shown in Table 9.

Table 9: Expressive morphology across languages

	<i>EXPR HEADS</i>	<i>EXPR MODIFIERS</i>
<i>EXPR + √ROOT</i>	Russian	Halkomelem
<i>EXPR + CATEGORY</i>	German, Russian	Russian

5. Conclusions

I have argued that the syntax of Russian expressive suffixes varies across two dimensions: (i) how the suffix is merged (as a syntactic head or as an adjoined modifier), and (ii) where the suffix is merged (with category-free $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$ or with categories). I have shown that attitude suffixes are noun heads that can either merge with $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$ (105a) or with syntactic categories *n/a/v* (105b). In contrast, size suffixes are noun modifiers that can only adjoin to a noun category (106).



I investigated the functional and formal properties of Russian expressive suffixes in a systematic way, which, to the best of my knowledge, has not been done before. In doing so, I analyzed how expressive suffixes pattern along several kinds of criteria (gender/class change, category change, subcategorization). A byproduct of this analysis is that I showed how grammatical gender of an expressive form can be predicted from its inflectional class (combined with animacy and natural gender of the base).

One implication of this analysis is that expressives are not associated with special formal properties as opposed to non-expressives (descriptive linguistic objects). They have the same syntax as non-expressives that are distinguished on the basis of their syntactic types: head vs. modifier, and attachment to $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$ vs. categories. Another implication is that the formal criteria developed here can be extended to set up a linguistic typology of expressives.

These findings have important implications for the form/function mapping in the realm of categorization. The problem of the diversity of grammatical categories within the Principles and Parameters framework is among the core issues of modern linguistic theory. How can we explain the tension between language diversity and language universals? Is the same semantic “concept” universally mapped onto the same syntactic category? I showed that even within a single language, the same function “expressive” does not map onto the same form. On the other hand, the two different semantic types (attitude vs. size) map directly onto the two different syntactic types (head vs. modifier). In view of this, we can raise the following question: what determines whether the form of a linguistic object is the same or different: its function or its semantic type?

6. Topic for Further Research: Complex Expressive Suffixes

Complex expressive suffixes look like sequences of simplex suffixes, with the diminutive *-k* as the last suffix of a sequence (Stankiewicz 1968:102).³ Examples of such suffixes are *-ušk*, *-onk*, *-on'k/-en'k*, and *-išk*. However, these suffixes are not exactly *sequences* of simplex suffixes, because what looks like the first suffix of a sequence cannot be used independently (without the diminutive *-k*) in the same word. For example, in (107), the complex suffix *-ušk* does not consist of two simplex suffixes *-uš* and *-k*, because *-uš* cannot be used independently in (107c). In contrast, the diminutive suffix *-k* can be used independently, but in this case, the meaning of the resulting word is different. The complex suffix *-ušk* has an affectionate meaning, while the simplex suffix *-k* has a diminutive meaning (107d). The data in (108) show the same behavior with the complex suffix *-onk*.

- | | |
|---|--|
| (107)a. golov-á
head-N.SG (FEM)
'head' | b. golóv-ušk-a
head-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)
'head (affect)' |
| c. *golov-uš-a
head-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)
'head (expr)' | d. golóv-k-a
head-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)
'head (dim)' |
| (108)a. ruk-á
hand-N.SG (FEM)
'hand' | b. ruč'-ónk-a
hand-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)
'hand (contempt)' |

³ Stankiewicz (1968) uses the term “compound” suffixes.

- | | |
|--|--|
| c. * ruč'- on -a
hand-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)
'hand (expr)' | d. rúč'- k -a
hand-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)
'hand (dim)' |
|--|--|

What makes complex expressive suffixes an interesting research topic is that they have different distributional properties from those of simplex expressive suffixes. To illustrate this, let us discuss the complex suffixes *-on'k/-en'k* and *-išk*.

6.1. The suffix *-en'k/-on'k*

-en'k/-on'k is an affectionate suffix, where the distinction “e” vs. “o” is purely orthographic, just like for *-ek/-ok* (Shvedova et al. 1982:214). This is a complex suffix because what looks like the first suffix *-en'/-on'* of the sequence *-en'k/-on'k* cannot be used independently, as illustrated in (109c). What looks like the second suffix *-k* of the sequence can be used independently, but with a different meaning: *-en'k* has an affectionate meaning, while *-k* has a diminutive meaning, as illustrated in (109d).

- | | |
|---|--|
| (109)a. ruk-á
hand-N.SG (FEM)
'hand' | b. rúč'- en'k -a
hand-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)
'hand (affect)' |
| c. * ruč'- en'/on' -a
hand-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)
'hand (expr)' | d. rúč'- k -a
hand-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)
'hand (dim)' |

The affectionate suffix *-en'k/-on'k* behaves differently compared to the affectionate simplex suffixes that have been described in this paper: it can change the inflectional class of a noun, but it can never change the syntactic category. This suffix can attach to nouns of all inflectional classes, always producing a Class II noun, as illustrated in (110)–(112).

