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**An Analytical Framework for the Description of Evaluative
Morphology Resources: Contrastive Analysis of Evaluative Forms in
Spanish and Latvian**

*Vērtējumorfoloģijas līdzekļu analītiskā apraksta ietvars: spāņu un
latviešu valodas vērtējumformu kontrastīvā analīze*

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Declaration of academic integrity

I, **Rafael Martín Calvo**, hereby confirm that this dissertation is solely my own work and that I have used no sources or aids other than the ones stated. All passages in my dissertation for which other sources, including electronic media, have been used, be it direct quotes or content references, have been acknowledged as such and the sources cited.

Date

Ventspils, September 22, 2022

Signature

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Rafael Martín Calvo', written over a faint horizontal line.

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Abbreviations

I. Linguistics terms

Abbreviation	Term
ADJ	Adjective
ADV	Adverb
APPR	Approximation
ATT	Attenuation
AUG	Augmentation
DIM	Diminutive
EC	Evaluative construction
ED	Evaluative derivative
EM	Evaluative morphology
EVAL	Evaluative form
EVM	Evaluative marker
EXA	Exactness
EXC	Excess
EXP	Expressivity
FEM	Feminine
HON	Honorific
INT	Intensification
INTF	Interfix
MASC	Masculine
N	Noun
NEU	Neuter
PEJ	Pejoration
RED	Reduplication
REP	Repetition
V	Verb

II. ISO 693-3 language codes

Code	Language
AGT	Agta
ARA	Classical Arabic
BFG	Figuig Berber
BOD	Tibetan
CAS	Moseten (Chimané /Tsimané)
CHO	Choctaw
DAN	Danish
DEU	German
ENG	English
EUS	Basque
FIL	Filipino
FRA	French
GCD	Yukulta (Ganggalida)
GRE	Modern Greek
GSW	Swiss German
HEB	Israeli Hebrew
HIN	Hindi
IAN	Iatmul
IMI	Anamgura / Anamuxra (Ikundun)
IND	Bahasa Indonesian
LAV	Latvian
MMY	Migaama
MNB	Muna
NEE	Nêlêmwa-Nixumwak
NLD	Dutch
SHI	Shilha / Tashelhiyt Berber
SHS	Shuswap
SNA	Shona
SNW	Selee
SPA	Spanish

TEL	Telugu
TTT	Tat (Tati Persian)
VEN	Venda
ZBT	Tamazight (Berber)

Introduction

A remarkable feature attested in natural languages from all genealogical affiliations is that of conveying expressive and evaluative meanings, in addition to the merely referential, with a significant economy of means. While so-called diminutives and augmentatives are the flagship forms of what will be discussed in this study under the term Evaluative Morphology, the richness of forms and meanings of lexical units conveying evaluativity goes far beyond those prototypical forms. At the word level, the morphological modification of certain units to express a wide range of semantic features and pragmatic functions finds its realization in lexical units –which will be termed ‘evaluative forms’– that can at once be characterized for their familiarity as much as for the intrinsic difficulty in defining the exact semantic and pragmatic content they add to a given base or utterance at large.

It is apparent to any speaker of a language where evaluative forms are a significant feature that context (both linguistic and extralinguistic) is paramount when it comes to the use and interpretation of evaluative forms. In a majority of cases, it is the context that will dictate whether a Spanish *nohecita* is a brief night, a terrible night, a wild night, a night one is particularly fond of, or a night which was entirely conventional, but which the speaker feels inclined to portray under a certain light to someone else. While the English *wifelet* may convey endearment and/or disaffection, it hardly conveys small size, despite carrying a so-called diminutive suffix. The Italian *piagnucolare* can be defined as ‘to cry softly, either intermittently or perhaps for a long time, perhaps in a bothersome manner’, but it is unlikely that this verb would be used to describe someone mourning at a funeral, however softly, intermittently or bothersome the crying in this situation may be. The questions guiding the present investigation can be summed up thus: which resources are available to languages for the construction of these lexical units and which semantic content are they able to convey? Evaluative forms are a salient feature in both Spanish and Latvian, the two languages chosen in this study to carry out an in-depth analysis of their respective resources and morphosemantic features, as well as a contrastive analysis.

Despite the commonality of evaluative forms in many languages with long-standing traditions in linguistic research (among these, particularly Romance, Slavic, Germanic and Baltic languages) their precise definition and characterization are far from attained, as shown in recent literature. What is more, there is a dearth of studies that address these

forms not from a category-based perspective (as diminutives, pejoratives, augmentatives, etc.) but from a systemic one. That is, as part of a larger, structured network of morphosemantic, as well as pragmatic, resources, features, rules, and phenomena. Such is the perspective from which this dissertation is developed, examining first the phenomena surrounding the various aspects of evaluative morphology and secondly, in a more focused way, examining the specific resources available in the Spanish and Latvian languages.

