

ATTRIBUTE OR PREDICATE? (ABOUT ROLES OF ADJECTIVES IN POSTPOSITION)

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Summary: Sentences belonging to the group «noun + adjective» sometimes constitute mononuclear nominal sentences with inversion of the adjective, and sometimes two-member sentences with the adjective in the role of predicate. This article reviews the reasons for placing sentences of a single morphological type into different syntactic categories.

This paper examines perception of short sentences belonging to nominal groups with adjectives in postposition (*Botinki tesnye. Razgovor nepriâtnyj. Utro tumannoë*¹). Such sentences can be considered mononuclear nominal sentences (with inversion of the adjective in the role of attribute) or two-member sentences with the adjective in the role of predicate (in this case it is not an inversion since the adjective is not grouped with the noun).

Intonation and, primarily, the placement of phrasal stress are the deciding factors in differentiating between all sentences which consist of a noun and adjective as either nominal sentences with inverted word order or two-member ones with normal word order. Answers to the question of where to place phrasal stress when reading a written text are subject to contextual influences (this is well known from topic-comment theory). However, there are sometimes situations in which context plays practically no role; for example, headings of articles and books or isolated example phrases in textbooks and dictionaries. However, even in situations where contextual guidance is absent, certain regularities can be observed. These regularities allow us to answer the question of phrasal stress placement in different ways for sentences of one and the same morphological structure. Thus, the phrases (1) *Kurkul' nedorezannyj* (V.Šukšin); *Čučelo nosatoe* (E.Griškovec) are examples of nominal mononuclear sentences with inverted word order and phrasal stress on the noun², while (2) *Bol' nesterpimaâ* (M.Aldanov); *Vopros interesnyj!* (T.Tronina) are two-member sentences with normal word order, in which the adjective assumes the role of the nominal part of the predicate and is marked by phrasal stress³. Given that sentences (1) and (2) are identical in terms of their morphological composition but are, nonetheless, syntactically different, it is logical to propose that the only factor which influences their identification as syntactically mononuclear or two-member sentences is the lexical semantics of its elements. The task at hand is to investigate the degree to which semantics of the constituents of nominal groups influence

¹ ISO9:1995/GOST 7.79A transliteration.

² The placement of phrasal stress on words is shown by underlining throughout this text.

³ In this text, the differing punctuation used to divide example sentences (whether by full stops, commas or semicolons) has no fundamental bearing on their meaning.

the recognition of the adjective as either a predicate or as an attribute in postposition. In other words, the question «on which basis does predication start?» must be answered. When reading a written text, what are the semantic criteria which allow us to recognise an adjective as a predicate or, vice versa, to place it in the category of inverted attribute, and do these criteria lend themselves to a linguistic account?

The established understanding of predicativity is the inclusion of the object of thought into a speech situation⁴. For nominal sentences, predication is understood as the content of a sentence's denotation of reality: *Moroz i solnce* (i.e. what I see and perceive can be denoted as *moroz i solnce*). Such sentences are often referred to as mononuclear and can be considered completely predicative: a segment of reality constitutes the subject, and this is described with markers (predicates) *moroz i solnce*. In the case of two-member sentences, predication is considered to be the attribution of a marker, expressed by the predicate, to an object, expressed by the subject: *Rabota nepyl'naâ* (M.Kozakov). The object of thought *rabota* (subject) is ascribed a marker *nepyl'naâ* (predicate). «... the semantic distinction between subjects and predicates is, in clear cases, that a subject actually denotes something (object or marker), whereas a predicate, in and of itself, denotes nothing (here the word 'denote' is understood as expressing the relationship between a noun and its denotation); the predicate only ascribes a marker to the object which is denoted by a noun» [Padučeva, Uspenskij 2009: 121].

The category of modality (here understood in its broadest sense of how content denotes reality) and the category of time are the fundamental distinguishing features of predicativity. The latter, however, is not so evident. For example, V.B.Kasevič, points out that a predicate connects nouns in a single significative situation, i.e. a proposition, but the proposition has an atemporal character [Kasevič 2006: 422, 432].

An established way of explaining the idea of predicativity can be shown in examples like *beloe plat'e* (a word combination) and *Plat'e beloe* (a sentence). In this interpretation, the latter (sentence) is identified as being a judgement, and judgements without predicates do not exist. It is assumed that in the sentence *Plat'e beloe* the adjective constitutes the predicate (analogous with the adjective in the example *Bol' nesterpimaâ*). However, the matter is not at all so clear-cut. In explanations of this kind, phrasal stress is usually forgotten about, even though it plays a decisive role in the question which word is classified as the predicate. If the phrasal stress is placed on the noun in the sentence *Plat'e beloe*, then *beloe* is not a predicate, but rather an attribute in postposition, and so we are presented with an inverted word order in a mononuclear nominal sentence.

