

Implied,  
but not  
**STATED**

(Condensation in Colloquial Russian)

by  
**Mark T. Hooker**

fourth revised edition  
with answer key

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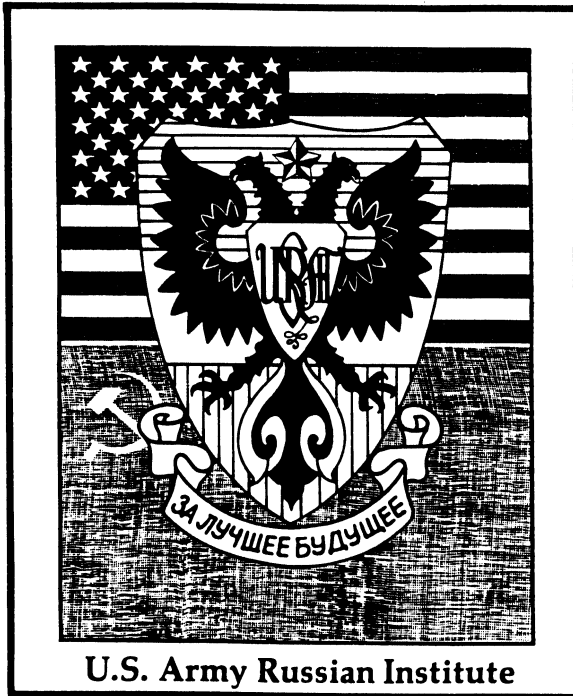
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for the first edition

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**U.S. Army Russian Institute**



## Introduction

The goal of *Implied*, but not *STATED* is to teach advanced non-native students of Russian how to deal with new words produced through the process of condensation, which is very active, not just in modern Russian, but in all modern languages. Condensates are especially difficult for non-native students to understand, because the meaning of the condensate is carried as much by what is implied by the context as it is by what is explicitly stated by the speaker. For the non-native students this is especially difficult, because they are normally so fixated on each individual word, that they cannot draw on the context of the word to recover its meaning. The nature of Russian dictionaries makes looking up condensates very frustrating for non-native speakers, because condensates are very slow to make it into dictionaries, if they make it at all.

*Implied*, but not *STATED* presents a series of models, describing how words and word collocations longer than three syllables (such as terms and verb frames) can be condensed in colloquial Russian. It then shows the student how to apply the models to recover the part(s) of condensed words or word collocations that are implied, but not explicitly stated by the speaker. The material

in the book is based on communications theory and the role of redundancy, but it is aimed at providing a practical application of the theory to a broad audience. In addition to tools for recovering the meaning of condensates, the book provides rules of thumb for determining the relative stylistic markings of these neologisms so that students can use them properly themselves. Parallels to English are drawn whenever possible to help the students better assimilate the material. The inclusion of an answer key makes it suitable for self study as well as guided classroom use.

Student critiques from the courses where this book has been used have been very positive about the material. "A course of this type was very much needed, and I hope it remains on the curriculum." "I found it highly interesting, informative and useful." "Well structured. Plenty of examples." "This is the first course I've taken that really addresses colloquial Russian." "I liked learning about condensates in general. Now I keep finding them in English." "I liked learning about the ways things are carried in dictionaries and the way they change with time."

The approach used in this course is predicated on the perception that non-native students normally begin their studies of the language with Codified Standard Russian (CSR) [i.e. the way that Russians write, not the way they talk]. Therefore, Colloquial Russian (CR) is presented as a modification of CSR with which the student is already familiar. The course shows how CSR constructions are changed into colloquial constructions by the omission of elements from the CSR constructions. To a native speaker the omitted elements are implied by the remaining portion of the construction, but to a non-native student of the language these "missing" elements are a great source of confusion. The course presents a series of models to help the non-native student "reconstruct" more familiar CSR constructions from condensed colloquial variants.

The models rely on the concept of syntactic zero ( $\emptyset$ ). It is used in the models just like zero is used in mathematics, as a place holder. It marks the place of the omitted part of a large linguistic unit that has been condensed. The use of syntactic zero ( $\emptyset$ ) is most easily demonstrated in a term, a large linguistic unit that conforms to the model [modifier + noun]. In CSR both elements of the model are necessary to carry the meaning of the term, but in CR it is possible to reduce one of the elements to  $\emptyset$ , leaving the other to carry the full meaning of the term. In CR the modifier [(modifier >

Ø + noun] or the noun [modifier + (noun > Ø)] can be reduced to syntactic zero to form a condensed term. For example: the CSR complex term сахарный песок—granulated sugar—can be reduced to the CR condensed term Ø песок, or the CSR complex term сборная команда—all-star team—can be reduced to the CR condensed term сборная Ø.