The **research object** of the dissertation is the current conceptual and descriptive models in EM studies, while the **research question** can be formulated as follows: what descriptive elements should contain an analytical framework that may be applicable cross-linguistically for the description and quantification of EM resources in natural languages? In turn, the particular **research subject** of the dissertation is the EM resources of Spanish and Latvian.

The intended **aim** of this work is to develop an analytic framework that accounts for the morphosemantic features of evaluative forms in view to obtain measurable parameters that can be applied in descriptive, as well as contrastive, studies of evaluative morphology in a variety of languages.

As a means to reach the above-mentioned aim, the following **tasks** have been established to achieve various individual objectives:

1. To examine existing evaluative morphology research and survey up-to-date theoretical perspectives so as to assess the state of affairs in the study field.
2. To identify and discuss terminological and conceptual discrepancies in the relevant research literature, and to adopt a reliable working nomenclature that may be applicable cross-linguistically.
3. To define and characterize evaluative forms as a distinctive lexical subgroup within the larger group of morphological evaluative constructions.
4. To establish a set of analytical variables related to the construction of evaluative forms, namely 1) expressed semantic features, 2) availability of lexical bases, 3) productive types of morphological processes, 4) the number of existing evaluative markers, and 5) available recursivity resources. Additionally, to develop forms of quantitative measurement which may provide relatively objective indicators regarding how each of these variables is represented in a language's EM resources.
5. To carry out a detailed review and critical analysis of existing literature on

Spanish and Latvian evaluative morphology.

6. To carry out a systematic description of the evaluative morphology resources of Spanish and Latvian according to the morphosemantic variables established by the proposed analytic framework.
7. To carry out a contrastive analysis of each language's resources in terms of evaluative morphology and, using quantitative analysis, obtain indicators that express the availability of evaluative morphology resources in each language.

Overview of the research topic

A significant amount of academic research in the field of linguistics focuses on various aspects of morphology, mainly regarding flexional and derivative processes. Within this field, a specific subfield addresses the lexical units which have been studied under the umbrella terms *expressive derivatives*, *appreciative derivatives*, or *evaluative forms*, and which are best recognized for their group designations as *diminutives*, *augmentatives*, *pejoratives*, *attenuatives*, etc. In this study, the terms of choice will be 'evaluative morphology' (EM) for the study field, and 'evaluative form' (EVAL) for the lexical units that related research mainly addresses. Throughout the study, 'evaluative form' will be employed as an umbrella term covering all morphological constructions obtained by means of an 'evaluative marker', which, in turn, identifies morphs (affixal or not) carrying out an explicit evaluative role in their application in a morphological process, whereby a base acquires an additional evaluative dimension which finds its realization in a variety of semantic features and/or pragmatic functions.

Regardless of the various terms applied diachronically and cross-linguistically to these lexical units, their analysis can be traced to the earliest grammatical descriptions of most languages, as attested by a variety of historical works. However, the consideration and discussion of said forms as integrated within a system—that of a language's evaluative morphology—is an approach only developed in the last half-century, arguably from Scalise (1984) onwards. Consequently, evaluative morphology can be considered as a relatively novel field of enquiry and, as such, certain conceptual, terminological, and methodological aspects are arguably yet to be thoroughly discussed, agreed upon, and given optimal formulations in the relevant literature. Despite the said relative novelty, there is a wealth of available contemporary research literature addressing aspects such as morphological processes, language-specific descriptions, typology, and universals, as well as the discussion of evaluative morphology in its relation to other study fields, e.g.,

semantics, pragmatics, phonology, sociolinguistics, language acquisition, or translation. As a critical examination of evaluative morphology research reveals, a challenge for the advancement of the topic in general and the study of evaluative forms in particular is a clarification of the study field's key notions and corresponding terminology. Consequently, one of the main aims of the present dissertation is to offer an in-depth examination and discussion of the conceptual building blocks in evaluative morphology and to establish various working definitions and terms which, taken a whole, will shape a cohesive framework that may serve to facilitate research in this field. Said framework intends to address specifically a) the morphological processes available to a language, b) the characterization of the semantic and pragmatic features associated with the morphological elements found in said processes, and c) the calculation of a value (or set of them) which allows quantifiable descriptions and contrastive analysis. The ultimate aim in developing an analytical framework is to provide a valid conceptual frame of reference for the intralinguistic description of evaluative morphology resources, as well as for the interlingual contrastive analysis of evaluative morphology systems. In this work, conceptual and terminological discussions will be developed and tested using Spanish, Latvian and a variety of other languages as sample languages. The resulting framework will be discussed in detail and applied to the contrastive analysis of the evaluative morphology systems of Spanish and Latvian.

