

Syntactic variation in expressive size suffixes: A comparison of Russian, German, and Spanish¹

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This article presents evidence for syntactic variation in the manner and place of attachment of expressive size suffixes in Russian, German, and Spanish. Steriopolo (2008, 2009) argued that Russian size suffixes are syntactic modifiers that attach only to a noun category. Steriopolo (2013) and Wiltschko and Steriopolo (2007) showed that similarly to Russian, German size suffixes attach to a noun category. However, unlike in Russian, they are syntactic heads, and thus, they are different in the manner of syntactic attachment. This article shows that the Spanish size suffix -(c)it is a syntactic modifier, just like Russian size suffixes. However, unlike Russian size suffixes, it can attach to various syntactic categories. Thus, it differs in the place of syntactic attachment. These findings have important implications for form/function mapping in the realm of categorization (Wiltschko 2014). They show that within a single class of expressive size suffixes, the same function does not map onto the same form. Cross-linguistically, expressive size suffixes have the same meaning (or function); however, they differ significantly in their syntactic structures (or form). Thus, there is no 1:1 correlation between form and function of expressive size suffixes across languages.

Keywords: *evaluative (expressive) morphology, syntax, syntactic variation, suffixes*

1. Introduction

Evaluation is a mental process by which objects are assessed from the point of view of quantity (big vs. small) or quality (good vs. bad). Evaluative (or *expressive*) morphology derives words that express these concepts. Different terminology is used to describe such morphological derivations: evaluative, expressive, emotive, appreciative, extra-grammatical, etc. Some of these terms overlap, others mean slightly different concepts. Here I use the terms *evaluative* and *expressive* interchangeably. The most productive word-formation process in expressive morphology across languages is suffixation, followed by prefixation, then reduplication (Körtvélyessy 2012). In this article, I analyze the process of expressive suffixation in three Indo-European languages: Russian, German, and Spanish.

In previous papers (Steriopolo 2008, 2009), I showed that there are two classes of expressive suffixes in Russian: attitude and size suffixes. Attitude suffixes consistently express an attitude (affectionate vs. derogatory) towards the referent, while size suffixes consistently refer to the size of the referent (diminutive vs. augmentative). In addition, they can also express an attitude. The two classes of suffixes differ syntactically in their place and manner of attachment in a syntactic tree. Attitude suffixes are syntactic heads that can attach either to $\sqrt{\text{roots}}$ or to syntactic categories, while size suffixes are syntactic modifiers that can only attach to a noun category. The question arises as to whether it is true cross-linguistically. Is it the case that attitude suffixes are consistently heads and size suffixes are consistently modifiers across languages?

An analysis of the German diminutive suffixes *-chen* and *-lein* (Steriopolo 2013; Wiltschko and Steriopolo 2007) shows that the suffixes have a different manner of

attachment, when compared with the Russian size suffixes. The German suffixes attach as syntactic heads, while the Russian ones attach as syntactic modifiers. This shows variation in the manner of syntactic attachment of expressive suffixes across languages. The question remains whether there is also variation in the place of syntactic attachment.

In this article, I show that the answer to this question is affirmative. I analyze a productively used size suffix *-(c)it* in Spanish and argue that the suffix can attach to various syntactic categories, not just to nouns as in Russian. This illustrates variation in the place of syntactic attachment of expressive suffixes.

This article presents evidence for cross-linguistic differences in terms of the manner and place of syntactic attachment in expressive size suffixes. Thus, it contributes to a discussion of form-function correspondence between syntactic categories (Wiltschko 2014). It shows that although expressive size suffixes have the same meaning (or *function*) across languages, they significantly differ in their syntax (or *form*). It illustrates that, cross-linguistically, there is no 1:1 correlation between form and function of expressive size suffixes.

2. Theoretical assumptions

2.1 Theoretical framework

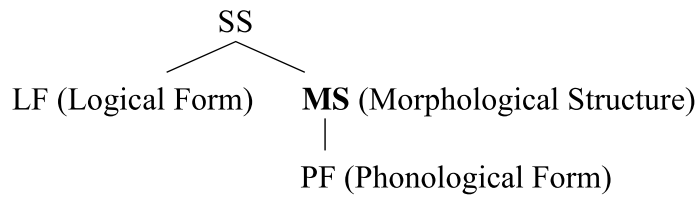
There has been extensive discussion in the literature concerning derivational vs. inflectional status of expressive morphology (Anderson 1982; Bauer 1997; Beard 1998; Bybee 1985; Dressler and Barbaresi 1994; Fortin 2011; Grandi 2011; Scalise 1984; Stump 1993; Wierzbicka 1989; among many others). Expressive word-formation, including suffixation, has been repeatedly shown as behaving neither like pure derivation, nor like pure inflection. For this reason, it has been proposed that expressive morphology has a unique position—it is a special third morphology with its own unique principles (Bauer 1997; Scalise 1984). Here I assume the Principles and Parameters framework, which adopts the Universal Base hypothesis (Chomsky 1995a, 1995b, 2001). In particular, I assume a model of grammar in which syntax and morphology are analyzed as a single engine, as in the framework of Distributed Morphology (DM). DM regards inflection and derivation not as primitives, but as derived notions, and thus, there is no need to assume a special status of expressive morphology.

