

# ON THE MORPHOSYNTAX OF EVALUATIVE DEVERBAL VERBS IN CATALAN AND SPANISH

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# INTRODUCTION



## Catalan

(1) a. amargotejar	cuetejar	allargassar	ploriquejar
turn bitter	wag the tail (int.)	lengthen too much	whine
b. amargar	cuejar	allargar	plorar
make bitter	wag the tail	lengthen	cry

## Spanish

(2) a. bailotear	juguetear	lloriquear	pintarrajar
dance poorly	frolic	whine	daub
b. bailar	jugar	llorar	pintar
dance	play	cry	paint

## Evaluative nominals

(3) a. peúot	petitet	donassa	torricó (CAT)
big foot	little boy	big woman	little tower
b. grandote	amiguete	gatico	tontarra (SP)
big boy	buddy	little cat	dummy

# INTRODUCTION



## Catalan

(1) a. amarg <u>ote</u> jar	cuete <u>ja</u> r	allarg <u>assa</u> r	plorique <u>ja</u> r
turn bitter	wag the tail (int.)	lengthen too much	whine
b. amargar	cue <u>ja</u> r	allargar	plorar
make bitter	wag the tail	lengthen	cry

## Spanish

(2) a. bail <u>ota</u> r	jugue <u>ta</u> r	llor <u>ique</u> ar	pinta <u>arra</u> jar
dance poorly	frolic	whine	daub
b. bailar	ju <u>ga</u> r	llorar	pinta <u>r</u>
dance	play	cry	paint

## Evaluative nominals

(3) a. pe <u>u</u> ot	petite <u>t</u>	don <u>assa</u>	torri <u>co</u> (CAT)
big foot	little boy	big woman	little tower
b. grand <u>ote</u>	amigu <u>ete</u>	gati <u>co</u>	tont <u>arra</u> (SP)
big boy	buddy	little cat	dummy

# OTHER ROMANCE LANGUAGES



- Similar verbs in Italian and French (Tovena & Kihm 2008)
  - Italian
    - (4) *mordicchiare* - *mordere* ‘nibble - bite’
  - French
    - (5) *mordiller* - *mordre* ‘nibble - bite’

# EVALUATIVE DEVERBALS?

## **Catalan**

- Fabra (1956) lists examples of both N and V under the list of intensive infixes expressing “smallness, insufficiency, excess, etc.”
- Gràcia & Turon (1997)
- Gràcia et al. (2002)
- Lloret (2015)

## **Spanish**

- Lang (1990)
- Di Tullio (1997)
- Lázaro Mora (1999)
- Fábregas (2006)
- Fábregas & Varela (2006)
- Fábregas (2017)

# GENERAL QUESTIONS



- These verbs raise questions related to the status of evaluative affixes, their internal syntax and how their syntax interfaces with their variable semantics, also in relation to their productivity.

# OPEN DEBATES



- Their status as evaluative morphemes
  - Are we dealing with a single set of evaluative morphemes that appears in nominal and verbal contexts?
- Their syntactic status
  - Are they heads or modifiers?
  - What is their attachment site?
- Their semantic interpretation
  - Are they all pluractional events?
  - Is their intensive/frequentative/iterative interpretation grammatically encoded?
- Their productivity
  - Why is and what makes the verbal context so restricted?

# Why interesting?



- Syntactically unselective or cross-categorical morphemes are remarkably interesting for a syntactic approach to morphology.

(6) *peuet* foot.**N**.DIM

*peuot / peuàs* foot.**N**.AUG

(7) *petitet* little.**A**.DIM

*grandot / grandàs* big.**A**.AUG

(8) *cuetejar* tail.**V**.DIM

*allargassar* lengthen.**V**.AUG

*menjotejar* eat.**V**.AUG

(9) *aviadet* soon.**Adv**.DIM

*aviadot* soon.**Adv**.AUG

(10) *cinquet* five.**NUM**.DIM

*cincot / cincàs* five.**NUM**.AUG

(11) *a gustet* at ease.DIM

*Déu n'hi doràs* God CL.CL give.AUG



# Why interesting?

- The existence of crosscategorical morphemes is to some extent predicted and even expected in an exo-skeletal model of word-formation like DM, where roots are not specified for category, all word building is syntactic, and differences between words and phrases are not a matter of architectural primitives (Embick 2010).

# GOALS



- Contribute Catalan data to the crosslinguistic discussion on evaluative verbs.
- Review and assess previous morphological analyses of these forms.
- Review and assess the application of recent syntactic analyses on diminutives to the analysis of these forms.

# ROMANCE EVALUATIVE VERBS



- Contribute Catalan data to the crosslinguistic discussion
  - Italian: productive evaluative system in N; numerous existing V but productivity restricted to /Vkkj/ affixes, e.g. *fumacchiare* (Tovena & Kihm 2008)
  - Spanish: productive evaluative system in the N environment, a few with alleged restricted productivity in the V environment, e.g. /Vt/ *bailotear*
  - French: no productive diminutive system in nominals (De Belder et al 2014); moderate productivity of /-aj/, /-ot/, /-uj/ in verbs, e.g. *tirailler* (Tovena & Kihm 2008)
  - Catalan: productive evaluative system in N; allegedly non-productive in V.



# Outline of the talk

## □ Introduction

- ✧ Issue

- ✧ Main questions

## □ Catalan evaluative verbs

- ✧ Catalan evaluative affixes

- ✧ Properties of evaluatives

- ✧ Previous (morphological) analyses

## □ Recent approaches to evaluative morphology

## □ Conclusions

# VERBAL EVALUATIVE SUFFIXES



1	EG	lladreguejar	thief.EV.EJAR	*lladregar * lladrar	--
2	IC	ploriquejar	cry.EV.EJAR	plorar	cry
3	UC	menjuquejar	eat.EV.EJAR	menjar	eat
4	OL	ventolejar	wind.EV.EJAR	ventar	fan
5	ALL	rondallejar	circle.EV.EJAR	rondar	circle
6	IN	plovinejar	rain.EV.EJAR	ploure	rain
7	ON	lladronejar	thief.EV.EJAR	*lladronar *lladrar	--
8	INY	corrinyar	run.EV.EJAR	córrer	run
9	ASS	vagassejar	wander.EV.EJAR	vagar	wander
10	USS	cantussejar	sing.EV.EJAR	cantar	sing
11	ISS	adormissar-se	fall.asleep.EV.AR.CL	adormir-se	fall asleep
12	ARR	pintarrejar	paint.EV.EJAR	pintar	paint
13	ET	cuetejar	tail.EV.EJAR	cuejar	wag one's tail
14	OT	amargotejar	bitter.EV.EJAR	amargar	bitter
15	ISC	nevisquejar	snow.EV.EJAR	nevar	snow
16	USC	tallusquejar	cut.EV.EJAR	tallar	cut

# EVALUATIVE SUFFIXES



D I M I N U T I V E	1	ET, ETA	llibre	book	llibret	book.DIM
	2	IC, ICA	pla	plan	planic	plan.DIM
	3	OL, OLA	bandera	flag	banderola	flag.DIM
	4	ILL, ILLA	forca	pitchfork	forquilla	fork
	5	ELL, ELLA	porta	door	portella	door.DIM
	6	I, INA	boira	fog	boirina	fog.DIM
	7	IM	pluja	rain	plugim	rain.DIM
	8	O, ONA	carrer	street	carreró	street.DIM
	9	OI, OIA	petit	little	petitoi	little.DIM
A U G	10	AS, ASSA	barca	boat	barcassa	boat.AUG
	11	ARRO, ARRA	peu	foot	peuarro	foot.AUG
P E J	12	US, USSA	gent	people	gentussa	people.PEJ
	13	OT, OTA	cuixa	thigh	cuixot	thigh.DIM

# PRODUCTIVE EVALUATIVE SUFFIXES



D I M I N U T I V E	1	<b>ET, ETA</b>	llibre	book	llibret	book.DIM
	2	IC, ICA	pla	plan	planic	plan.DIM
	3	OL, OLA	bandera	flag	banderola	flag.DIM
	4	ILL, ILLA	forca	pitchfork	forquilla	fork
	5	ELL, ELLA	porta	door	portella	door.DIM
	6	I, INA	boira	fog	boirina	fog.DIM
	7	IM	pluja	rain	plugim	rain.DIM
	8	<b>O, ONA</b>	carrer	street	carreró	street.DIM
	9	<b>OI, OIA</b>	petit	little	petitoi	little.DIM
A U G	10	AS, ASSA	barca	boat	barcassa	boat.AUG
	11	ARRO, ARRA	peu	foot	peuarro	foot.AUG
P E J	12	US, USSA	gent	people	gentussa	people.PEJ
	13	OT, OTA	cuixa	thigh	cuixot	thigh.DIM