The course begins with a study of the terms from which one or more elements have been “omitted” and progresses to the omission of elements from verb frames and fixed expressions, concluding with a survey of asyndetic constructions and contractions.

# Symbols and Abbreviations

Даль	<i>Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка</i> (в 4-х томах), изд. «Русский язык», Москва, 1981
Ожегов	<i>Словарь русского языка</i> , изд. «Русский язык», unless otherwise specified, the 13 <sup>th</sup> printing, 1981
Ожегов/Шведова	<i>Толковый словарь русского языка</i> , изд. «АЗЪ», unless otherwise specified, the 4 <sup>th</sup> printing, 1997
Ушаков	<i>Толковый словарь русского языка</i> (в 4-х томах), изд. «ОГИЗ», Москва, 1935
CR	Colloquial Russian
CSR	Codified Standard Russian
∅	syntactic zero
∅s	syntactic zero as the subject of a verb frame
∅v	syntactic zero as the verb of a verb frame
∅c	syntactic zero as the complement of a verb frame
∅x	syntactic zero as a part of a fixed expression
(∅)	theoretical syntactic zero
>	becomes
(NOUN > ∅)	NOUN becomes syntactic zero, i.e. is implied
(NOUNS > s)	a plural NOUN is reduced to its plural ending
<	is derived from
adj+noun	analytic adjective
AB/C/	ABC is truncated to AB
ádj/ective/	an adjective is truncated to the accented syllable
[ ]	model boundaries

# Models

Term	[modifier + noun]
Noun Condensates	[(modifier > Ø) + noun]
Adjective Condensates	[adjective + (noun > Ø)]
Suffixed Adjective Condensates (-ка)	[ádj/ective/ + (noun > Ø) + -ка]
Suffixed Adjective Condensates (-ик)	[adj/ective/ + (noun > Ø) + -ик]
Unsuffixes Adjective Condensates	[ádj/ective/ + (noun > Ø)]
Analytic Adjectives	[adj+noun]
Verb Frames	[subject + verb + complement]
Subject Condensates	[(subject > Øs) + verb + complement]
Complement Condensates	[subject + verb + (complement > Øc)]
Verb Condensates	[subject + (verb > Øv) + complement]
Asyndetic Constructions	[clause + (conjunction > Ø) + clause]
Word Collocation	([word + word] frequency of use together)



## Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	iii
Introduction	v
Symbols and Abbreviations	viii
Models	ix
1. Noun Condensates	1
2. Adjective Condensates in CSR	13
3. Adjective Condensates in CR	33
4. Suffixed Adjective Condensates (-ка)	53
5. Suffixed Adjective Condensates (-ик)	75
6. Unsuffixed Adjective Condensates	99
7. Analytic Adjectives & Truncated Nouns	119
Summary/Review	125
8. Dictionaries as History	135

9. Verb Frames	145
Subject Condensates	
Complement Condensates	
10. Verb Condensates	153
Adverbial Verb Condensates	
11. Verb Condensates	163
Oblique-Object Condensates	
Direct-Object Condensates	
12. Compound-Complement Verb Condensates	173
Review Exercise	181
13. Fixed Expressions	187
14. Asyndetic Constructions	197
15. Contractions	205
Source Abbreviations	213
Selected Bibliography	219
Answer Keys	223
Index of Condensates	259

## Noun Condensates

When the modifier in a term [modifier + noun] is replaced with **syntactic zero** ( $\emptyset$ ), leaving the noun to carry the whole meaning of the full collocation [(modifier >  $\emptyset$ ) + noun], the resulting condensed term is called a **noun condensate**.