The first work within the DM framework was a doctoral dissertation by Bonet on Catalan opaque clitics (1991), followed by a well-known article by Halle and Marantz on DM and the pieces of inflection (1993). The DM framework was further developed in Halle (1997), Marantz (1997), Harley and Noyer (1999, 2003), Marantz (2001), Bobaljik (2002), Marvin (2002), Arad (2003), Embick and Noyer (2005), Müller (2005), and Halle and Matushansky (2006), among others.

The central claim of DM is that there is no unified Lexicon. The functions of the Lexicon are *distributed* among other components of the grammar. DM adopts the basic organization of a Principles-and-Parameters grammar, adding the level of Morphological Structure (MS) as the interface between syntax and phonology (1). It separates the terminal elements (or *morphemes*) involved in the syntax from the phonological realization of these elements. The morphemes that comprise words are empty of phonological information until

after the syntactic component has finished operating them. The morphemes are supplied with phonological features only after Vocabulary insertion at MS.

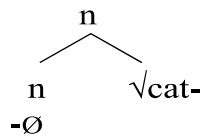
(1)



The particular assumption of DM that I adopt is that relationships between morphemes are structurally identical to relationships between words. Thus, words are built by the same principles as phrases and sentences — by syntactic principles.

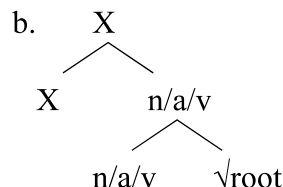
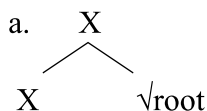
Another assumption I adopt is in regards to the treatment of $\sqrt{\text{roots}}$ and syntactic categories. $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$ are language-specific combinations of sound and meaning, such as $\sqrt{\text{break-}}$ or $\sqrt{\text{cat-}}$ in English. $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$ have no category *per se*, but can never appear ‘bare’: they have to be categorized by combining with a category-defining functional head, such as the ‘little’ *n*, *a*, or *v*, to form nouns, adjectives, or verbs, respectively. A single $\sqrt{\text{root}}$ can be assigned to more than one category, for example: *the break (noun) in the glass* and *John breaks (verb) the glass*. The category-defining functional heads are determined either by phonologically realized or zero affixes, as shown in (2).

(2)



Under the assumption that category labels are independent of $\sqrt{\text{roots}}$, two different sites for building words in the syntax are expected: (i) from $\sqrt{\text{roots}}$, and (ii) from already categorized $\sqrt{\text{roots}}$ (i.e., from syntactic categories). Thus, a category head *X* may merge either with a $\sqrt{\text{root}}$ (3a) or with a pre-existing category (3b).

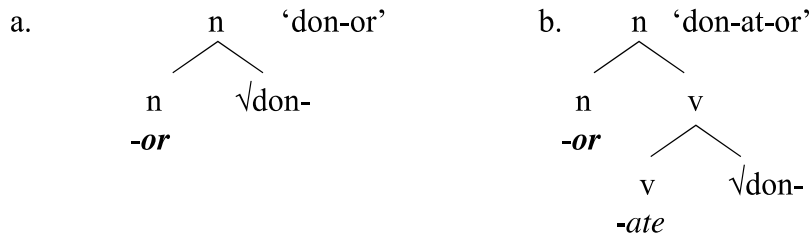
(3)



The distinction between word formation from $\sqrt{\text{roots}}$ and word formation from categories is a universal distinction, but its manifestations may differ from language to language. For example, in English, there are suffixes that can attach both to a $\sqrt{\text{root}}$ and to a category. The

nominalizing suffix *-or* is one such example: *don-or*, *don-at-or* (derived from the verb *don-ate*), as shown in (4). The current research provides additional empirical support for word formation from different syntactic categories.

(4)



2.2 Manner and place of syntactic attachment

The distinction between syntactic heads and syntactic modifiers (or *manner of syntactic attachment*) lies in the projection of category features (Schütze 1995; Bierwisch 2003; Bachrach and Wagner 2007). Heads project; thus, they determine syntactic category and grammatical features of the output (number, gender, noun class, etc.), as shown in (5a). In contrast, modifiers do not project; thus, they do not determine syntactic category or grammatical features of the output, as shown in (5b).

(5)



In addition, syntactic heads can trigger grammatical agreement with other words in a sentence and are obligatorily used, while syntactic modifiers do not trigger agreement and are optionally used.

In some languages, syntactic modifiers allow repeated application, in the sense of Scalise (1984). They allow repetition (or stacking) of the same morpheme to intensify the meaning. This is done in many, but not all languages; thus, it can be used as a diagnostic only in languages that allow repeated application. Heads, on the other hand, never use repeated application. They do not allow stacking of the same morpheme to intensify the meaning.

The diagnostics for syntactic heads vs. syntactic modifiers are given in table 1.

