

Syntactic types of Russian expressive suffixes

Olga Steriopolo

University of British Columbia
olgasteriopolo@hotmail.com

ABSTRACT

In this paper, I investigate Russian expressive suffixes. I show that they have different formal properties: some suffixes can change categorial properties of the base, while others cannot. I propose that this difference in formal properties is syntactically conditioned: some expressive suffixes are syntactic heads, while others are syntactic modifiers.

Keywords: morphosyntax; morphology; Russian; expressive; suffixes.

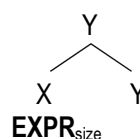
1 Introduction

Russian expressive suffixes differ in their formal properties. Some expressive suffixes change categorial properties of the base form, while others never do. For example, in (1), the expressive suffix *-in* changes grammatical gender and inflectional class of the noun *bolót-o* 'swamp'. In (2), a different expressive suffix, *-c*, does not change gender or inflectional class of this noun.

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| (1) | a. bolót-o
<i>swamp-N.SG (NEUT; CLASS I)</i>
'swamp' | b. bolót'- in -a
<i>swamp-EXPR-N.SG (FEM; CLASS II)</i>
'swamp (expressive)' |
| (2) | a. bolót-o
<i>swamp-N.SG (NEUT; CLASS I)</i>
'swamp' | b. bolót- c -e
<i>swamp-EXPR-N.SG (NEUT; CLASS I)</i>
'swamp (expressive)' |

With respect to the data above, the following questions arise: (i) What are the formal morphosyntactic properties of Russian expressive suffixes? and (ii) What accounts for the differences in their formal properties?

As is shown in Steriopolo (2008), expressive suffixes in Russian belong to different semantic types: Type I suffixes express the speaker's attitude towards the referent (attitude suffixes); while Type II suffixes refer to the size of the referent (size suffixes). In this paper, I argue that Russian expressive suffixes also differ syntactically. Attitude suffixes are syntactic heads (3a), while size suffixes are syntactic modifiers (3b).

(3) a. *HEADS*b. *MODIFIERS*

The traditionally accepted distinction between heads and modifiers lies in the projection of category features. Heads project (i.e., they determine a category and grammatical features of the output), while modifiers do not project (i.e., they do not determine a category and grammatical features of the output) (see Bierwisch 2003, Schütze 1995, Bachrach & Wagner 2007 for a discussion on heads vs. modifiers). Based on this distinction, the following three diagnostics will be used to determine syntactic types of Russian expressive suffixes (4).

(4) *Diagnostics* (cf. Bachrach & Wagner 2007, p. 4)

Diagnostic I: Do expressive suffixes change syntactic category?

Diagnostic II: Do expressive suffixes change grammatical gender?

Diagnostic III: Do expressive suffixes change inflectional class?

Expressive suffixes are classified as syntactic heads if the answers to the questions in (4) are affirmative. In contrast, expressive suffixes are classified as modifiers if the answers to the questions are negative (Table 1).

Table 1

Diagnostics for syntactic heads vs. syntactic modifiers

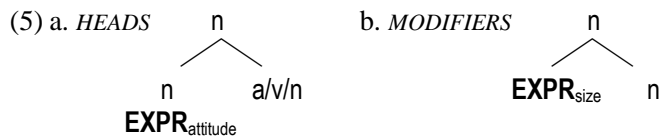
Diagnosics	Syntactic heads	Syntactic modifiers
Do expressive suffixes change syntactic category?	✓	*
Do expressive suffixes change grammatical gender?	✓	*
Do expressive suffixes change inflectional class?	✓	*

I use these diagnostics to argue that attitude suffixes are heads, while size suffixes are modifiers. In §2, I analyze a change in syntactic category; in §3, I analyze a change in grammatical gender; in §4, I analyze a change in inflectional class; and in §5, I present the conclusions.

2 Change in category

In this section, I apply Diagnostic I (change in syntactic category). I show that attitude suffixes produce a change in syntactic category and behave like syntactic heads. Size suffixes do not produce a change in syntactic category and behave like syntactic modifiers.

I provide evidence that attitude suffixes merge with any input category (a/v/n) and always form a noun, no matter what the input category is. In contrast, size suffixes only merge with nouns that remain nouns. In other words, attitude suffixes act as nominalizers (5a), while size suffixes act as noun modifiers (5b).



In §2.1, I analyze attitude suffixes; in §2.2, I analyze size suffixes; and in §2.3, I present the conclusions.

2.1 Attitude suffixes

The data in (6)–(8) illustrate that attitude suffixes can turn adjectives into nouns. For example, in (6), the word *žád-n-ij* ‘stingy’ is an adjective because it is formed with a productive adjectival suffix *-n*. When the attitude suffix *-úg* is attached, the adjective turns into a noun *žad-n’-úg-a* ‘stingy animate (vulgar)’. In (7), the adjective *gr’áz-n-ij* ‘dirty’ is formed with the same adjectival suffix *-n*. When the attitude suffix *-úx* is added, this adjective also becomes a noun: *gr’áz-n-úx-a* ‘dirty animate’.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (6) a. <i>žád-n-ij</i>
<i>stingy-ADJ-MASC.SG</i>
‘stingy’ | b. <i>žad-n’-úg-a</i>
<i>stingy-ADJ-EXPR-N.SG (MASC/FEM)</i>
‘stingy animate (vulgar)’ |
| (7) a. <i>gr’áz-n-ij</i>
<i>dirty-ADJ-MASC.SG</i>
‘dirty’ | b. <i>gr’az-n-úx-a</i>
<i>dirty-ADJ-EXPR-N.SG (MASC/FEM)</i>
‘dirty animate (vulgar)’ |
| (8) a. <i>rod-n-ój</i>
<i>kin-ADJ-MASC.SG</i>
‘dear’ | b. <i>rod-n-úl’-a</i>
<i>kin-ADJ-EXPR-N.SG (MASC/FEM)</i>
‘dear animate (affectionate)’ |

The data in (9)–(11) show that attitude suffixes can also turn verbs into nouns. For example, in (9), the word *pr’i-l’ip-á-t’* ‘to cling’ is a verb formed with a productive verbal prefix *pri-*. When the attitude suffix *-ál* is attached, the verb becomes a noun *pr’i-l’ip-ál-a* ‘clinging animate (vulgar)’. In (10), the word *ras-t’er’-á-t’* ‘to lose’ is also a verb formed with a verbal prefix *ras-*. When the attitude suffix *-áš* is added, the verb turns into a noun *ras-t’er’-áš-a* ‘animate that loses things (affectionate)’.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (9) a. <i>pr’i-l’ip-á-t’</i>
<i>VERB.PREF-cling-TH-INF</i>
‘to cling’ | b. <i>pr’i-l’ip-ál-a</i>
<i>VERB.PREF-cling-EXPR-N.SG (MASC/FEM)</i>
‘clinging animate (vulgar)’ |
| (10) a. <i>ras-t’er’-á-t’</i>
<i>VERB.PREF-lose-TH-INF</i>
‘to lose’ | b. <i>ras-t’er’-áš-a</i>
<i>VERB.PREF-lose-EXPR-N.SG (MASC/FEM)</i>
‘animate who loses things (affectionate)’ |

- (11) a. **za-v'ir-á-t'**
VERB.PREF-lie-TH-INF
 'to lie'
- b. **za-v'ir-úx-a**
VERB.PREF-lie-EXPR-N.SG (MASC/FEM)
 'lying animate (affectionate)'

The data in (12)–(13) illustrate that attitude suffixes can also combine with nouns. Nouns that are used with attitude suffixes do not change their syntactic category. For example, in (12a), the word *čud-ák* 'an eccentric' is a noun formed with a productive nominal suffix *-ak*. In (12b), the vulgar suffix *-in* is attached, which does not change the syntactic category. The word *čud-ač'-ín-a* 'an eccentric (vulgar)' is still a noun.

- (12) a. **čud-ák**
wonder-NOM.N.SG (MASC)
 'an eccentric'
- b. **čud-ač'-ín-a**
wonder-NOM-EXPR-N.SG (MASC/FEM)
 'an eccentric (vulgar)'
- (13) a. **kras-ot-á**
pretty-NOM-N.SG (FEM)
 'beauty/prettiness'
- b. **kras-ot-úl'-a**
pretty-NOM-EXPR-N.SG (MASC/FEM)
 'pretty animate (affectionate)'

To summarize, attitude suffixes turn adjectives and verbs into nouns. Thus, they can change syntactic category, which, according to Diagnostic I, is a property of syntactic heads. Attitude suffixes always form nouns, regardless of the input category (14).

- (14) *HEAD* *n*
- / \
- n* *a/v/n*
- EXPR_{attitude}*

Table 2
 Attitude suffixes (change in a category)

<i>EXPR_{attitude}</i>	Input	Output
<i>-án', -áš, -ón, -úl', -ún', -úr, -ús', -úš,</i>	adjective	noun
<i>-ág, -ák, -ál, -án, -ár, -áx, -íl, -in, -ób,</i>	verb	noun
<i>-ot, -óx, -úg, -úk, -úx</i>	noun	noun

2.2 Size suffixes

In contrast to attitude suffixes, size suffixes do not change syntactic category. The data in (15)–(16) illustrate this behaviour. Neither adjectives nor verbs can turn into nouns when merging with a size suffix. For example, in (15) the adjective *žad-n-ij* 'stingy' does not become a noun when size suffixes are added. Instead, all the data used with size suffixes are ungrammatical.

- (15) a. **žad-n-ij**
stingy-ADJ-MASC.SG
 'stingy'
- b. ***žad-n-ok**
stingy-ADJ-EXPR.N.SG
 'stingy animate (diminutive)'

- | | |
|---|---|
| c. *žad-n'-ec
<i>stingy-ADJ-EXPR.N.SG</i>
'stingy animate (diminutive)' | d. *žad-n'-išč'-e
<i>stingy-ADJ-EXPR-N.SG</i>
'stingy animate (augmentative)' |
| (16) a. gr'áz-n-ij
<i>dirty-ADJ-MASC.SG</i>
'dirty' | b. *gr'az-n-ok
<i>dirty-ADJ-EXPR.N.SG</i>
'dirty animate (diminutive)' |
| c. *gr'az-n'-ec
<i>dirty-ADJ-EXPR.N.SG</i>
'dirty animate (diminutive)' | d. *gr'az-n'-išč'-e
<i>dirty-ADJ-EXPR-N.SG</i>
'dirty animate (augmentative)' |

In (17), the verb *pr'i-l'ip-á-t* 'to cling' cannot turn into a noun when size suffixes are added. Here, like in the examples above, all the data used with size suffixes are ungrammatical.