# PRODUCTIVE EVALUATIVE SUFFIXES



D I M I N U T I V E	1	<b>ET, ETA</b>	llibre	book	llibret	book.DIM
	2	IC, ICA	pla	plan	planic	plan.DIM
	3	OL, OLA	bandera	flag	banderola	flag.DIM
	4	ILL, ILLA	forca	pitchfork	forquilla	fork
	5	ELL, ELLA	porta	door	portella	door.DIM
	6	I, INA	boira	fog	boirina	fog.DIM
	7	IM	pluja	rain	plugim	rain.DIM
	8	<b>O, ONA</b>	<b>mare</b>	<b>mother</b>	<b>marona</b>	<b>mother.DIM</b>
	9	<b>OI, OIA</b>	petit	little	petitoi	little.DIM
A U G	10	AS, ASSA	barca	boat	barcassa	boat.AUG
	11	ARRO, ARRA	peu	foot	peuarro	foot.AUG
P E J	12	US, USSA	gent	people	gentussa	people.PEJ
	13	OT, OTA	cuixa	thigh	cuixot	thigh.DIM

# PRODUCTIVE EVALUATIVE SUFFIXES



D I M I N U T I V E	1	<b>ET, ETA</b>	llibre	book	llibret	book.DIM
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	5	ELL, ELLA	porta	door	portella	door.DIM
	6	I, INA	boira	fog	boirina	fog.DIM
	7	IM	pluja	rain	plugim	rain.DIM
	8	<b>O, ONA</b>	carrer	street	carreró	street.DIM
	9	<b>OI, OIA</b>	petit	little	petitoi	little.DIM
A U G	10	<b>AS, ASSA</b>	barca	boat	barcassa	boat.AUG
	11	<b>ARRO, ARRA</b>	peu	foot	peuarro	foot.AUG
P E J	12	US, USSA	gent	people	gentussa	people.PEJ
	13	<b>OT, OTA</b>	cuixa	thigh	cuixot	thigh.DIM

# VERBAL *vs.* NON-VERBAL EVALUATIVE



	V	N
1	EG	
2	IC	IC, ICA
3	UC	
4	OL	OL, OLA
5	ALL	VLL/A
6	IN	I, INA
7	ON	O, ONA
8	INY	
9	ASS	
10	ISS	
11	USS	US, USSA
12	ARR	ARRO, ARRA
13	ET	ET, ETA
14	OT	OT, OTA
15	ISC	
16	USC	

# VERBAL *vs.* NON-VERBAL EVALUATIVE



	V	N
1	EG	
<b>2</b>	<b>IC</b>	<b>IC, ICA</b>
3	UC	
<b>4</b>	<b>OL</b>	<b>OL, OLA</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>ALL</b>	<b>VLL/A</b>
<b>6</b>	<b>IN</b>	<b>I, INA</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>ON</b>	<b>O, ONA</b>
8	INY	
9	ASS	
10	ISS	
<b>11</b>	<b>USS</b>	<b>US, USSA</b>
<b>12</b>	<b>ARR</b>	<b>ARRO, ARRA</b>
<b>13</b>	<b>ET</b>	<b>ET, ETA</b>
<b>14</b>	<b>OT</b>	<b>OT, OTA</b>
15	ISC	
16	USC	

# VERBAL vs. NON-VERBAL EVALUATIVE



	V	N
1	EG	
<b>2</b>	<b>IC</b>	<b>IC, ICA</b>
3	UC	
<b>4</b>	<b>OL</b>	<b>OL, OLA</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>ALL</b>	<b>VLL/A</b>
<b>6</b>	<b>IN</b>	<b>I, INA</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>ON</b>	<b>O, ONA</b>
8	INY	
<b>9</b>	<b>ASS</b>	
10	ISS	
<b>11</b>	<b>USS</b>	<b>US, USSA</b>
<b>12</b>	<b>ARR</b>	<b>ARRO, ARRA</b>
<b>13</b>	<b>ET</b>	<b>ET, ETA</b>
<b>14</b>	<b>OT</b>	<b>OT, OTA</b>
15	ISC	
16	USC	

# PRODUCTIVITY

- They are allegedly not productive.
- But

(12)	class-ific- <b>ot</b> -ejar	classify.EV.EJAR	*marti-itz- <b>ot</b> -ejar	torment.EV.EJAR
(13)	cod-ific- <b>ot</b> -ejar	encode.EV.EJAR	*caramel-itz- <b>ot</b> -ejar	caramelize.EV.EJAR
(14)	clar-ific- <b>ot</b> -ejar	clarify.EV.EJAR	*character-itz- <b>ot</b> -ejar	characterize.EV.EJAR

# SPANISH EVALUATIVES



(15) Vte(ar): caseta ‘house.EV’, besote ‘kiss.EV’

toquetear ‘touch.EV.EAR’, bailotear ‘dance.EV.EAR’

(16) Vke(ar): ratico ‘while.EV’, mujeruca ‘woman.EV’

lloriquear ‘cry.EV.EAR’, besuquear ‘kiss.EV.EAR’

(17) Vje(ar): diablejo ‘devil.EV’, pequeñajo ‘little.EV’

forcejear ‘force.EV.EAR’, sobajear ‘fondle.EV.EAR’

(18) Vske(ar): peñasco ‘rock.EV’, pardusco ‘brown.EV’

olisquear ‘smell.EV.EAR’, mordisquear ‘bite.EV.EAR’

(19) Vrrre(ar):

canturrear ‘sing.EV.EAR’, chismorrear ‘gossip.EV.EAR’

# Semantic interpretation - Catalan



## Fabra (1956)

- Intensive infixes infixes expressing “smallness, insufficiency, excess, etc.”

## Gràcia et al. (2000)

- Intensity or emphasis:

(20) *escriidassar* ‘ES.yell.EV.AR’, *aferrissar-se* ‘cling.EV.AR’

- Imperfection or insufficiency: (21) *rentussejar* ‘wash.EV.EAR’
- Excess: (22) *mamotejar* ‘suck.EV.EAR’, *allargassar* ‘lengthen.EV.AR’
- Iteration: (23) *tremolejar* ‘shiver.EV.EAR’, *plorinyar* ‘cry.EV.AR’

# Semantic interpretation - Catalan



## Lloret (2015)

- The classical division between augmentatives/pejoratives and diminutives is less clear with verbal bases.
- The iterative meaning - in principle augmentative - can refer to an intense (augmentative) or attenuating (diminutive) action, depending on the verbal action.
  - *-ot* is basically augmentative (and pejorative) with N and A (*peuot* ‘big foot’, *grandot* ‘huge’)
  - *-ot* with V contributes a pejorative interpretation (*amargotejar* ‘badly make/get bitter’) or an iterative value with an augmentative (*besotejar* ‘cover with kisses’) or diminutive (*menjotejar* ‘nibble’) nuance

# Semantic interpretation - Catalan



## Lloret (2015)

- Evaluative suffixes that behave like diminutives: lower degree or less quantity They are lexicalized.
  - Suffixes with both N/V bases:

(24) *-ic(ar)* (*ploricar* ‘cry.DIM’), *-us(sar)* o *-ussej(ar)* (*menjussar* ‘eat.DIM’; *cantussar*, *cantussejar* ‘sing.DIM’), *-in(ar)* (*plovinejar* ‘rain.DIM’) i *-ol(ar)* o *-olej(ar)* (*penjolar-se* ‘hang.DIM’, *ventolejar* ‘wind.DIM’).
  - Only V bases:

(25) *-isc(ar)* or *-isquej(ar)* (*ploviscar*, *plovisquejar* ‘rain.DIM’), *-iny(ar)* (*arrapinyar-se* ‘grip.DIM’), *-iss(ar)* (*adormissar-se* ‘fall.asleep.DIM’),
  - Also with a pejorative meaning:

(26) *-uc(ar)* o *-uquej(ar)* (*menjucar*, *menjuquejar* ‘eat.DIM’), *-usc(ar)* o *-usquej(ar)* (*treballuscar* ‘work.DIM’, *tallusquejar* ‘cut.DIM’).

# Semantic interpretation - Catalan



## Lloret (2015)

- Evaluative suffixes that behave like augmentatives: often with a pejorative nuance, they denote an intensification or a more frequent action.
  - Suffixes with both N/V bases:  
(27) *-as(sar)* (*escri<sup>d</sup>assar-se* ‘ES.shout.AUG’), *-otej(ar)* (*besotejar* ‘kiss.AUG’, *amargotejar* ‘bitter.AUG’).
  - Only V bases: with augmentative meaning  
(28) *-on(ar)* (*empatxonar* ‘fill.up.AUG’),  
although it is a diminutive with N/A bases  
(29) *-ó(na)*: *animaló* ‘animal.DIM’

# Semantic interpretation - Spanish



## Lang (1990)

- Evaluative verbs are derived by a strongly lexicalized process, linked to particular bases related to some common human actions.
  - Diminutive frequentative:  
(30) lloriquear, corretear, mordisquear  
cry.EV, run.EV, bite.EV
  - Frequentative augmentative:  
(31) picotear, tirotear, parlotear  
snack.EV, shoot.EV, talk.EV
  - Pejorative frequentative:  
(32) forcejear, apretujar, pintarrajear  
force.EV, press.EV, paint.EV.EV

# Semantic interpretation - Spanish



## **Pena (1993)**

- In many cases, their semantics involves both, quantification and evaluation.
- Quantification appears systematically in all forms, whether alone or in combination.
- The most common meaning in the derived verb is aspectual in nature,
  - iterative (continuous repetition), or
  - frequentative (discontinuous or distributive repetition).
- The suffix *-ea-* marks the same aspectual modalities.