Diagnostics	Syntactic heads	Syntactic modifiers
1. Can they change syntactic category or grammatical features of the base?	Yes	No
2. Do they trigger grammatical agreement?	Yes	No
3. Are they obligatorily used?	Yes	No
4. Do they disallow repeated application?	Yes	No

Table 1 *Diagnostics for syntactic heads vs. syntactic modifiers*

To determine the *place of syntactic attachment*, linearity and co-occurrence of morphemes will be investigated. With respect to expressive suffixes, the question will be asked: Does an expressive suffix attach inside or outside of category-forming morphology?

3. Previous research

3.1 Russian expressive suffixes

In my previous research on form and function of expressive suffixes in Russian (Steriopolo 2008, 2009), I showed that there are two semantic types of Russian expressive suffixes: attitude and size. Attitude suffixes express attitudes and emotions, while size suffixes refer to the size of a referent and can also express attitudes and emotions at the same time. For example, in (6b), the attitude suffixes *-ul'*, *-us'*, and *-un'* express affection towards a grandfather without referring to his physical size.

(6)

- | | |
|---|--|
| a. d'ed
grandfather.masc.nom.sg
'grandfather' | b. d'ed- ul' / us' / un' -a
grandfather-attit /attit /attit-masc.nom.sg
'grandfather (affection)' |
|---|--|

In (7), the size suffix *-ec* 'diminutive' refers to the size of the referent 'brother', while at the same time expressing an affectionate attitude towards the brother.

(7)

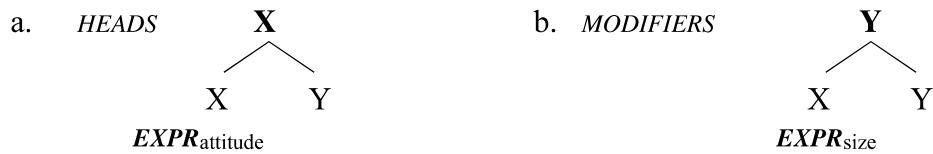
- | | |
|---|---|
| a. brat
brother.masc.nom.sg
'brother' | b. brat'- ec
brother-dim.masc.nom.sg
'little brother (size + affection)' |
|---|---|

Syntactic properties of the two semantic types of suffixes (attitude vs. size) vary along two dimensions: (i) *manner of syntactic attachment* (syntactic heads vs. syntactic modifiers) and (ii) *place of syntactic attachment* (attaching to $\sqrt{\text{roots}}$ vs. syntactic categories).

In previous work (Steriopolo 2008, 2009), I showed that attitude suffixes are syntactic heads (8a), as they can change syntactic category and grammatical features of the base,

namely grammatical gender and a noun class. In contrast, size suffixes are syntactic modifiers (8b). They cannot change syntactic category or grammatical features of the base.

(8)



For example, in (9b), the attitude suffix *-aš* changes the syntactic category from verb to noun, which a size suffix cannot do (9c).

(9)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a. ras-t'er'-á-t'
verbal.pref-lose-thematic-infin
'to lose'</p> | <p>b. ras-t'er'-áš-a
verbal.pref-lose-attit-nom.sg
'a person who loses things (affection)'</p> |
| <p>c. *ras-t'er'+(e)c/-k(a)
verbal.pref-lose-size</p> | |

The further difference in their syntactic structures is that attitude suffixes can attach either to a $\sqrt{\text{root}}$ or to a syntactic category. For example, in (10b), the attitude suffix *-ul'* attaches directly to the $\sqrt{\text{root}}$ *kras-* 'red/beauty'. In (10c), it attaches to an already nominalized $\sqrt{\text{root}}$ (noun category), as evidenced by the nominal suffix *-ot*. The diagrams below illustrate how the attitude suffix merges with a $\sqrt{\text{root}}$ (10d) and with a noun category (10e).

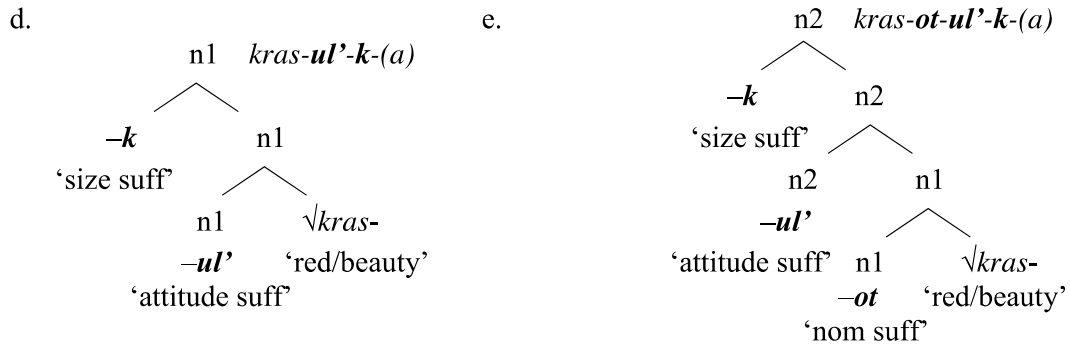
(10)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a. kras-ot-a
beauty-nom-fem.nom.sg
'beauty'</p> | <p>b. kras-ul'-a
beauty-attit-fem.nom.sg
'a beautiful person (affection)'</p> |
| <p>c. kras-ot-ul'-a
beauty-nom-attit-fem.nom.sg
'a beautiful person (affection)'</p> | |
| <p>d. Merging with a $\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}$</p> <div style="text-align: center;"> $\begin{array}{c} \text{n1} \quad \text{kras-}\mathbf{ul'}\text{-(a)} \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{n1} \quad \sqrt{\text{kras-}} \\ \mathbf{-ul'} \quad \text{'red/beauty'} \\ \text{'attitude suff'} \end{array}$ </div> | <p>e. Merging with a noun</p> <div style="text-align: center;"> $\begin{array}{c} \text{n2} \quad \text{kras-}\mathbf{ot-ul'}\text{-(a)} \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{n2} \quad \text{n1} \\ \mathbf{-ul'} \quad \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{'attitude suff'} \quad \text{n1} \quad \sqrt{\text{kras-}} \\ \mathbf{-ot} \quad \mathbf{-ot} \quad \text{'red/beauty'} \\ \text{'nom suff'} \end{array}$ </div> |