While evaluative morphology is characterized at a formal level by a restricted number of morphological processes resulting in the modification of a base word, at a semantic level, it is defined by a process of specification resulting in distinctiveness. That is, an evaluative form (resulting from the application of one or more EM formal processes upon a base) contains at least one morph¹ that, in its capacity as an evaluative marker, conveys distinctiveness (usually towards specification) in the semantic or pragmatic features of the base word. The result is thus an incarnation of the base which, while retaining entirely its denotative meaning (its signified), is explicitly rendered distinctive through subjective evaluation. For example, the base *prince*, in interaction with the evaluative markers *-let* and *-ling*, results in the evaluative forms *princelet* and *princeling*,

¹ The term *morph*, rather than *morpheme*, is used throughout the dissertation, following the terminological arguments put forth by Haspelmath (2020). The term *morpheme* will, however, be employed when paraphrasing or quoting authors who use the term in their work.

forms which are prototypically marked as diminutive and/or pejorative². Thus, the semantic features of *princelet* and *princeling* can be said to be, depending on the context, *prince* [+ young] or [+ unimportant]. Therefore, the evaluative marker introduces some semantic specification without modifying the signified of the base word.

Moreover, evaluative forms often convey a pragmatic dimension, either exclusively or aside from semantic distinction. The subjective evaluation expressed by the evaluative marker may zero in on the reality expressed by the base word (be it an object, an action, a characteristic, etc.), as seen in the previous example. But research shows that, more often than not, said evaluation is projected onto the speech act at large. In a particularly apt metaphor, Spitzer has equated the use of evaluative markers to the variations of a theme in a musical composition, where the presence of an evaluative form marks the tone of the sentence (1921, 201*)³.

As briefly sketched in this introduction, the field of evaluative morphology can be approached from a multiplicity of perspectives. Intra- and interlinguistic research on evaluative morphology has tended to be developed along a variety of investigation lines. The most common approaches are listed here, along with several relevant references:

- a) from a descriptive and language-specific perspective, aiming to describe the workings of evaluative morphology or some particular grouping of evaluative forms (most commonly diminutives) in a given language: Alonso (1961 [1935]), Rūķe-Draviņa (1959), González Ollé (1962), Lázaro Mora (1999), Schneider (2003), Osteriopoło (2009), Kalnača (2015);
- b) from a contrastive perspective, analysing the respective resources of different languages and detecting similarities and parallelisms, as well as divergences: Belić (1904), Stankiewicz (1954), Hasselrot (1957), Ettinger (1974a and 1974b), Ambrazas (1993), Koecke (1994), Körtvélyessy and Štekauer (2011), Körtvélyessy (2015a), Efthymiou (2018_e);
- c) from an aspect-specific angle, examining one particular feature of evaluative morphology cross-linguistically, e.g., productivity, pragmatic functions, phonetic

² Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines *princeling* and *princelet* as a “petty or unimportant prince” (Merriam-Webster 2021_e). Collins Online English Dictionary defines *princeling* (and *princelet*) as “the ruler of an insignificant territory; petty or minor prince”, and *princelet* as “a young prince” (COED 2021_e). Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary defines *princeling* as “(usually disapproving) a prince who rules a small or unimportant country” (OALD 2021_e).

³ Citations or paraphrases marked with an asterisk after the page number have been translated by the author from a language other than English. The corresponding fragments can be found in the original language in Appendix I.

iconicity, means of affixation or semantic features: Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994), Jurafsky (1993 and 1996), Bagasheva-Koleva (2006), Gregová (2010), Tirapu León (2014_e);

d) from a translational perspective, considering the challenges that various aspects of ST evaluative forms (e.g., semantic features, morphological makeup, pragmatic functions, or a combination of these) may present in the process of interlinguistic translation: De Bruyne (1989), Piñel López (1993), Chamonikolasová and Rambousek (2007), Lockyer (2012), Veidenberga (2014), Biały (2015_e), Caro Dugo (2015_e), Leonavičienė (2015);

e) from a language-learning perspective, whether in the case of native language acquisition (Savickienė and Dressler 2007, Dabašinskienė 2009_a_e and 2009_b) or second-language learning (Hasko 2010, Montrul et al. 2021).

