

Non-compositional meaning:

- | | | |
|----|--|-----------|
| 3) | pan-ino
bread-DIM
'sandwich' | [Italian] |
| 4) | cas-ino
house-DIM
'brothel' | [Italian] |
| 5) | telefon-ino
telephone-DIM
'cell phone' | [Italian] |

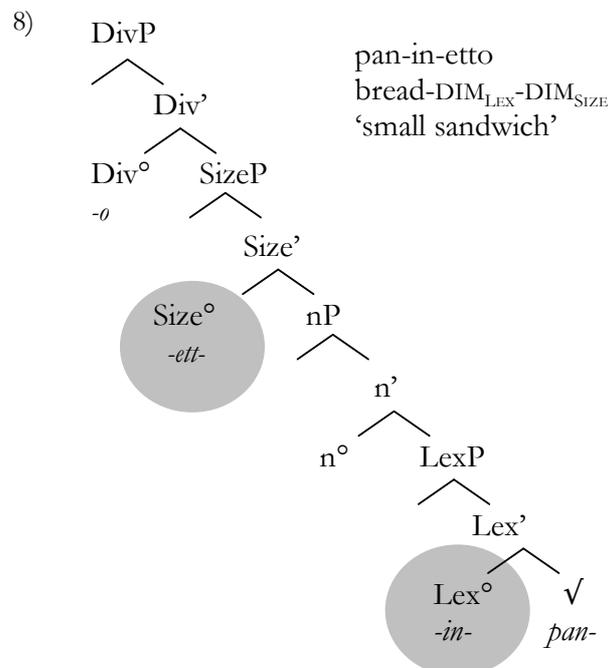
A combination of a non-compositional and compositional meaning:

- | | | | | |
|----|---|----|--|-----------|
| 6) | pan-in-one
bread-DIM-AUG
'big sandwich' | 7) | pan-in-etto
bread-DIM _{LEX} -DIM _{SIZE}
'small sandwich' | [Italian] |
|----|---|----|--|-----------|

3. Proposal

2 positions for the diminutive:

- an inflectional position¹ between nP (cf. Marantz 2001) and DivP (cf. Borer 2005)
- a derivational position² merged with the root



¹ De Belder (2008) proposes the projection SizeP to introduce diminutive inflection on nouns.

² Lampitelli (2009) proposes that Italian diminutives are introduced by a projection between nP and \checkmark .

SIZEP	LEXP
inflectional	derivational
part of the noun's functional domain	merges directly with a root
fully productive	lexical gaps
always a compositional meaning	possibly non-compositional meaning
phonologically regular	possibly phonologically irregular

Phonology

The underlying form of the Dutch diminutive morpheme is *-tje*, but it surfaces as *-tje*, *-etje* or *-pje*, depending on the rhyme of the root.

SizeP: phonologically regular

9) bloem-pje [Standard Dutch]
 flower-DIM
 'small flower'

10) boom-pje [Standard Dutch]
 tree-DIM
 'small tree'

LexP: possibly phonologically irregular

11) bloem-etje [Standard Dutch]
 flower-DIM
 'bouquet'

12) * boom-etje [Standard Dutch]
 tree-DIM

In this talk we will

- show the necessity of having two positions for diminutives³
- explore the predictions that makes
- show that Lex^o should be distinguished from n^o (*pace* Wiltschko 2006)
- show that Lex^o should be distinguished from √

4. Predictions

The structure in (8) makes the following cross-linguistic predictions:

- [a] a language can formally distinguish between these two kinds of diminutives.
- [b] both positions can be filled simultaneously.
- [c] LexP combines with any xP (not necessarily for an nP).
- [d] the existence in a given language of one of these diminutive positions is independent of the existence of the other.

³ Stump (1993) and Jo Napoly & Reynolds (1995) are two studies that deal with similar topical, but do not distinguish different types of "evaluative suffixes".

4.1 Prediction [a]: different diminutive morphology in LexP and SizeP

Modern Hebrew has at least two strategies of diminutivization:

- Concatenation of *-on* (*Concat.Dim_{SIZE}* in (13)).
- Templatic reduplication (*Temp.Dim_{LEX}* in (13)).