# Semantic interpretation - Spanish



## **Pena (1993)**

- The category quantity applies across categories:
  - quantity of objects (plurality),
  - quantity of processes (iterativity, frequentativity, duration, intensification),
  - quantity of properties or states (intensification or gradation).
- In the deverbal derivation, we find intensifying gradation, which can have a
  - maximum intensive degree or
  - a minimum attenuating/mitigating degree, in addition to intermediate degrees.
- This intensive-attenuating modality, though, can be deduced from the iterative or frequentative modality.

# Semantic interpretation - Spanish



## Di Tullio (1997)

- With N, the suffix contributes quantitative information (intensifying gradation, intense or attenuating), + a modal component expressing affection by the speaker
- With V, the suffix indicates that the action denoted by the base is done in a loose or inadequate manner
- They differ in terms of degree of productivity: with V they are neither productive nor completely transparent en V

# Semantic interpretation - Spanish



## Di Tullio (1997)

- Distinguishes the contribution of 2 suffixes:
  - Evaluative: the action does not correspond to the standard defined as typical for that action → pejorative meaning
  - *-Ear* adds aspectual differences (Aktionsart): iterativity → quantification of events [Tovena's pluractional events?]
- V with only evaluatives do not express iteration e.g. *apretujar* press.EV.AR [but *dormitar* sleep.EV.AR]
- Presence of *-ear* does not necessarily involve iteration: *pintarrajear* paint.EV.EV.EAR
- According to the NGRALE §8.5h, *-ear* verbs add various kinds of expressive, evaluative or iterative shades of meaning.

# Semantics of *-ear* - Pharies (2002)

- *-ear* initially had an iterative component, and there were contrasts

(33) *golpar, golpear*

event of hitting once vs. iterative hitting event

- In most cases where there were two forms, either they have become lexicalized

(34) *pasar, pasear*

pass, walk

- or only the *-ear* form has survived integrating both meanings, becoming unspecified for the iterative meaning.

(35) *agujerar, agujerear*

‘make.holes.(E)AR’

- This may explain that many verbs are perceived as iterative.
- Can we say that *-ear* synchronically contributes this feature?

# Oltra-Massuet & Castroviejo (2014)



- The habitual/frequentative/iterative interpretation, iterativity or frequency cannot be a grammatical, systematic ingredient of *-ear*.
- The fact that verbs such as *centellear* ‘to twinkle’ or *teclear* ‘to type’ are interpreted as expressing iteration, and are therefore classified as semelfactive (Smith, 1991), cannot be contributed by some feature of the suffix *-ear*.

(36) Juan tecleó la letra A.  $\nRightarrow$  Juan tecleó la letra A repetidamente.

‘Juan typed the letter A.’ ‘Juan repeatedly typed letter A.’

(37) La luz centelleó una sola vez.  $\Rightarrow$  La luz produjo una sola centella.

‘The light twinkled only once.’ ‘The light produced a single spark.’

# Oltra-Massuet & Castroviejo (2014)



- Similarly for the alleged frequentative meaning for verbs like bromear ‘joke’. It is enough for Juan to make a joke to be able to truthfully say of him that Juan bromeó ‘Juan joked.’
- The iterativity/frequency reading is an epiphenomenon deriving from the interaction between the syntactic configuration and the unmarked characterization of roots with respect to (un)boundedness (e.g. Harley, 2005; Acedo-Matellán, 2010).

# -EJAR vs. -AR



## WITH EVALUATIVE SUFFIXATION

- |      |                      |                        |           |                  |
|------|----------------------|------------------------|-----------|------------------|
| (38) | cant <b>usse</b> jar | ‘sing softly’          | cantussar | ‘sing softly’    |
| (39) | cu <b>ete</b> jar    | ‘wag one’s tail (int)’ | cuejar    | ‘wag one’s tail’ |
| (40) | men <b>juque</b> jar | ‘nibble’               | menjucar  | ‘nibble’         |

# Properties of diminutives (Scalise 1984)



1. The syntactic category of the base they are attached to does not change

(41) tavolo ‘table.N’ – tavol-ino ‘house-DIM.N, small table’

2. The syntactic features or the subcategorization frame of the base are not changed,

(42) letto ‘bed.N[concrete]’ – lettino ‘little bed.N[concrete]’;

(43) giocare ‘play.V[trans]’ – giocherellare ‘play around.V[trans]’).

3. The semantics of the base word is changed

(44) macchina ‘car’ – macchinina ‘toy car’

# Properties of diminutives (Scalise 1984)



4. Evaluative suffixes allow recursivity

(45) fuoco – fuocherello / fuocherellino ‘fire – little fire – nice little fire’.

5. Evaluative suffixes are external to other derivational suffixes and internal to inflectional morphemes

(46) contrabbandierucoli ‘small time smugglers’

< compound contrabbando [‘contraband’] + derivational suffix [-iere ‘smuggler’] + evaluative suffix [-ucol(o) diminutive / pejorative] + Inflectional morpheme [-i masculine, plural])

# Properties of diminutives (Scalise 1984)



6. Evaluative suffixes can trigger specific readjustment rules, predictable, or idiosyncratic

- insertion of [tʃ] between the base and the diminutive suffixes *-ino* and *-ello* if the base ends in [‘one’]/ [‘one’]
- insertion of a consonant before the diminutive suffix with bases ending in a stressed vowel:

(46) caffè ‘coffee’ – caffettino / cafferino; città ‘town’ – cittadina

# Properties of diminutives (Fábregas & Scalise 2012)



7. It is very productive and can affect all classes of N, all gradable A, and many adverbs. They are generally not listed in the Spanish dictionaries, as their meaning and formal properties are easily predictable
8. They are not copied in agreement processes: any adjective agreeing with a diminutive N will have to copy the gender value associated with the desinence and the number value, but will not copy the diminutive value
9. In some cases the diminutive gives the base an idiosyncratic meaning that cannot be predicted by the speaker on the basis of their knowledge of each separate morpheme; these cases have to be listed in the dictionary, e.g. manecilla

# N vs. V EVALUATIVES - Fábregas (2017)

**1. Morphological identity:** No one-to-one relation between them, but large partial homophony

- If related, some affixes may just be further specified
- If unrelated, all correspondences should be treated as a coincidence

(47)	(res)quebr-aj-ar	‘crack.EV’	pequeñ-aj-o	‘little.EV.CM’
(48)	apret-uj-ar	‘press.EV’	bland-uj-o	‘soft.EV.CM’
(49)	corr-et-ear	‘run.EV’	perr-et-e	‘dog.EV.CM’
(50)	dorm-it-ar	‘sleep.EV’	gat-it-o	‘cat.EV.CM’
(51)	bail-ot-ear	‘dance.EV’	grand-ot-e	‘big.EV.CM’
(52)	bes-uqu-ear	‘kiss.EV’	tierr-uc-a	‘land.EV’
(53)	llor-iqu-ear	‘cry.EV’	chiqu-ic-o	‘little.EV’
(54)	--		barrig-ón	‘belly.EV’
(55)	churr-asc-ar	‘burn.EV’	--	

# N vs. V EVALUATIVES - Fábregas (2017)

## 2. Meaning correlation

- Rifón (1994) distinguishes 3 basic values for infixes:

- iterative-habitual: repeating an action or interrupted action:

(56) *parl-ot-ear* ‘talk.EV’ *mord-isqu-ear* ‘bite.EV’

- intensive-atenuated: either the action is intense

(57) *bes-uqu-ear* ‘kiss.EV’, *tir-ot-ear* ‘shoot.EV’

or it is weakened, coming short to a prototypical standard

(58) *dorm-it-ar* ‘sleep.EV’, *enamor-isc-ar* ‘fall.in.love.EV’, *com-isc-ar* ‘eat.EV’

- pejorative

(59) *llor-iqu-ear* ‘cry.EV’, *mam-ull-ar* ‘suck.EV’

# N vs. V EVALUATIVES - Fábregas (2017)

## 2. Meaning correlation

- In the V domain, these 3 meanings tend to overlap.

(60) *Lloriquear* ‘whine’: (a) as an iterative version of *llorar*, (b) as a form of crying that is not as intense as a regular cry; (c) with a pejorative value.

- This is typical of evaluative morphology, i.e. adding a non prototypical value to the meaning of the base (Dressler 1986)

(61) *barrigón* ‘belly.AUG’: pejorative judgment (‘gut’) or just refer to belly size

(62) *bigotito* ‘moustache.DIM’

- a. un bigotito casi imperceptible (diminutive)
- b. ese dichoso bigotito (pejorative)
- c. un adorable bigotito (positive)

- Flexibility: present a higher or lower degree of standard property

(63) Está cerquita, no tardas nada en llegar (=muy cerca)

(64) Está cerquita, pero no como para ir andando (=un poco cerca)

# N vs. V EVALUATIVES - Fábregas (2017)

## 3. Categorical change and class markers

- Evaluative morphemes do not change the category of the base, but there are exceptions

(65) reloj / relojito ‘watch.EV’; verde / verdecito ‘green.EV’; lejos / lejitos ‘far.EV’

(66) apag-ón ‘turn.off.EV’, jugu-et-e ‘play.EV’

- Evaluative morphemes in N may alter the morphological class marker and regularize it.