In the present study, the focus will be on a morphosemantic characterization of evaluative forms, i.e., the morphological processes involved in their obtention and the semantic features they may convey. The examination of pragmatic aspects, productivity issues or interlinguistic translation, however relevant, would require entirely different approaches that would be difficult to incorporate in the limited space here available. Consequently, as indicated above, the morphosemantic characterization of evaluative forms and the conceptualisation of their systemic ties make up the main research focus of the present dissertation. Subsequently, the main object of study will be the evaluative morphology resources identifiable in both the Spanish and Latvian languages. To date, no comprehensive description can be found for the evaluative morphology systems of either of these languages. Admittedly, various descriptive studies from the 20th century offer partial approaches to certain aspects or parts of said systems (Alonso 1961 [1935], Gooch 1967, Lázaro Mora 1976, 1977, and 1999, Prieto 2005_e; and, in Latvian, mainly Rūķe-Draviņa 1953 and 1959, as well as Kalnača 2015), but they do not always follow a scholarly approach and are often rather limited in their scope. Moreover, conclusions found in older studies are at times outdated given recent theoretical developments in the field (e.g., typological descriptions, areal studies, descriptions of evaluative morphology in other languages), as well as advances in research techniques, such as the use of large corpora as source material, the availability of databases, and others. Given the state of affairs, this work proposes a comprehensive, if concise, description of the Spanish and Latvian evaluative morphology systems under the same theoretical framework to facilitate subsequent contrastive analysis of the morphological and semantic features

identifiable in each of these two languages.

The lexical units analysed in this study have been extracted from a variety of sources and aim to represent the contemporary use of the languages discussed, without restrictions in terms of register or dialectal variations. Nonetheless, there is an implicit focus on evaluative forms that can be widely recognized by an average native speaker as common and current to avoid a theoretical discussion built upon weak evidence conveyed by nonce constructions or ambiguous morphological exceptions. Given that evaluative forms are noticeably more abundant in informal contexts, valuable sources of data include corpora which collect online content as well as transcriptions of spoken interactions. While the review of research literature delves into some diachronic aspects, the analysis in the dissertation is carried out from a synchronic perspective, with the consequences that this implies from aspects like lexicalization or desemantization processes.

From a diatopic viewpoint, a particular challenge is posed by the variety of nationlects (as well as regional dialects) which are contained under the general denomination of Spanish, which has over nearly 489 million native speakers and is the official or co-official language in 21 countries (Instituto Cervantes 2020_e, 5–7). Given the familiarity of the author with Peninsular Spanish, this will be the specific variety that the study examines in greater detail. Nonetheless, an effort has been made to address morphosemantic peculiarities present in different nationlects and, more specifically, to assure that none of the general affirmations made in respect to Peninsular Spanish is directly contradicted by evidence from other national varieties. The description of Latvian is more straightforward since it is a language more restricted in terms of speakers (about 1.5 million native speakers) and geographical distribution (LVA 2021_e). Therefore, the use of evaluative forms which are markedly regional will be addressed for occasional illustrations but will not be considered when discussing the standard morphosemantic traits in each language. However, evaluative forms that may enjoy more currency in certain social registers than others will be considered in the analysis if it is deemed that their use is available to standard speakers.

For each section of the work, an ample variety of studies have been selected as the **theoretical framework** which structures and supports the discussion. In this section, the most relevant studies for each aspect of the research are briefly described. Regarding the characterization of evaluative forms, the discussion is built on the contemporary perspectives put forth mainly by Scalise (1984), Jurafsky (1996), Grandi (2002, 2009 and 2015), Prieto (2005), Fortin (2011), and Körtvélyessy (2015). However, there is an in-

depth examination of classical works which also examine phenomena related to evaluative morphology, such as Brugmann and Delbrück (1906), Spitzer (1921), Fritz (1930), Alonso (1961 [1935], Dubois (1962) or Ettinger (1974a). A majority of works discussing the morphological processes involved in the obtention of evaluative forms focus on affixation procedures, as these are the most widely employed cross-linguistically. For the categorization of affixes, the study follows the classification proposed by Beck (2017), although specific works addressing the Latvian and Spanish affixal system have also been taken into account, notably MLLVG (1959), Freimane (1993), Vulāne (2013), Almela Pérez (1998), Morera (2005), and NGLE (2010).

For the description of evaluative morphology resources in various languages, the collection of descriptive articles contained in Grandi and Körtvélyessy (2015) has been an invaluable source of information. Other language-specific studies which have contributed towards a more thorough understanding of the topic are Hasselrot (1957), Rūķe-Draviņa (1953 and 1959), Ettinger (1974b), Fortin (2011) and Amiot (2012_e). A relatively novel approach in this work is the eschewing of traditional evaluative labels in favour of a fuzzy and non-discrete approach, adapting and adopting the notion of *continuum* proposed by Givon (2001) and discussed by Almela Pérez (2003_e) in specific connection to evaluative forms.