Answers to questions about the placement of phrasal stress depend first and foremost on context. For example, in the context of *Plat'e beloe. Horošo by k nemu i tufli belye podobrat'*, the adjective *beloe* probably assumes the role of predicate under phrasal stress. In this sentence a marker, white colour, is at-

⁴ In Russian linguistics, the problem of predicativity has been dealt with in detail by A.M.Peškovskij, V.G.Admoni, S.D.Kacnel'son, V.B.Kasevič, N.D.Arutūnova and E.V.Padučeva.

tributed to an object *plat'e*. This marker is important, and attention is focused on it. However, in the context *Svad'ba tradicionnaâ. Fata. Plat'e beloe. Marš Mendel'sona*, the adjective *beloe* most likely will be read as an inverted attribute, while the sentence as a whole will be read as a mononuclear one; phrasal stress is on the noun. In the text in question, the words *beloe plat'e, fata, marš Mendel'sona* constitute markers of a traditional wedding. The inverted word order here – *Plat'e beloe* – is due to colloquial style⁵, whereas the first sentence of the same text is *Svad'ba tradicionnaâ* – a two-member sentence. In this case the adjective takes on the role of predicate and therefore the word order is not perceived as inverted.

This short analysis already allows us to make some tentative assumptions. One and the same word sequence – *Plat'e beloe* – can be interpreted as different sentence types in different contexts, depending on whether *beloe* is perceived as a predicate or as an attribute. The adjectives *nesterpimyj, interesnyj* and *tradicionnyj* in postposition clearly have a greater propensity towards the role of predicate than the adjective *beloe* has.

Experimenting with the repositioning of adjectives and nouns in nominal word combinations leads us to the following observations:

1. Some position switches are not possible, even if phrasal stress is left on the noun: **sad detskij, *preuveličenie hudožestvennoe, *storonnik goráčij, *trup živoj*. Even if highly specific contexts are imagined which allow for such inversion, shifting of the phrasal stress to the adjective (transforming the adjective into a predicate) in such combinations is unlikely.
2. Some position switches are hypothetically possible; however, the probability of coming across them in texts is low, even if phrasal stress is left on the noun: *dym tabačnyj, kaša snežnaâ*. If specific contexts are found for them, the probability increases: *Brr, pod nogami gadost'. Kaša snežnaâ*. Imagining a context which allows for the transformation of the adjective into a predicate in these examples is difficult⁶.
3. In some combinations, the postposition of the adjective with a concurring shift of phrasal stress to it leads to a change of its lexical meaning in comparison with its meaning in anteposition; cf. *prostaâ logika – logika prostaâ; staryj drug – drug staryj; mokryj sneg – sneg mokryj*.

⁵ The Academy of Science's *Russkaâ grammatika* states the following about word order in nominal word combinations: «Word combinations in which the adjective is in postposition in terms of its relation to the noun which, nonetheless, remains the prosodic centre, have a colloquial colouration: *Vdrug peredo mnoû rytvina glubokaâ (Lermontov); Nu, molodye lûdi vhodât k tovarišu, u nego obed prošal'nyj (L.Tolstoj)* <...> Postposition of the adjective with transference of the prosodic centre to the adjective or with equal word stress on both the adjective and the noun (the noun and adjective are each assigned to separate syntagms) can have a poetic or folk-poetic colouration: *Esli nakloniš'sâ vo rži, čuvstvues' sebâ v Rossii: nebo sinee i kolos'â sputannye, i probitaâ sredi nih tropa (Blok)*» [Academy of Sciences of the USSR 1980: §2156].

⁶ Instances of contrast are not examined in this text. This is because under the influence of contrast the intonation pattern of phrases changes completely and phrasal stress can be placed on any word regardless of its usual accentual «behaviour».

In the word combinations with the adjective in anteposition, certain aspects of lexical meaning (such as, in these examples, the elementary character of a logical formulation, the age of a friend or the feeling of snow upon touching it) are not expressed. In postposition and stressed position, however, precisely these aspects of meaning, which correspond to the adjectives, appear to be the most significant.

4. In other combinations, moving the adjective to postposition with a concurring shift of phrasal stress to it does not have any substantial effect on the lexical meaning of the adjective, the role of which changes from attribute to predicate: *glubokaâ mysl' – mysl' glubokaâ; bešenyj temp – temp bešenyj; syroe âjco – âjco syroe. Here the marker's ascription to the object adds an additional meaning to the sentence, although this is not centred on the lexical meaning of the adjective, but rather has to do primarily with pragmatics. We can suppose here, for example, that someone saying the sentence *Âjco syroe* may want to emphasise displeasure at the quality of the egg that has been served for breakfast or wants to warn someone to be careful when handling the egg as it may break. These pragmatic concepts do not exist in word combinations with antepositioning of adjectives; they are a result of the transformation of the adjective into the predicate.*
5. Moving the adjective to postposition is, in some cases, perceived as natural, but the movement is not accompanied by a shift of phrasal stress (the adjective can only take on the role of an inverted attribute): *poslednij durak – durak poslednij; zavetnoe kolečko – kolečko zavetnoe; alen'kij cvetoček – cvetoček alen'kij. Here we see typical inversion in folkloric expressions or strictly conversational word combinations or phrases.*
6. In the area of idiomatic word combinations, several variants are possible in relation to word order and phrasal stress.
 - 6.1. Adjective in anteposition, its movement to postposition is precluded by norms, phrasal stress is on the noun: *belaâ vorona, obratnaâ svâz', božij oduvančik.*
 - 6.2. Adjective in postposition, its movement to anteposition is precluded by norms, phrasal stress is on the noun: *golova sadovaâ, sirota kazanskaâ, glaza zavidušie, šut gorohovyj.*
 - 6.3. Adjective in postposition, its movement to postposition is precluded by norms, phrasal stress is on the adjective while the adjective is not the predicate (because there is no instance of dynamic ascription of a marker to the object): *čelovek razumnyj, zemlá obetovannaâ, dela serdečnye.*
 - 6.4. Adjective is movable, shifting it to postposition is permissible, but without a shift of phrasal stress from noun to adjective: *sonnaâ muha – muha sonnaâ; kisejnaâ baryšná – baryšná kisejnaâ.*
 - 6.5. Adjective is movable, its movement from anteposition to postposition is permissible, as is a concurring shift of phrasal stress from the noun to adjective without breaking idiomaticity; the adjective in the stressed position takes on the role of predicate:

smertnaâ toska – toska smertnaâ; kolûčij vzglâd – vzglâd kolûčij; detskoe vremâ – vremâ detskoe.