In contrast, size suffixes are noun modifiers that can only merge with a noun category, as evidenced by the fact that they always attach outside of nominal morphology (11).

(11)

- a. kras-ot-a
beauty-nom-fem.nom.sg
‘beauty’
- b. kras-ul’-k-a
beauty-attit-size-fem.nom.sg
‘a little beautiful person (size + affection)’
- c. kras-ot-ul’-k-a
beauty-nom-attit-size-fem.nom.sg
‘a little beautiful person (size + affection)’



The syntactic types of Russian expressive suffixes are presented in table 2. Out of 30 expressive suffixes that I investigated previously (Steriopolo 2008, 2009), 22 are attitude suffixes (syntactic heads) and eight are size suffixes (syntactic modifiers). The syntactic heads can merge with both $\sqrt{\text{roots}}$ and syntactic categories, while the syntactic modifiers only merge with a noun category.

	<i>Merging with $\sqrt{\text{roots}}$</i>	<i>Merging with a noun category</i>
EXPR _{attitude} (HEADS)	-an’, -aš, -on, -ul’, -un’, -ur, -us’, -uš, -ag, -ak, -al, -an, -ar, -ax, -il, -in, -ob, -ot, -ox, -ug, -uk, -ux	
EXPR _{size} (MODIFIERS)		-k/-ek/-ok/-ik; -c/-ec/-ic; -išč’

Table 2 *Syntactic types of expressive suffixes in Russian*

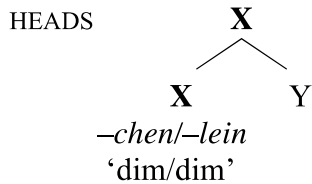
The question arises whether this is true cross-linguistically: Are attitude suffixes systematically heads and size suffixes systematically modifiers across languages?

3.2 German size suffixes

German has the following diminutive suffixes: -chen ‘dim’ and -lein ‘dim’. The first suffix is more productively used than the second one. In addition to their diminutive meaning, the suffixes can also express an affectionate attitude towards the referent.

It has been previously argued (Steriopolo 2013; Wiltchko and Steriopolo 2007) that the suffixes *-chen* and *-lein* behave as syntactic heads with the structure, as shown in (12). Evidence comes from the fact that they can change grammatical gender of the base. The suffixes always create neuter nouns, regardless of the gender of the base (see examples below).

(12)

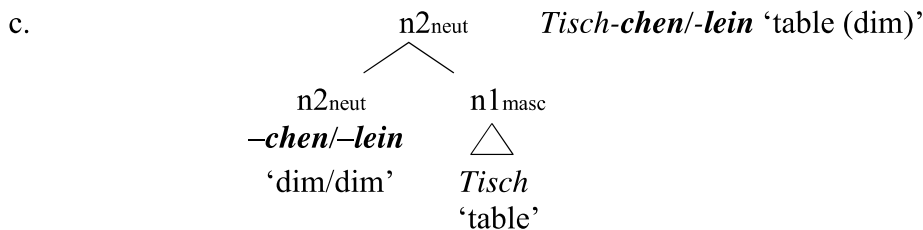


For example, in (13), the suffixes attach to a masculine noun *Tisch* 'table (masc)'. The resulting nouns *Tisch-chen* and *Tisch-lein* 'table-dim' are neuter. The same is shown for a feminine noun. In (14), the suffixes attach to a feminine noun *Flasche* 'bottle (fem)'. The resulting nouns *Fläsch-chen* and *Fläsch-lein* 'bottle-dim' are also neuter. The resulting nouns trigger neuter grammatical agreement with the determiner *das* 'the.neut' and the adjective *klein-es* 'little-neut' (13b), (14b).