- | | |
|--|--|
| (17) a. pr'i-l'ip-á-t
<i>VERB.PREF-cling-TH-INF</i>
'to cling' | b. * pr'i-l'ip-ok
<i>VERB.PREF-cling-EXPR.N.SG</i>
'clinging animate (diminutive)' |
| c. * pr'i-l'ip'-ec
<i>VERB.PREF-cling-EXPR.N.SG</i>
'clinging animate (diminutive)' | d. * pr'i-l'ip'-išč'-e
<i>VERB.PREF-cling-EXPR.N.SG</i>
'clinging animate (augmentative)' |

I have shown above that size suffixes cannot turn adjectives and verbs into nouns. In addition, they cannot combine with adjectives and verbs to preserve a category. The data below show that size suffixes cannot combine with adjectives to mean 'a little bit' or 'a lot'. For example, in (18b), the diminutive suffix *-ok* is added to the adjective 'stingy'. The resulting word **žad-n-ok* does not mean 'a little bit stingy', but instead it is ungrammatical. The same holds for (18c) and (18d), where the diminutive *-ec* and the augmentative *-išč'* are ungrammatical.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (18) a. žád-n-ij
<i>stingy-ADJ-MASC.SG</i>
'stingy' | b. *žad-n-ok
<i>stingy-ADJ-EXPR.N.SG</i>
'a little bit stingy (diminutive)' |
| c. *žad-n'-ec
<i>stingy-ADJ-EXPR.N.SG</i>
'a little bit stingy (diminutive)' | d. *žad-n'-išč'-e
<i>stingy-ADJ-EXPR-N.SG</i>
'a lot stingy (augmentative)' |

In (19), size suffixes are added to the verb 'to cling'. The resulting words do not mean 'to cling a little bit' or 'to cling a lot', but instead they are ungrammatical.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (19) a. pr'i-l'ip-á-t
<i>VERB.PREF-cling-TH-INF</i>
'to cling' | b. * pr'i-l'ip-ok/ek
<i>VERB.PREF-cling-EXPR.N.SG</i>
'to cling a little bit (diminutive)' |
|---|---|

- c. ***pr'i-l'ip'**-ec
VERB.PREF-cling-EXPR.N.SG
 'to cling a little bit (diminutive)'
- d. ***pr'i-l'ip'**-**išč'**-e
VERB.PREF-cling-EXPR.N.SG
 'to cling a lot (augmentative)'

The data above illustrate that not only are size suffixes unable to turn adjectives and verbs into nouns, but they are also unable to combine with these categories to express the meaning 'a little bit' or 'a lot'. Although size suffixes do not combine with adjectives or verbs, they are productively used with nouns expressing the meaning 'little' or 'big'. For example, in (20), the size suffix *-ok* attaches to the noun *čud-ák* 'an eccentric'. The resulting word is a noun with the diminutive meaning *čud-ač'-ók* 'a little eccentric'. In (21), the size suffix *-išč'* is added to the noun *kras-ot-á* 'beauty'. The resulting word is a noun with the augmentative meaning *kras-ot-išč'-a* 'big beauty'.

- (20) a. **čud-ák**
wonder-NOM.N.SG (MASC)
 'an eccentric'
- b. **čud-ač'-ók**
wonder-NOM-EXPR.N.SG (MASC)
 'a little eccentric'
- (21) a. **kras-ot-á**
pretty-NOM-N.SG (FEM)
 'beauty/prettiness'
- b. **kras-ot'-išč'-a**
pretty-NOM-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)
 'big beauty'
- (22) a. **sos-ún**
suck-NOM.N.SG (MASC)
 'suckling'
- b. **sos-un'-éc**
suck-NOM-EXPR.N.SG (MASC)
 'little suckling'

To summarize, size suffixes can only combine with nouns with no change in syntactic category: a noun always remains a noun. Based on Diagnostic I (change in syntactic category), size suffixes behave like syntactic modifiers (namely as noun modifiers), since modifiers do not change syntactic category (23).

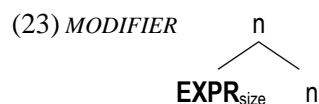


Table 3
 Size suffixes (No change in category)

EXPR _{size}	Input	Output
-k/-ek/-ok/-ik; -c/-ec/-ic; -išč'	adjective	*noun/*adjective
	verb	*noun/*verb
	noun	noun

At this point, however, the evidence is not fully conclusive, because size suffixes could be noun heads that can only combine with nouns to create nouns. In §3 and §4, I provide more evidence from Russian grammatical gender and inflectional class that shows that size suffixes are noun modifiers.

2.3 Conclusion

I have shown above that attitude suffixes can turn adjectives and verbs into nouns. They can also combine with nouns without changing syntactic category. In other words, no matter what the input category is, the resulting category is always a noun.

Size suffixes demonstrate a different behaviour. They cannot combine with adjectives and verbs, but can only combine with nouns. When used with nouns, they never change syntactic category: nouns always remain nouns (Table 4).

Table 4

Comparison of attitude and size suffixes

	Input	Output
EXPR _{attitude}	adjective	noun
	verb	noun
	noun	noun
EXPR _{size}	adjective	*noun/*adjective
	verb	*noun/*verb
	noun	noun

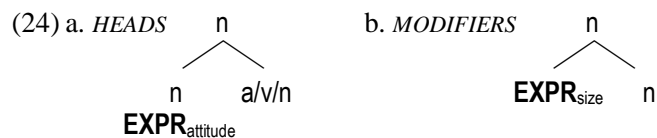
To conclude, attitude suffixes and size suffixes have different formal properties with respect to a change in syntactic category. Attitude suffixes can change syntactic category of the base, while size suffixes cannot (Table 5).

Table 5

Change in category

	Change in category
EXPR _{attitude}	✓
EXPR _{size}	*

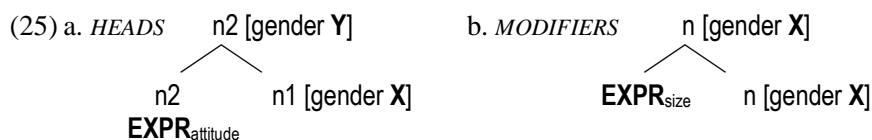
Based on Diagnostic I, since attitude suffixes can change syntactic category, they behave like syntactic heads (24a). Size suffixes cannot change syntactic category, therefore, they behave like syntactic modifiers (24b).



3 Change in grammatical gender

In this section, I apply Diagnostic II (change in grammatical gender). I show that attitude suffixes can change grammatical gender and thus, they behave like syntactic heads (25a).

Size suffixes, on the other hand, cannot change grammatical gender and thus, they behave like syntactic modifiers (25b).



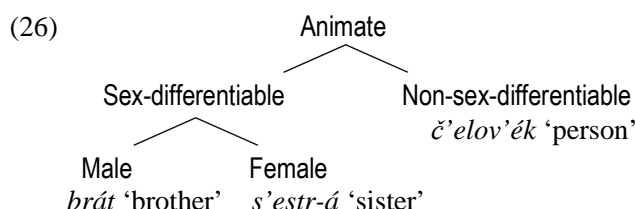
In §3.1, I analyze attitude suffixes; in §3.2, I analyze size suffixes; and in §3.3, I present the conclusions.

3.1 Attitude suffixes

Here I present evidence that attitude suffixes can change grammatical gender. Russian grammatical gender is dependent on animacy and natural gender, which are part of the semantic information of the $\sqrt{\text{Root}}$ (in the sense of Marantz 1997; notation from Pesetsky 1995). To show how attitude suffixes change gender, we first need to understand how grammatical gender is assigned. For this reason, I first look at gender assignment; after that, I analyze a change in gender. In §3.1.1, I deal with animate nouns; in §3.1.2, I deal with inanimate nouns; and in §3.1.3, I summarize the findings.

3.1.1 Animate nouns

Russian animate nouns denote living beings, such as humans, animals, and insects (Corbett 1980). Animate nouns are sex-differentiable or non-sex-differentiable (Corbett 1982, 1991). Sex-differentiable nouns are those that denote natural gender (male or female) as part of their semantics. Non-sex-differentiable nouns do not denote natural gender (26).



For example, the nouns *brát* 'brother' and *s'estr-á* 'sister' are animate and sex-differentiable. They are animate because they denote living beings. They are sex-differentiable because *brát* 'brother' can only denote a male being, while *s'estr-á* 'sister' can only denote a female being. In contrast, the noun *č'elov'ék* 'person' is non-sex-differentiable because it can denote persons of either sex.

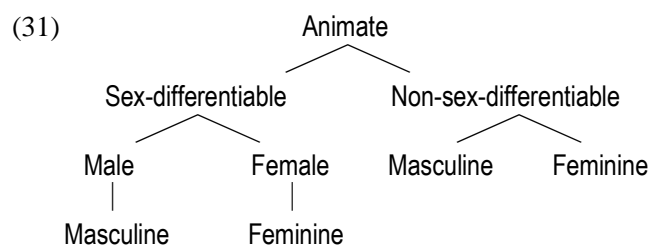
In Russian sex-differentiable nouns, natural gender always takes precedence over grammatical gender (Corbett 1982, 1991). Thus, a noun that has the natural gender 'male' is always masculine. A noun that has the natural gender 'female' is always feminine (27)–(28).

- (27) a. *xoróš-ij brát*
good-MASC.SG brother.N.SG (MASC)
 ‘good brother’
- b. **xoróš-aja brát*
good-FEM.SG brother.N.SG (FEM)
 ‘good brother’
- (28) a. *xoróš-aja s’estr-á*
good-FEM.SG sister.N.SG (FEM)
 ‘good sister’
- b. **xoróš-ij s’estr-á*
good-MASC.SG sister.N.SG (MASC)
 ‘good sister’

As Russian non-sex-differentiable nouns do not have natural gender, there is no dependency of grammatical gender on natural gender. Like sex-differentiable nouns, non-sex-differentiable ones are either masculine or feminine; but unlike sex-differentiable nouns, non-sex-differentiable nouns are assigned grammatical gender arbitrarily. For example, compare *č’elov’ék* ‘person’ and *p’ersón-a* ‘person’. Both nouns are non-sex-differentiable because they can denote male and female persons, but *č’elov’ék* ‘person’ is masculine, while *p’ersón-a* ‘person’ is feminine (29)–(30).

- (29) a. *bol’š-ój č’elov’ék*
big-MASC.SG person.N.SG (MASC)
 ‘big person’
- b. **bol’š-ája č’elov’ék*
big-FEM.SG person.N.SG (FEM)
 ‘big person’
- (30) a. *bol’š-ája p’ersón-a*
big-FEM.SG person.N.SG (FEM)
 ‘big person’
- b. **bol’š-ój p’ersón-a*
big-MASC.SG person.N.SG (MASC)
 ‘big person’

Thus, sex-differentiable nouns can be masculine or feminine depending on whether the natural gender is male or female, respectively. Non-sex-differentiable nouns can also be masculine or feminine, but instead of being determined by natural gender, their grammatical genders are assigned arbitrarily (31).