- 6.6. Shifting the adjective from anteposition to postposition is permissible, as is the concurring shift of phrasal stress from the noun to the adjective (predicate); however, this action is accompanied by breaking of idiomaticity: *mokraâ kurica* (idiomatic) – *kurica mokraâ* (not idiomatic); *pustoe mesto* (idiomatic) – *mesto pustoe* (not idiomatic); *včerašnjij sneg* (idiomatic) – *sneg včerašnjij* (not idiomatic).
- 6.7. Adjective in an idiomatic sentence is in postposition, phrasal stress is on the noun; shift of phrasal stress to the adjective (predicate) is possible; however, this action is accompanied by the breaking of idiomaticity: *myš' seraâ* (idiomatic) – *myš' seraâ* (not idiomatic); *nož ostryj* (idiomatic) – *nož ostryj* (not idiomatic); *lûdi dobrye* (idiomatic) – *lûdi dobrye* (not idiomatic).

Having examined examples of hypothetical adjective movements and shifts of phrasal stress when altering word order, let us now turn to the question of the causes of placing phrasal stress on the adjective in postposition when perceiving a written text. The principal cause, as already stated, is interpretation of the adjective as either the predicate or an attribute⁷. Postpositioning of an adjective in a two-word sentence is the most favourable, although by itself insufficient condition for concluding that a sentence is a two-member one. What compels us to read a given adjective as a predicate or, conversely, consider it to be an inverted attribute?

Movement of the adjective to postposition as a predicate indicates, first and foremost, the semantic disruption of a word combination⁸. Not all adjectives are able to change from the role of attribute to that of predicate. It seems that the interpretation of an adjective as a predicate is explained by several factors of varying nature. On the one hand, the lexical meanings of adjectives and of nouns take on complex relationships with each other. On the other hand, they both also take on complex relationships with context (speech situation).

In order to investigate semantics «in its pure form», it is necessary to exclude the factor of context as much as possible. Let us imagine a relatively neutral context in which sentences consisting only of a noun and an adjective in postposition are present. Such conditions, which are relatively independent of context, may occur, for example, at the beginning of a book, chapter or paragraph, in a headline of a newspaper article or in a title of a painting.

⁷ There are various ways of checking for recognition of an adjective as a predicate, for example, changing the full form of adjectives to the short form (if norms permit it): *Žar nesterpimyj* – *Žar nesterpim*; changing the sentence to the past tense: *Žar byl nesterpimyj*; lexical addition of adverbs, particles or modal words: *Žar počti nesterpimyj*. If we are dealing with a nominal sentence, then the particle occurs before the noun: *Prâmo krasavica nezemnaâ*, but if we are dealing with a two-member sentence, then it is in front of the predicate: *Krasavica prâmo nezemnaâ*.

⁸ It is not without reason that in written Russian there is never a hyphen in front of an adjective in the role of predicate. This subject is not to be examined here but nonetheless serves as an obvious hint towards the predicativity of adjectives.

I. Lexical semantics of the adjective

1. Classification (for example, categorisation of the object denoted by the noun according to its material, method of its production, level of utility; there is a high probability of finding such categorisation in texts of an official style): *Stena kirpičnaâ. Grib âdovityj. Trava sornaâ.*

2. Evaluation (of quality, quantity, emotional state, urgency, importance).

2.1. Explicit: *Čelovek sovestlivyj. Roman prezanâtnyj. Rasstoânie nemaloe. Ranenie tâželo. Pros'ba bezotlagatel'naâ.*

2.2. Implicit

2.2.1. Non-metaphorical implicit evaluation: *Baryšnâ provincial'naâ* (i.e. undisturbed by civilisation). *Tufel'ki stoptannye* (i.e. their owner does not have money for new ones). *Glaza krasnye* (the person has not slept, has cried or has become enraged). *Zakaz gosudarstvennyj* (i.e. important). *Vopros umozritel'nyj* (i.e. it is pointless to discuss it, you cannot prove anything anyway).

2.2.2. Metaphorical implicit evaluation: *Glaza kvadratnye* (frightened). *Vzglâd kolûčij* (unpleasant). *Vremâ detskoe* (it is not bedtime yet).

3. Highlighting an exceptional quality, description of an object: *Usy pušistye. Glaza sinie. Nos vzdernutyj.*

4. Implicit contrast: *Sajt oficial'nyj* (and not dealing with private or personal matters). *Spektakl' detskij* (and not for adults). *Izmeneniâ poverhnostnye* (and not substantial). *Golos ženskij* (and not male).