(67) \*reloj-o / reloj-it-o ‘watch.EV’; \*man-a (man-o) / man-it-a ‘hand.EV’

- In the V domain, they do not alter the category of the base, with few exceptions

(68) al-et-ear ‘wing.EV.EAR’; tijer-et-ear ‘scissors.EV.EAR’; candil-et-ear ‘oil.lamp.EV.EAR’

All V with infix belong to the first conjugation

(69) \*dorm-ar (dorm-ir) / dorm-it-ar ‘sleep.EV.AR’; \*com-ar (com-er) / com-isc-ar ‘eat.EV.AR’

# N vs. V EVALUATIVES - Fábregas (2017)

## 4. Evaluative morphemes are also infixes

(70) pequen-in-a ‘little.EV.F’/ \*pequen-a-in

(71) vid-it-a ‘life.EV.F’/ \*vid-a-it

(72) barrig-on-a ‘belly.EV.F’/ \*barrig-a-on

## 5. Variability in affix selection. The root base does not force selection.

(73) perr-it-o, perr-et-e, perr-ill-o ‘dog.EV’

(74) com-isqu-ear, com-istr-ear ‘eat.EV’

(75) mam-ull-ar, mam-uj-ar ‘suck.EV’

## 6. Recursivity

(76) chiqu-irr-it-in ‘little.EV.EV.EV’

(77) pint-arr-aj-ear ‘paint.EV.EV.EAR’

(78) a-tont-ol-in-ar ‘A.fool.EV.EV.AR’

# N vs. V EVALUATIVES - Catalan

**1. Morphological identity:** No one-to-one relation between them, but large partial homophony

- If related, some affixes may just be further specified
- If unrelated, all correspondences should be treated as a coincidence

(79)	vent-ol-ejar	‘wind.EV.EJAR’	bander-ol-a	‘flag.EV.CM’
(80)	plov-in-ejar	‘rain.EV.EJAR’	boir-in-a	‘fog.EV.CM’
(81)	empatx-on-ar	‘fill.up.EV.EJAR’	car-on-a	‘face.EV.CM’
(82)	cant-uss-ejar	‘sing.EV.EJAR’	gent-uss-a	‘people.EV.CM’
(83)	pint-arr-ejar	‘paint.EV.EJAR’	peu-arr-o	‘foot.EV.CM’
(84)	cu-et-ejar	‘tail.EV.EJAR’	llibr-et-ø	‘book.EV.CM’
(85)	amarg-ot-ejar	‘bitter.EV.EJAR’	finestr-ot-a	‘window.EV.CM’
(86)	--		plug-im-ø	‘rain.EV.CM’
(87)	plov-isqu-ejar	‘rain.EV.EJAR’	--	

# N vs. V EVALUATIVES - Catalan

## 2. Meaning correlation

(88) Ploriquejar ‘rain.EV.EJAR’: (a) as an iterative version of *plorar* ‘cry’, (b) as a form of crying that is not as intense as a regular cry; (c) with a pejorative value.

(89) panx-ot-a ‘belly.AUG.CM’: pejorative judgment (‘gut’) or just refer to belly size

(90) bigot-et-ø ‘moustache.DIM.CM’

# N vs. V EVALUATIVES - Catalan

## 3. Categorical change and class markers

- Evaluative morphemes do not change the category of the base, but there are exceptions

(91) rellogge/ rellogt-et ‘watch.EV’; mare / mar-ass-a ‘mother.EV’

(92) xiul-et ‘whistle.EV’, ruix-im ‘spray.EV’

- Evaluative morphemes in N may alter the morphological class marker and regularize it.

(93) bigot-i/ bigot-às ‘moustache.EV’; trib-u / trib-et-a ‘tribe.EV’

**Exception: noi / noi-arr-o ‘boy.EV’; cotx-e / cotx-arr-o ‘car.EV’; bigot-i / bigot-arr-o ‘moustache.EV’**

- In the V domain, they do not alter the category of the base, with few exceptions

(94) pobr-et-ejar ‘poor.EV.EJAR’/ \*pobrar, \*pobretar, \*pobrejar

- All V with infix belong to the first conjugation

(95) \*esclar-ar (esclar-ir) / esclar-iss-ar ‘clear.EV’; \*plou-ar (plou-re) / plov-isc-ar ‘rain.EV’

# N vs. V EVALUATIVES - Catalan

## 4. Evaluative morphemes may also be infixes

(96) petit-on-a ‘little.EV.CM’/ \*petit-a-on

(97) vid-et-a ‘life.EV.CM’/ \*vid-a-et

(98) panx-ot-a ‘belly.EV.CM’/ \*panx-a-ot

(99) llibr-et ‘book.EV’, llibr-et-s ‘book.EV.PL’

## 5. Variability in affix selection. The root base does not force selection.

(100) budell-arr-o, budell-às, budell-ot ‘gut.EV’

(101) miqu-et-a, mic-on-a, mic-ot-et-a, mic-orr-in-et-a ‘bit.EV(.EV.EV).CM’

(102) cant-uss-ar, cant-uss-ejar, cant-uss-ol-ar ‘sing.EV’

(103) menj-uc-ar, menj-uss-ar, menj-ot-ejar ‘eat.EV’

## 6. Recursivity

(104) pobr-iss-on-et ‘poor.EV.EV.EV’; musiqu-et-et-a ‘music.EV.EV.CM’; cap-arr-on-et ‘head.EV.EV.EV’

(105) em-pud-eg-ass-ar ‘EN.stink.EV.EV.AR’

(106) es-cag-arr-in-ar ‘ES.shit.EV.EV.AR’

# CATALAN LEXICALIZED DIMINUTIVES



- Some words derived with productive *-ó* and *-et* have become lexicalized:

(107) *caixó, crostó, boixet, pitet*

drawer, crust, bobbin, bib

- Others with *-ol, -ell, -illa*, which used to be diminutives, have now their own lexicalized meaning:

(108) *fillol, llençol, pinyol, taulell, rosella, forquilla, rosquilla*

godson, bedsheet, pit, counter, poppy, fork, donut

# Problematic cases

- Change in gender in lexicalized forms.
- If evaluative, they should not change gender; if not evaluative, do we want to multiply the number of suffixes?

1	la taul-a	the table.F	el taul-ell-ø	the counter.F
2	el llibr-e	the book.M	la llibr-et-a	the notebook.F
3	la cord-a	the rope.F	el cord-ill-ø	the string.M
4	la finestr-a	the window.F	el finestr-ó-ø	the shutter.M
5	la flaut-a	the flute.F	el flaut-í-ø	the piccolo.M
6	la cord-a	the rope.F	el cordó-ø	the lace.M
7	el barret-ø	the hut.M	la barret-in-a	the Catalan.hat.F
8	el pèl-ø	the hair.M	la pel-uss-a	the fluff.F
9	el camió-ø	the truck.M	la camion-et-a	the van.F

# Problematic cases

- Change in gender in other non-lexicalized forms.
- If evaluative, they should not change gender; if not evaluative, do we want to multiply the number of suffixes?

1	la don-a	the woman.F	el don-ot-∅	the woman.EV.M	
2	l'un-gl-a	the nail. F	l'un-gl-ot-∅	the nail.EV.M	'claw'
3	la sabat-a	the shoe.F	el sabat-ot-∅	the shoe.EV.M	
4	la barrac-a	the hovel.F	el barrac-ot-∅	the hovel. EV.M	
	la pil-a	the pile.F	el pil-ot-∅	the pile.EV.M	
	l'al-a	the wing.F	l'al-ot-∅	the wing.EV.M	

- But also: *la don-ot-a* 'woman.EV.CM'; *la sabat-ot-a* 'shoe.EV.CM', *l'un-gl-ot-a* 'nail.EV.CM'...

# Problematic cases

- What is the status of *-arr-o/a*?
- If evaluative morphology, it should not impose its own class marker; it should just favor default exponence.

1	el cotx-e	the car.M	el cotx-arr-o	the car.AUG.M
2	el bigot-i	the moustache.M	el bigot-arr-o	the moustache.AUG.M
3	el noi-∅	the boy.M	el noi-arr-o	the boy.AUG.M

- What is the status of *-im*?
- If evaluative morphology, it should not impose its own gender; it should be transparent to gender features.

1	la pluj-a	the rain.F	el plug-im-∅	the rain.DIM.M
2	la pols-∅	the dust.F	el pols-im-∅	the dust.DIM.M
3	la got-a	the drop.F	el got-im-∅	the drop.DIM.M

# PREVIOUS APPROACHES

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## Tovena & Kihm (2008)

- Italian and French /Vt/, /Vkkj/, etc. are neither morphemes nor undistinguished parts of the root, they are submorphs
- Submorphs: “phonological strings without a meaning, but inducing meaning effects related to their phonic substance through what is traditionally called ‘sound symbolism’ (Dressler, 1990).
- Similar to /sl/, /gl/ English clusters in glimmer, glitter, glow, etc.