The idea of developing an analytical framework for evaluative morphology resources is indebted to (and draws significantly from) the work by Livia Körtvélyessy (2012 and 2015a). In the latter study, Körtvélyessy contrasts languages from a variety of genetic origins on the basis of a newly proposed parameter, the *evaluative morphology saturation value*. Said value, based on the calculation of three other sub-values, is intended to reflect the structural richness of a language in terms of its evaluative morphology resources (Körtvélyessy 2017, 121). The present study proposes some amendments to the calculation of said value, following the redefinition of the sub-values which compose it and their quantitative computation.

Topicality of the dissertation

As previously noted, the field of evaluative morphology has undergone significant advances in recent decades, as it has begun to formally establish its base as an independent study field within linguistics. This field is currently enriched by ongoing innovative research, as attested by the 2015 monograph edited by Grandi and Körtvélyessy, the *Edinburgh Handbook of Evaluative Morphology*. This volume contains a collection of

articles on various theoretical aspects connected to evaluative morphology, as well as descriptions of the evaluative morphology resources of languages representing a worldwide variety of linguistic families. Particularly relevant to the advancement of the field is the recent work of Lívía Körtvélyessy and her proposal for a word-formation model in evaluative morphology, as presented in her study *Evaluative Morphology from a Cross-linguistic Perspective* (2015). From a morphosemantic viewpoint, perhaps the most interesting research focuses currently on the analysis of morphological evaluation in relation to verbal aspect, as discussed in Rifón Sánchez 1998, Tovená 2011, Stosic 2013, Horiguchi 2015, Weidhaas and Schmid 2015, Katunar 2013, or Németh and Sörös 2018. However, truly comprehensive descriptions of evaluative morphology in most languages have yet to be proposed, even if partial aspects have been previously discussed. It is only upon completion of thorough language-specific descriptions that reliable contrastive analyses can be developed and typological or areal features established. However, in order to be in a position to carry out said contrastive analyses, descriptions of evaluative morphology systems must be carried out according to a unified framework or set of criteria, the establishment of which has been defined as one of the main aims of the present study.

Novelty of the dissertation

From a theoretical perspective, while numerous works have addressed partial aspects of evaluative morphology, few studies have developed an in-depth discussion about its fundamental object of study (including concepts and terminology) or its analytical and descriptive framework. From a theoretical perspective, this dissertation intends to develop a stable analytical framework for the various aspects that characterize evaluative forms so as to facilitate their identification and analysis. On the other hand, from an applied perspective, the dissertation presents the first comprehensive description of the Spanish and Latvian evaluative morphology resources, as well as the first significant interlinguistic contrastive analysis of two evaluative morphology systems. The contrastive analysis is developed in accordance with a framework where evaluative forms are considered as elements of a lexical type distinct from purely derivative and inflectional units. However, it is posited as a category that does not contain discrete sub-categories (diminutives, augmentatives, pejoratives, etc.). Instead, evaluative forms are analysed in context with the recourse to a set of interpretative features. Likewise, another novelty of the study is the proposed approach to the calculation of the various values that,

when considered side by side (rather than agglutinated in a single value), express quantitatively the evaluative morphology resources of a given language.

Research methods

Following its declared aim and corresponding tasks, the present study follows a double approach, quantitative and qualitative. A comprehensive review of the research literature concerning morphology in general and evaluative morphology in particular sustains the definition and characterization of the various elements that play a significant role in evaluative morphology. Said review also permits an examination of the diverse approaches to the topic by significant authors and allows for an informed discussion and contrast of the various perspectives. The interpretation and critical response to existing evaluative morphology research literature make up the discussion contained in chapters 1 and 2 of the dissertation. As chapter 3 focuses on contrastive aspects, literature related to Spanish and Latvian evaluative morphology has been examined and interpreted in order to accurately describe the relevant morphological resources for each of these languages. Further theoretical sources have been analysed to develop a framework for the contrastive analysis of the characteristic morphological and semantic features of evaluative forms in each language (including types of morphological processes involved, distribution of available bases across word classes and types of conveyed semantic features). For the collection of illustrative examples, data excerption has been carried out from a variety of sources, mainly from monographs on evaluative morphology, online corpora, studies published in academic journals, as well as works of literary fiction. In addition, quantitative analysis has been employed to establish various indicators related to the presence, form and distribution of evaluative forms in each of the studied languages. In particular, the discussion addresses the number of available morphological processes, the number of word classes available to said processes, as well as the number of available evaluative markers.