II. Lexical semantics of the noun

Effaced semantic character (a noun's elementary thematic character: where the object denoted by the noun may be present in practically any speech situation, for example, *čelovek, štuka, delo, situaciâ, pomešenie, mesto, obstanovka, sreda, ideâ, vopros, mysl', vremâ*) is conducive to the adjective's accentuation and its transformation into a predicate: *Vopros otkrytyj. Pomešenie dušnoe. Vremâ pozdnee.* It may seem that in these sentences the adjectives are evaluative and that this is the reason for interpreting them as predicates. However, the evaluative character of the adjectives comes to the fore primarily because of the semantic weakness of the nouns. In combinations of the same adjective with a noun which denotes a natural phenomenon, or with an evaluative noun, the situation drastically changes. Compare: *Vremâ pozdnee. – Osen' pozdnââ.*⁹ *Vopros prazdnyj. – Gulâka prazdnyj.*

Other factors act against the interpretation of an adjective as a predicate. These factors in part result from what we have already observed, and in part are independent from the factors listed above.

1. Impossibility of interpreting the adjective as evaluative, qualifying or providing implicit contrast. No sememe is present in the adjective's meaning which allows it to be considered a means of evaluation, a means of categorisation or a means of providing contrast to another characteristic.

⁹ Phrasal stress on the adjective is also possible: *Osen' pozdnââ.* However, the probability of the adjective being stressed in a combination with the noun *vremâ* (*Vremâ pozdnee*) is higher than in the case of the same adjective in a combination with the noun *osen'.*

1.1. For example, adjectives of «geographic» origin are not eligible for these functions. Consider the sort of characteristic present in the word combination **Kvartira pražská*. Such a sentence is possible only with stress on the noun: *Kvartira pražská* (inversion) – and this only in specific contexts. Compare this to *Tort pražskij* – a case of classification. However, in some word combinations «geographic» adjectives tend to be interpreted as being qualitative and are able to take the role of predicate: *Propiska moskovská* (this sentence can indicate that «this person is fine»; «he is allowed to work»). The same adjective in a different word combination can be interpreted as an indication of implicit contrast: *Vremâ moskovskoe* (and not local).

1.2. Certain relative adjectives cannot serve as classifying ones (not to mention their unsuitability for the expression of evaluation or implicit contrast): *Èkologičeskáâ obstanovka*. *Myšinyj šoroh*. It is hard to imagine situations in which these adjectives would occur in a postposition, not to mention their inability to take phrasal stress. At the same time, other relative adjectives are extremely well-suited to the role of predicate-classifiers: *Časy stennyje*. *Pis'mo zakaznoe*. Here the relative adjectives retain their relativity, even in postposition. Transformations also take place: a relative adjective in postposition and stressed position becomes a qualitative adjective. This is quite a common occurrence: *Barskie pokoi*. – *Pokoi barskie*. In the first sentence we see a relative adjective ('the chamber belongs to a lord'), but in the second one we see a qualitative adjective ('the chamber is luxurious'). Certain transformations of a similar type are purely one-off occurrences: *Kalinigrad – poslednij bol'soj voennyj trofej Rossii...* *Gorod vo vseh otnošeníâh pograničnyj* (E.Griškovec). The author initially uses a relative adjective with a sememe of a clearly qualitative character (understood as such due to presence of *vo vseh otnošeníâh*). Although it is not fully clear exactly which qualitative characteristics coalesce in the meaning of the adjective *pograničnyj* here, its predicativity in this sentence is undoubtable. A transformation in the opposite direction can also take place: under phrasal stress, a qualitative adjective acquires the characteristics of a relative adjective, fulfilling the role of categorisation: *Roditel'skij dom* (original home, one's family home). – *Dom roditel'skij* (belonging to parents).

1.3. Certain qualitative adjectives in combinations with non-abstract nouns do not display the potential for being interpreted as evaluative or qualifying adjectives either: *Ūnaâ vdova*. – **Vdova ūna*. Interpretation of the noun as a predicate is hardly possible in a neutral context, since it is unclear which qualitative characteristics (in a purely pragmatic sense) could underlie such a predicate. Compare: *Vozrast ūnyj*. In such a combination the predicate *ūnyj* contains a clear mixture of qualitative characteristics: inexperience, vehemence, vulnerability, fragile-mindedness and so on. As for the example of *vdova*, only specific contexts can justify the placement of phrasal stress on the adjective in postposition: *Vdova ūnaâ*. *Každyj bednâžku nadut' norovit*. Compare also: *èlementarnaâ otmyčka – èlementarnoe rassuždenie*. The adjective *èlementarnyj* in a combination with a noun with non-abstract semantics is not suited to the role of predicate: **otmyčka èlementarnaâ*. At the same time it is not difficult to imagine it in the function of predicate with a noun with abstract semantics: *rassuždenie èlementarnoe*. In combinations with a noun denoting an object from

the mental domain, adjectives display their evaluative semantics to a much greater degree than in combinations with a noun denoting a non-abstract concrete object.

1.4. Adjectives with weakening semantics, close in meaning to indefinite pronouns (*čto-to vrode, nekotoryj, vsâkij, kakoj-to, odin*): *Skandal'čik malen'kij. Spor nebol'soj. Muhomory splošnye.*

1.5. Adjectives that describe a person's state: *Passiâ očerednaâ. Papaša pokojnyj. Suprug byvšij. Storož zdešnj. Incident davešnj.*

1.6. Adjectives with redundant semantics: *Supruga zakonnaâ*. In general, if someone is a spouse (*supruga*), then this is legally the case (*zakonnaya*); the adjective is semantically redundant. Compare: *Vopros zakonnyj* – here the adjective possesses evaluative semantics and takes on the role of predicate.