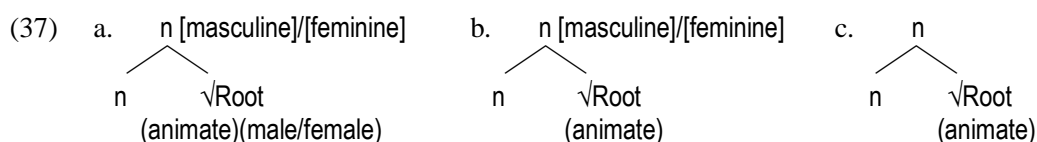


In the framework of Distributed Morphology, animacy and natural gender are analyzed as part of the semantic information of the $\sqrt{\text{Root}}$ (Müller 2005). For example, the semantics of the $\sqrt{\text{Root}}$ *s’estr-* ‘sister’ indicate that it is animate (i.e., it can only denote a living being) and sex-differentiable (i.e., it can only denote a female). When the $\sqrt{\text{Root}}$ *s’estr-* is nominalized by combining with a functional head *n*, the grammatical gender of the resulting noun depends on the natural gender ‘female’ which is encoded as part of the semantics of the $\sqrt{\text{Root}}$. As the natural gender ‘female’ always determines feminine grammatical gender, the resulting word *s’estr-á* ‘sister’ is a feminine noun (32).

Type I: Animate sex-differentiable nouns whose grammatical gender is determined by their natural gender (37a)

Type II: Animate non-sex-differentiable nouns whose grammatical gender is assigned randomly (37b)

Type III: Animate common gender nouns that are unspecified for grammatical gender (37c)



Now that gender assignment in Russian has been discussed, we can apply Diagnostic II to see if there is any change in grammatical gender when attitude suffixes are added. Here I show that attitude suffixes indeed produce a change in grammatical gender. This change involves Type II nouns (animate, non-sex-differentiable).

In (38a), the noun *zv'er'* 'animal' is animate because it denotes a living being. It is non-sex-differentiable (Type II), because it does not denote natural gender as part of its semantics (*zv'er'* 'animal' denotes both male and female animals). The grammatical gender assigned to this noun is masculine. In (38b), the attitude suffix *-úg* attaches, which changes the grammatical gender of the base. The resulting word *zv'er'-úg-a* 'animal (vulgar)' is now a common gender noun (MASC/FEM).

- (38) a. *zv'er'*
animal.N.SG (MASC)
'animal'
- b. *zv'er'-úg-a*
animal-EXPR-N.SG (MASC/FEM)
'animal (vulgar)'

The difference in agreement between a common gender noun *zv'er'-úg-a* 'animal (vulgar)' and a masculine noun *zv'er'* 'animal' is shown below. In (39), *zv'er'-úg-a* triggers either masculine or feminine agreement. In (40), *zv'er'* 'animal' can only trigger masculine agreement.

- (39) a. *bol'sh-ój* *zv'er'-úg-a*
big-ADJ.MASC.SG *animal-EXPR-N.SG (MASC)*
'big animal (vulgar)'
- b. *bol'sh-ája* *zv'er'-úg-a*
big-ADJ.FEM.SG *animal-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)*
'big animal (vulgar)'
- (40) a. *bol'sh-ój* *zv'er'*
big-ADJ.MASC.SG *animal.N.SG (MASC)*
'big animal'

- b. *bol'š-ája zv'ér'
big-ADJ.FEM.SG *animal.N.SG (FEM)*
 'big animal'

As I proposed above, common gender nouns are unspecified for grammatical gender. For this reason, they can trigger either masculine or feminine agreement. Thus, a change in grammatical gender should more precisely be described as a blocking of grammatical gender, when a masculine noun becomes unspecified for grammatical gender (41).

- (41) a. n [masculine]
 / \
 n [masculine] √zv'er'-
 (animate)
- b. n2 ← unspecified for grammatical gender
 / \
 n2 n1 [masculine]
 -ug / \
 n1 [masculine] √zv'er'-
 (animate)

The same effect of gender blocking is seen in (42). In (42a), the noun *tvár'* 'animal' is animate, because it denotes a living being. It is non-sex-differentiable (Type II), because it does not denote natural gender as part of its semantics (*tvár'* 'animal' denotes both male and female animals). The grammatical gender of this noun is feminine. In (42b), the attitude suffix *-úk* is added, which blocks grammatical gender of the base. The resulting noun *tvar'-úk-a* 'animal (vulgar)' is now in common gender.

- (42) a. *tvár'* b. *tvar'-úk-a*
animal.N.SG (FEM) *animal-EXPR-N.SG (MASC/FEM)*
 'animal' 'animal (vulgar)'

The difference in agreement between a common gender noun *tvar'-úk-a* 'animal (vulgar)' and a feminine noun *tvár'* 'animal' is shown below. In (43), *tvar'-úk-a* can trigger either masculine or feminine agreement, while in (44), *tvár'* can only trigger feminine agreement.

- (43) a. bol'š-ój tvar'-úk-a
big-ADJ.MASC.SG *animal-EXPR-N.SG (MASC)*
 'big animal (vulgar)'
- b. bol'š-ája tvar'-úk-a
big-ADJ.FEM.SG *animal-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)*
 'big animal (vulgar)'

- (44) a. bol'š-ája tvár'
big-ADJ.FEM.SG *animal.N.SG (FEM)*
 'big animal'
- b. *bol'š-ój tvár'
big-ADJ.MASC.SG *animal.N.SG (MASC)*
 'big animal'

Proposed structures for these data are shown in (45)–(46). In (45), the noun *tvár'* 'animal' is assigned feminine grammatical gender. In (46), the attitude suffix *-úk* is attached and it blocks grammatical gender of the base. As a result, the word *tvár'-úk-a* 'animal (vulgar)' triggers either masculine or feminine agreement.

- (45)
- ```

 n [feminine]
 / \
n [feminine] √tvár'-
 (animate)

```
- (46)
- ```

  n2                                      ← unspecified for grammatical gender
  /  \
n2                                      n1[feminine]
-uk                                      /  \
                                         n1[feminine]  √tvár'-
                                         (animate)

```

It is important to show that the blocking effects of grammatical gender also hold for data with nominalizing suffixes. In (47a), the noun *dur-ák* 'stupid animate' is formed by means of a productive nominalizing suffix *-ak* and is masculine. In (47b), the attitude suffix *-in* is added. As a result, the word *dur-ač'-ín-a* 'stupid animate (vulgar)' becomes a common gender noun.

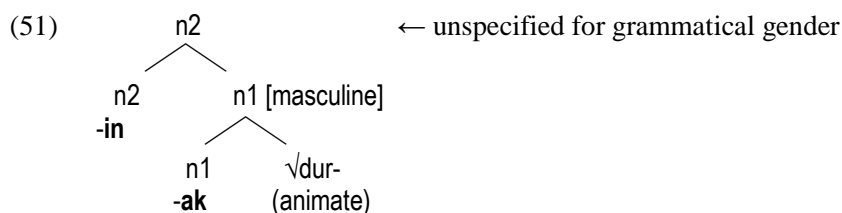
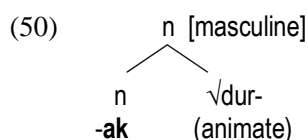
- (47) a. **dur-ák** b. **dur-ač'-ín-a**
stupid-NOM.N.SG (MASC) *stupid-NOM-EXPR-N.SG (MASC/FEM)*
 'stupid animate' 'stupid animate (vulgar)'

The difference in agreement between a common gender noun *dur-ač'-ín-a* 'stupid animate (vulgar)' and a masculine noun *dur-ák* 'stupid animate' is shown below. In (48), *dur-ač'-ín-a* triggers either masculine or feminine agreement, while in (49), *dur-ák* can only trigger masculine agreement.

- (48) a. bol'š-ój **dur-ač'-ín-a**
big-ADJ.MASC.SG *stupid-NOM-EXPR-N.SG (MASC)*
 'very stupid animate (vulgar)'
- b. bol'š-ája **dur-ač'-ín-a**
big-ADJ.FEM.SG *stupid-NOM-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)*
 'very stupid animate (vulgar)'

- (49) a. bol'š-óĵ dur-ák
big-ADJ.MASC.SG *stupid-NOM.N.SG (MASC)*
 'big stupid animate'
- b. *bol'š-ája dur-ák
big-ADJ.FEM.SG *stupid-NOM.N.SG (FEM)*
 'big stupid animate'

Proposed structures for these data are given in (50)–(51). In (50), the noun *dur-ák* 'stupid animate' is assigned masculine grammatical gender. In (51), the attitude suffix *-in* blocks this gender creating an unspecified noun *dur-ač'-in-a* 'stupid animate (vulgar)'.



To summarize, Russian attitude suffixes block grammatical gender of Type II nouns (animate, non-sex-differentiable). Nouns that are used with attitude suffixes are always in common gender, regardless of grammatical gender of the input (Table 6).

Table 6

Attitude suffixes (used with Type II nouns)

EXPR _{attitude}	Input	Output
-án', -ás', -ón, -úl', -ún', -úr, -ús', -úš', -ág, -ák, -ál, -ár, -áx, -íl, -in, -ób, -ot, -óx, -úg, -úk, -úx	animate, [masculine]	animate, unspecified
	animate, [feminine]	animate, unspecified

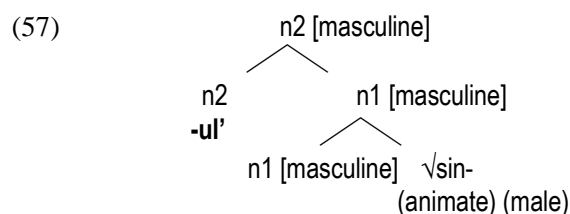
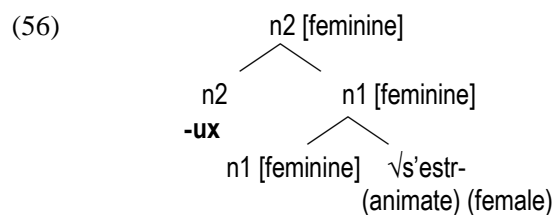
For consistency, I will show that nouns of the remaining two types (Type I and Type III) do not change grammatical gender when attitude suffixes are attached. I start by looking at Type I nouns (animate, sex-differentiable).

Type I nouns denote natural gender as part of their semantics. As natural gender determines grammatical gender, male nouns are always masculine and female nouns are always feminine. When attitude suffixes merge with these nouns, the nouns remain semantically male or female, and therefore, there is no change in gender (including blocking effects). This is illustrated in the data in (52)–(55).

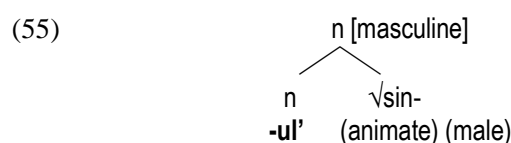
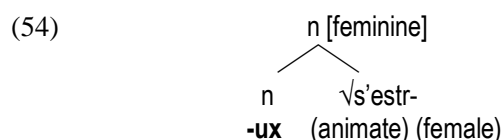
For example, in (52), the noun *s'estr-á* 'sister' is sex-differentiable because the natural gender 'female' is part of its semantics. When the attitude suffix *-úx* is attached, the resulting noun *s'estr-úx-a* 'sister (vulgar)' is still semantically female, and therefore, it is feminine. In (53), the noun *sín* 'son' is sex-differentiable because the natural gender 'male' is part of its semantics. When the attitude suffix *-úl'* is added, the resulting noun *sin-úl'-a* 'son (affectionate)' remains semantically male, and therefore, it is masculine.