(13)

masc → *neuter*

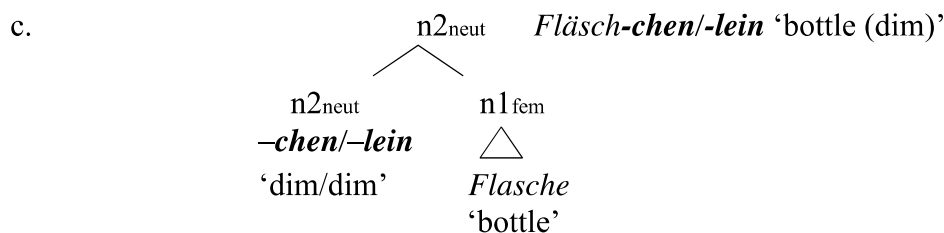
- a. *der/klein-er Tisch* b. *das/klein-es Tisch-chen/-lein*
the.masc/little-masc table *the.neut/little-neut table-dim/dim*
 'the/little table' 'the/little table (dim)'



(14)

fem → *neuter*

- a. *die/klein-e Flasche* b. *das/klein-es Fläsch-chen/-lein*
the.fem/little-fem bottle *the.neut/little-neut bottle-dim/dim*
 'the/little bottle' 'the/little bottle (dim)'



In addition, the suffix *-chen* can turn a mass noun into a count noun, thus functioning as a classifier (15b). Although a classifying function is not used as a diagnostic here, it is interesting to see how a syntactic head can also act as a classifier (see Wiltschko 2006, on the head properties of classifiers).

(15)

mass noun → *count noun*

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|--|
| a. | viel Wein
much wine
'much wine (mass noun)' | b. | viel-e Wein- chen
many-pl wine-dim
'many portions of wine (count noun)' |
|----|---|----|--|

To summarize, the German size suffixes *-chen* and *-lein* behave as syntactic heads, and are thus different from the Russian size suffixes in their manner of syntactic attachment (table 3).

Size suffixes	Manner of attachment (Syntactic modifiers)	Place of attachment (Attaching only to nouns)
<i>Russian</i> -k/-ek/-ok/-ik; -c/-ec/-ic; -išč'	Yes	Yes
<i>German</i> -chen; -lein	No They are syntactic heads	Yes

Table 3 *Syntactic variation in attachment of the size suffixes in Russian and German*

4. An analysis of the Spanish expressive suffix *-(c)it*

In §4.1, I briefly describe expressive suffixes in Spanish. In §4.2, I analyze manner of syntactic attachment of the expressive suffix *-(c)it*. In §4.3, I analyze place of syntactic attachment of this suffix. In §4.4, I present a summary of the findings.

4.1 *Spanish expressive suffixes*

Spanish is very rich in expressive suffixes that are used with different productivity, as shown in table 4. The Spanish data are from Antonio Fortin (2011 and personal communication) and from Soledad Dominguez (personal communication).

Suffix	Examples
Productive suffixes	
<i>-it-o/-it-a</i> (used with words ending in <i>-o</i> or <i>-a</i>)	rat-a 'rat' → rat-it-a ojo 'eye' → oj-it-o ceboll-a 'onion' → ceboll-it-a

-cit-o/-cit-a (used with words ending in -e or consonant)	león ‘lion’ → leon-cit-o café ‘coffee’ → cafe-cit-o
-ill-o/-ill-a	flot-a ‘fleet’ → flot-ill-a
-ín/-in-a	pequeñ-o/-a ‘little’ → pequeñ-ín(-a) muchach-o/-a ‘boy’ → muchach-ín(-a)
-et-e/-et-a	pander-o ‘tambourine’ → pander-et-a
Less productive suffixes	
-uel-o/-uel-a	poll-o ‘chicken’ → poll-uel-o
-zuel-o/-zuel-a [pejorative]	ladrón ‘thief’ → landron-zuel-o
-uc-o/-uc-a	nene ‘children’ → nen-uc-o
-uch-o/-uch-a [pejorative]	médic-o ‘doctor’ → medic-uch-o
-ij-o/-ij-a	lagart-o ‘lizard’ → lagart-ij-a ‘wall lizard’
-izn-o/-izn-a	lluv-ia ‘rain’ → llov-izna
-aj-o/-aj-a	mig-a ‘crumb’ → mig-aj-a
-in-o/-in-a	niebl-a ‘fog’ → nebl-in-a

Table 4 *Spanish expressive suffixes*

I focus on one of the most productive suffixes, the diminutive *-(c)it*. The suffix has two allomorphs: *-it* and *-cit*. The allomorph *-it* attaches to the base forms ending in *-o* or *-a*. The allomorph *-cit* attaches to the base forms ending in *-e* or a consonant. In addition to its diminutive meaning, the suffix *-(c)it* can express an emotive attitude (affectionate or derogatory) towards the referent. For example, in (16), the suffix is used on the adjective *pocho* ‘little’ referring to a very small slice of cake. Notice repetition of the suffix to intensify the diminutive meaning. Here, it is used three times to emphasize that the slice of cake should be really tiny (‘microscopic’, as a native speaker put it). In (17), the suffix is used on the noun *abuel-a* ‘grandmother’ expressing an affectionate attitude towards the grandmother. The suffix can also express a derogatory attitude, especially when used with professions, as in (18).