- | | |
|--|--|
| (110)a. bóg
God.N.SG (MASC; CLASS I)
'God' | b. bóž'- en'k -a
God-EXPR-N.SG (MASC; CLASS II)
'God (affect)' |
| (111)a. dóč'
daughter.N.SG (FEM; CLASS III)
'daughter' | b. dóč'- en'k -a
daughter-EXPR-N.SG (FEM; CLASS II)
'daughter (affect)' |

- (112)a. d'ád'-a
uncle-N.SG (MASC; CLASS II)
'uncle'
- b. d'ád'-en'k-a
uncle-EXPR-N.SG (MASC; CLASS II)
'uncle (affect)'

The fact that *-en'k* can change inflectional class for Class II can be accounted for if we assume that it is a syntactic head specified for Class II in its lexical entry (just as we did with simplex affectionate suffixes). However, simplex affectionate suffixes can change syntactic category: they attach to nouns, adjective, or verbs, every time forming a noun. This is not the case with the complex affectionate suffix. As the data in (113)–(114) illustrate, *-en'k* cannot change syntactic category and does not form a noun from adjectives or adverbs (this suffix does not attach to verbs).⁴

- (113)a. žád-n-ij
stingy-ADJ-MASC.N.SG
'stingy'
- b. žad-n'-en'k'-ij
stingy-ADJ-EXPR- MASC.N.SG
'stingy (affect)'
- c. *žad-n'-en'k-a
stingy-ADJ-EXPR-N.SG
'stingy animate (affect)'
- d.* žad'-en'k-a
stingy-EXPR-N.SG
'stingy animate (affect)'
- (114)a. bīstr-o
quick-ADV.SUFF
'quickly'
- b. bīstr'-en'k-o
quick -EXPR-ADV.SUFF
'quickly (affect)'
- c. *bīstr'-en'k-a
quick-EXPR-N.SG
'quick animate (affect)'

With respect to the data above, the following questions arise: What are the morphosyntactic properties of the complex suffix *-en'k/-on'k*? Is it a syntactic head specified for Class II in its lexical entry? And if it is, why is it unable to change syntactic category?

6.2. The suffix *-išk*

The affectionate suffix *-išk* is a complex suffix because what looks like the first suffix of the sequence, *-iš*, cannot be used independently (115c). Like in the

⁴ The diminutive suffix *-k* behaves the same way when added to the adverb *n'e-mnóg-o* 'a little bit': *n'e-mnóz-k-o* 'a little bit (dim)'. To the best of my knowledge, this is the only case where the diminutive *-k* merges with an adverb and does not change syntactic category (see also Efremova 2006). This is a puzzling case that deserves further attention: perhaps investigation from a historical perspective can shed some light on this phenomenon.

examples above, what looks like the second suffix of the sequence, namely *-k*, can be used independently, but with a different meaning (115d).

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| (115)a. sɨn | b. sɨn'-išk-a |
| son.N.SG (MASC) | son-EXPR-N.SG (MASC) |
| 'son' | 'son (affect)' |
| c. *sɨn'-iš-a | d. sɨn-ók |
| son-EXPR-N.SG (MASC) | son-EXPR.N.SG (MASC) |
| 'son (expr)' | 'son (dim)' |

What makes this suffix interesting to investigate is that, unlike any simplex affectionate suffix discussed in this work, it produces a change in the inflectional class of a noun depending on the animacy of the base. For example, when it attaches to an animate noun, it changes its inflectional class to Class II and consequently, it forms a noun of common gender (MASC/FEM), as illustrated in (116). However, when it attaches to an inanimate noun, it does not change either inflectional class or gender (117)–(118). When attached to an inanimate masculine noun, the resulting noun acquires the neuter ending *-o* (117b).

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (116)a. vór | b. vor'-išk-a |
| thief.N.SG (MASC; CLASS I) | thief-EXPR-N.SG (MASC/FEM; CLASS II) |
| 'thief' | 'thief (affect)' |
| (117)a. dóm | b. dom'-išk-o |
| house.N.SG (MASC; CLASS I) | house-EXPR-N.SG (MASC; CLASS I) |
| 'house' | 'house (affect)' |
| (118)a. oxót-a | b. oxót'-išk-a |
| hunt-N.SG (FEM; CLASS II) | hunt-EXPR-N.SG (FEM; CLASS II) |
| 'hunt' | 'hunt (affect)' |

The data above raise two questions: What are the morphosyntactic properties of the complex suffix *-išk*? And what accounts for its sensitivity to animacy of the base? I leave these questions for further research.

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