[(modifier > $\emptyset$ )	+	noun]	
(военный)		городок	- a military base, community
(почтовая)		марка	- postage stamp
(сахарный)		песок	- granulated sugar
(электрическая)		плитка	- hot plate
(губная)		помада	- lipstick
(медицинская)		сестра	- medical nurse
(художественная)		самодеятельность	- amateur performance
(повышенная)		температура	- fever, elevated temperature
(Советский)		Союз	- Soviet Union
(иностранный (-ые))		язык(и)	- foreign language(s)
(детские)		ясли	- day care center

[noun + (modifier > Ø)]

анализ	(крови)	- blood test
аттестат	(зрелости)	- high school diploma
батарея	(парового отопления)	- radiator
номер	(телефона)	- telephone number
органы	(государственной безопасности)	- KGB
порок	(сердца)	- heart problem
разрядка	(международных напряжённостей)	- detente
срок	(тюремного заключения)	- prison term
таблица	(умножения)	- multiplication table

[(modifier > Ø) + noun + (modifier > Ø)]

(Коммунистическая) Партия (Советского Союза) - CPSU

Russian **noun condensates** are stylistically similar to their English counterparts.

[(modifier > Ø)	+	noun]
(traffic)		light
(lawn)		tennis
(blue)		jeans
(french)		fries
(milk)		shake
(news)		paper
(chewing)		gum
(World Wide)		Web

In her translation of *The Lord of the Rings*, V.A. Matorina uses a **noun condensate** to replace Tolkien's two parallel, but unrelated Hobbit names for tobacco: "pipe-weed" or "leaf."

Если уж зашла речь о старом Хоббитшире, стоит вспомнить о странном обычае хоббитов вдыхать через глиняные или деревянные трубки дым от тлеющих листьев растения, которое так и называлось **трубочным зельем** или просто **зельем**, вероятно, разновидность никотианы. (emphasis added)

Her connection of the two names with или просто is probably the best explanation of what a **noun condensate** is. It is a simpler way to say what is meant by the longer collocation. The need to have a simpler way to say something comes from a sort of built-in linguistic laziness. In the colloquial register of language, people like to “keep it short,” compared to professors and politicians, who sometimes seem to use more words than necessary to get their point across.

For example: in Russian—as well as in English—having a “temperature” is synonymous with having a fever. The problem is that, logically, everyone has a temperature, normally 98.6°F/37°C. It is only when someone has a temperature above 98.6°F/37°C that it becomes a fever. Therefore, when it is said that someone has a “temperature,” what is really meant is that they have an elevated temperature (повышенная температура). The reason that hardly anybody says “elevated temperature” is that it is a lot longer (four syllables) than just saying “temperature.” If you are a nurse and have to say “elevated temperature” 50 times a day, you can save 200 syllables (more than some people say in a whole day), if you only say “temperature” instead. Weathermen find that even saying “temperature” is too much, and often shorten it to just “temp.” The tendency to reduce a long word or collocation to the **minimum unambiguous length** is called the **law of conservation of linguistic energy**.

Long words and word collocations can be condensed to their **minimum unambiguous length** because of the amount of redundant information in language. Linguistic **redundancy** is what helps you understand what someone is saying in a noisy room. Even if you cannot understand every word that the speaker said, you can still understand the utterance, because of the built-in redundancy of the language.

The frequency with which words are used together in a collocation is one type of redundancy. The more often that they are used together, the higher the probability that they will be used together again. This makes it possible to reduce one (or more) of the words in the collocation to **syntactic zero** (∅) and let the remaining word carry the full semantic load. The frequent collocation of words in a given context creates an expectation of their collocation in the listener’s/reader’s mind in that context. Once that expectation exists, the collocation is really redundant and one (or more) of the

words in it can be reduced to  $\emptyset$ , in most cases, without the listener/reader even noticing that something is “missing.” In actuality, it is only in terms of the standard codified language—the language of dictionaries and written texts and the language that students first learn—that something is missing.

Note in the article for температура in Ожегов/Шведова, that this usage is marked as a conversational (разг.) variant.

ТЕМПЕРАТУ́РА, -ы, ж. 1. Величина, характеризующая степень нагретости чего-н. Высокая т. Низкая т. Средняя годовая т. Т. плавления. 2. Степень теплоты человеческого тела как показатель состояния здоровья. Повышенная т. Нормальная т. Измерить температуру. 3. Повышенная теплота тела как показатель нездоровья (разг.) Ходить с температурой. У больного т. || прил. температурный, -ая, -ое.