Theoretical and practical significance of the dissertation

The dissertation presents several novel proposals formulated in response to the problems outlined above and discussed thoroughly in chapters 1 and 2 of the study. Accordingly, the present research is significant in two main aspects. From a theoretical perspective, the dissertation presents a critical analysis of some of the fundamental assumptions, definitions and interpretative models currently used in evaluative morphology research. The content of the alternative proposals in the dissertation can be summarized as follows:

- The description of evaluative forms as lexical units distinct from other derivatives (including those conveying certain evaluative senses), defined by a set of criteria and further characterized by various recurrent features.
- The non-discrete consideration of all evaluative forms, relegating the traditional labels (diminutive, augmentative, pejorative, etc.) to a descriptive role in general discussions, but maintaining its impracticality and inaccuracy in the sphere of theoretical analysis.
- Building upon the formula first proposed by L. Körtvélyessy to calculate a language's evaluative morphology saturation value, the design of an improved formulation capable of more accurately reflecting a language's evaluative morphology resources employing a set of discrete values.

From a practical viewpoint, the dissertation proposes a comprehensive and detailed description of the Spanish and Latvian evaluative morphology systems, taking into consideration all available EVAL-forming processes (with a necessary focus on affixation), the distribution and frequency of evaluative forms in relation to word classes and their identifiable semantic features. While these descriptions do not examine exhaustively every aspect of the system (morphosemantic and morphophonological restrictions, etymological sources of affixes, sociolinguistic aspects, in-depth analysis of pragmatic features, stylistic aspects, phonetic iconicity, diachronic morphological and semantic variation, etc.), they do offer a broad characterization of evaluative forms in each language. The systematic approach to the descriptions and the subsequent contrastive analysis are both intended to serve jointly as a blueprint for future research in this direction.

Structure and content of the dissertation

The dissertation consists of 323 pages and comprises the following sections: a list of tables and figures, two abbreviation indexes, an introduction, three chapters, a section containing final conclusions, a comprehensive bibliography containing a list of references and sources, and one appendix.

The introduction describes the general state of research in the field of evaluative morphology and points out certain key problematic aspects. Accordingly, this discussion outlines the study's approach by defining several aims and associated tasks to address said problematic theoretical features. The introduction section also contains the description of the applied methodology, a justification of the study's topicality and

novelty, as well as a brief discussion of its theoretical and practical significance. Lastly, the introduction includes a general reference of the sources and references of the research literature consulted for the development of the study, a list of the conferences and publications in which partial aspects of the study have been presented, as well as a description of the extension, division and contents of the study. The study's main body is divided into three chapters.

Chapter 1 discusses the various realizations of subjective evaluation in language and underlines the study's focus on the morphological means found in the expression of evaluation; it reviews the defining characteristics of evaluative morphology and proposes a working definition of the term 'evaluative morphology' (EM); it delimits the lexical units pertinent to the study field ('evaluative forms' or EVALs⁴) and develops a set of type-defining conditions for their identification vis-à-vis other lexical units with which they share certain morphosemantic traits.

Chapter 2 examines existing definitions and morphosemantic characterizations of EVALs and goes on to propose a new characterization of these units based on their consideration as items found in a non-discrete lexical continuum, i.e., not subdivided into notional categories. This chapter also develops a descriptive and analytic framework to be used in the description and analysis of the EM resources of individual languages, as well as in the interlinguistic contrastive analysis of these resources. The framework is founded on the examination of several evaluative morphology parameters (morphological formal processes, interpretative semantic features, word-class distribution, recursivity resources, and the number of evaluative markers) and proposes adapted formulas for the calculation and quantitative expression of these parameters. The combined results of these numerical values can be taken as indicative of a given language's evaluative morphology resources.

Chapter 3 contains a comprehensive study of the evaluative morphology resources of the Spanish and Latvian languages, according to the parameters described in the analytic framework. More specifically, the chapter is composed of a review of prior evaluative morphology research literature concerning Spanish and Latvian, a proposed catalogue of EVAL-forming markers, an inventory of EVAL-formation processes available to each language, and an analysis of the distribution of evaluative forms across

⁴ This term has been proposed by Prieto (2005) but in reference to *evaluative affixes*. The term is here maintained but in reference to the lexical units obtained by means of an evaluative marker, a morph carrying out an explicit evaluative function.

word classes. The last portion of the chapter is devoted to a calculation of a set of values for each of the languages concerning the above-mentioned features, as well as to a discussion of various aspects of the contrastive analysis.

The conclusions section summarizes the novel theoretical proposals contained in the study and offers a final commentary of the theses proposed as the basis for the study in view of the theoretical aspects discussed in the dissertation, as well as on the evidence provided by the analysis of gathered linguistic material. Possible directions for future research are also indicated.