2. Folkloric or colloquial style: *Slovo zavetnoe. Zemlâ syraâ. Platoček cvetastyj. Zor'ka âsnaâ.*

3. Idiomatics: normative anteposition of the adjective and fixedness of phrasal stress on the noun. The adjective and the noun form a semantic compound, in which neither the adjective alone nor the noun denote what they indicate outside this compound: *zolotoj telec, zemnoj šar, bož'â korovka, roditel'skij komitet, detskij sad*. Movement of the adjective in some compounds of this kind is possible (although only in specific contexts, for example if someone is attempting to draw the attention of the interlocutor towards something which is new for them), but this is done without shifting phrasal stress to it: *Šar zemnoj* (compare: *Lûbov' zemnaâ*). *Korovka bož'â* (cf. *Ceny božeskie*). However, some such compounds do not allow their components' order to be changed, even if phrasal stress is retained by the noun: **sad detskij*.

4. Idiomatics: rigid fixedness of postposition of the adjective with fixedness of phrasal stress on the noun: *gol' perekatnaâ, meloč' puzataâ.*

5. Contextual relatedness of the adjective's meaning.

In some established word combinations, adjectives exhibit a shift in lexical meaning, while nouns retain their original independent meanings, matching those described in dictionaries: *gor'kij p'ânica, glubokij traur, gordoe molčanie, domašnee zadanie*. Movement of the adjective to postposition in such word combinations is usually not prohibited by norms; however, the change of word order is not accompanied by a movement of the phrasal stress. Under conditions in which such inverted combinations are used as sentences, they are interpreted merely as nominal sentences with an attribute in postposition: *P'ânica gor'kij. Zadanie domašnee*. Nonetheless, certain position switches appear to be non-normative in any context, even when retaining phrasal stress on the noun: **molčanie gordoe*.

6. Evaluative character of the noun's meaning. In these cases the adjective can also be evaluative; however, in general, it is not able to «trump» the evaluative character of the noun and does not constitute a predicate (an evaluation of an evaluation), but rather an attribute (expanding on an evaluation) which adds little to the overall semantics: *Žmot nesčastnyj* (A.Gelasimov). *Spinoza nedorezannyj* (V.Skripkin). *Dvurušnik poganyj* (E.Lukin). *Ni o kakom kodekse česti tut ũže govorit' ne prihoditsâ. Cinizm golyj* (I.Guberman). The aforementioned example of *Gulâka prazdnyj* falls into this category. Certain

nouns can act as evaluative ones or as purely denotative ones and, depending on how they are interpreted, the phrasal stress can be changed: *Temnota večnaâ!* (Turgenev) – *Temnota derevenskaâ!* (A. Anisimov).

7. Mononuclearity of existential sentences. Existential sentences often occur as mononuclear ones. The probability of a sentence which consists of a noun and an adjective being placed into the existential category increases, if the noun semantically belongs to the conceptual field of «natural phenomena»: *Roša berezovaâ. Ledniki beskrajnie.*

8. Undesirable prospect of changing lexical meaning of the adjective by shifting phrasal stress to it. The placement of phrasal stress is closely linked with the lexical meanings of at least some words. Thus, the adjective in the word combination *kolúčaâ provoloka* does not denote a property of the wire, but rather its type. If we want to retain these semantics while moving the adjective into postposition, then it is necessary to keep the phrasal stress on the noun, as it was done in the song by A. Galič: *A tak, govorât, nu, ty prav, govorât // I produkcia vaša lučšaâ! // No, vse ž govorâ, ne drap, govorât, // A provoloka kolúčaâ!..* Shifting the phrasal stress to the adjective (and transforming it into the predicate) changes its lexical meaning: The sentence *Provolo*ka kolúčaâ denotes that the wire could prick someone. The adjective in the nominal sentence *Gradonačal'nik mestnyj* means that the governor or mayor of a given town is in question; however, with the adjective in the role of predicate with phrasal stress placed on it, *Gradonačal'nik mestnyj* means that the mayor or governor is originally from this place. The adjective in the role of attribute in the nominal sentence *Zakuska holodnaâ* denotes the type of snack, while in the role of predicate in the two-member sentence *Zakuska xolodnaâ* it means that the snack has gone cold. In the sentence *Bednyj učitel'* the adjective *Bednyj* can mean either 'lacking wealth' or 'deserving sympathy', but in the sentence *Učitel' bednyj* the same adjective can only mean 'lacking wealth'¹⁰. *Večnye* in the sentence *Večnye spory* means 'annoying' or 'irritating'. However, in the sentence *Spor večnyj* the same word has the meaning 'unsolvable'. The word combination *kritičeskie stat'i* denotes reviews of any kind, while the word combination *stat'i kritičeskie* denotes only negative reviews.

Shifting phrasal stress to the adjective is not always accompanied by a change in its lexical meaning (as has been shown in many different examples); however, if the prospect of such a change is present and it is viewed as undesirable, then this is a sufficient basis for not transforming the adjective into the predicate and for placing phrasal stress on the noun¹¹.

9. Undesirable prospect of adding a new meaning to the sentence by shifting the phrasal stress to the adjective in postposition. This factor is

¹⁰ It may indeed be possible to imagine a specific context in which this word could mean 'deserving sympathy' even with phrasal stress; for example, repeating while expressing agreement: *Bednyj učitel'! – Da, učitel' bednyj, čto tam govorit'*. Nonetheless, in situations which are relatively independent of context, *bednyj* in the role of predicate means 'lacking wealth'.