- (16) Podría comer un poqu-**it-it-it**-o de torta.
 could eat a little-dim-dim-dim-masc of cake
 ‘I could have a very, very little (microscopic!) cake slice.’ (diminutive)
 (Dominguez, personal communication)

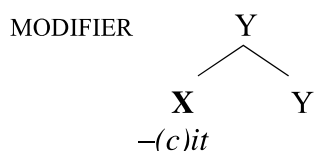
- (17) Mi abuel-**it**-a se llama Marta.
my grandmother-dim-fem self call Marta
 ‘My dear grandma is named Marta.’ (affectionate)
 (<http://www.spanish411.net/Spanish-Diminutives-Augmentatives.asp>)

- (18) No cre-o que es-e abogad-**it**-o pueda ayudarte.
not think-1sg.pres that that-masc lawyer-dim-masc can help.you
 ‘I do not think that lawyer can help you.’ (derogatory)
 (Dominguez, personal communication)

4.2 Manner of syntactic attachment

I argue that the Spanish size suffix *-(c)it* attaches as a syntactic modifier, as shown in (19).

(19)



4.2.1 The first diagnostic: Change in category or category features of the base

The expressive suffix *-(c)it* produces no change in syntactic category or grammatical features of the base. In the data below, the suffix is used on different syntactic categories: a noun (20), an adjective (21), and an adverb (22). The comparison of the (a) and (b) data shows that after attachment of the suffix, all categories remain the same. The data also show no change in grammatical features, such as gender or number.

(20) *Noun*

- a. El perr-o de Juan está enferm-o.
the.masc dog-masc of Juan is ill-masc
 ‘Juan’s dog is ill.’

- b. El perr-**it**-o de Juan está enferm-o.
the.masc dog-dim-masc of Juan is ill-masc
 ‘Juan’s little doggy is ill.’

(Fortin 2011: 31)

(21) *Adjective*

- a. El zapat-o era tan chic-o que no lo pudo calzar.
the.masc shoe-masc was so small-masc that not one could put.on
 ‘The shoe was so small that she could not put it on.’

- b. El zapat-o era tan chiqu-**it**-o que no lo pudo calzar.
the.masc shoe-masc was so small-dim-masc that not one could put.on
 ‘The shoe was so small that she could not put it on.’

(Dominguez, personal communication)

(22) *Adverb*

- a. El niñ-o es bastante grande
the.masc child-masc is quite big
'The child is quite big.'
- b. El niñ-o es bastante grande-**cit**-o
the.masc child-masc is quite big-dim-adv
'The child is quite big.' (Dominguez, personal communication)

4.2.2 *The second diagnostic: Grammatical agreement*

The expressive suffix *-(c)it* does not trigger grammatical agreement. The data below illustrate that masculine and feminine grammatical agreements do not depend on the presence of the suffix. In (23a), the noun *perr-o* 'dog-masc' triggers masculine agreement with the determiner *el* 'the.masc' and the adjective *enferm-o* 'ill-masc'. In (23b), the suffix *-(c)it* attaches to a noun, which produces no change in its gender or grammatical agreement. The data in (24) show that the same is true for the feminine noun *perr-a* 'dog-fem'. Here, too, the presence of the expressive suffix *-(c)it* does not change the gender or grammatical agreement.

- (23) a. El perr-o de Juan está enferm-o.
the.masc dog-masc of Juan is ill-masc
'Juan's (male) dog is ill.'
- b. El perr-**it**-o de Juan está enferm-o.
the.masc dog-dim-masc of Juan is ill-masc
'Juan's little (male) dog is ill.' (Fortin 2011: 31)

- (24) a. La perr-a de Juan está enferm-a.
the.fem dog-fem of Juan is ill-fem
'Juan's (female) dog is ill'.
- b. La perr-**it**-a de Juan está enferm-a.
the.fem dog-dim-fem of Juan is ill-fem
'Juan's little (female) dog is ill.' (Fortin, personal communication)

4.2.3 *The third diagnostic: Obligatoriness*

The expressive suffix *-(c)it* is used optionally. It adds an expressive meaning to a sentence, as described above. However, its presence is never obligatory. Without the presence of *-(c)it*, the sentence loses its expressive meaning; however, it remains grammatical. For example, in (25a), the suffix is used on the pronoun *nada* 'nothing', adding an expressive meaning 'nothing at all'. In (25b), the expressive suffix is omitted, which does not change any grammatical information in the sentence. The only difference between the sentences (a) and (b) is the loss of expressive meaning in (25b).

- (25) a. No te quier-o nad-**it**-a.
not you love-1sg.pres nothing-dim-adv
'I do not love you at all.'

- b. No te quier-o nad-a.
not you love-1sg.pres nothing-adv
 ‘I do not love you.’

(Dominguez, personal communication)

4.2.4 The fourth diagnostic: Repeated application

The Spanish language uses repetition of the suffix *-(c)it* productively to intensify its expressive meaning. The suffix can be used once or multiple times in the same word. In the data below, it is used once (26a), twice (26b), and three times (26c), each time intensifying the diminutive meaning.

