

Instances of posthead modification in Russian NPs

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Russian is a morphologically rich language, with each noun (N) obligatorily bearing a cumulative morpheme encoding number, gender, and Case. This unavoidability of morphological marking (cf. Deprez 2005) obfuscates some noun uses where the morphological number marking does not entail semantic number encoding. This talk investigates several syntactic constructions in Russian that exhibit such a mismatch, which results in an unorthodox noun-adjective (N-Adj) word order. I claim that these constructions share one semantic property: they denote a natural class/ kind:

- (1) a. *Čelovek bol'noj — razdražitelen/*sedit u okna.* kind-referring subjects
 man sick (is) irritable/ is-sitting by the window
 ‘A sick man is irritable.’
- b. *vetčina kopčenaja/ *porezannaja* scientific terms and labels
 cold-meat smoked/ sliced
 ‘smoked cold meat’
- c. *Durak bezmozglyj! *prisutstvujuščij!* vocatives
 fool brainless/ present
 ‘A brainless idiot!’
- d. *Petr byl čelovekom molodym.* characterizing predicates
 Peter was man young.
 ‘Peter was a young man.’

The kind-referring nature of N-Adj constructions is buttressed by their properties: their compatibility with kind predicates (1a) and individual-level Adjs (1b/c), as well as a need for a measure phrase when combining with numerals – *vetčina kopčenaja, tri kilo* ‘smoked cold meat, three kilos’.

Specifically, it will be argued that in (1) Ns combine with Adjs when the former are non-specified for semantic Number, hence do not denote specific individuals (see Bouchard 2002: 172). Following Bouchard (ibid) and Curat (1999), I will show that semantically Number-less NPs in (1a-c) establish their referential import by pragmatic and/or semantic means. Since Adjs in (1) combine with non-atomized Ns, their post-N placement follows straightforwardly from the Linearization Parameter proposed in Bouchard (ibid: 60): modifiers that establish a whole-to-whole relationship with bare (non-atomized) N should follow the head.

I further extend this approach to Type Genitives (TypeGens) (Trugman 2004) and appositive NPs and claim that they too combine with non-atomized Ns. I will show that TypeGens both in Russian and Polish, similarly to modifying N_1 *de* N_2 constructions in French (Bouchard ibid: 283), are non-atomized, or intensional, – they characterize the head noun and their morphological number marking is semantically inert (cf. with English N2N1 compounds):

- (2) French a. *les dents_{N1} de cheval_{N2} de Juliette* (from Bouchard 2002, (30a))
 ‘Juliette’s horse_{N2} teeth_{N1}’
- Russian b. *Petiny ruki_{N1} muzykanta_{N2}* (modified from Trugman 2004, (37a))
 Peter’s hands musician_{GEN}
 ‘Peter’s hands of a musician’
- Polish c. *narzędzie_{N1} pracy_{N2} każdego rządu*
 tool work_{GEN} every government_{GEN}
 ‘every government’s instruments’

Appositive NPs, realized by either common or proper names, also have intensional readings, which is supported by their pronominalization properties, (3b) (see Padučeva 2002: 100):

- (3) a. student-otličnik
 student_{SG.MASC}-honors-student_{SG.MASC}
 ‘an honors student’
- b. Gorod Gor’kij_i nazyvaetsja *im_i/ tak_i potomu što...
 city Gorky is-called *it/ so because...
 ‘The city of Gorky is called so because...’

In sum, divorcing obligatory morphological number of some Ns from their obligatory atomization seems to lead to a uniform analysis of various post-N modifiers of Ns in Russian, with adjectives in (1) and their NP-counterparts in (2) and (3) being analyzed as modifiers of non-atomized Ns.

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