- | | | | |
|---------|---|----|--|
| (52) a. | <i>s'estr-á</i>
<i>sister-N.SG (FEM)</i>
'sister' | b. | <i>s'estr-úx-a</i>
<i>sister-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)</i>
'sister (vulgar)' |
| (53) a. | <i>sín</i>
<i>son-N.SG (MASC)</i>
'son' | b. | <i>sin-úl'-a</i>
<i>son-EXPR-N.SG (MASC)</i>
'son (affectionate)' |
| (54) a. | <i>d'év-a</i>
<i>girl-N.SG (FEM)</i>
'girl' | b. | <i>d'év-áx-a</i>
<i>girl-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)</i>
'girl (vulgar)' |
| (55) a. | <i>pár'en'</i>
<i>guy-N.SG (MASC)</i>
'guy' | b. | <i>parn'-úg-a</i>
<i>guy-EXPR-N.SG (MASC)</i>
'guy (vulgar)' |

Proposed structures for the data above are given in (56)–(57). In (56), the attitude suffix *-úx* does not block grammatical gender of the noun because the natural gender 'female' is part of the semantics of the $\sqrt{\text{Root } s'estr-}$ and it determines feminine grammatical gender. In (57), the attitude suffix *-úl'* also does not block the grammatical gender of the noun because the natural gender 'male' is part of the semantics of the $\sqrt{\text{Root } sin-}$ and it determines masculine grammatical gender.



Another way to analyze the data in (52)–(53) would be to show that attitude suffixes merge directly with $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$, and not with nouns (54)–(55). However, for the current analysis of grammatical gender this does not make a difference, since the output gender, as well as the dependency of grammatical gender upon natural gender, remain the same under either analysis.



To summarize, attitude suffixes do not block grammatical gender of Type I nouns (animate, sex-differentiable) (Table 7).

Table 7

Attitude suffixes (used with Type I nouns)

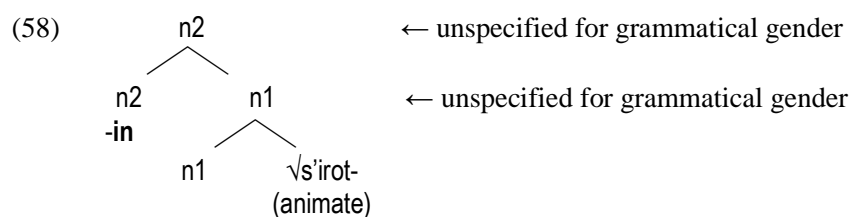
EXPR _{attitude}	Input	Output
-án', -áš, -ón, -úl', -ún', -úr, -ús', -úš, -ág, -ák, -ál, -ár, -áx, -íl, -in, -ób, -ot, -óx, -úg, -úk, -úx	animate, male, [masculine]	animate, male, [masculine]
	animate, female, [feminine]	animate, female, [feminine]

Let us now consider Type III nouns (common gender). Type III nouns are unspecified for grammatical gender and can trigger either masculine or feminine agreement. When attitude suffixes attach to such nouns, they remain unspecified for gender, and therefore, there is no change (and no blocking effects) of grammatical gender. For example, in (56), the word *s'iroť-á* 'orphan' is a common gender noun. In (57), the attitude suffix *-in* is attached, which this does not produce a change in gender. The resulting noun *s'iroť-in-a* 'orphan (vulgar)' is still in common gender.

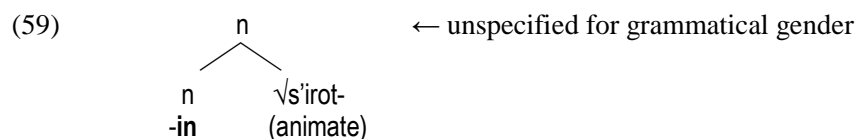
- (56) a. bol's-ój s'iroť-á
big-ADJ-MASC.SG orphan-N.SG (MASC)
 'big orphan'
- b. bol's-ájja s'iroť-á
big-ADJ-FEM.SG orphan-N.SG (FEM)
 'big orphan'
- (57) a. bol's-ój s'iroť-in-a
big-ADJ-MASC.SG orphan-EXPR-N.SG (MASC)
 'big orphan'

- b. bol'š-ája s'iroť'-**ín**-a
big-ADJ-FEM.SG orphan-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)
 'big orphan'

The proposed structure for *s'iroť'-ín-a* 'orphan (vulgar)' is given in (58). The attitude suffix *-in* merges with a common gender noun which is unspecified for grammatical gender. The resulting noun is also unspecified for grammatical gender.



As in the cases with sex-differentiable nouns described above, the noun *s'iroť'-ín-a* 'orphan (vulgar)' can be analyzed in a different way: the attitude suffix *-in* merges directly with the $\sqrt{\text{Root}}$ *s'iroť-* (59). As in the cases above, this does not make a difference for the current analysis of grammatical gender because the output gender is still the same.



To summarize, attitude suffixes do not change grammatical gender of Type III nouns (common gender nouns) (Table 8).

Table 8

Attitude suffixes (used with Type III nouns)

EXPR _{attitude}	Input	Output
-án', -áš, -ón, -úl', -ún', -úr, -ús', -úš, -ág, -ák, -ál, -ár, -áx, -íl, -in, -ób, -ot, -óx, -úg, -úk, -úx	animate, unspecified	animate, unspecified

To conclude, attitude suffixes produce a change in grammatical gender of Type II nouns (animate, non-sex-differentiable). The change is seen in blocking effects of grammatical gender. When attitude suffixes merge with Type II nouns, the resulting words become Type III nouns (animate, common gender). When attitude suffixes merge with Type I (animate, sex-differentiable) or Type III nouns, there is no change in grammatical gender (Table 9: change in grammatical gender is indicated in **bold**).

Table 9

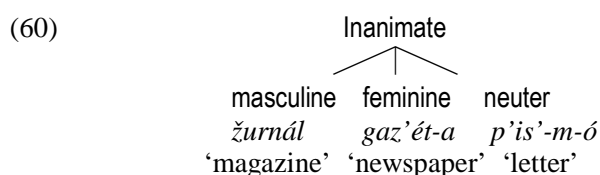
Attitude suffixes (animate nouns)

	Input	Output
EXPR _{attitude}	Type I (animate, sex-differentiable)	Type I (animate, sex-differentiable)
	Type II (animate, non-sex-differentiable)	Type III (animate, common gender)
	Type III (animate, common gender)	Type III (animate, common gender)

The question of why attitude suffixes produce different effects in grammatical genders will be dealt with in §4 (change in inflectional class). In §4, I argue that Russian attitude suffixes are inherently specified for inflectional class and that the differences in grammatical genders fall out directly from their inflectional class.

3.1.2 Inanimate nouns

Let us now look at inanimate nouns to understand whether attitude suffixes produce any change in grammatical gender of these nouns. Inanimate nouns can have masculine, feminine, or neuter grammatical genders in Russian (60). For example, *žurnál* ‘magazine’ is masculine, *gaz’ét-a* ‘newspaper’ is feminine, and *p’is’-m-ó* ‘letter’ is neuter.



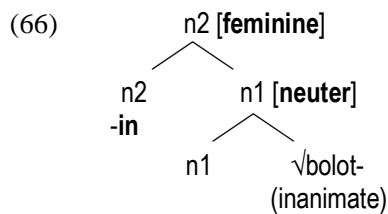
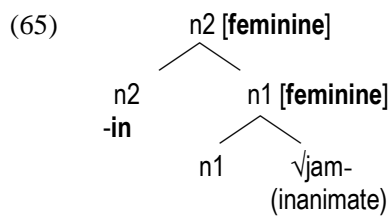
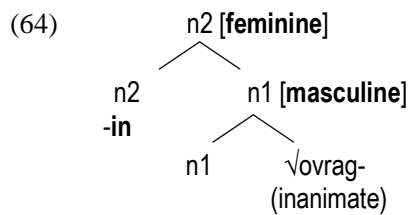
Here I show that attitude suffixes produce a change in grammatical gender of inanimate nouns. The majority of attitude suffixes (with the exception of *-án*) create feminine nouns, regardless of grammatical gender of the input. The attitude suffix *-án* creates masculine nouns regardless of grammatical gender of the input.

I start by analyzing attitude suffixes that form feminine nouns. For example, the attitude suffix *-in* can attach to nouns of all grammatical genders (masculine, feminine, neuter). In every case, it forms a feminine noun. In (61), a masculine noun *ovrág* ‘ditch’ becomes feminine when the attitude suffix *-in* is added. In (62), a feminine noun *jám-a* ‘ditch’ remains feminine when *-in* is added. In (63), a neuter noun *bolót-o* ‘swamp’ becomes feminine when the suffix *-in* is added.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(61) a. <i>ovrág</i>
<i>ditch.N.SG (MASC)</i>
‘ditch’</p> | <p>b. <i>ovráž-in-a</i>
<i>ditch-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)</i>
‘ditch (vulgar)’</p> |
| <p>(62) a. <i>jám-a</i>
<i>pit-N.SG (FEM)</i>
‘pit’</p> | <p>b. <i>jám-in-a</i>
<i>pit-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)</i>
‘pit (vulgar)’</p> |

- (63) a. bolót-o
swamp-N.SG (NEUT)
 ‘swamp’
- b. bolót’-in-a
swamp-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)
 ‘swamp (vulgar)’

Structures for the data above are given in (64)–(66).



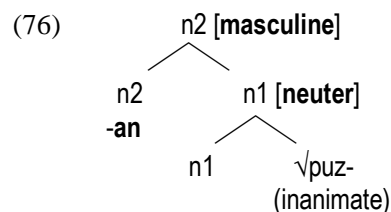
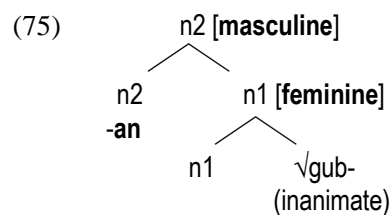
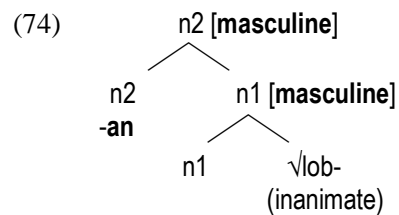
More examples that show that attitude suffixes form feminine nouns are given in (67)–(70).

- (67) a. sm’*é*x
laughter.N.SG (MASC)
 ‘laughter’
- b. sm’*ex-ot-á*
laughter-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)
 ‘laughter (vulgar)’
- (68) a. skúk-a
boredom-N.SG (FEM)
 ‘boredom’
- b. skuk-*ot-á*
boredom-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)
 ‘boredom (vulgar)’
- (69) a. stíd
shame.N.SG (MASC)
 ‘shame’
- b. stid-*úx-a*
shame-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)
 ‘shame (vulgar)’
- (70) a. kómnat-a
room-N.SG (FEM)
 ‘room’
- b. komnat-*úx-a*
room-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)
 ‘room (vulgar)’

Unlike the majority of attitude suffixes, the attitude suffix *-án* forms nouns of masculine gender. For example, in (71), the noun *lób* ‘forehead’ is masculine. When the suffix *-án* is attached, the resulting noun *lob-án* is also masculine. In (72), the noun *gub-á* ‘lip’ is feminine. When the attitude suffix *-án* is attached, the resulting noun *gub-án* becomes masculine. In (73), the noun *púz-o* ‘belly’ is neuter. When *-án* is attached, the resulting noun *puz-án* also becomes masculine.