13) Diminutivization strategies in Hebrew

<i>Noun</i>		<i>Temp.Dim_{LEX}</i>		<i>Concat.Dim_{SIZE}</i>	
a. xazir	‘pig’	xazarzir	‘piglet’	xazir-on	‘small pig’
b. bacal	‘onion’	bcalcal	‘shallot’	bcal-on	‘small onion’
c. xatul	‘cat’	xataltul	‘kitten’	xatul-on	‘small cat’
d. kélev	‘dog’	klavlav	‘puppy’	kalb-on	‘small dog’
e. géver	‘man’	gvarvar	‘macho’	gavr-on	‘small man’
f. xamor	‘donkey’	*xamarmor		xamor-on	‘small donkey’

The reduplicated diminutive

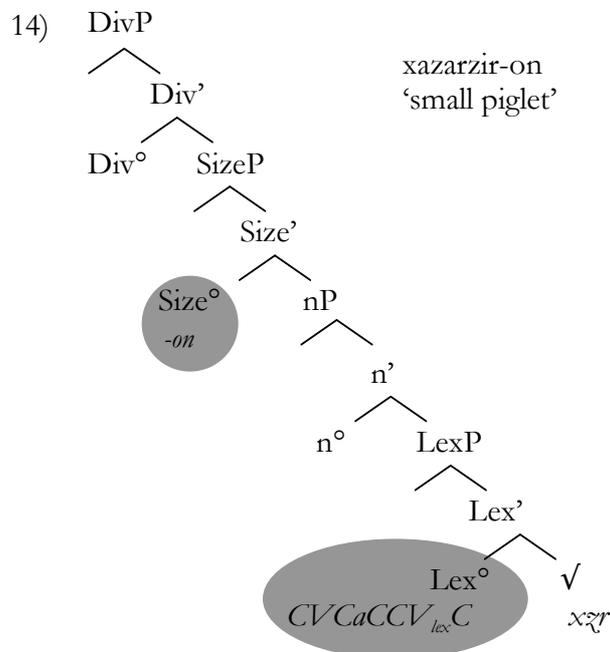
- is not productive (it applies to a closed group of roots);
- has a meaning that is not predictable (it has a specific interpretation).

In contrast, -on diminutive has the following properties:

- It is **always** compositionally diminutive (unlike Italian *-in-*);
- It is fully productive.

We propose that:

- Lexical material is introduced by the projection LexP⁴;
- *-on* realizes Size^o: it is in the noun’s inflectional domain.



The two positions for diminutive *-LexP* and *SizeP*- are realized using two radically different morphological strategies.

⁴ We indeed assume that templaticity results from direct merger of a template morpheme with the root. Cf. Faust (In prep.) and references therein.

4.2 Prediction [b]: both positions may be filled simultaneously

Italian *pan-in-on-e* ‘large sandwich’/ *pan-in-ett-o* ‘small sandwich’ have equivalents in other languages:

15) Both LexP and SizeP occupied simultaneously

	<i>Base</i>	<i>Lex diminutive</i>	<i>Both Lex & Size diminutives</i>	
a.	stół ‘table’	stołek ‘chair’	stoleczek ‘small chair’	(Polish)
b.	bolso ‘bag’	bolsillo ‘pocket’	bolsillito ‘small pocket’	(Spanish)
c.	kalb ‘dog’	klayb ‘puppy’	klaybun ‘cute puppy’	(Tunisian Ar.)
d.	xazir ‘pig’	xazarzir ‘piglet’	xazarziron ‘small piglet’	(M. Hebrew)

- Semitic languages can use both non-concatenative and concatenative diminutive strategies simultaneously (seemingly always in that order).

4.3 Prediction [c]: LexP combines with any xP and not necessarily for an nP

LexP, but not SizeP, is positioned below the category-assigning head

- LexP can be the base for any xP.
- SizeP is only part of the inflection of nP.

We thus predict, for a language like Modern Hebrew:

- LexP Templatic diminutives may be category-free.
- SizeP concatenative diminutives are exclusively nominal.

4.3.1 QiTeL verbs, QiTuL nouns

Verbs with the melody {i,e} regularly “have” related action nouns with the melody {i,u}:

16) QiTeL, QiTuL

<i>Verb</i>		<i>Action noun</i>	
a. xipes	‘search’	xipus	‘search’
b. šitef	‘share’	šituf	‘sharing’
c. miten	‘moderate’	mitun	‘moderation/ (economic) depression ’
d. cimek	‘shrink’	cimuk	‘shrinking/ raisin ’
e. -	-	sikuy	‘chance’
f. -	-	biyuv	‘gutter’
g. roken	‘empty’	rikun	‘emptying’ (*rokun)
h. pocec	‘explode’	picuc	‘explosion’ (*pocuc)

But QiTuL nouns are not derived from any surface verbal form, because

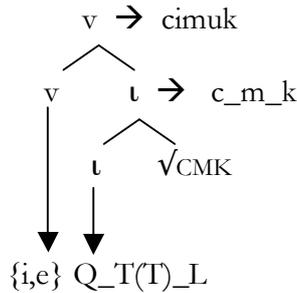
- They may have idiosyncratic meanings (16.c,d).
- There may be no existing verbal base (16.e,f).
- A sub-group of QiTeL verbs has {o,e} vocalization. Their corresponding nominal melody is still {i,u}, not *{o,u} (16.g,h).