- (26) a. Es-a cas-it-a era la más chiqu-**it**-a del barrio.
that-fem house-dim-fem was the most small-dim-fem of.the neighborhood
 ‘That little house was the smallest in the neighborhood.’
- b. Es-a cas-it-a era la más chiqu-**it-it**-a del barrio.
that-fem house-dim-fem was the most small-dim-dim-fem of.the neighborhood
 ‘That little house was the very smallest in the neighborhood.’
- c. Es-a cas-it-a era la más chiqu-**it-it-it**-a del barrio.
that-fem house-dim-fem was the most small-dim-dim-dim-fem of.the neighborhood
 ‘That little house was the tiniest in the neighborhood.’

(Dominguez, personal communication)

4.2.5 Summary

The expressive suffix *-(c)it* does not change syntactic category or grammatical features of the base. It does not trigger grammatical agreement and is used optionally. It allows repeated application to intensify the expressive meaning. Based on the diagnostics described in §2.2, it behaves as a syntactic modifier (table 5).

Diagnostics	Syntactic modifier
1. Can it change syntactic category or grammatical features of the base?	No
2. Does it trigger grammatical agreement?	No
3. Is it obligatorily used?	No
4. Does it disallow repeated application?	No

Table 5 *The Spanish expressive suffix -(c)it*

4.3 Place of syntactic attachment

The expressive suffix *-(c)it* attaches to various syntactic categories. It can attach to a noun (27a), an adjective (27b), an adverb (27c), a pronoun (27d), and a verbal participle (27e).

(27) a. *Noun*

Picasso piensa/dice que los cuadros del pint-or-**cit**-o Dalí son malos.
Picasso thinks/says that the paintings of.the painter-nom-dim-masc Dalí are bad
 ‘Picasso thinks/says that the paintings of the painter (derogatory) Dalí are bad.’
 (Fortin 2011: 30)

b. *Adjective*

La mant-a es muy cal-ent-**it**-a.
the.fem blanket-fem is very warm-adj-dim-fem
 ‘The blanket is very warm.’ (Dominguez, personal communication)

c. *Adverb*

Vuelv-o enseguid-**it**-a (ahor-**it**-a).
return-1sg.pres immediately-dim-fem (now-dim-fem)
 ‘I will be back immediately (now).’ (Fortin 2011: 37)

d. *Pronoun*

Yo trat-o de hacer algu-**it**-o cada día.
I try-1sg.pres to do something-dim-suff every day
 ‘I try to do a little something every day.’
 (<http://dictionary.reverso.net/spanish-english/alguito>)

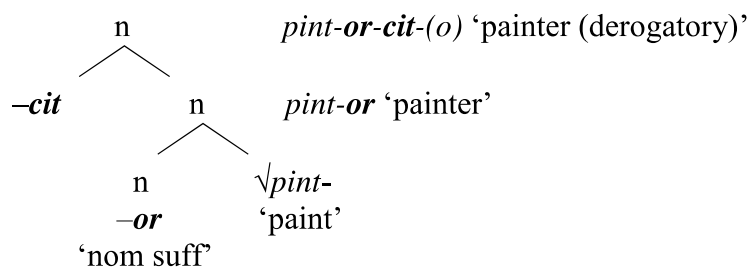
e. *Verbal participle*

El bebé se quedó dorm-id-**it**-o.
the.masc baby cl.refl stayed sleep-part-dim-masc
 ‘The baby fell asleep (affectionate).’ (Fortin 2011: 38)

4.3.1 Attachment to a nominal category

Evidence that the suffix *-(c)it* merges with a nominal category comes from the fact that it always attaches outside of nominal morphology. For example, in the noun *pint-or-cit-o* ‘paint-nom-dim-masc’ (27a) above, the expressive suffix attaches outside of the typical nominal suffix *-or*. Thus, in the diagram (28), the nominal category is formed first, as evidenced by the nominal suffix *-or*, then the expressive *-(c)it* attaches on top of the categorized noun *pint-or* ‘painter’, adding a derogatory meaning to the noun: *pint-or-cit-(o)* ‘painter (derogatory)’.

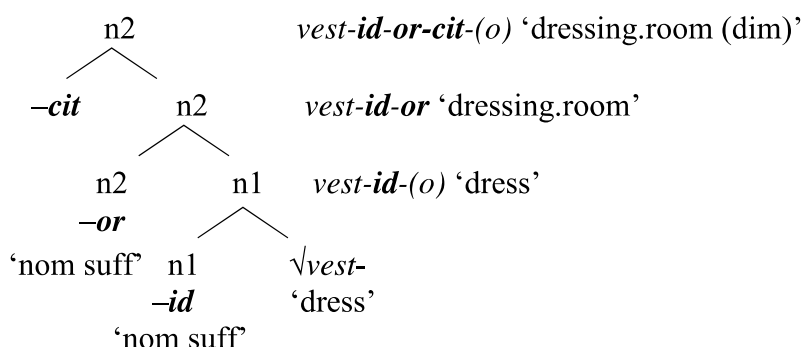
(28)



In the case of multiple nominal suffixes, the expressive *-(c)it* attaches outside all nominal morphology. It is always used after the last nominal suffix in a word. For example, in (29), first the nominal suffix *-id* attaches to the \sqrt{root} *vest-*, forming the noun *vest-id-(o)* 'dress'. Then, the nominal suffix *-or* is added on top of that noun, forming a new noun *vest-id-or* 'dressing.room'. Once all the nominal morphology is formed, the expressive suffix *-(c)it* attaches on top of it, forming a diminutive *vest-id-or-cit-(o)* 'a little dressing room'.

