

Diminutives: Exceptions to the Exceptions


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vowel inventory

FRONT (F)				BACK (B)		
UNR'NDED		ROUNDED				
i	iː	y	yː	u	uː	HIGH
—	eː	∅	∅ː	o	oː	MID
ɛ	—	—	—	ɑ	ɑː	LOW


=NEUTRAL (N)

harmony

front/back harmony

STEM SUFFIX

B B u:t-bɑn 'way-INESS'

F F ty:z-bɛn 'fire-INESS', vi:z-bɛn 'water-INESS'

harmony

front/back harmony

STEM SUFFIX

B B u:t-ban 'way-INESS'

F F ty:z-bɛn 'fire-INESS', vi:z-bɛn 'water-INESS'

rounding harmony (not discussed here)

STEM SUFFIX

B B u:t-hoz 'way-ADESS'

F_R F_R ty:z-høz 'fire-ADESS'

F_U F_U vi:z-hɛz 'water-ADESS'

antiharmony

N stem + B suffix

ʃi:r-ban 'grave-INESS' (many such stems)

he:j-ban 'peel-INESS' (few such stems, two of them free)

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articulation subphonemic correlation between stem type and the backness of [i]: antiharmonic stems with a more retracted tongue body *even in isolation* (Beňuš & Gafos 2007)

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antiharmonic exceptionality is not phonetic

cases of disharmony

α invariant N suffixes

B+N: ut-i 'way-ADJ', ut-e: 'way-POSS', un-ni 'be bored-INF'

F+N: tyz-i 'fire-ADJ', tyz-e: 'fire-POSS', yl-ni 'sit-INF'

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β transparency of N

BN+B: faki:r-ra, ka:fte:j-ra 'fakir-, castle-SUBL', ale:l-va 'faint-PART'

FN+F: kefi:r-rε, ʃøte:t-rε 'kefir-, dark-SUBL', tεkint-vε 'look-PART'

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γ antiharmony

N+B: hi:z-ra 'bridge-SUBL', he:j-ra 'peel-SUBL', irt-va 'destroy-PART'

N+F: vi:z-rε 'water-SUBL', e:j-rε 'night-SUBL', int-vε 'wave-PART'

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entailments

$\gamma \Rightarrow \beta \Rightarrow \alpha$

(Kiparsky & Pajusalu 2003, Rebrus & Törkenczy 2015)

harmonic stability

suffixation does not change the harmonic class of a stem

antiharmonic stem: N+B → N+N+B

hi:d-ra → hid-i-ra, hi:d-e:ra 'bridge-SUBL, -ADJ-SUBL, -POSS-SUBL'

in-na → in-ni-a 'drink-COND, -INF-3SG'

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harmonic stem: N+F → N+N+F

vi:z-rɛ → vi:z-i-rɛ, vi:z-e:ɛ-rɛ 'water-SUBL, -ADJ-SUBL, -POSS-SUBL'

vin-nɛ → vin-ni-ɛ 'take-COND, -INF-3SG'

harmonic stability in truncation

“antiharmonic” bound stem: **NB** → **NB+B**, **NB+N+B**

fima → fim-ul, fim-ixt-va ‘smooth, -MED, -TRANS-PART’

tipor → tipr-ok ‘stomp, -1SG/INDEF.OBJ’

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“harmonic” bound stem: **NF** → **NF+F**, **NF+N+F**

be:kε → be:k-yl, be:k-i:t-vε ‘peace, -MED, -TRANS-PART’

iker → ikr-εk ‘twin, -PL’

no harmonic stability in diminutive truncation

diminutive/hypocoristic suffix -i also truncates the stem, but spoils harmonic stability

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“antiharmonic” bound stem

NB → NB+N+B (N={i, i:, e:})

ʃima → ʃim-i:t-va ‘smooth, -TRANS-PART’

be:na → be:n-i:t-va ‘lame, -TRANS-PART’

piʃta → piʃt-ul ‘Steve, -MED’

NB → NB+i_{DIM}+F (DIM={-i, -tʃi, -si, -ʃi, -tʃi})

ʃima → ʃim-i-rɛ ‘smooth, smooth-DIM-SUBL’

e:v-a → e:v-i-rɛ ‘Eve, -DIM-SUBL’

piʃta → piʃt-i-rɛ ‘Steve, -DIM-SUBL’

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also variable Bɛ stems become invariable

Bɛ+F/B ~ Bɛ/i_{DIM}+B

bunkɛr-rɛ/a → bunk-i-ra/*ɛ ‘bunker-SUBL, -DIM-SUBL’

jo:ʒɛf-rɛ/a → jo:ʒ-i-ra/*ɛ ‘Josep-SUBL, -DIM-SUBL’

transparency

STEM	SUFFIX	
FN	F	kefi:r-rε 'kefir-SUBL'
F+N	F	het-i-rε 'week-ADJ-SUBL'
BN	B	faki:r-ra 'fakir-SUBL'
B+N	B	nap-i-ra 'day-ADJ-SUBL'

diminutive **i** and transparency

back “harmonic” stems

mama → mam-i-ra ‘mom, -DIM-SUBL’