In consequence,

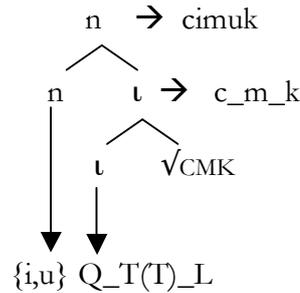
- A QiTeL → QiTuL view is wrong.
- The relation is best expressed as templatic specification (as in Goldenberg 1994) followed by category-assignment. Noun and Verb share only a templatic Q_T(T)_L base (here a diacritic *ʌ*, following Doron 2003).⁵

17) QiTeL and QiTuL both derived from Q_T(T)_L

a. cimuk ‘to shrink’



b. cimuk ‘shrinking/ raisin’



Doron’s diacritic *ʌ* occupies the same position as LexP.

4.3.2 Back to diminutives

Another sub-group of the QiTeL group is QiTLeL, where the last radical is reduplicated.

Verbs of the type QiTLeL

- often have pluractional diminutivization meaning.
- may correspond to a QaTaL type verb (18a-c), to a QiTeL-type verb (18e), or have no corresponding item (19f).

18) QiTLeL verbs

	related item	QiTLeL “diminutive”		
		<i>verb</i>	<i>action noun</i>	
a.	caxak ‘to laugh’	cixkek	cixkuk	‘giggle’
b.	laxaš ‘to whisper’	lixšeš	lixšuš	‘whisper quietly’
c.	kafac ‘to jump’	kifcec	kifcuc	‘jump around’
d.	kiven ‘to aim/to direct’	kivnen	kivnun	‘fine-tune’
e.	išer ‘permit (auth.)’	išrer	išrur	‘allow bureaucratically’
f.	-	fikšeš	fikšuš	‘commit a small error’

Both QiTLeL (v) and QiTLuL (n)

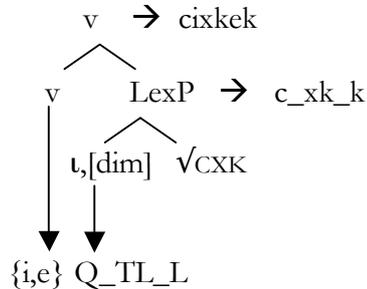
- include the diacritic *ʌ* (By analogy to QiTeL-QiTuL in (17))
- include a specific diminutivization morpheme [dim] whose exponent is reduplication (i.e. C₃=C₄).

⁵ For more consequences of this approach, see Faust & Lampitelli (2009).

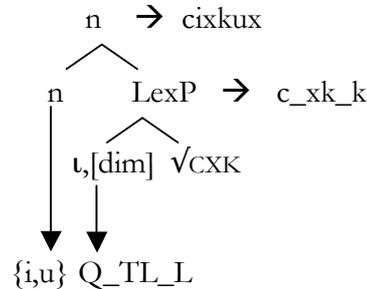
In (19), we collapse the two diacritics [dim] and ι under LexP:

19) *cixkek* and *cixkuk* ‘giggle’

a. *cixkek*



b. *cixkuk* ‘a giggle’



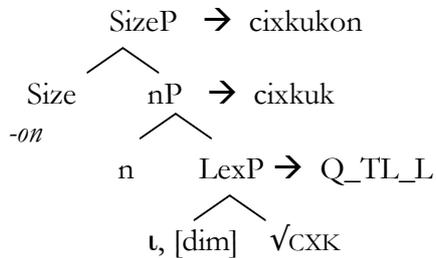
The prediction made above is borne out, namely that

- LexP templatic diminutives may be category-free

The concatenative diminutive *-on* was claimed to be restricted to realizing SizeP. Since sizeP is in principle a nominal functional projection, we do not expect it to appear on verbs. This is indeed the case:

- *-on* is not a part of MH verbal morphology
- unsurprisingly, it appears on reduplicated action nouns, e.g. *cixkukon* ‘a small giggle’

20) A small giggle



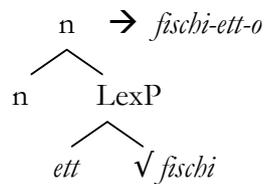
We now predict that LexP is category-free in other languages, too.