A brief appendix contains quotes corresponding to cited or paraphrased excerpts from non-English bibliographical sources in their original language. Not all such cited or paraphrased excerpts contained in the dissertation have been included in the appendix, but only those that have particular significance in the context of the theoretical arguments examined in each case.

Sources and references

During the conception and development of the study 512 theoretical reference works have been consulted on topics related to evaluative morphology, affixation, verbal aspect, contrastive analysis, etc. Given that evaluative morphology has received particular attention as a study field only in recent decades, a large portion of reference works consulted for the present study date from the period comprised between 1984 and 2022. Nonetheless, reference works covering aspects relevant to evaluative morphology prior to the indicated period have also been consulted to chart the evolution of the concepts and terminology associated to this study field. Similarly, while the chapter containing the contrastive analysis of the EM resources available to Spanish and Latvian has been developed from a synchronic perspective, scholarly works that trace the discussion of relevant aspects in each of the languages have also been consulted in order to establish the evolution of theoretical approaches to the study subject over time.

For illustrative examples presented in the dissertation, 105 additional sources have been accessed. The choice of sources intends to ensure, insofar as possible, a significant representation of national and regional varieties of each language, given that the usage of specific evaluative markers and EVALs may be dissimilar among different communities of speakers. The criteria employed in the selection of illustrative examples can be listed as follows:

1. From a diatopic perspective, both so-called standard varieties as well as

nationlects and dialectal varieties have been examined, since they reflect the possibilities afforded by the language. At any rate, selected examples reflect uses that correspond to significant groups of speakers and which are recognizable to most speakers of the language in question. Exceptions to this criterion, e.g., nonce constructions, subdialectal uses or particularly infrequent ones, have been marked accordingly in the study.

2. For the discussion of the historical evolution of evaluative morphology in each of the two main languages described and contrasted in the dissertation, sources that examine archaic forms, uses or meanings have been examined. The discussion of these forms mostly intends to provide a thread of morphological and semantic development for evaluative forms, and not all forms discussed in said context must be assumed to have currency in the language nowadays. However, for the contrastive analysis carried out in the final chapter, the choice of sources points to a decidedly synchronic approach.
3. Selected illustrative examples do not discriminate in regard to registers of speech (i.e., formal, poetic, informal, vulgar, etc.), as it has been deemed that in each register the pragmatic and morpho-semantic features of evaluative forms are represented in a distinctive manner. Consequently, the use of evaluative forms is examined in all registers of speech in order to obtain a more complete picture of the diversity and range of these lexical units. A similar perspective has been adopted regarding the etymological origin of the evaluative markers selected for analysis and discussion: the prevailing criteria is that they have been discussed previously as conveyors of evaluativity (in evaluative forms), and that they are understood by (and available to) any native speaker.
4. Illustrative examples have been extracted from a variety of sources. These are, in order of preference:
 - a. grammars, dictionaries and academic works on morphology and on evaluative morphology in particular;
 - b. periodicals and literary works;
 - c. linguistic corpora containing linguistic material of the relevant languages for the study, particularly the corpora LVK2018, LVTK2007, Tīmeklis 2020, and Emuāri for Latvian, and CREA, CORDE, and NOW for Spanish;
 - d. Online platforms, such as websites, blogs, and user forums. Online sources have mostly been employed to attest and illustrate infrequent but existing

uses of evaluative forms. In the case of examples considered as clearly exceptional and not conforming to standard usage, this has been indicated.

Theses

Several theses are here put forth for their defence in the present dissertation:

1. The study field of evaluative morphology must strive to advance its inquiry according to well-delineated conceptual constructs and accurate definitions which allow for theoretical research (and results thereof) to be applicable and reliable cross-linguistically. Clearly defined morphosemantic distinctions are a requirement to differentiate the similar but ultimately distinctive lexical types which are often discussed without division in EM research.
2. Comprehensive descriptive studies of evaluative morphology should rely on unified or widely accepted frameworks which, while accounting for each individual language's features, are based on the examination, notation, and (if possible) quantification of a set of specific productivity and frequency parameters involved in the construction and usage of evaluative forms. Descriptions lacking structure and parameters are often incomplete and problematic regarding their use in contrastive or comparative studies.
3. The traditional divide between the derivational and inflectional paradigms is not well suited to account for the morphosemantic singularity of evaluative forms. Indeed, the construction of evaluative forms presents its own set of individual characteristics which allows for the consideration of a separate type of morphology, namely, evaluative morphology.
4. Lexical units to be studied as evaluative forms can be characterized by a set of morphosemantic criteria. Compliance with said set of conditions allows for their classification as a distinct lexical type, distinct from other lexical units which may also convey varying degrees of subjectivity, and which are here discussed under the label of 'evaluative derivatives'. While both lexical types are relevant study objects in their own right, they cannot be examined under a single framework, as they are essentially dissimilar in many respects.
5. Evaluative forms are best considered as belonging to a fuzzy, non-discrete lexical group, in which the semantic features expressed by each evaluative marker (or combination of them) often interact, overlap, and vary according to the semantics of the base and the co-text (as well as to additional prosodic and situational