зuзa → зуз-i-ra ‘Susan, -DIM-SUBL’

hu:g → hug-i-ra ‘younger sister, -DIM-SUBL’

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ʃyn → ʃyn-i-rɛ ‘hedgehog, -DIM-SUBL’

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⇒ diminutive i is transparent

the polysyllabic split

	[σ]	[σσ]	[σσσ]	...
HARMONIC	vi:z-rɛ	zilip-rɛ	bikini-rɛ	...
ANTIHARMONIC	hi:d-rɑ	*	*	*

'water-, lock-, bikini-, bridge-SUBL'

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no antiharmony in polysyllabic stems

harmonic stability vs polysyllabic split

	$[\sigma\sigma]$	$[\sigma] + i_{\text{DIM}}$	$[\sigma] + i_{\text{ADJ}}$
F SUFF	zilip-rɛ	piʃt-i-rɛ	viz-i-rɛ
B SUFF	*	*	hid-i-rɑ

'lock-, Steve-DIM-, water-ADJ-, bridge-ADJ-SUBL'

- ▶ diminutive *i* is not “transparent” for antiharmony

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‘lock-, Steve-DIM-, water-ADJ-, bridge-ADJ-SUBL’

- ▶ diminutive *i* is not “transparent” for antiharmony
- ▶ ie the harmonic behaviour of diminutive forms is identical to that of monomorphemic words

similarity

- ▶ words similar in meaning prefer to be similar in form

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- ▶ words similar in form prefer to be similar in meaning
- ▶ words similar in form in some way prefer to be similar in form in other ways

diminutive types

(items without a gloss are given names; **deleted**, **inserted/changed**)

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no truncation

ʃyn ~ ʃyni 'hedgehog', ʒolt ~ ʒolti, pa:l ~ pali, si:v ~ sivi 'heart, darling'

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truncation of -V#

e:vɑ ~ e:vi, mamaɑ ~ mami 'mom', olgɑ ~ olgi, kla:rɑ ~ kla:ri, jɛn∅: ~ jɛn-tsi

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truncation of -VC(C)#

ʃimɔn ~ ʃimi, finɔm ~ fini/fin-tʃi 'delicious', ga:bor ~ gabi, fɛrɛnts ~ fɛri, zolta:n ~ zoli, gɛrgɛj ~ gɛri,

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truncation of -CVC#

miklo:f ~ miki, iftva:n ~ ifti, ma:rton ~ mar-tsi, ʃa:ndor ~ ʃaŋji

diminutive types (continued)

truncation of -C(C)V(C)#

mihaj ~ mij, rahel ~ raj, rihard ~ ritj, lajof ~ lali, labda ~ lasti 'ball',
laslo ~ latsi

diminutive types (continued)

truncation of -C(C)V(C)#

mihaj ~ mij, rahel ~ raj, rihard ~ ritj, lajof ~ lali, labda ~ lasti 'ball',
laslo ~ lasti

truncation of #X

al-freid ~ freidi, al-bert ~ berti, ferdinand ~ nandi, ignats ~ natsi,
ødøn ~ døn-tsi

diminutive types (continued)

truncation of -C(C)V(C)#

mih**a:j** ~ mi**fi**, ra:h**el** ~ ra**fi**, riha:**rd** ~ ri**fi**, laj**of** ~ la**li**, lab**da** ~ la**sti** 'ball',
la:**slo:** ~ la**tsi**

truncation of #X

al-fre:d ~ fre:di, **al**-bert ~ berti, **f**erdi:**na:nd** ~ na:**ndi**, **i**gna:**ts** ~ na:**tsi**,
ødø**n** ~ dø**n-tsi**

truncation of more than one vowel

ti:m**ea** ~ timi, ma:**ria** ~ mari, burg**ona** ~ burgi 'potato', gabri**el:a** ~ gabi,
tør**te:nelem** ~ tøri 'history', tɛf**tnɛvle:f** ~ tɛfi 'PE',
fø**ldrajz** ~ fø**tsi** 'geography', lo:**verfɛŋ** ~ lovi 'horse race',
pih**ene:f** ~ pihi 'relaxation', ʃpɛtsi:**liʃ** ~ ʃpɛ:**tsi** 'special', no:**e:mi** ~ non-**tfi**

comparison of suffixation types

	FORMAL	FUNCTIONAL
	SIMILARITY	
NONTRUNCATING SUFF.	maximal	transparent
TRUNC. NONDIM. SUFF.	maximal or one V diff.	transparent
DIMINUTIVE SUFF.	only one syll.	many lexicalized

diminutives are less similar

- ▶ diminutive suffixation often creates forms that are **less** similar to their stems than other types of suffixation

we were funded by OTKA grant #104897

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- ▶ diminutive suffixation often creates forms that are **less** similar to their stems than other types of suffixation
- ▶ ⇒ diminutive forms are less (=not) similar to their stem in their harmonic properties (harmonic stability fails)

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- ▶ diminutive suffixation often creates forms that are **less** similar to their stems than other types of suffixation
- ▶ \Rightarrow diminutive forms are less (=not) similar to their stem in their harmonic properties (harmonic stability fails)
- ▶ because of the polysyllabic split, $N+i_{DIM}$ take front suffies

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