- | | | | |
|---------|---|----|--|
| (71) a. | <i>lób</i>
<i>forehead.N.SG (MASC)</i>
‘forehead’ | b. | <i>lob-án</i>
<i>forehead-EXPR.N.SG (MASC)</i>
‘animate with distinct forehead (vulgar)’ |
| (72) a. | <i>gub-á</i>
<i>lip-N.SG (FEM)</i>
‘lip’ | b. | <i>gub-án</i>
<i>lip-EXPR.N.SG (MASC)</i>
‘animate with distinct lips (vulgar)’ |
| (73) a. | <i>púz-o</i>
<i>belly-N.SG (NEUT)</i>
‘belly’ | b. | <i>puz-án</i>
<i>belly-EXPR.N.SG (MASC)</i>
‘animate with distinct belly (vulgar)’ |

Proposed structures for (71)–(73) are given in (74)–(76).



To conclude, attitude suffixes change grammatical gender of inanimate nouns. Most attitude suffixes (except *-án*) form feminine nouns, regardless of the gender of the input. The attitude suffix *-án* forms masculine nouns, regardless of the gender of the input (Table 10: change in grammatical gender is indicated in **bold**).

Table 10

Attitude suffixes (inanimate nouns)

EXPR _{attitude}	Input	Output
<i>-án', -áš, -ón, -úl', -ún', -úr, -ús', -úš, -ág, -ák, -ál, -ár, -áx, -íl, -in, -ób, -ot, -óx, -úg, -úk, -úx</i>	inanimate, [masculine]	inanimate, [feminine]
	inanimate, [neuter]	inanimate, [feminine]
	inanimate, [feminine]	inanimate, [feminine]
<i>-án</i>	inanimate, [masculine]	inanimate, [masculine]
	inanimate, [neuter]	inanimate, [masculine]
	inanimate, [feminine]	inanimate, [masculine]

3.1.3 Summary

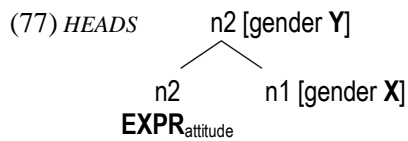
Attitude suffixes produce a change in grammatical gender which depends on animacy and natural gender of the $\sqrt{\text{Root}}$. The change is seen in animate non-sex-differentiable nouns (Type II) that become common gender nouns, unspecified for grammatical gender (Type III). The change is also seen in inanimate nouns that become either feminine (with the majority of attitude suffixes) or masculine (with the attitude suffix *-án*) (Table 11).

Table 11

Attitude suffixes (change in grammatical gender)

EXPR _{attitude}	Input	Output
<i>-án', -áš, -ón, -úl', -ún', -úr, -ús', -úš, -ág, -ák, -ál, -ár, -áx, -íl, -in, -ób, -ot, -óx, -úg, -úk, -úx</i>	animate (non-sex-differentiable), any input	animate (non-sex-differentiable), unspecified
	inanimate, any input	inanimate, [feminine]
<i>-án</i>	inanimate, any input	inanimate, [masculine]

According to Diagnostic II (change in grammatical gender), attitude suffixes behave like syntactic heads because they produce a change in grammatical gender (77).



Based on these findings, the following question arises: Why is there variation in grammatical gender of nouns that are used with attitude suffixes? If attitude suffixes changed grammatical gender by assigning it, we would expect no variation. On the other hand, if attitude suffixes do not assign grammatical gender, what determines a change in gender? Later (§4) I will argue that attitude suffixes do not assign grammatical gender, but instead they assign inflectional class. I will show that inflectional class determines a change in grammatical gender, which accounts for the variation in gender observed above.

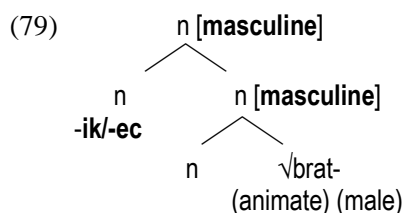
3.2 Size suffixes

Unlike attitude suffixes that can change grammatical gender of a noun, size suffixes do not produce a change in gender. Size suffixes can attach to both animate and inanimate nouns of all grammatical genders with the same result: no change in gender. The evidence is provided below.

Let us first look at animate Type I nouns (sex-differentiable). As I discussed above, these nouns denote natural sex (male or female) as part of their semantics. When size suffixes attach to Type I nouns, there is no change in grammatical gender. For example, in (78), the noun *brát* ‘brother’ is sex-differentiable because natural gender ‘male’ is encoded in its meaning. As males are always masculine, the noun *brát* ‘brother’ is assigned masculine grammatical gender. When the size suffixes *-ik* and *-ec* are added to this noun, there is no change in gender. The resulting nouns *brát’-ik* ‘brother (dim)’ and *brát’-ec* ‘brother (dim)’ are still masculine.

- (78) a. *brát*
brother.N.SG (MASC)
 ‘brother’
- b. *brát’-ik*
brother-EXPR.N.SG (MASC)
 ‘brother (diminutive)’
- c. *brát’-ec*
brother-EXPR.N.SG (MASC)
 ‘brother (diminutive)’

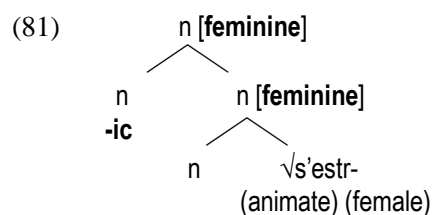
A structure for (78) is given in (79).



Another example of a sex-differentiable noun is given in (80). The noun *s'estr-á* 'sister' denotes natural gender 'female' as part of its meaning. As females are always feminine, the noun *s'estr-á* 'sister' is assigned feminine grammatical gender. When the size suffix *-ic* is added, there is no change in gender and the resulting noun *s'estr'-íc-a* 'sister (dim)' remains feminine.

- (80) a. *s'estr-á*
sister-N.SG (FEM)
 'sister'
- b. *s'estr'-íc-a*
sister-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)
 'sister (diminutive)'

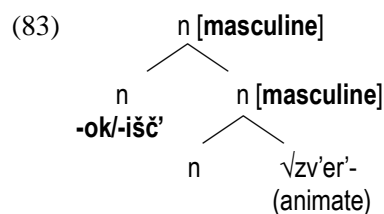
A structure for (80) is given in (81).



Let us now look at animate Type II nouns (non-sex-differentiable). Nouns of this type do not denote natural gender as part of their semantics. Here I show that when size suffixes attach to Type II nouns, there is also no change in grammatical gender. For example, in (82), the noun *zv'ér* 'animal' is non-sex-differentiable because it denotes both male and female animals. The noun *zv'ér* 'animal' is assigned masculine grammatical gender. When the size suffixes *-ok* and *-išč'* merge with this noun, there is no change in gender. The resulting nouns *zv'er'-ók* 'animal (dim)' and *zv'er'-išč'-e* 'animal (aug)' are still masculine.

- (82) a. *zv'ér*
animal.N.SG (MASC)
 'animal'
- b. *zv'er'-ók*
animal-EXPR.N.SG (MASC)
 'animal (diminutive)'
- c. *zv'er'-išč'-e*
animal-EXPR-N.SG (MASC)
 'animal (augmentative)'

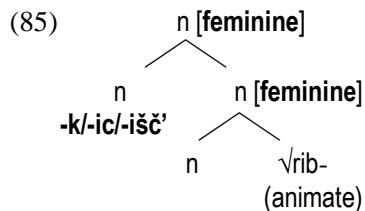
A structure for (82) is given in (83). The noun *zv'ér* 'animal' is masculine and does not change gender when the size suffixes *-ok* and *-išč'* are attached.



Another example of a non-sex-differentiable noun is shown in (84). The noun *rīb-a* ‘fish’ is assigned feminine grammatical gender. When the size suffixes *-k*, *-ic*, and *-išč* merge with this noun, there is no change in gender. The resulting nouns *rīb-k-a* ‘fish (dim)’, *rīb-ic-a* ‘fish (dim)’, and *rīb-išč-a* ‘fish (aug)’ are still feminine.

- (84) a. *rīb-a*
fish-N.SG (FEM)
‘fish’
- b. *rīb-k-a*
fish-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)
‘fish (diminutive)’
- c. *rīb-ic-a*
fish-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)
‘fish (diminutive)’
- b. *rīb-išč-a*
fish-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)
‘fish (augmentative)’

A structure for (84) is in (85). The noun *rīb-a* ‘fish’ is feminine and does not change gender when the size suffixes *-k*, *-ic*, and *-išč* are attached.

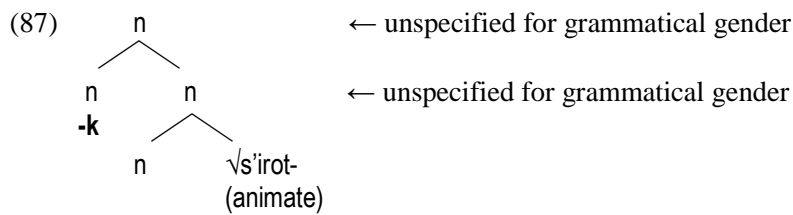


We have discussed animate nouns of Type I and Type II, and we have illustrated that size suffixes do not change grammatical gender of these nouns. One more type of animate noun that remains to be discussed is Type III (common gender nouns).

I show that size suffixes produce no change in grammatical gender of Type III nouns. For example, in (86), the noun *s’irot-á* ‘orphan’ is a common gender noun because it can trigger either masculine or feminine agreement (MASC/FEM). When the size suffix *-k* merges with this noun, there is no change in gender. The resulting noun *s’irot-k-a* ‘orphan (dim)’ is still a common gender noun that can trigger either masculine or feminine agreement.

- (86) a. *s’irot-á*
orphan-N.SG (MASC/FEM)
‘orphan’
- b. *s’irot-k-a*
orphan-EXPR-N.SG (MASC/FEM)
‘orphan (diminutive)’

A structure for (86) is given in (87). The noun *s’irot-á* ‘orphan’ is unspecified for grammatical gender. When the size suffix *-k* merges with this noun, there is no change in grammatical gender. The resulting noun is still unspecified and can trigger either masculine or feminine agreement.

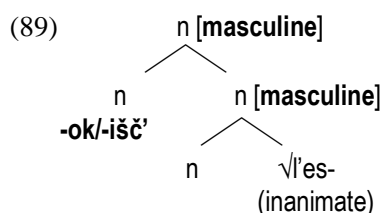


So far, I have analyzed different types of animate nouns. I have illustrated that there is no change in grammatical gender of animate nouns when size suffixes are added. Below I propose an analysis of inanimate nouns and show that size suffixes do not produce a change in grammatical gender of inanimate nouns.