## Tovena & Kihm (2008)

- Function of submorph: assign a certain interpretation to the items that include them, identify the type of event.
- Type of event: the internal structure is characterized by a multiplicity of micro-events having the same nature and distinct from the whole event.
- Pluractionality is a feature of the whole form, flagged by the phonetic form of the ending.

# Oltra-Massuet & Castroviejo (2014)



- Manner EAV as  $P_{\text{MANNER/BE}}$

(109) bailotear ‘dance.EV.EAR, to dance about’

(110) besuquear ‘kiss.UV.EAR, to cover with kisses’

(111) fregotear ‘wipe.EV.EAR, to mop irregularly’

- Assume Fábregas and Varela’s (2006)  $P_{\text{MANNER}}$  structure.
- Unergative structure that selects for a  $P_{\text{MANNER}}$ , phonologically realized by an evaluative morpheme (cf. Fábregas, 2011).

# Oltra-Massuet & Castroviejo (2014)

- Configurational model of argument structure (Hale & Keyser 1993; Mateu 2002; Harley 2005; Acedo-Matellán 2010, Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2011, 2013)
- In this model, the combination of different ‘flavors’ of eventive *v* and adpositional *p* (PlaceP and PathP) give rise to a set of possible argument structure configurations.

# Oltra-Massuet & Castroviejo (2014)

Unergative and transitive verbs of creation and consumption:

John {(a) danced / (b) did a dance}

(112) a. [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> Sue] [<sub>V</sub> v √DANCE]]

b. [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> Sue] [<sub>V</sub> v [<sub>DP</sub> a dance]]]

Atelic transitive event:

(a) Sue pushed the car / (b) Sue lengthened the rope (for five minutes).

(113) a. [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> Sue] [<sub>V</sub> v [<sub>PlaceP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> the car] [<sub>Place</sub> Place √PUSH]]]]]

b. [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> Sue] [<sub>V</sub> v (=en) [<sub>PlaceP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> the rope] [<sub>Place</sub> Place √LONG]]]]]

Transitive event of change of state/location:

(a) The strong winds cleared the sky / (b) Sue shelved the books.

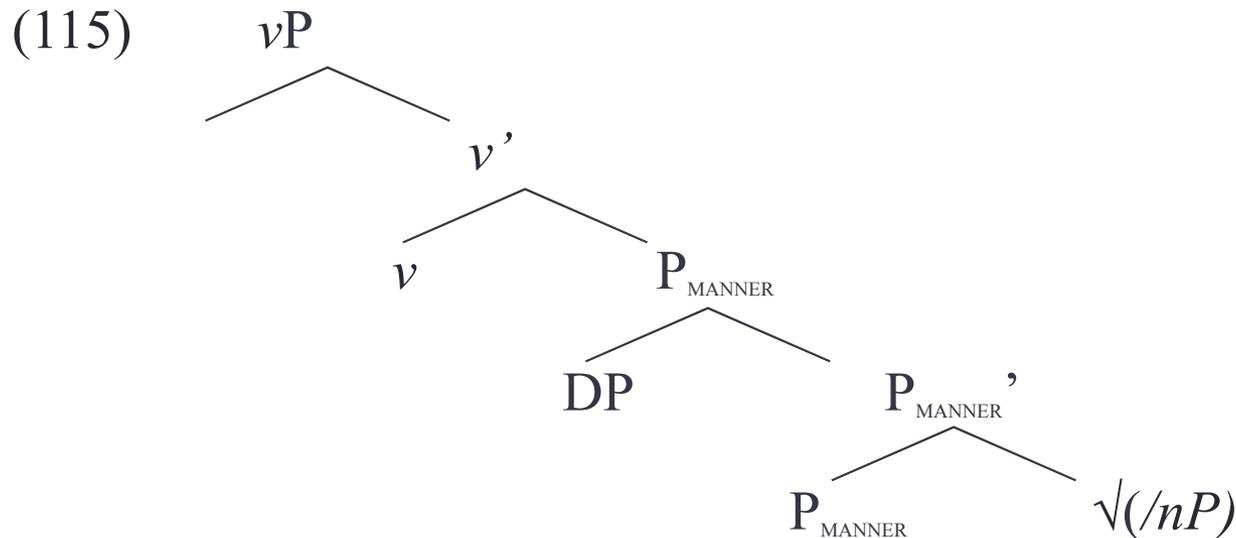
(114) a. [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> The strong winds ] [<sub>V</sub> v [<sub>PathP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> the sky ] [<sub>Path</sub> Path [<sub>PlaceP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> ~~the sky~~ ] [<sub>Place</sub> Place √CLEAR ]]]]]]

b. [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> Sue ] [<sub>V</sub> v [<sub>PathP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> the books ] [<sub>Path</sub> Path [<sub>PlaceP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> ~~the books~~ ] [<sub>Place</sub> Place √SHELF ]]]]]]

(Acedo-Matellán 2010: 53-54)

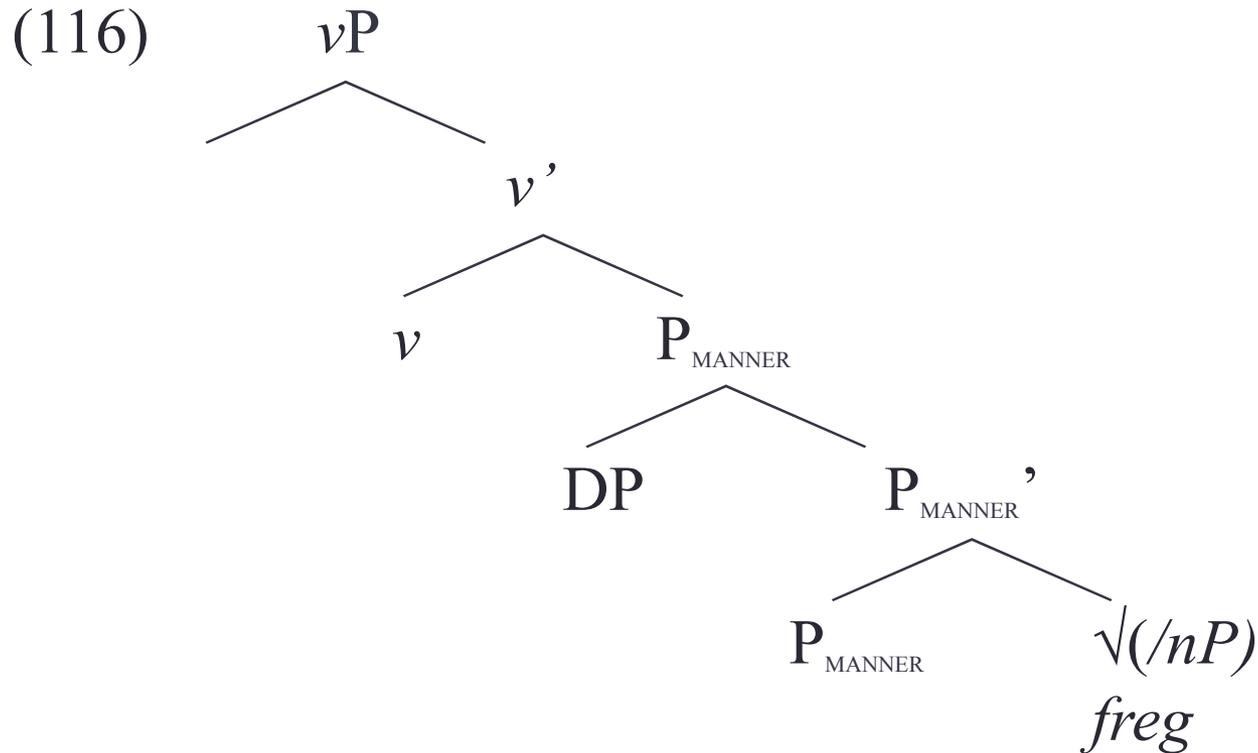
# Oltra-Massuet & Castroviejo (2014)

- A relational-predicative P/BE structure that locates a Figure, an entity, with respect to the Ground, a state, a location, **or a manner**, which is then embedded into the complement position of an eventive head projecting a specifier, the Originator in Spec-*v*.



