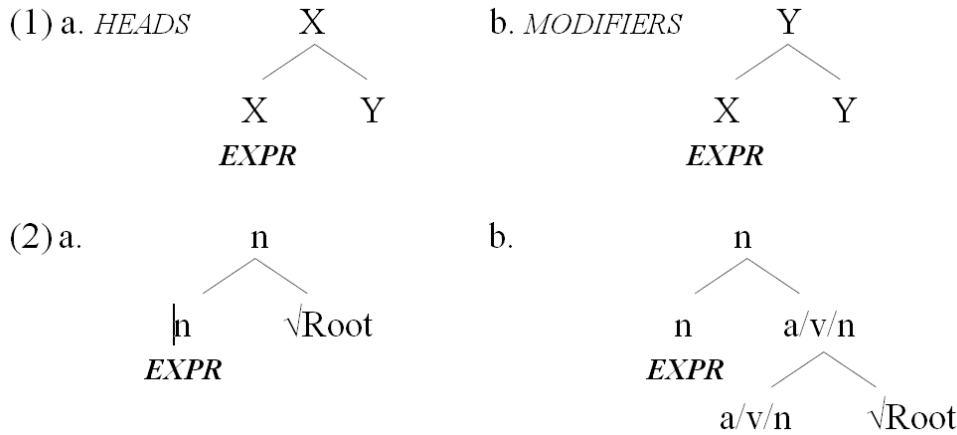


1. Goal. This paper shows that the expressive category (henceforth EXPR), while associated with a universal semantics (Potts 2006), does not instantiate a universal morphosyntactic category. In particular, the paper demonstrates that the formal properties of EXPR can vary across two dimensions: i) How EXPR is attached (as a head or as a modifier) (1), and ii) Where EXPR is attached (to a $\sqrt{\text{Root}}$ or a categorized noun) (2).



2. Evidence from Russian. Russian shows that parameters of variation introduced above are independent of each other. The evidence comes from two different sets of expressive suffixes in Russian: one set is best analyzed as modifying nouns. EXPR suffixes of this class can only attach to nouns and are transparent to the formal properties of the base (i.e., syntactic category and gender) (3).

(3) *Russian modifier EXPR*

- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|------------------------|-----------------|---|----------------------|
| a. stól | – | stól'-ik | b. golov-á | – | golóv-k-a |
| <i>table.MASC</i> | | <i>table-EXPR.MASC</i> | <i>head-FEM</i> | | <i>head-EXPR-FEM</i> |

A second set is best analyzed as head nouns which can either attach to category-free $\sqrt{\text{Root}}$ s (in the sense of Marantz 1997) or to categorized nouns. EXPR suffixes of this class can change the formal properties of the base (4).

(4) *Russian head EXPR*

- | | | | | | |
|------------------|---|------------------------------|------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| a. igr-á-t' | – | igr-úl'-a | b. xólod | – | xolod'-úk-a |
| <i>(to) play</i> | | <i>person who plays-EXPR</i> | <i>cold.MASC</i> | | <i>severe cold-EXPR-FEM</i> |

3. Conclusions

The existence of more than one category EXPR in a single language shows that the parameters of variation are not language-specific but instead they are specific to individual expressions.

Marantz, A. 1997. "No Escape from Syntax: Don't Try Morphological Analysis in the Privacy of Your Own Lexicon." *U. Penn Working Papers in Linguistics* 4.2.

Potts, C. 2006. *The Expressive Dimension*. Unpublished manuscript.