On the prenominal and postnominal use of indefinite markers in Russian

The talk addresses the issue that has been not considered in the literature so far and deals with the prenominal and postnominal use of the Russian indefinite marker *odin* 'one'. As known, Russian displays a relatively free word order and allows for different ways to combine elements within the NP. The focus of the present study is on the preposition and postposition of the indefinite marker *odin* 'one' in Russian (see (1) and (2)). The main goal of the study is to investigate whether there is a difference in the use and interpretation of NPs with preposed vs. postposed *odin* 'one'. The core idea is that the NP with the preposed *odin* (i.e. a usual position) is mainly used for introduction of salient referents into the discourse space whereas the postposition of 'one' indicates the non-saliency of the corresponding referents.

The results of a pilot study (n=65 for each construction, i.e. contexts with "odin + noun" and contexts with "noun + odin") shows that referents introduced by the NP with prenominal 'one' are predominantly picked up by anaphora in the subsequent discourse (see Graph 1 in (3)). The NPs with postposed 'one' are mostly used when the referent established does not play a role in the discourse (i.e. the referent is not referred back by anaphora). Moreover, sometimes the postposition of 'one' additionally signals the speaker's aversion to speaking about the corresponding referent in more detail.

In order to account for the data, the introductive function of the preposed 'one' vs. the so called "antiintroductive" function of the postposed 'one' will be explained in the OT-style by postulating of two constraints: (i) the faithfulness constraint *Det (i.e. use the determiner for establishing referents) and (ii) the markedness constraint *[-prenominal] (i.e. avoid the marked word order). Different discourse strategies displaying by the use of different types of the Russian NP (odin + noun, bare noun, noun + odin) can also receive a pragmatic explanation whereas the "antiintroductive" function of the postnominal 'one' is derived via scalar implicature.

Furthermore, the use of other indefinites as *kakoj-to* 'some', *koe-kakoj* 'some' and *kakoj-nibud*' 'any' will be discussed. According to Bonnot (2012), the unmarked prenominal position of indefinite pronouns signals the individualization of a referent whereas the inversion of the word order within the NP indicates the "deindividualisation" and can yield a pejorative interpretation of the corresponding NP.

(1) *odin*+ noun

Ja xotela kupit' nedoroguju dačku, zanjala deneg u **odnogo znakomogo**. **On** obeščal podoždat', a bukval'no čerez nedelju potreboval vernut' dolg.

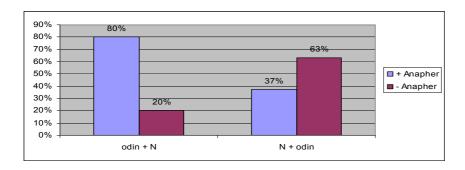
'I wanted to buy a cheap house and borrowed some money by a friend of mine. He promissed to wait but just one week later he demanded to pay the debts back." (RNC)

(2) <u>noun+ *odin*</u>

V ijune ja sobirajus' v Piter, v gosti **k znakomomu odnomu**. Sama ja obladaju izrail' skim graždanstvom, poslednie sem' let proživaju v Danii. Kak ja ponimaju, viza mne bol'še ne nužna.

'In June, I'm going to visit **one friend of mine in Petersburg**. As for me, I have a citizenship of Israel, but for the last seven years I have been living in Denmark. As far as I understand, I don't need a visa anymore.' (http://forum.awd.ru/viewtopic.php?t=70036, 17.06.2014)

(3) Graph 1. The use of anaphora with referents introduced



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(http://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/67/53/70/PDF/_N_N_N_.pdf, 20.04.2018)

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