Word collocations can have different frequencies of occurrence in different contexts. What is redundant in one context is probably not redundant in another. That is why dictionaries, which generally exist outside of any context, have the entire collocation instead of just the condensate. Taken out of context, it is possible for a condensed collocation to have a number of homonyms. For example:

The Times [The (modifier >  $\emptyset$ ) Times] is a newspaper, but is it:

$$\frac{\text{The Times}}{\text{noun}} + \frac{(\text{of London} > \emptyset)}{+ (\text{modifier} > \emptyset)} \text{ or is it}$$

$$\frac{\text{The (New York} > \emptyset)}{(\text{modifier} > \emptyset)} + \frac{\text{Times}}{+ \text{noun}} ?$$

In a conversation this confusion can be easily overcome by asking the speaker to clarify his term. However, when you are not a party to the conversation—reading it in a book for example—you cannot ask what the speaker/writer meant. In cases like that, you have to resort to the physical context of the conversation to resolve the question of which  $\emptyset$ -paper is meant by the condensed term: “The Times.” When asked in New York, the question of whether one has read the editorial in “The Times” will be unambiguous,

unless, of course, it is asked by the British representative to the UN.

When the physical context is not sufficient to clarify a term, then the context of the surrounding text has to be considered. For example:

Натка отправилась с коротким рапортом о делах минувшего дня к старшему вожатому всего Ø лагеря. (Гайдар)

What kind of camp did Натка made a report about? Was it a:

- пионерский лагерь - a Young Pioneers' camp [Soviet boy/girl scouts camp],
- социалистический лагерь - The Socialist camp [a political term],
- исправительно-трудовой лагерь - a Corrective Labor camp [for convicts sentenced to hard labor], or
- лагерь военнопленных - a Prisoner of War camp,
- туристический лагерь - a Tourist camp,
- лагерь беженцев - a Refugee camp?

In the proper context, лагерь can be a **noun condensate** representing any of the collocations above. In this example, the word вожатый is the key to the solution. Вожатый is used almost exclusively to mean a Young Pioneer leader (пионер-вожатый). The only other meanings of вожатый are a guide, who shows you the way, and a driver of a tram or streetcar. With that information, it is possible to conclude that Натка made a report about the activities that had taken place in a Young Pioneers' Camp. Вожатый is out of place in all the other contexts.

Native speakers reconstruct condensates not so much with a set of concrete rules or with a set of data arranged logically, but with a feeling derived from a vague memory of how the condensate and the corresponding full collocation have been used before. This feeling is derived from having heard or read the condensate and collocation a large number of times. Non-native students of the

language have usually not had the time to develop their own fuzzy data base of prior usage and are therefore handicapped when it comes to dealing with condensates. Dictionaries are not always as helpful as you need them to be when you are trying to reconstruct a condensate. The World Wide Web, however, gives the non-native speaker another way to approach the problem. The Web is a repository of large amounts of text in all registers of the language, including colloquial. It can serve non-native speakers as their own fuzzy—because it is constantly changing—data base of contexts and frequency of collocation.

Rambler is a Russian-aware (i.e. it knows about Russian declensions and upper and lower case pairs) search engine for the Russian Web. Its URL is:

`<http://www-koi8-r.rambler.ru/>`

A search for a word on Rambler will often provide a large enough number of hits to approximate the native speaker's fuzzy idea of the context(s) in which a condensate is used. The article in Ожегов/Шведова for резинка is not very helpful in figuring out what the condensate means in the example below.

- Желаете Ø резинку? - негромко спрашивает он, глядя в сторону.  
 — Чего? — переспрашиваю я.  
 — Ха! Салага. Ты хочешь жевать или нет? — усмехается он. — Имею заграничный товар “люкс”. КВС-11/64

Ожегов/Шведова defines резинка as:

- РЕЗИНКА, -и, ж. 1. То же, что ластик (во 2 знач.). 2. Тесёмка на резиновой основе или резиновая нитка. 3. Особый вид растягивающейся вязки. Чулки в резинку. || прил. резиновый, -ая, -ое.

None of those meanings (1. eraser 2. elastic 3. stretch-knit) seem to fit the context of the example. A search for резинка on Rambler, however, produces a number of collocations that are not listed in the Ожегов/Шведова article.

Search Term	Total hits	Percent of hits for резинка
резинка	1 235	100%
жевательная резинка	694	56%
жев. резинка	27	2%
стирательная резинка	17	1.3%
резинка от трусов	32	2.6%
аптечная резинка (rubber band)	3	0.0024%

The Web is a moving target and today's results are often different from tomorrow's. This search was made in late August 1999.