Let us look at inanimate nouns of different grammatical genders (masculine, feminine, and neuter). In (88), *l'és* 'forest' is masculine. When the size suffixes *-ok* and *-išč'* are added, there is no change in grammatical gender. The resulting nouns *l'es-ók* 'forest (dim)' and *l'es-išč'-e* 'forest (aug)' are still masculine.

- (88) a. *l'és*
forest-N.SG (MASC)
'forest'
- b. *l'es-ók*
forest-EXPR-N.SG (MASC)
'forest (diminutive)'
- c. *l'es-išč'-e*
forest-EXPR-N.SG (MASC)
'forest (augmentative)'

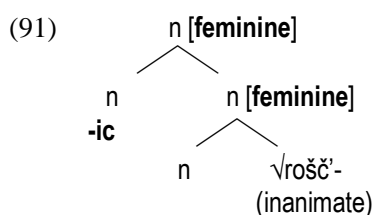
A proposed structure for (88) is given in (89). The noun *l'és* 'forest' is assigned masculine gender and does not change gender when the size suffixes *-ok* and *-išč'* are attached.



In (90), *róšč'-a* 'grove' is feminine. When the size suffix *-ic* is added, there is no change in grammatical gender. The resulting noun *róšč'-ic-a* 'grove (dim)' is still feminine.

- (90) a. *róšč'-a*
grove-N.SG (FEM)
'grove'
- b. *róšč'-ic-a*
grove-EXPR-N.SG (FEM)
'grove (diminutive)'

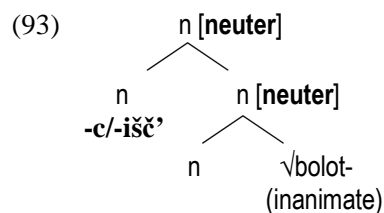
A structure for (90) is given in (91).



In (92), *bolót-o* 'swamp' is neuter. When the size suffixes *-c* and *-išč'* are added, there is no change in grammatical gender. The resulting nouns *bolót-c-e* 'swamp (dim)' and *bolót'-išč'-e* 'swamp (aug)' are still neuter.

- (92) a. *bolót-o*
swamp-N.SG (NEUT)
 'swamp'
- b. *bolót-c-e*
swamp-EXPR-N.SG (NEUT)
 'swamp (diminutive)'
- c. *bolót'-išč'-e*
swamp-EXPR-N.SG (NEUT)
 'swamp (augmentative)'

A structure for (92) is given in (93).



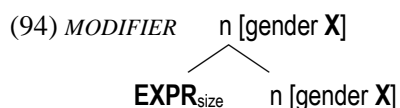
To summarize, size suffixes produce no change in grammatical gender of both animate and inanimate nouns (Table 12).

Table 12

Size suffixes (No change in grammatical gender)

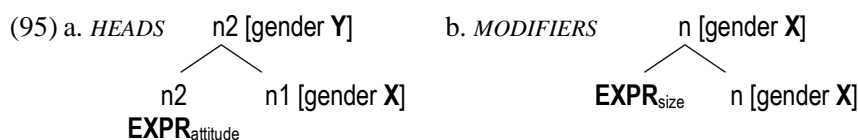
EXPR _{size}	Input	Output
-k/-ek/-ok/-ik; -c/-ec/-ic; -išč'	animate, male, [masculine]	animate, male, [masculine]
	animate, female, [feminine]	animate, female, [feminine]
	animate, [masculine]	animate, [masculine]
	animate, [feminine]	animate, [feminine]
	inanimate, [masculine]	inanimate, [masculine]
	inanimate, [feminine]	inanimate, [feminine]
	inanimate, [neuter]	inanimate, [neuter]

According to Diagnostic II, since size suffixes do not change grammatical gender, they behave like syntactic modifiers (94).



3.3 Conclusions

I applied Diagnostic II (change in grammatical gender). I showed that attitude suffixes can change grammatical gender, which means that they are syntactic heads (95a). Size suffixes, on the other hand, do not change grammatical gender, which means that they are syntactic modifiers (95b).



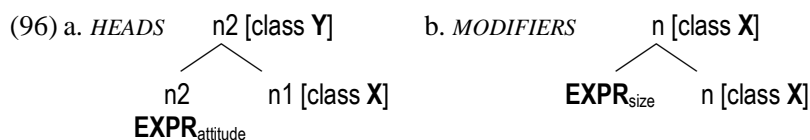
These findings are summarized in Table 13.

Table 13
Change in the grammatical gender

	Change in grammatical gender
EXPR _{attitude}	✓
EXPR _{size}	*

4 Change in inflectional class

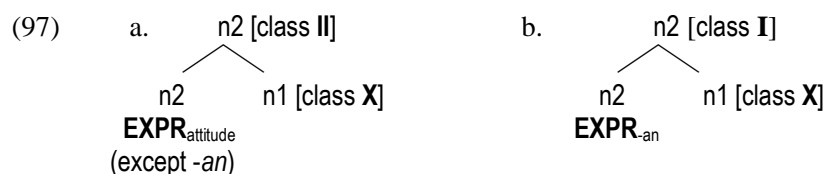
I apply Diagnostic III (change in inflectional class). I show that attitude suffixes change inflectional class and thus, they behave like syntactic heads (96a). In contrast, size suffixes do not change inflectional class and thus, they behave like syntactic modifiers (96b).



In §4.1, I analyze attitude suffixes; in §4.2, I analyze size suffixes; and in §4.3, I present the conclusions.

4.1 Attitude suffixes

Here I show that the majority of attitude suffixes (except *-án*) form nouns of inflectional class II, regardless of the inflectional class of the input (97a). The attitude suffix *-án* forms nouns of inflectional class I, regardless of the inflectional class of the input (97b).



The inflectional classes of Russian are indicated as follows:

- Class I: $-\emptyset$ word ending in the Nominative case
 Class II: $-a$ word ending in the Nominative case

In §4.1.1, I illustrate how attitude suffixes change inflectional class of a noun; in §4.1.2, I show that a change in inflectional class is correlated with a change in grammatical gender.

4.1.1 Change in inflectional class

Let us start by looking at attitude suffixes that form nouns of inflectional class II (98)–(101). For example, in (98), *st'íd* 'shame' belongs to class I, which is evident from the $-\emptyset$ ending in the Nominative case. When the attitude suffix *-ób* is added, there is a change in inflectional class. The resulting noun *stid-ób-a* 'shame (vulgar)' is now in class II ($-a$ ending in the Nominative case).

- (98) a. *stíd*
shame.N.SG (MASC; CLASS I)
 'shame'
- b. *stid-ób-a*
shame-EXPR-N.SG (FEM; CLASS II)
 'shame (vulgar)'

In (99), *č'elov'ék* 'person' belongs to class I. When the attitude suffix *-in* is added, there is a change in inflectional class. The resulting noun *č'elov'éc'-in-a* 'person (vulgar)' is now in class II.

- (99) a. *č'elov'ék*
person.N.SG (MASC; CLASS I)
 'person'
- b. *č'elov'éc'-in-a*
person-EXPR-N.SG (MASC/FEM; CLASS II)
 'person (vulgar)'

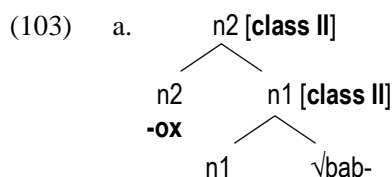
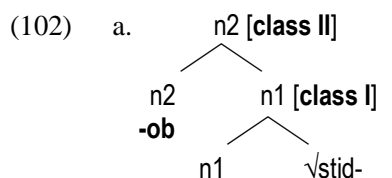
In (100), *báb-a* 'woman' belongs to class II. When the attitude suffix *-óx* is added, there is no change in inflectional class. The resulting noun *bab'-óx-a* 'woman (vulgar)' is still in class II.

- (100) a. *báb-a*
woman-N.SG (FEM; CLASS II)
 ‘woman’¹
- b. *bab’-óx-a*
woman-EXPR-N.SG (FEM; CLASS II)
 ‘woman (vulgar)’

In (101), *páp-a* ‘dad’ belongs to class II. When the attitude suffix *-ús’* is added, there is no change in inflectional class. The resulting noun *pap-ús’-a* ‘dad (affect)’ remains in class II.

- (101) a. *páp-a*
dad-N.SG (MASC; CLASS II)
 ‘dad’
- b. *pap-ús’-a*
dad-EXPR-N.SG (MASC; CLASS II)
 ‘dad (affectionate)’

Structures for (98) and (100) are given in (102)–(103). In (102), the noun *stíd* ‘shame’ is in inflectional class I. When the size suffix *-ób* is attached, the inflectional class changes to class II. In (103), the noun *báb-a* ‘woman’ is in inflectional class II. When the size suffix *-óx* is attached, there is no change in inflectional class. In other words, no matter what the inflectional class of the input, these attitude suffixes always form nouns of class II.



In contrast, the attitude suffix *-án* forms nouns of class I. This is shown in (104)–(108). In (104), *gub-á* ‘lip’ belongs to class II. When the attitude suffix *-án* is added, there is a change in inflectional class. The resulting noun *gub-án* ‘animate with distinct lips (vulgar)’ is now in class I.

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

In (105), *mal’-č’-úg-a* ‘boy (vulgar)’ belongs to class II. When the attitude suffix *-án* is added, there is a change in inflectional class. The resulting noun *mal’-č’-ug-án* ‘boy (vulgar)’ is now in class I.

¹ In Contemporary Standard Russian, *báb-a* ‘woman’ has a downgrading meaning when referring to a woman. For a neutral meaning, *ženšč’-in-a* ‘woman’ is used.

- (105) a. mal'-č'-úg-a
small-NOM-EXPR-N.SG (MASC; **CLASS II**)
 'boy (vulgar)'
- b. mal'-č'-ug-án
small-NOM-EXPR-EXPR.N.SG (MASC; **CLASS I**)
 'boy (vulgar)'

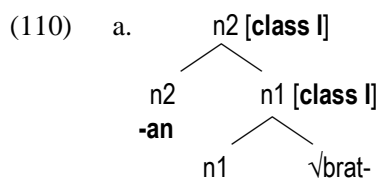
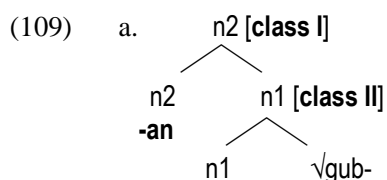
In (106), *brát* 'brother' is in class I. When the attitude suffix *-an* is added, there is no change in inflectional class. The resulting noun *brat-án* 'brother (vulgar)' is still in class I.

- (106) a. brát
brother N.SG (MASC; **CLASS I**)
 'brother'
- b. brat-án
brother-EXPR.N.SG (MASC; **CLASS I**)
 'brother (vulgar)'

In (107), *star'-ík* 'old man' belongs to class I. When the attitude suffix *-án* is added, there is no change in inflectional class. The resulting noun *star'-ik-án* 'old man (vulgar)' remains in class I.