21) LexP in Italian is category-less in Italian

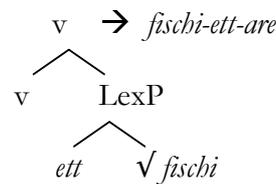
- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>a. <i>fischi-o</i>
whistle.sg.m
‘whistle (the action)’</p> | <p>b. <i>fischi-are</i>
whistle-infinitive
‘to whistle’</p> |
| <p>b. <i>fischi-ett-o</i>
whistle-DIM.sg.m
‘whistle (the object)’</p> | <p>d. <i>fischi-ett-are</i>
whistle-DIM-infinitive
‘to emit short whistles repeatedly
(not necessarily with a <i>fischietto</i>)’</p> |

22) *fischi-ett-o* vs. *fischi-ett-are*

a. *fischi-ett-o* ‘whistle (object)’



b. *fischi-ett-are* ‘whistle (pluract.)’



To conclude:

- Templatic diminutives and other low morphemes occupy a position close to the root, which we call LexP.⁶
- This position is lower than the category-assigning head, and thus LexP is not marked for category.⁷
- SizeP only modifies nP, and is thus higher than it.

4.4 Prediction [d]: the two types of diminutives are independent.

LexP without SizeP

In a given language, SizeP might not exist; this is independent of the (in)existence of diminutives in LexP. Languages without SizeP include English & French, but also Egyptian Arabic:

23) Lexicalized diminutives in languages without SizeP

	base		diminutives
English	a. cat		kitten
	b. nap		napkin
French	c. fille	‘girl’	fillette ‘young girl’
	d. livre	‘book’	livret ‘small notebook’
Eg. Arab.	e. bint	‘girl’	bannu:ta ‘young girl’ (template: QaTTu:L)
	f. dabbis	‘to staple’	dabbu:s ‘pin’
	g. ?amar	‘moon’	?ammu:r ‘cute (adj.)’
	h. šams	‘sun’	šammu:sa ‘cute sun’

SizeP without LexP

In contrast, languages with poor morphology (i.e. no LexP), may develop a realization of SizeP that is distinct from just the word “small”.

24) Mauritian Creole

	‘small (=dim) N’	‘small (=adjective) N’	
a.	ti-zanfan	tipti zanfan	‘child’
b.	ti-linz	tipti linz	‘piece of clothing’
c.	ti-sez	tipti sez	‘chair’

⁶ Faust & Hever (2009) argue for a similarly low position for the Modern Hebrew agentive *-an*.

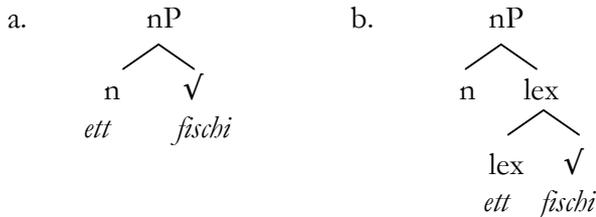
⁷ Our proposal avoids diacritics on roots (cf. Embick & Halle 2005) along with Acquaviva’s (2008) idea that L-nodes select for types of roots.

5. Conclusion

Two hypothetical natures can be proposed for what we've been calling LexP⁸:

- nP
- LexP

25) Different configurations



(25.a) predicts that *-ett-* would appear only on nouns: this is not the case, as *fischiettare* shows. Cf. *supra* 4.3 prediction [c].

(25.b) shows our proposal. LexP can be the base for both nominal and verbal categories (cf. *fischietto* and *fischiettare*) and the interpretation of the suffix is unpredictable when its position is the *lex*-head.

We showed that the same cross-linguistic structure accounts for the properties of two different types of diminutives. More specifically,

- The difference between the diminutives is structural (LexP vs. SizeP).
- Languages can have the same morpheme(s) used in both positions (Italian *-ett-*, *-in-*, etc.) or two different morphemes (Modern Hebrew: reduplication and *-on*).
- The diminutives can cooccur: Italian *pan-in-ett-o* ‘small sandwich’ and Modern Hebrew *xaxarzir-on* ‘small piglet’.
- LexP can be the base for either nouns or verbs: Modern Hebrew [Q_TK_I_{LexP}] *cixkek* ‘to giggle’ vs. *cixkek* ‘a giggle’ and Italian *fischiett-are/-ett-o* ‘to whistle repeatedly / whistle (the object)’.
- The computation of meaning is unpredictable below LexP and predictable above nP.
- irregular form points to low position (cf. lexicalized diminutives in Dutch, English, French and Egyptian Arabic).

⁸ A fourth one may also exist: Bachrach & Wagner (2007) argue that *lex*^o is an adjunct to *n*^o.

7. Bibliography

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