It is not hard to see that the two collocations for жевательная резинка (chewing gum), with a combined 58% of the total hits, are the most common usage on the Web. It also seems to fit the context of the example perfectly, because part of that context for the condensate is the verb жевать. Drawing on a much-less exact “fuzzy” data base and comparing the results with the context, a native speaker would comprehend the question in the example as: Желаете (жевательную > Ø) резинку?

## Exercise 1 (key on page 223)

The first column contains modifiers that are part of word collocations represented by the **noun condensates** in the second column. Indicate:

- 1) which modifier is frequently collocated with which noun.
- 2) if the collocation is part of the definition in one of the dictionaries listed.

<u>Modifiers</u>	<u>Noun Condensates</u>
1. губная •	_____ • давление
2. детские •	_____ • карточки
3. иностранные •	_____ • колония
4. исправительно-трудовая •	_____ • лагерь
5. международных напряженностей	
6. пионерский •	_____ • машинка
7. пишущая •	_____ • песок
8. повышенное кровяное •	_____ • помада
9. продовольственные •	_____ • разрядка
10. сахарный •	_____ • языки
11. швейная •	_____ • ясли

Ожегов 1. \_ 2. \_ 3. \_ 4. \_ 5. \_ 6. \_ 7. \_ 8. \_ 9. \_ 10. \_ 11. \_

Смирницкий 1. \_ 2. \_ 3. \_ 4. \_ 5. \_ 6. \_ 7. \_ 8. \_ 9. \_ 10. \_ 11. \_

Oxford 1. \_ 2. \_ 3. \_ 4. \_ 5. \_ 6. \_ 7. \_ 8. \_ 9. \_ 10. \_ 11. \_

Exercise 2 (key on page 223)

The first column contains modifiers that are part of word collocations represented by the **noun condensates** in the second column. Indicate:  
 1) which modifier is frequently collocated with which noun.  
 2) if the collocation is part of the definition in one of the dictionaries listed.

<u>Modifiers</u>	_____•	<u>Noun Condensates</u>
1. водительские •	_____•	автомат
2. госбезопасности •	_____•	аттестат
3. детский •	_____•	воды
4. запретная •	_____•	зона
5. зрелости •	_____•	книжка
6. минеральные •	_____•	права
7. почтовая •	_____•	марка
8. сберегательная •	_____•	органы
9. телефон- •	_____•	розыск
10. уголовный •	_____•	сад
11. художественная	_____•	самодеятельность

Ожегов 1. \_ 2. \_ 3. \_ 4. \_ 5. \_ 6. \_ 7. \_ 8. \_ 9. \_ 10. \_ 11. \_

Смирницкий 1. \_ 2. \_ 3. \_ 4. \_ 5. \_ 6. \_ 7. \_ 8. \_ 9. \_ 10. \_ 11. \_

Oxford 1. \_ 2. \_ 3. \_ 4. \_ 5. \_ 6. \_ 7. \_ 8. \_ 9. \_ 10. \_ 11. \_

## Exercise 3 (key on page 224)

In each of the sentences below Ø has been inserted to show the place where a modifier would have been, if the full collocation had been used.

Reconstruct the full collocation.

1. У меня в Ø ручке кончились чернила.
2. У вас красивый голос. А в Ø самодеятельности институтской вы почему не участвуете? Я ни разу не видел вас на концертах.  
БВ-55
3. Он член Ø Партии Ø с 18-ого года.
4. Батареи Ø едва дышали теплом, а на улице — градусов 26 Ø, если не все 30. СОЧ-16/1
5. В детстве я увлекался коллекционированием Ø марок.
6. Ø сестра в моей палате была просто замечательная. PPP-421
7. Что это за специалисты без Ø языка? PPP-421
8. Повесив Ø трубку, я выхожу из будки Ø автомата ...  
ПЕТ-4/51/1
9. Я пойду — от греха подальше ... с такими можно запросто срок Ø схватить.
10. Ох, уж эти ребята из Ø розыска, от них невозможно ничего скрыть. КВС-12/67/2
11. На свою беду, туда заглянул Пеликан, тоже судимый, только из другого района, но знавший Савву по зоне Ø. ЦЛ-346
12. А там, у них, на поверхности — шум, крики, все бегут! У них вечно что-то горит. То пожар, то наводнение, то создают Ø предпосылки, то ликвидируют последствия. ОЖИ-22
13. Со Ø зрением в армию не берут. PPP-422