- (108) a. star'-ík
old-NOM.N.SG (MASC; **CLASS I**)
 'old man'
- b. star'-ik-án
old-NOM-EXPR.N.SG (MASC; **CLASS I**)
 'old man (vulgar)'

Structures for (104) and (106) are shown below. In (109), the noun *gub-á* 'lip' is in inflectional class II. When the suffix *-án* is attached, the inflectional class changes to class I. In (110), the noun *brát* 'brother' is in inflectional class I. When the suffix *-án* is attached, there is no change in inflectional class. In other words, no matter what the inflectional class of the input, the attitude suffix *-án* always forms nouns of class I.



To summarize, the majority of attitude suffixes (except *-án*) form nouns of class II, regardless of the inflectional class of the input. The attitude suffix *-án* forms nouns of class I, no matter what the class of the input (Table 14: change in inflectional class is indicated in **bold**).

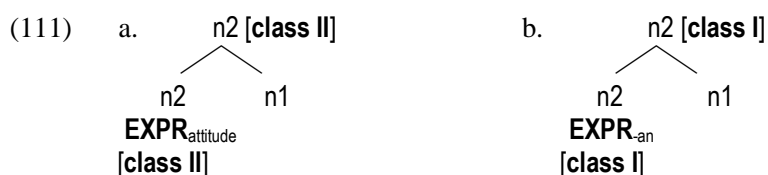
Table 14

Attitude suffixes (change in the inflectional class)

EXPR _{attitude}	Input	Output
-án', -áš, -ón, -úl', -ún', -úr, -ús', -úš, -ág, -ák, -ál, -ár, -áx, -íl, -in, -ób, -ot, -óx, -úg, -úk, -úx	Class I	Class II
	Class II	Class II
-án	Class II	Class I
	Class I	Class I

4.1.2 Correlation between a change in class and a change in grammatical gender

In §3.1, I showed that there is variation in grammatical gender of nouns used with attitude suffixes. Here I argue that this variation is determined by the inflectional class assigned by an attitude suffix. In other words, attitude suffixes are specified for inflectional class, and grammatical gender falls out directly from this inflectional class. I propose that the majority of attitude suffixes (except *-án*) are specified for inflectional class II (111a). The attitude suffix *-án* is specified for inflectional class I (111b).



Let us start by revisiting the data with variation in grammatical gender. When attitude suffixes are added to animate sex-differentiable nouns, the resulting nouns are masculine or feminine, depending on the natural gender of the original noun. For example, in (112), the attitude suffix *-úx* is added to the noun *brát* 'brother' with the natural gender 'male'. As a result, the noun *brat-úx-a* 'brother (vulgar)' is masculine. In (113), the same attitude is added to *s'estr-á* 'sister' with the natural gender 'female'. As a result, the noun *s'estr-úx-a* 'sister (vulgar)' is feminine.

- (112) a. *brát*
brother.N.SG (MASC; CLASS I)
'brother'
- b. *brat-úx-a*
brother-EXPR-N.SG (MASC; CLASS II)
'brother (vulgar)'
- (113) a. *s'estr-á*
sister.N.SG (FEM; CLASS II)
'sister'
- b. *s'estr-úx-a*
sister-EXPR-N.SG (FEM; CLASS II)
'sister (vulgar)'

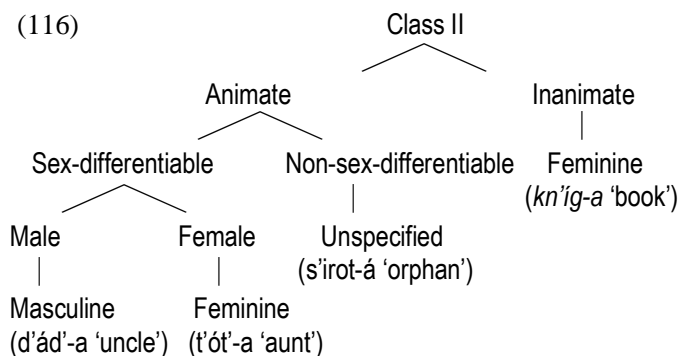
When attitude suffixes are added to inanimate nouns, the resulting nouns become feminine. For example, in (114), the attitude suffix *-úx* is added to *gólod* 'hunger' which is a masculine noun. The resulting noun *golod-úx-a* 'hunger (vulgar)' becomes feminine.

- (114) a. *gólod*
hunger.N.SG (MASC; CLASS I)
 ‘hunger’
- b. *golod-úx-a*
hunger-EXPR-N.SG (FEM; CLASS II)
 ‘hunger (vulgar)’

When attitude suffixes are added to animate non-sex-differentiable nouns, the resulting nouns become unspecified for gender (common gender nouns). For example, in (115), the attitude suffix *-úg* is added to *zv’ér’* ‘animal’, which is a masculine noun. As a result, the noun *zv’er’-úg-a* ‘animal (vulgar)’ becomes unspecified for gender (MASC/FEM).

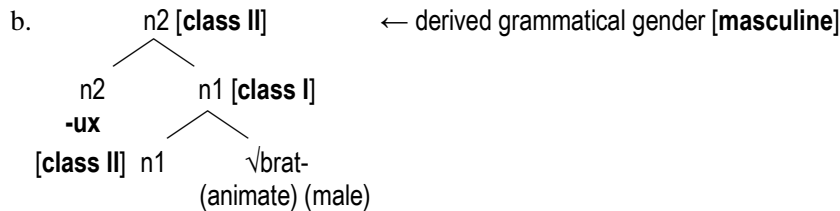
- (115) a. *zv’ér’*
animal.N.SG (MASC; CLASS I)
 ‘animal’
- b. *zv’er’-úg-a*
animal-EXPR-N.SG (MASC/FEM; CLASS I)
 ‘animal (vulgar)’

I propose that this variation in grammatical genders falls out directly from the inflectional class of an attitude suffix. Let us first analyze the majority of attitude suffixes that assign inflectional class II. Russian class II nouns fall into two categories: animate and inanimate nouns. Animate nouns are sex-differentiable or non-sex-differentiable. Both sex-differentiable and non-sex-differentiable nouns can be either masculine or feminine; the difference being that grammatical gender of sex-differentiable ones is determined by their natural gender, ‘male’ or ‘female’. Inanimate nouns of this class are all feminine (116).



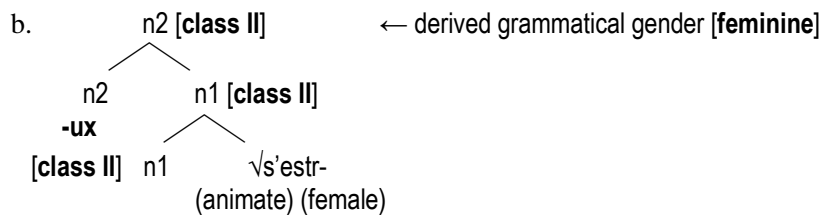
If attitude suffixes assigned class II, we would expect that animate nouns used with these suffixes could be either masculine or feminine depending on the natural gender of the $\sqrt{\text{Root}}$, while inanimate nouns could only be feminine. This prediction is correct. For example, in (112) above, *brát* ‘brother’ belongs to class I. When the attitude suffix *-úx* is added, the inflectional class changes to class II. Since $\sqrt{\text{brat-}}$ is ‘male’, the resulting noun *brat-úx-a* ‘brother (vulgar)’ is masculine. Thus, knowing animacy, natural gender, and inflectional class of the noun, it is possible to derive its grammatical gender. If a noun is animate, male, and belongs to class II, its grammatical gender is always [masculine] (117).

(117) a. (male) and [class II] → [masculine]



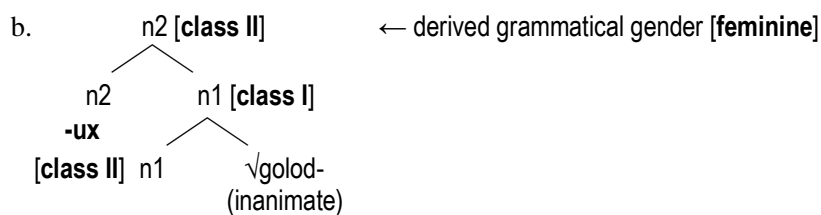
In (113), *s'estr-á* 'sister' belongs to inflectional class II. When the attitude suffix *-úx* is added, there is no change in class. The resulting noun *s'estr-úx-a* 'sister (vulgar)' is still in class II. Since $\sqrt{s'estr-}$ is 'female', the resulting noun *s'estr-úx-a* 'sister (vulgar)' is feminine. Here again, knowing animacy, natural gender, and inflectional class of a noun, it is possible to derive its grammatical gender. If a noun is animate, female, and belongs to class II, its grammatical gender is always [feminine] (118).

(118) a. (female) and [class II] → [feminine]



In (114), the same attitude suffix *-úx* is added to an inanimate noun *gólod* 'hunger'. The noun *gólod* 'hunger' belongs to inflectional class I. When the attitude suffix *-úx* is added, the inflectional class changes. The resulting noun *golod-úx-a* 'hunger (vulgar)' is now in class II. Since inanimate class II nouns are all feminine in Russian, it is possible to derive grammatical gender from inflectional class. Thus, if a noun is inanimate and belongs to class II, its grammatical gender is always [feminine] (119).

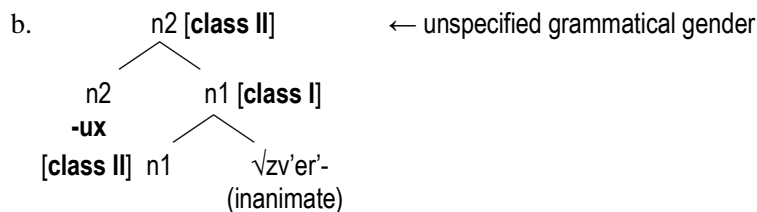
(119) a. (inanimate) and [class II] → [feminine]



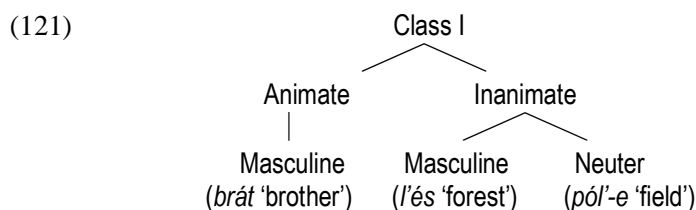
In (115), *zv'er'* 'animal' belongs to inflectional class I. When the attitude suffix *-úg* is added, there is a change in inflectional class. The resulting noun *zv'er'-úg-a* 'animal (vulgar)' is now in class II. Since $\sqrt{zv'er'}$ is animate, but it is non-sex-differentiable, its grammatical gender cannot be determined by 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. Thus, if a noun is animate, non-sex-differentiable, and belongs to class II, its grammatical gender is unspecified (120).