¹¹ The interaction between lexical meaning and phrasal stress are examined in detail in [Pavlova 2007].

similar to the preceding one, with the only difference being that the lexical meaning of the adjective does not necessarily change by shifting phrasal stress to it; however, its transformation into a predicate gives the whole sentence a new or additional meaning, which may not be intended by the author. For example, the adjective in the sentence *Molodaâ para* and in the sentence *Para molodaâ* means, it would seem, one and the same thing; however, in the role of predicate the adjective also acquires additional semantic meanings of a purely pragmatic character: it can mean that no grudge can be held against the couple because they are still inexperienced. Alternatively, this sentence can express condemnation: they do not understand anything, those young people. If such a pragmatic semantic addition is unexpected, then there is a high probability of it being read as a nominal sentence with inversion: *Para molodaâ*.

In texts, the factors listed here can combine with one another. For example, the evaluative character of an adjective can combine with the weak semantics of a noun: *Â soglasilsâ ee storožit'. Mesto gluhoe.* (A.Grin). *Položenie zatrudnitel'noe, i pridetsâ vesti s nej razgovor naedine* (A.Belyj).

In general, sentences starting with a noun followed by an adjective are rarely used as headlines, the heading of a text or of a chapter. Such usages usually have an unconventional context. Under contextual conditions the implementation of the above regularities can be negated or, more precisely, replaced by others. The factors of stark contrast and «established and new topics» will not be investigated at length in this paper as they are commonplace and well-known. Contrast is «all-powerful» and at times even forces shifts of phrasal stress onto particular syllables which, according to phonetic norms, cannot be marked by stress: *Ty zvonila plemânnice? – Ne plemânnice, a plemânniku.* Contrast can override any established regularities and serve as an argument against any and all findings from prosodic and semantic observation. However, it is precisely this «all-powerfulness» that turns out to be a weakness: it is so powerful that it is of no interest for papers which aim to find and describe factors which influence the decision-making processes in the placement of phrasal stress. As for the factor of «established and new topics», this is described in detail in literature dealing with topic-comment theory, and commentary on it is not required. There is no doubt that in the short exchange *Ponravis' tebe podarki? – Podarki horošie* phrasal stress falls on the adjective (which here is the predicate) based on one single reason: the noun that precedes it presents an «established topic».

Putting these two factors aside, let us now look at some others which result from contextual conditions and which are capable of counteracting the regularities we have so far observed.

1. Answers to the questions *Kto èto? Kto tam? Čto èto?* In such situations information about the object is more important than its characteristics. Therefore, phrasal stress is placed on the noun while the sentence as a whole constitutes a nominal and mononuclear one:

Kto tam? – Pes bezdomnyj.

2. Urgent introduction to a situation¹² (desire to direct interlocutor's attention to a phenomenon or event which is new to them). Phrasal stress falls on the noun, regardless of the semantics of the adjective: *Vhožu v kvartiru. Vot èto da! Potolki lepnye. V gostinoj roâl'. Kartiny starinnye.*

3. Addressing someone/ something or exclamations. Here phrasal stress is placed on the noun, regardless of the semantics of the adjective: *Oj, pole mnogohlebnoe!* (Nekrasov); *Oj, zemlá rodnaâ!* (V.Šuf).

4. Explanation of a fact (it is possible to add the phrase *delo v tom, èto...* before the noun). Phrasal stress marks the noun, regardless of the semantics of the adjective: *Èto ty moršiš'sâ? – Kofe holodnyj!*

5. Clarification of exactly who or what is being dealt with (for example, after one's own first name or after mentioning some other individual). Phrasal stress is placed on the noun while the nominal sentence as a whole fulfils the role of predicate in relation to the preceding sentence: *Mar'â Vasil'evna. Učitel'nica novaâ.* Or: *Sela, hotela dal'se orat', tol'ko glâžu – znakomyj. Kornet gusarskij, kotoryj vas cvetami zasypaet* (B.Akunin).

6. Mimicry or reproduction of someone else's words. Phrasal stress marks the noun regardless of the semantics of the adjective: *Podumaëš'! Svekrov' zlaâ!* Or: *Èto on skazal? – Rabota skučnaâ!*

7. Poetic style: *Angely opal'nye* (K.Bal'mont). *Alleâ tenistaâ* (I.Rukavišnikov).

8. Enumeration (factor of rhythm). When listing sentences of the same syntactic type one after another in a series, phrasal stress can mark either the nouns or the adjectives, depending on the rhythm that «sets the tone»: *Platočki belye. Glaza pečal'nye.* Or: *Den' doždlyvj. Gorod hmuryj.* Enumeration of adjectives of the same type forces stress to be placed on them: *Kolokol'čiki golubye, rozovye, želtje* (Ů.Oleša). Compare also: *Glâdit – pustoples'e kakoe-to, a krugom les gustoj* (Bažov). – *Krugom les gustoj da vysokij* (Bažov). The semantic factor proves to be overridden by the factor of rhythmic concurrence alone, even if we are dealing with a prosaic text rather than a poetic one¹³.

¹² The Russian term for this («èkstreŋnoe vvedenie v situaciû») was coined by T.M.Nikolaeva, see [Nikolaeva 1981].