# Oltra-Massuet & Castroviejo (2014)

The proposed structure for evaluative verbs would - at least partially - parallel corresponding basic verbs, e.g. *fregar* ‘to mop’



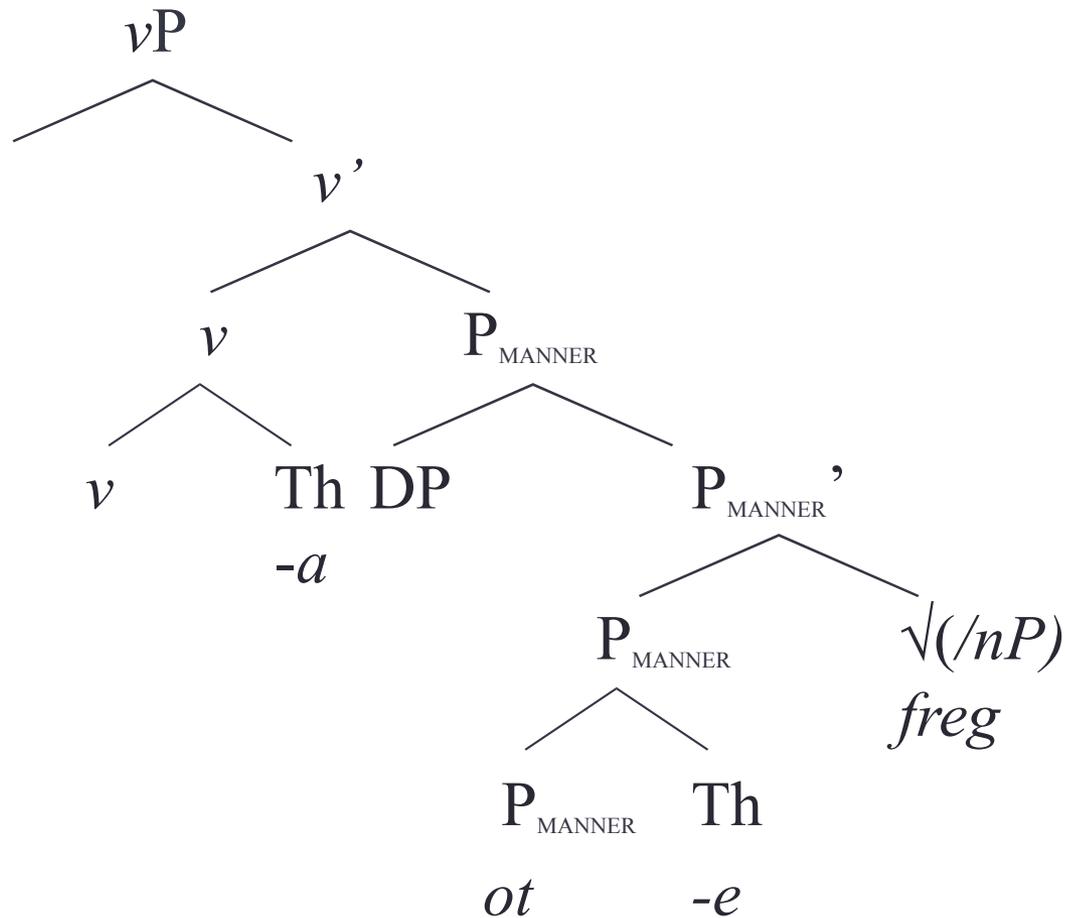
# Oltra-Massuet & Castroviejo (2014)



- One could in principle argue that in this case the manner adverbial modifies the event rather than predicate a property of the external argument, so that the model would predict that the root merges with the verbal head as manner adjunction.
- However, they understand that there is an event of doing by which the subject behaves in an irregular way with respect to the base.

# Oltra-Massuet & Castroviejo (2014)

(117)



# Oltra-Massuet & Castroviejo (2014)



- For cases with more than one evaluative morpheme, e.g. *pint-arr-aj-ear* ‘to daub’, not dealt within Fábregas and Varela (2006) or in Fábregas (2011), they suggest a process of fission for *p* at the level of morphological structure, as a sort of optional rule, whereby two different Vocabulary items would be inserted.
- This would capture the fact that these are generally understood as involving two different modal-aspectual elements, e.g. ‘to poorly apply too much make-up’ for *pintarrajear*, which would be phonologically instantiated by two different affixes.

# Oltra-Massuet & Castroviejo (2014)



- Problems?
  - does not cover the relation between evaluatives in nominal and verbal environments

# Fábregas (2006)



- DM analysis: distinguishes between morphosyntactic and morphophonological features
  - Infixes as syntactic heads: systematic and predictable meaning  
(118) com-isqu-ear, bes-uqu-ear, tir-ot-ear, apret-uj-ar  
nibble, cover with kisses, repeatedly shoot, crush
  - Morphophonological infixes: part of certain contextually conditioned allomorphy of the base, subject to Late Insertion, they show idiosyncratic meaning differences, they do not add systematic meaning  
(119) mot-ej-ar, fest-ej-ar, cort-ej-ar  
to nickname, to celebrate, to court

# Fábregas (2006)



- Infixes as syntactic heads:
  - same base with or without affixes: *bes-uqu-ear* / *besar*
  - systematic aspectual meaning differences: operate on the Aktionsart forcing a reading of irregular action
    - base: punctual event → iterative event, sometimes also loosely performed, e.g. *besuquear* ‘cover with kisses’
    - base: durative → event is interrupted several times, with the pragmatic implication that the event is aimlessly performed, e.g. *corretear* ‘run around’
    - base: change of state → lessens the action; the event is performed in a less than perfect way, e.g. *enamoriscar* ‘
- infixes are straightforwardly segmentable constituents

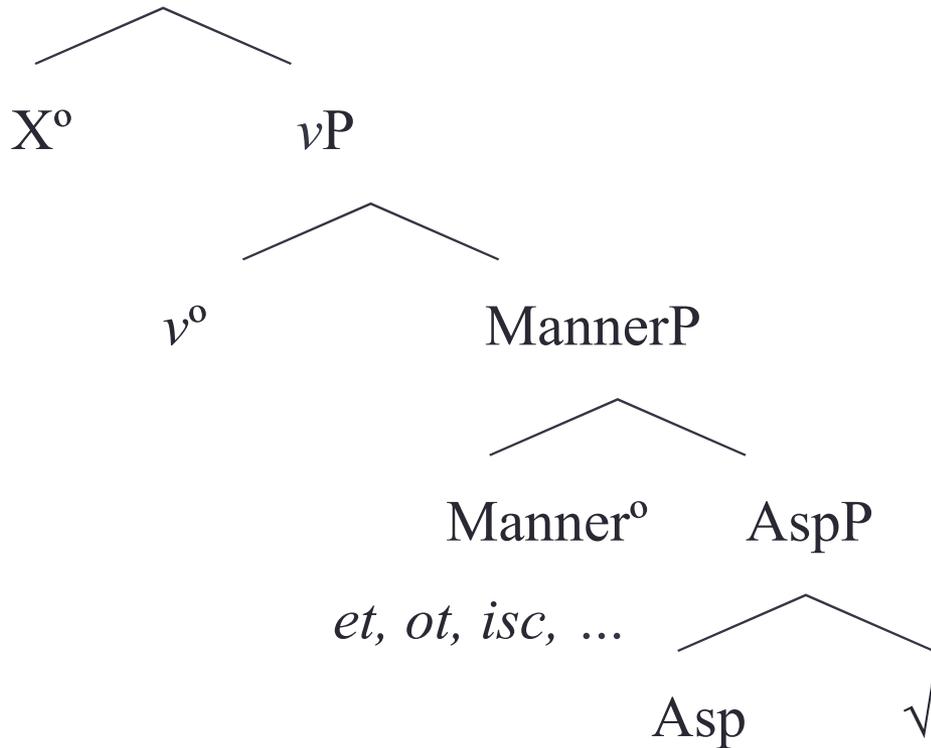
# Fábregas (2006)



- Infixes as morphophonological units:
  - some can have same base with or without affixes, but no systematic meaning differences, e.g. cas-er-ón ‘run down house’ vs. cas-ón ‘big house’
  - no systematic meaning differences → non-systematic encyclopedic aspects of meaning are contained in a postsyntactic list related to specific morphophonological units. They are inserted as part of specific Vocabulary Items that materialize the syntactic abstract representation of the word, the root.
  - cases of purely contextual allomorphy (Carstairs-MacCarthy 1987, Bobaljik 2000)

# Fábregas (2006)

(120) a. XP



b. POLVAR- ↔ [\_\_\_\_ + eda]

POLV- ↔ [elsewhere]

# Fábregas (2006)



- Problems?
  - it multiplies the number of allomorphs
  - it is an accident that all of them share an identifiable piece

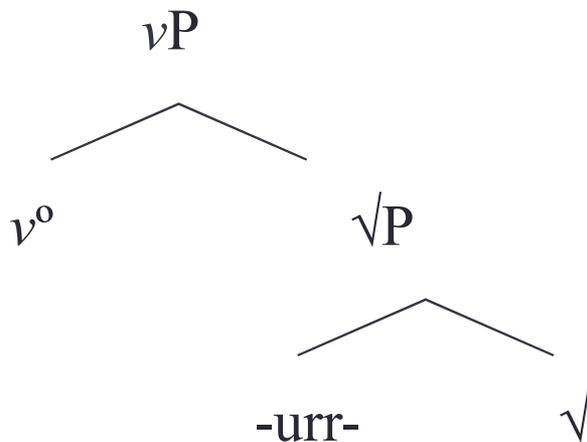
# Fábregas (2017)

- Main hypothesis: productive infixes are appreciative morphemes and build a natural class with diminutives, augmentative and pejorative morphemes (Lázaro Mora 1999)
- He provides a series of arguments for an analysis of verbal infixes as evaluative morphology.