(120) a. (animate) and [class II] → unspecified gender



Let us now analyze the attitude suffix *-án*, which assigns inflectional class I. Russian class I nouns can be animate or inanimate. Animate nouns are masculine,² while inanimate nouns are either masculine or neuter (121).



The attitude suffix *-án* can attach 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 nouns are always animate and belong to class I. For example, in (122), *gub-á* 'lip' is an inanimate class II noun. When the attitude suffix *-án* is added, the resulting noun *gub-án* 'animate with distinct lips' becomes animate and changes to class I. In (123), *púz-o* 'belly' is an inanimate class I noun. When the attitude suffix *-án* is added, the resulting noun *puz-án* 'animate with distinct belly' becomes animate, and it remains in class I.

(122) a. *gub-á*
lip-N.SG (FEM; CLASS II)
'lip'

b. *gub-án*
lip-EXPR.N.SG (MASC; CLASS I)
'animate with distinct lips (vulgar)'

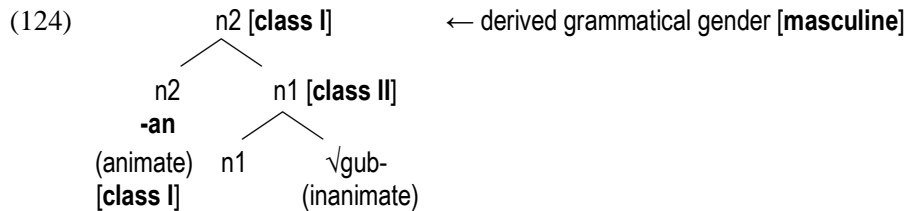
(123) a. *púz-o*
belly-N.SG (NEUT; CLASS I)
'belly'

b. *puz-án*
belly-EXPR.N.SG (MASC; CLASS I)
'animate with distinct belly (vulgar)'

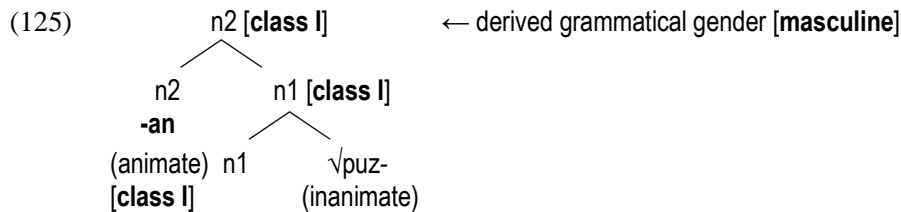
I propose that the attitude suffix *-án* is specified for both animacy, and inflectional class I. As I have shown above, knowing animacy and inflectional class of a noun, it is possible to derive its grammatical gender. Let us see how this works in the data above. In (122), *gub-á* 'lip' is an inanimate feminine noun that belongs to class II. The suffix *-án* turns it into an

² There are two exceptions: *živót-n-oje* 'animal' and *nas'ekóm-oje* 'insect'.

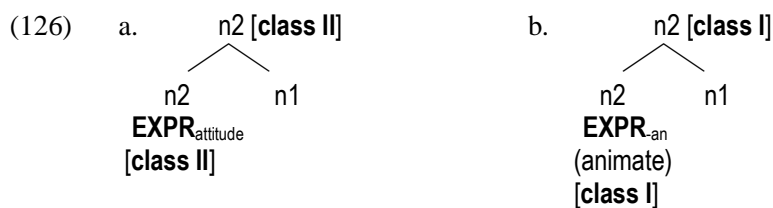
animate noun of class I. The combination of animacy and class I automatically changes feminine gender to masculine, because all class I animate nouns are masculine in Russian (124).



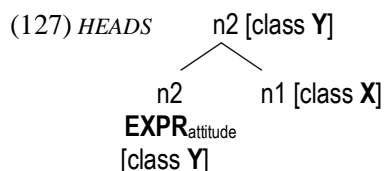
In (123), *púz-o* ‘belly’ is an inanimate neuter noun that belongs to class I. The suffix *-án* turns it into an animate noun of class I. Here, too, the combination of animacy and class I automatically changes neuter gender to masculine, because all class I animate nouns are masculine in Russian (125).



To summarize, I have argued that attitude suffixes are inherently specified for inflectional class. The majority of attitude suffixes (except *-án*) are specified for class II (126a). The suffix *-án* is specified for both animacy, and class I (126b). Knowing animacy, natural gender, and inflectional class of a noun, it is possible to derive its grammatical gender, which accounts for the variation in grammatical gender observed in the data.



Since attitude suffixes produce a change in inflectional class, according to Diagnostic III, they behave like syntactic heads (127).



4.2 *Size suffixes*

In contrast to attitude suffixes, size suffixes do not produce a change in inflectional class. This is illustrated in (128)–(131). For example, in (128), the noun *č'elov'ék* 'person' belongs to class I. When the size suffixes *-ek* and *-išč'* are added, there is no change in inflectional class. The resulting nouns *č'elov'éc'-ek* 'person (dim)' and *č'elov'éc'-išč'-e* 'person (aug)' are still in class I.

- (128) a. *č'elov'ék*
person-N.SG (MASC; CLASS I)
'person'
- b. *č'elov'éc'-ek*
person-EXPR-N.SG (MASC; CLASS I)
'person (diminutive)'
- c. *č'elov'éc'-išč'-e*
person-EXPR-N.SG (MASC; CLASS I)
'person (augmentative)'

In (129), the noun *xl'éb* 'bread' is in class I. When the size suffix *-ec* is added, there is no change in inflectional class. The resulting noun *xl'éb'-ec* 'bread (dim)' remains in class I.

- (129) a. *xl'éb*
bread-N.SG (MASC; CLASS I)
'bread'
- b. *xl'éb'-ec*
bread-EXPR-N.SG (MASC; CLASS I)
'bread (diminutive)'

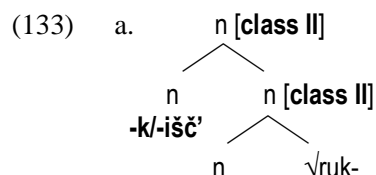
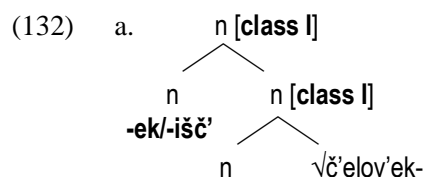
In (130), the noun *ruk-á* 'hand' belongs to class II. When the size suffixes *-k* and *-išč'* are added, there is no change in inflectional class. The resulting nouns *rúč'-k-a* 'hand (dim)' and *ruč'-išč'-a* 'hand (aug)' are still in class II.

- (130) a. *ruk-á*
hand-N.SG (FEM; CLASS II)
'hand'
- b. *rúč'-k-a*
hand-EXPR-N.SG (FEM; CLASS II)
'hand (diminutive)'
- c. *ruč'-išč'-a*
hand-EXPR-N.SG (FEM; CLASS II)
'hand (augmentative)'

In (131), the noun *lúž-a* 'puddle' is in class II. When the size suffix *-ic* is added, there is no change in inflectional class. The resulting noun *lúž-ic-a* 'puddle (dim)' remains in class I.

- (131) a. *lúž-a*
puddle-N.SG (FEM; CLASS II)
'puddle'
- b. *lúž-ic-a*
puddle-EXPR-N.SG (FEM; CLASS II)
'puddle (diminutive)'

Structures for (128) and (130) are given below. In (132), the noun *č'elov'ék* 'person' is in inflectional class I. When the suffixes *-ek* and *-išč'* are attached, the inflectional class does not change. In (133), the noun *ruk-á* 'hand' is in class II. When the suffixes *-k* and *-išč'* are attached, the inflectional class also remains the same.



To summarize, no matter what the inflectional class of the input, there is no change in class when size suffixes are attached (Table 15).

Table 15
Size suffixes (No change in inflectional class)

EXPR _{size}	Input	Output
-k/-ek/-ok/-ik; -c/-ec/-ic; -išč'	Class I	Class I
	Class II	Class II

According to Diagnostic III (change in inflectional class), since size suffixes do not change inflectional class, they behave like syntactic modifiers (134).



5 Conclusions

I have used the following three diagnostics to determine the syntactic types of Russian expressive suffixes:

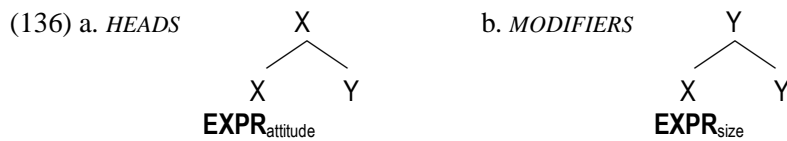
(135) *Diagnostics* (cf. Bachrach & Wagner 2007)

Diagnostic I: Do expressive suffixes change syntactic category?

Diagnostic II: Do expressive suffixes change grammatical gender?

Diagnostic III: Do expressive suffixes change inflectional class?

According to these diagnostics, expressive suffixes are syntactic heads if the answers to (135) are affirmative. Expressive suffixes are syntactic modifiers if the answers to (135) are negative. I have argued that Russian expressive suffixes belong to different syntactic types. Attitude suffixes are syntactic heads (136a), while size suffixes are syntactic modifiers (136b).



Acknowledgments

Many thanks to Martina Wiltschko for her huge help with this paper. This research was supported by a SSHRC Standard research grant (410-2006-2166), awarded to M. Wiltschko.

References

- Bachrach, A., & Wagner, M. (2007). Syntactically Driven Cyclicity vs. Output-Output Correspondence. In *U. Penn Working Papers in Linguistics* 10.1.
- Bierwisch, M. (2003). Heads, Complements, Adjuncts: Projection and Saturation. In Lang & Fabricius-Hansen (eds.), *Modifying Adjuncts*. Mouton de Gruyter.
- Corbett, G. (1980). Animacy in Russian and Other Slavonic Languages: Where Syntax and Semantics Fail to Match. In C. Chvany, & R. Brecht (Eds.), *Morphosyntax in Slavic* (pp. 43-61). Columbus: Slavica.
- Corbett, G. (1982). Gender in Russian: An Account of Gender Specification and Relationship to Declension. *Russian Linguistics*, 6(2), 197–232.
- Corbett, G. (1991). *Gender*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Marantz, A. (1997). No Escape from Syntax: Don't Try Morphological Analysis in the Privacy of Your Own Lexicon. In *U. Penn Working Papers in Linguistics* 4.2.
- Müller, G. (2005). A Distributed Morphology Approach to Syncretism in Russian Noun Inflection, Ms. Available at: <http://www.uni-leipzig.de/~muellerg/mu52.pdf>
- Pesetsky, D. (1995). *Zero Syntax: Experiencers and Cascades*. Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press.
- Schütze, C. (1995). PP Attachment and Argumenthood. In *Papers on Language Processing and Acquisition. MITWPL Working Papers in Linguistics* 26.
- Steriopolo, O. (2008). Form and Function of Expressive Morphology: A Case Study of Russian. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of BC, Canada. Available at: <http://hdl.handle.net/2429/424>