- (29) a. El dormitorio principal tiene un vest-id-or-cit-o.
the.masc bedroom main has a.masc dress-nom-nom-dim-masc
 'The main bedroom has a little dressing room.'
 (Dominguez, personal communication)

b.

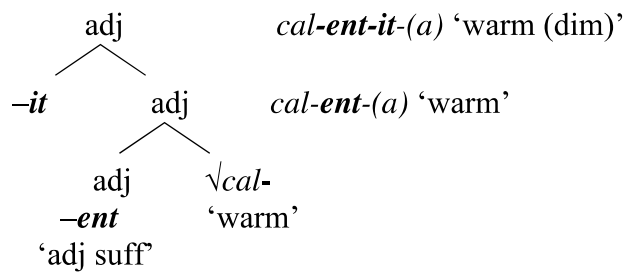


4.3.2 Attachment to an adjectival category

Evidence that the suffix *-(c)it* merges with an adjective comes from the fact that it attaches outside a category-forming adjectival suffix, as shown in (30). In (30b), a typical adjectival suffix *-ent* (or *-ient*: regional variations) is used. It attaches to the \sqrt{root} *cal-* 'warm' to form an adjective *cal-ent-(a)* 'warm'. Then the expressive suffix *-(c)it* attaches to the resulting adjective and produces a diminutive: *cal-ent-it-(a)* 'warm (dim)'.

- (30) a. La mant-a es muy cal-ent-it-a.
the.fem blanket-fem is very warm-adj-dim-fem
 'The blanket is very warm.'
 (Dominguez, personal communication)

b.

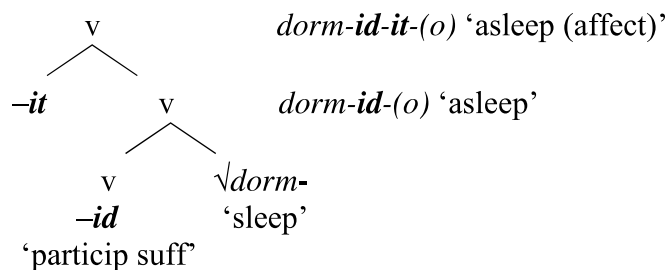


4.3.3 Attachment to a verbal category

The expressive suffix *-(c)it* can also merge with a verbal participle. In this case, the expressive suffix attaches outside of the participle suffix (31). In (31b), a typical participle suffix *-id* attaches to the *√root* *dorm-* 'sleep' to form a verbal participle *dorm-id-(o)* 'asleep'. The suffix *-(c)it* attaches on top of the resulting verbal participle *dorm-id-it-(o)* 'asleep (affect)'.

- (31) a. El bebé se quedó dorm-**id-it**-o.
the.masc baby self stayed sleep-particip-dim-masc
 'The baby fell asleep (affectionate).' (Fortin 2011: 38)

b.



4.3.4 Summary

The expressive suffix *-(c)it* can merge with different syntactic categories. The evidence comes from the fact that it always attaches outside of category-forming morphology, which was shown for the nominal, adjectival, and verbal categories.

5. Conclusions

Table 6 presents syntactic variation in the manner and place of syntactic attachment of size suffixes in three Indo-European languages: Russian, German, and Spanish.

Size suffixes	Manner of attachment (Syntactic modifiers)	Place of attachment (Attaching only to nouns)
<i>Russian</i> -k/-ek/-ok/-ik; -c/-ec/-ic; -išč'	Yes	Yes
<i>German</i> -chen; -lein	No They are syntactic heads	Yes
<i>Spanish</i> -(c)it	Yes	No It attaches to various categories

Table 6 *Syntactic variation in attachment of size suffixes in Russian, German, and Spanish*

It was previously argued that Russian size suffixes are syntactic modifiers that can attach only to a noun category (Steriopo 2008, 2009). Similarly to Russian, German size suffixes can also attach to a noun category. However, unlike in Russian, they are syntactic heads, and thus, are different in the manner of syntactic attachment (Steriopo 2013; Wiltschko and Steriopo 2007).

In this article, I have shown that the Spanish size suffix -(c)it is a syntactic modifier, similarly to the Russian size suffixes. However, unlike in Russian, it can attach to various syntactic categories. Thus, it is different in the place of syntactic attachment.

These findings have important implications for form/function mapping in the realm of categorization (Wiltschko 2014). The problem of the diversity of grammatical categories within the generative framework is among the core issues of modern linguistic theory. How can we explain the tension between language diversity and language universals? Is the same semantic ‘concept’ universally mapped onto the same syntactic category? This article shows that within a single class of expressive size suffixes, the same function does not map onto the same form. Cross-linguistically, expressive size suffixes have the same meaning (or *function*); however, they differ significantly in their syntactic structures (or *form*). Thus, there is no 1:1 correlation between form and function of expressive size suffixes across languages.

Notes

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