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 √Root or a categorized noun) (2).

(1) a. HEADS X b. MODIFIERS Y
     X Y
     EXPR Y
     EXPR

(2) a. n √Root b. n
     n a/v n
     EXPR
     EXPR

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
        table.MASC table-EXPR.MASC
    b. golov-á – golóv-k-a
        head-FEM head-EXPR-FEM

A second set is best analyzed as head nouns which can either attach to category-free √Roots (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
        (to) play person who plays-EXPR cold.MASC
    b. xólod – xolod'-úk-a
        severe cold-EXPR-FEM

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.