¹³ In general, it is interesting to examine sentences in which a minimal amount of contextual linkers is present. For example, after a conjunction the placement of phrasal stress on the noun is more probable. Compare: *Zarplata horošaâ, otpusk bol'soj, obedy besplatnye.* – *Zarplata horošaâ, i otpusk bol'soj, i obedy besplatnye.* If we compare the examples *Vrode byt'-to nekomu, da i mesto gluhoje* (V.Sorokin) and *Vrode byt'-to nekomu, k tomu že mesto gluhoje*, it seems that while *da i* and *k tomu že* are completely synonymous, placement of phrasal stress on the adjective is not possible after the linker *da i*, but after *k tomu že* both variants are possible. Phrasal stress can be placed on the noun (*k tomu že mesto gluhoje*) or on the adjective (*k tomu že mesto gluhoje*). There is a high probability of phrasal stress on the adjective after various indicators of mental activity: *Po-moemu, kuhnâ tesnaâ.* Or: *Sami posudite: kuhnâ tesnaâ.* Evidently, an indication of cognitive operation (*po-moemu, sami posudite*) in written text implicitly invites predication in some way. A more detailed examination of such examples falls outside the scope of this article.

Regardless of the fact that purely semantic regularities, which are defined for expressions that are (comparatively) independent of contextual conditions, are often violated, some tendencies are also retained. For example, adjectives with a clear propensity towards evaluation or categorisation in various other conditions are more likely to turn out to be predicates than adjectives with «weak» (softening, approximating a pronoun) semantics. Compare the two examples: *Hodili včera za gribami. Opáta splošnye. – Hodili včera za gribami. Mohoviki červivye. Dlá belyh rano eše.* The first example communicates the type of mushrooms found. In the second case, the quality of the mushrooms is communicated.

Outside of texts, it is hard to decide whether or not the majority of adjectives are suited to the role of predicate. Thus, *Pes bezdomnyj* can be a mononuclear nominal sentence or a two-member sentence, depending on the communicative task facing the author or the interpreter of the text. The example *Smotri! Pes bezdomnyj. Davaj ego priútim!* is, in all probability, a nominal sentence, if we conclude that the author intended to draw attention to the object (the first sentence, *Smotri!*, serves as confirmation of this). However, in an analogous text without the inclusion of *Smotri!*, *Pes bezdomnyj* can be regarded as a two-member sentence: *Pes bezdomnyj* (i.e. «nobody will look for him», «no one owns him»). *Davaj ego priútim!* – provided that the interlocutor has already seen the object to which the attention of the speaker is directed.

Let us turn to another specific example, *Kvartira odnokomnatnaâ*, which can often occur in a limited range of texts written in a condensed style. The adjective *odnokomnatnaâ* can be interpreted as a categorisation of the apartment in a neutral official style (for example, a statement of fact: *Dver' otkryvaet molodoj paren'. Vhožu. Kvartira odnokomnatnaâ*), or as an implicit evaluation (*Kvartira odnokomnatnaâ. Gostej prinimat' prihoditsâ na kuhne*), or as implicit contrast (*Kvartira odnokomnatnaâ. Na krupnogabaritnuû deneg ne hvatilo*). Interpretation of the adjective as a predicate in this sentence is assisted by the effaced semantic character of the noun. However, it is also completely possible to imagine texts in which the very same sequence of words could be read as a mononuclear sentence with inversion: *Molodoj, krasivyy, professiâ – inžener po mašinkam po sčětnym. Kvartira odnokomnatnaâ* (I.Grekova). In this instance, the main point of importance is not the number of rooms in the apartment, but rather that this apartment exists – belonging to its owner, not shared and a symbol of wealth. Therefore, the sentence is interpreted as a mononuclear nominal one with inverted word order.

It is often the case that no clear-cut decision on the placement of phrasal stress is possible for sentences consisting only of a noun and an adjective in postposition. Thus, it is difficult to decide whether sentences should be regarded as mononuclear or two-member when the reader is being introduced to an unfamiliar situation or when locations, items, persons or animals that are new to the reader are being described. For example, there is no clear-cut answer to the question of where to place phrasal stress in the descriptions of a new house which Koška built for himself in S.Maršak's tale: *Byl u koški novyy dom. Stavenki reznye. Okna raspisnye*; or in the example: *Éto moâ novaâ sosedka Katâ. Strojnaâ, vysokaâ. Golos zvonkij*. In the latter example, the chances of the

adjective being considered either an attribute in postposition or a predicate are about the same. It is noteworthy that substituting the adjective with a less «positive» meaning allows the question of stress placement to be answered categorically, with stress being placed on the adjective: *Èto moâ novaâ sosedka Katâ. Strojnaâ, vysokaâ. Golos ispitoj.* The semantics of this adjective violate the semantic boundary of the enumeration of positive qualities and draw special attention. Here we see a special form of contrast: disruption of the pattern of a positive setting like disruption of an expected norm. This contrast is not due to the context, but rather to background knowledge (standards and norms) of our perception of reality. Due to its semantics, the adjective falls outside of the expected list of characteristics of the neighbour, Katâ, and therefore draws phrasal stress. This placement of stress transforms it to the predicate.