14. На Лене все та же скромная белая кофточка, темная юбка и никаких украшений, губы не тронуты Ø помадой. КВС-11/61
15. Я попросил у матери две тысячи – я же знаю, сколько у них с отцом лежит на Ø книжке! Что они будут делать с этими деньгами? Кому они копят? ЖУР-116
16. — Сахар у вас есть?  
— Только Ø песок. PPP-421
17. (На школьном выпуске)  
Ученики подходили к столу и получали свидетельства Ø.  
РАК-122
18. Дети в Ø лагере отдыхают. ИЩИ-10/45
19. Нужно просто поехать к Вите и рассказать ему обо всем. Но поехать осторожно — проверить, нет ли слежки. Не зря Лена дочь начальника Ø лагеря — ее так просто не проведешь, она все милицейские штучки знает. ЖУР-168
20. Дома было уютно, мирно, славно, пахло как до войны, когда жили без Ø карточек. ТРИ-101/1
21. Двадцать пятого мая состоялась встреча Леонида Ильича Брежнева с премьер-министром Анголы, который находится в нашей стране с официальным визитом. Во время встречи было подчеркнуто историческое значение сплоченности мирового социализма в борьбе за дальнейшее углубление разрядки Ø в интересах упрочнения мира. Радио Москва
22. — Слышь, Казанова, мне снова эксперт звонил, панику поднял. На вчерашнем убийстве снова тот же отпечаток Ø нашли.  
— И где же?  
— На этот раз на стакане с лекарством. ВВЧЖ-366
23. Не стройте из себя подругу-героиню. Мы живем под одним небом и дышим одним воздухом. Если потом появятся всякие глупые угрызения Ø, можешь придти ко мне, я отпущу тебе все грехи и выдам индульгенцию. ВВЧЖ-394

24. И среди местного населения, живущего разведением оленей и потреблением огненной воды и все еще обсуждающего побег Керенского в Гатчину, 1 мая и 7 ноября не праздновались, не говоря уж о демонстрациях трудящихся, приветственных письмах покорителям космоса, телеграммах о перевыполнении Ø и месте в Совете старейшин. СОН-9
25. Утро начинается со Ø звонка начальника: «Сегодня же мне на стол отчёт!», опрометчиво кричит в Ø трубку. НЮП
26. Я не могу прочесть информацию на нескольких дискетах. У меня там заготовки статей, почти готовая диссертация. А через неделю у меня защита Ø. НЮП
27. Что я могу сказать? Несомненно, очень образованная женщина. Четыре Ø языка, поистине энциклопедические знания, но в обыденной жизни, наоборот, человек до обидного наивный и где-то даже неприспособленный. ВВЧЖ-363
28. На остановке Ø было грязно. У поребрика собралась огромная лужа. Пассажиры при виде приближающегося автобуса предусмотрительно отхлынули от проезжей части, после чего началась всегдашняя давка. ВВЧЖ-381
29. Дорога ведет в Ø зону. Там Ø городок стоит такой.
30. Температура у меня оказывается нормальной, и я чуть искательно говорю Ø сестре:  
— Штаны бы хоть вернули. Встать хочется.  
— И даже не говори, — начинает сердиться она. — Через час обход Ø, вот тогда и проси свои штаны. КВС-12/79

## Adjective Condensates in CSR

Reducing the number of language units in a collocation used as a term [adjective + noun] by substituting syntactic zero ( $\emptyset$ ) for the noun in the term [adjective + (noun >  $\emptyset$ )] has long been an active process in Russian. When a term is condensed in this way, it is referred to as an **adjective condensate**.<sup>1</sup>

<u>adjective</u>	+	<u>(noun &gt; <math>\emptyset</math>)</u>
леший		(дух)
закладная		(квитанция)
слабительное		(лекарство)
суточные		(деньги)

Compare the English:	danish	(pastry)
	pickup	(truck)
	contact	(lens)
	Pulitzer	(prize)

<sup>1</sup> Conventional grammars refer to adjectives used in this way in CSR as substantives or as nominals.