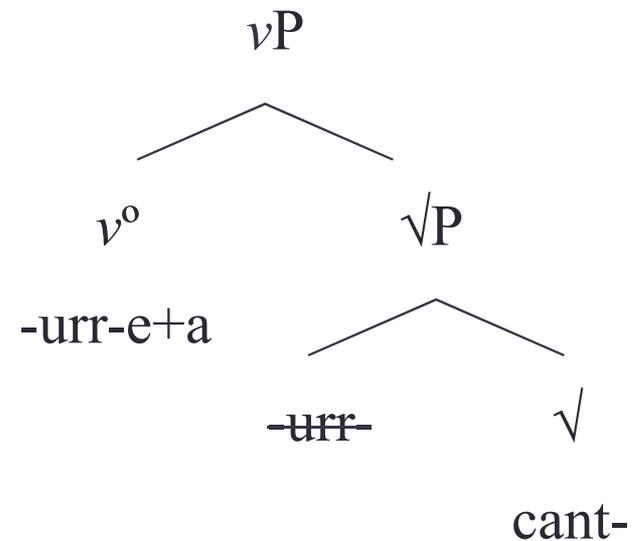
# Fábregas (2017)

- The infix lacks grammatical category and is generated as a root modifier

(121) a.



b.

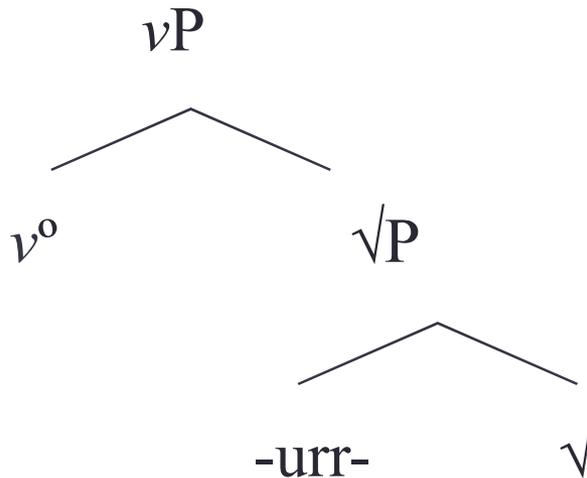


- Being a modifier, explains recursivity
- The infix moves due to the need to receive grammatical category and determines the class marker.
- The root will further incorporate into the verbalizing complex.

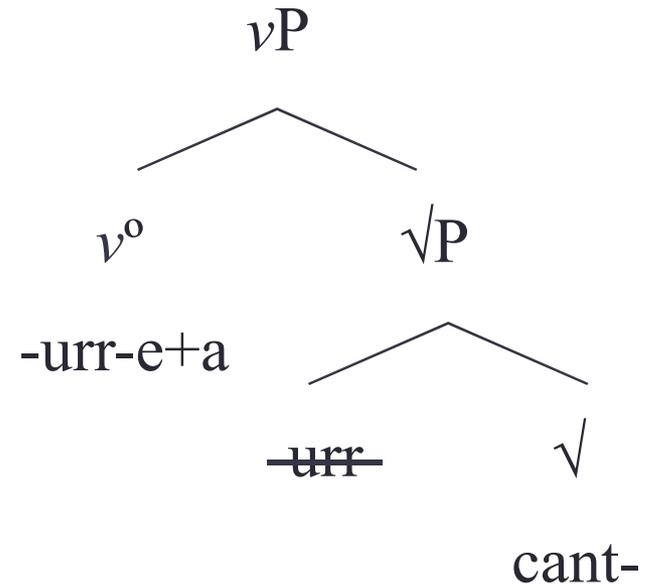
# Fábregas (2017)

- The infix lacks grammatical category and is generated as a root modifier

(121) a.



b.

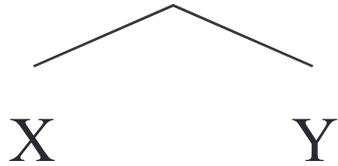


- It is not clarified where ‘e’ comes from. Root modifiers are not expected to be attached theme vowels.

# Steriopolo (2015, 2016) on diminutives

- Spanish  $-(c)it$  attaches as a syntactic modifier, not a head.

(122) Y



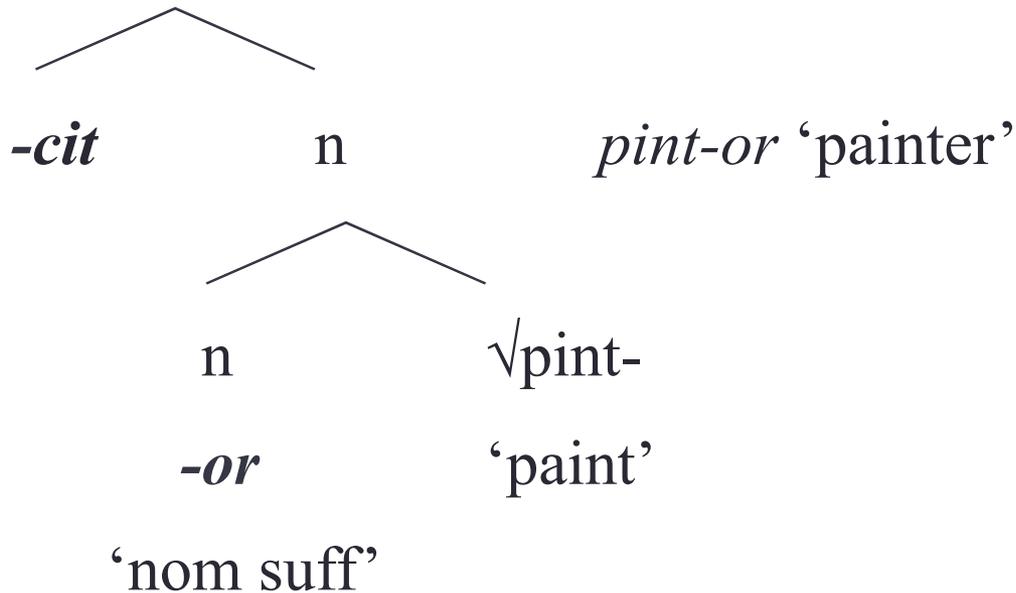
$-(c)it$

- No change in syntactic category
- It does not trigger grammatical agreement
- It is used optionally
- It allows recursion

# Steriopolo (2015, 2016) on diminutives

- Spanish *-(c)it* always attaches outside of nominal morphology

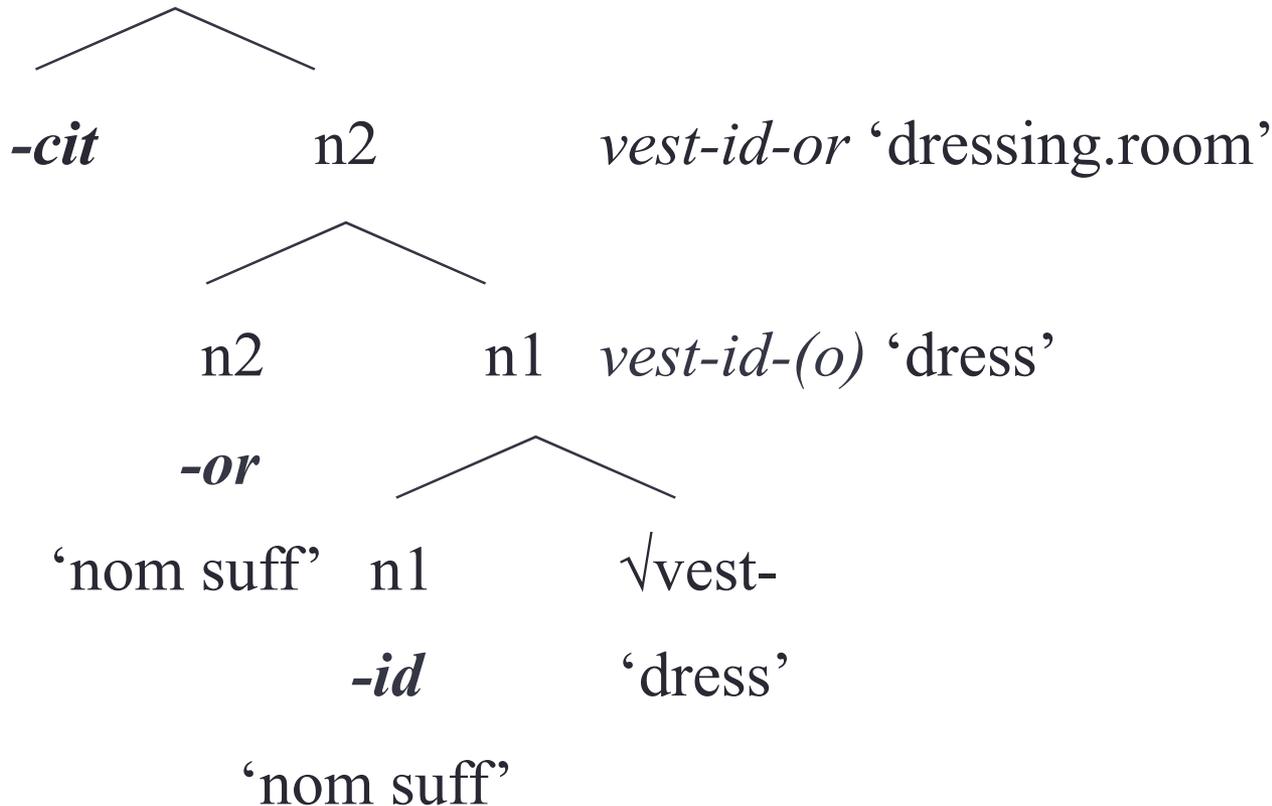
(123) *n* *pint-or-cit-(o)* ‘*painter (derogatory)*’