If stress is placed on the adjective, does this automatically mean that it takes on the role of predicate and that the whole sentence must therefore be considered a two-member one? And, conversely, does an unstressed adjective always mean that it is an inverted attribute and that the sentence as a whole is nominal and mononuclear? It turns out that the answer is «no, not always». We have already seen examples of idioms in which the adjective was in postposition and stressed while also remaining an attribute: *papa Rimskij, čelovek razumnij, imâ naricatel'noe.* In some idioms the stress is movable and can be shifted from the noun to the adjective without transforming the adjective into a predicate: *toska zelenaâ – toska zelenaâ, t'ma egipetskaâ – t'ma egipetskaâ.* Nevertheless, the question of whether the stressed adjectives in the sentences *Toska zelenaâ; T'ma egipetskaâ* should be considered predicates or attributes in postposition is a controversial one. It is possible to make arguments in favour of both answers. It could be the case that this question ought to be addressed and answered separately in each specific context. In the sentences *T'ma kromešnaâ. Grâz' neprolaznaâ. Glaza kvadratnye,* the predicative function of the stressed adjectives is sufficiently evident, although this has to do with idiomatics.

Another example of such «quasi-predicates» (stressed adjectives in postposition which do not constitute predicates) is that of official style: labels, price tags and entries in registers, inventory sheets or stock lists. Traditionally, adjectives in such text types are in postposition and are read with phrasal intonation: *čaj cejlonskij, kolbasa «doktorskaâ», tvorog razvesnoj.* However, it is hardly possible to consider these as instances of predication. In the Academy of Science's *Ruskaâ grammatika*, also cited above, the following is stated in relation to this point: «Postpositioning of the adjective is normal for terms when classifying varieties of objects which belong to one common class. Here the noun denotes a generic notion while the adjective is a marker of type: *šalfej lekarstvennyj, šalfej krasnyj, šalfej muskatnyj, šalfej lugovoj*; in the names of goods: *marmelad âbločnyj, šokolad soevyj, maslo vologodskoe, skrepki kancelârskie*» [Academy of Sciences of the USSR 1980: § 2152]. The marker of type's denotative function does not offer sufficient grounds for the adjective to be considered a predicate. However, it would be inappropriate to consider such instances to be ones of attribute inversion: the stressing and the clear functional loading of the adjective repudiate this. In this case, the adjective is neither attribute nor predicate. It is likely that this is an instance similar to apposition:

Roman «Voskresenie». Gazeta «Izvestiâ». What we actually have here is a form of identification: *Šalfej krasnyj. Tvorog razvesnoj.* In such situations, the functional loading of the adjective, placed in postposition and stressed, is two-fold: for making it easier for the customer to quickly recognise the type of product (here it is enough to look at the final word on the label or price tag) and for retaining a pristine form of formal bureaucratic style.

It is possible to observe an opposite regularity: an adjective not being stressed does not necessarily mean that it takes on the role of an inverted attribute. Thus, in situations where the sentence is an explanation of some occurrence (*delo v tom, čto...*) or a reproduction (or mimicry) of someone else's speech, the adjective can occur as an unstressed predicate. Such an interpretation is at least possible (detailed examples have been reviewed above): *Počemu on stonet? – Ranenie tâželo!* or *Tože mne, lentâj! Slyhali? Zadačka trudnaâ!* The ascribing of a marker (*tâželo, trudnaâ*) to an object (*ranenie, zadačka*) does not actually occur in these sentences. The dynamic attribution of a marker, expressed by an adjective, to an object, expressed by a noun, occurred a step earlier, and this step is not reflected in speech. In such examples we can observe «removed» predication – the trace of predication, which was established before the creation of the texts at hand. However, removed predication is nevertheless predication and does not become nomination. Although they are not stressed, the adjectives here do not move into the class of attribute, but remain predicates. However, there is another account which is permissible: the irrelevancy of predication, its «removed character», allows for the sentence of this type to be regarded as a nominal one. Here we are dealing with transitional or border-line phenomena, which cannot be placed into the framework of just one or another class. There is a multitude of phenomena like this in language.

We have now examined instances where the adjective in postposition in relation to the noun in two-word sentences is interpreted either as an inverted attribute (and the sentence as a whole as a mononuclear nominal sentence), or as a predicate (as a nominal part of a compound nominal predicate) of a two-member sentence, and we have established that making corresponding decisions is based primarily on semantic factors. These decisions are determined by the semantics of the adjective, its interaction with the semantics of the noun as well as the function of the sentence in its context (for example, clarification, reproduction of someone else's words or urgent introduction to a situation). Idiomat-ics are important for making these decisions, but their influence in defining the semantic role of adjectives in the type of two-word sentences examined is not clear-cut: with idioms, there is a varying level of freedom to move the adjective in relation to the noun and to shift phrasal stress. The simple factor of rhythm can also have a role to play in such decisions; however, the presence of this factor is far from commonplace in texts.

Two-word sentences with the adjective in postposition were selected as the object of investigation not by chance: short syntactic units from the flow of speech can demonstrate, in a condensed manner, the full extent of the role of semantics in determining the placement of phrasal stress as well as locating the predicate when discerning the meaning of a written text. Regardless of the fact that the sufficiently well-researched factors of «contrast» and «established and

new topics» play a substantial role in this process, they are by no means the only factors present, and in a large amount of textual materials they are completely absent. This, nonetheless, does not interfere with our reading and understanding of such texts. It appears that the semantic factor plays a decisive role in discerning meaning, in locating the predicate and in determining the intonation pattern when reading. In contrast to the factors of «contrast» and «established and new topics», the semantic factor is inherently present in any sentence and in any segment of text.

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