

## Semantics and templates in evaluative morphology

Stela Manova

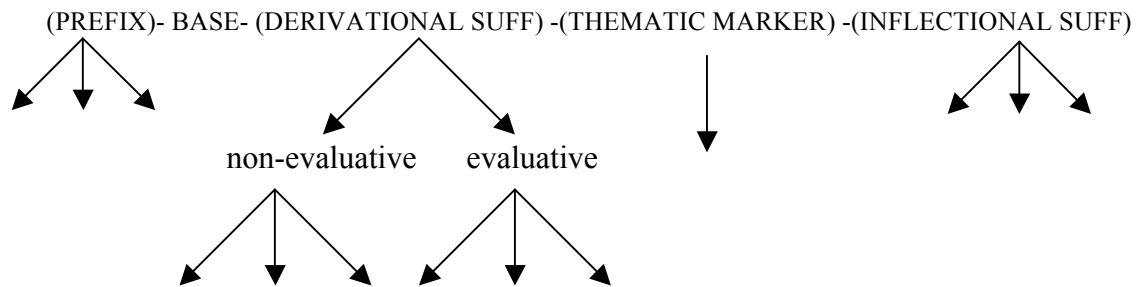
This paper discusses the order of the evaluative suffixes in double nominal diminutives in three Slavic languages, the South Slavic Bulgarian, the East Slavic Russian and the West Slavic Polish. The approach adopted is domain-specific, i.e. it is assumed that the Slavic word has two suffixational domains – one derivational and one inflectional, the derivational domain being further divided into a non-evaluative subdomain and an evaluative subdomain (Manova 2010). The schema in (1) below gives the structure of the Slavic word. A single arrow means that within a word, only one single affix can occur in that slot. Two arrows stand for two (types of) affixes. Three arrows mean that more than two affixes can co-occur in a particular slot. (Note that thematic markers are recognized only in verbal morphology.) The different domains and subdomains are defined through the affix-order peculiarities they exhibit. Since the present paper is on suffixation, I will explain the point for suffixes: the suffixes of the non-evaluative subdomain can be repeated only on non-adjacent cycles, the suffixes of the evaluative subdomain can be repeated on adjacent cycles and the inflectional suffixes are never repeated. This paper looks at the combinations of suffixes in the evaluative subdomain.

It is well known that Slavic languages allow double (or second-grade) diminutives (cf. Szymanek & Derkach 2005 and Manova & Winternitz, to appear). Double nominal diminutives are diminutives with two diminutive suffixes and the second-grade diminutive (DIM2) stands for ‘a small DIM1’ or ‘a very small BASIC NOUN’, as in R. *kartina* ‘picture’ → DIM1 *kartin-ka* → DIM2 *kartin-oč-ka* and P. *dom* ‘house’ → DIM1 *dom-ek* → DIM2 *dom-ecz-ek*. While most studies on diminutives focus on the semantic-pragmatic aspect of diminutive formations (Wierzbicka 1984, Dressler and Barbaresi 1994, Jurafsky 1996, among others), this paper tackles the formal side of diminutivization. Each of the three Slavic languages under scrutiny possesses a set of about ten diminutivizing (i.e. DIM1) suffixes. Since the DIM1 suffixes all have the same semantics, one expects them to combine freely with each other in double diminutives. Intriguingly, this is not the case and only a very few suffixes of the fairly large set of DIM1 suffixes a Slavic language possesses can be used for derivation of double diminutives. The Bulgarian DIM1 suffixes *-le* and *-ence* illustrate the issue: *dete* ‘child’ → DIM1 *det-ence* → DIM2 *det-enc-ence* and *nos* ‘nose’ → DIM1 *nos-le* → DIM2 *nos-l-ence* but neither *\*det-enc-le* nor *\*nos-le-le*. In other words, *-ence* can be used as a DIM2 suffix but *-le* cannot. Thus, the goal of my paper is to detect the logic that orders the suffixes in double diminutives.

As regards data and method, since the diminutive suffixes in a language are a limited number, I generated all possible combinations of diminutivizers and then checked which of these combinations exist. Dictionaries (many Polish double diminutives are listed in dictionaries), corpora and the Internet served as sources of data. The combinations of the diminutive suffixes were also evaluated by native speakers.

Since only a very few diminutive suffixes can be used for derivation of double diminutives in the three languages under investigation and the combinations of the DIM1 and DIM2 suffixes are fixed, double diminutives are an interesting case of semantically compositional (i.e. layered or derivation-like) morphology that is best described as being templatically (i.e. inflection-like) produced. Here I refer to the typical characteristics of layered and template morphology as discussed in Stump (1997) and Rice (2000), among others. Thus, this suffix order peculiarity further illustrates the well-known in-between status (between derivation and inflection) of diminutives in morphology.

## (1) The structure of the Slavic word

**References**

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