# Steriopolo (2015, 2016) on diminutives

- Spanish *-(c)it* always attaches outside all nominal morphology

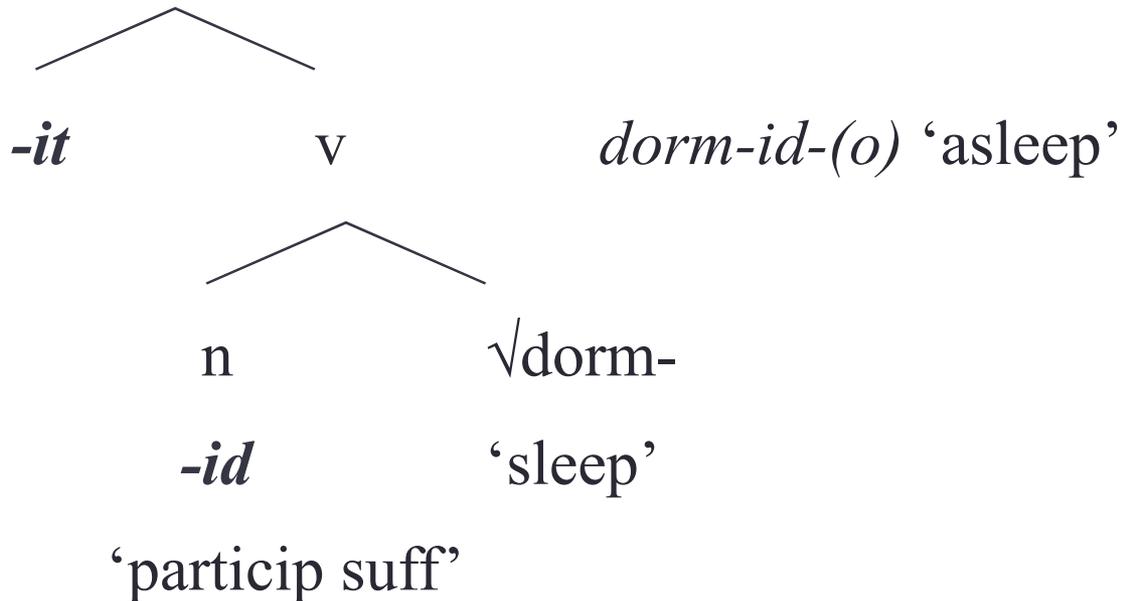
(124) n2 *vest-id-or-cit-(o)* ‘*dressing.room (dim)*’



# Steriopolo (2015, 2016) on diminutives

- Spanish *-(c)it* always attaches outside categorial morphology

(125) *v* *dorm-id-it-(o)* ‘asleep (affect)’



# Steriopolo (2015, 2016) on diminutives

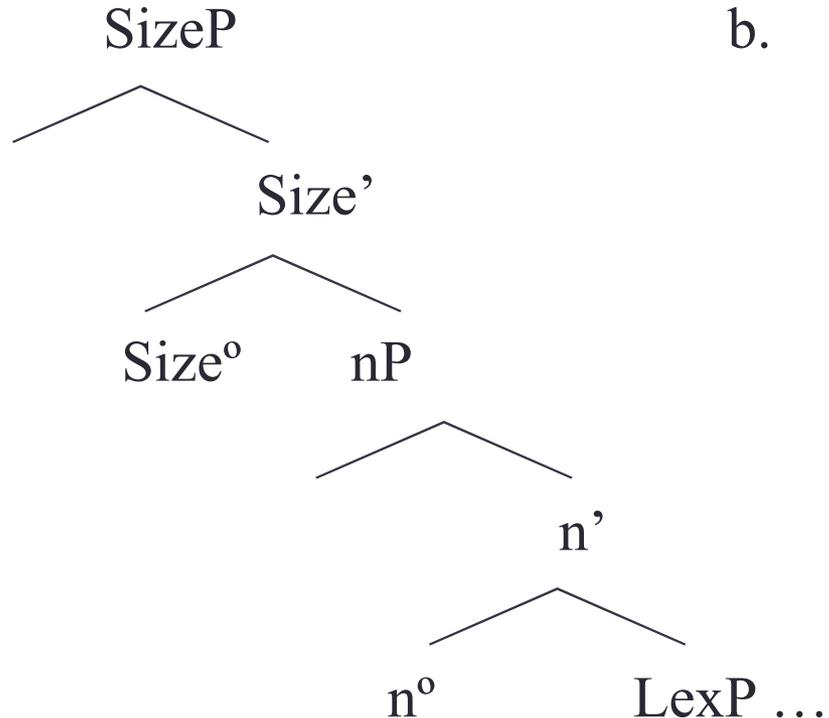
## Problems?

- Spanish *-(c)it* always attaches outside categorial morphology
  - does not distinguish between regular and idiosyncratic evaluatives
  - cannot account for cases where there is syntactic change (gender, class marker)
- Problematic if we want to have a single set of evaluative suffixes
  - evaluatives attaching outside of any categorizer, including *v*

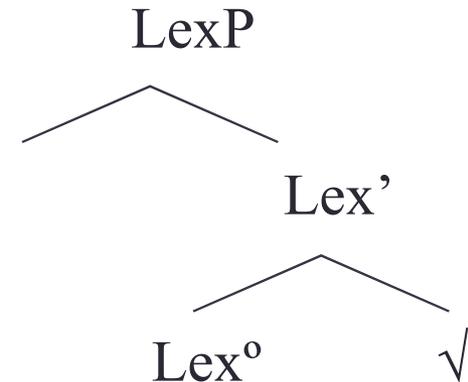
# De Belder, Faust & Lampitelli (2014)

- Compositional vs. Non-compositional diminutives: higher head outside of category head (predictable meaning) vs. lexical head merged directly with the root (non-predictable meaning)

(126) a.



b.



# De Belder, Faust & Lampitelli (2014)

- Two heads:
  - SizeP: realizes functional material, compositional, fully predictable meaning, and productive. Belongs to the functional nominal domain
  - LexP: not restricted to nouns, may be non-compositional, and non-productive
- LexP can change the gender of the base → it cannot be modifier, but must be a head

(127) *donna* woman.F.SG ‘woman’

(128) *donnina* woman.DIM.F.SG

*donnino* woman.DIM.M.SG

# De Belder, Faust & Lampitelli (2014)

- LexP would account for lexicalized cases determining gender in Catalan, e.g. *taula* ‘table’, *taulell* ‘counter’
  - But, systematic and regular *-ot* in e.g. *dona* ‘woman’, *donot* ‘big woman / big lady’
- It accounts for recursive cases where the most internal element is lexicalized and the external is regular, e.g. *llobat-on-et* ‘little wolf cub’
  - But, is LexP recursive in cases like *mic-orrr-in-et-a* ‘bit.DIM.DIM.DIM.F’?
- It would confine all verbal evaluatives to the LexP level, since all regular evaluative formation is nominal.

# De Belder, Faust & Lampitelli (2014)

- Would possible new regular forms require two LexP positions?

(129) class-ific-**ot**-ejar    classify.EV.EJAR    \*marti-itz-**ot**-ejar    torment.EV.EJAR

(130) cod-ific-**ot**-ejar    encode.EV.EJAR    \*caramel-itz-**ot**-ejar    caramelize.EV.EJAR

(131) clar-ific-**ot**-ejar    clarify.EV.EJAR    \*character-itz-**ot**-ejar    characterize.EV.EJAR

# CONCLUSIONS



- Their status as evaluative morphemes
  - Are we dealing with a single set of evaluative morphemes that appears in nominal and verbal contexts?
- Their syntactic status
  - Are they heads or modifiers?
  - What is their attachment site?
- Their semantic interpretation
  - Are they all pluractional events?
  - Is their intensive/frequentative/iterative interpretation grammatically encoded?
- Their productivity
  - Why is and what makes the verbal context so restricted?

# Towards a DM analysis



- A DM analysis should derive the apparently different (non)-compositional interpretations and (non)-productive behavior of these forms from the interaction between:
  - functional syntactic structure,
  - attachment site,
  - feature specification, and
  - interaction with specific characteristics pertaining to the encyclopedic content of the root base.
  - morphopragmatics?



# ON THE MORPHOSYNTAX OF EVALUATIVE DEVERBAL VERBS IN CATALAN AND SPANISH

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Thanks!

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