elements). However, on a case-per-case basis, given the contextual use of an evaluative form, it is possible to discern one or various dominant semantic-pragmatic features.

6. The theoretical position outlined in the previous theses implies the eschewing of the division of evaluative forms into the traditional discrete groups labelled as ‘diminutives’, ‘augmentatives’, ‘pejoratives’, ‘attenuatives’, ‘hypocoristics’, etc. It is considered that while the traditional nomenclature may be convenient in non-specialized contexts, it is ultimately insufficient and, more importantly, potentially misleading in the context of academic research.
7. The analytical framework for the description of evaluative forms can find practical uses in various fields of study in linguistics. Aside from its immediate applicability to the description of EM resources, variations between the various values obtained for a L₁/L₂ pair may be indicative of predictable difficulties in areas of applied linguistics such as language learning and translation. Also from a typological perspective, languages can be clustered according to the obtained numerical values to uncover genealogical or areal features.

Approbation of the study

Various portions of the dissertation have been presented in 11 international conferences:

1. 5th International Conference for Young Linguists “Bridges in the Baltics” (Stockholm University, Sweden), October 6–7, 2017. Title of the presentation: “Evaluative morphology and evaluative affixation: Characteristics and conditions of Evaluative Forms”.
2. 1st International Conference “Bridging Languages and Cultures” (Ventspils University of Applied Sciences, Latvia), September 14–15, 2017. Title of the presentation: “Evaluative Morphology: Characteristics and Conditions of Evaluative Forms”.
3. 22nd International Conference “The Word: Aspects of Research” (Liepāja University, Latvia), November 30 – December 1, 2017. Title of the presentation: “Evaluative Morphology: Semantic Characterization of Evaluatives”.
4. International Conference “National Identity in Translation” (Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, Ukraine), September 24–26, 2018. Title of the presentation: “Characterization of Common Procedures in the Translation of Evaluative Forms from Spanish to Latvian”.

5. 23rd International Conference “The Word: Aspects of Research” (Liepāja University, Latvia), November 29–30, 2018. Title of the presentation: “A Morphological Typology of Affixed Evaluative Forms in Spanish and Latvian”.
6. IX International Congress of the Iberian Association for Translation and Interpreting Studies “Translatum Nostrum” (University of Alicante, Spain) January 23–25, 2019. Title of the presentation: “Sobre calles, callecillas, callejas y callejones. La traducción al letón de formas evaluativas en español”.
7. 5th International Conference for Young Linguists “Via scientiarum” (Ventspils University of Applied Sciences, Latvia), April 11–12, 2019. Title of the presentation: “Distribution of Evaluative Forms Across Lexical Categories in Spanish and Latvian”.
8. 2nd International Conference “Bridging Languages and Cultures” (Ventspils University of Applied Sciences, Latvia), September 12–13, 2019. Title of the presentation: “Evaluative Derivatives and Evaluative Forms: Two Distinct Groups of Affixed Lexical Units in Evaluative Morphology”.
9. 24th International Conference “The Word: Aspects of Research” (Liepāja University, Latvia), November 28–29, 2019. Title of the presentation: “A corpus-based translation analysis of non-EVAL textual equivalents in Latvian for Spanish evaluative forms”.
10. 25th International Conference “The Word: Aspects of Research” (Liepāja University, Latvia), November 26–27, 2020. Title of the presentation: “A quantitative framework for the incidence of evaluative morphology resources in languages”.
11. 80th International Scientific Conference of the University of Latvia, February 18, 2022. Section ‘El español, lengua de comunicación profesional e internacional. Desafíos en el siglo XXI’. Title of the presentation: “Propuesta para un catálogo de afijos valorativos en español”.

Partial results of the dissertation have been published in 8 scientific peer-reviewed publications and one book of abstracts:

Articles

1. Martín Calvo, Rafael. 2018. “Approaches to the Semantic Characterization of Evaluative Forms”. In *The word: aspects of research*, 22 (1/2), Gunta Smiltiece and Linda Lauze (eds.). Liepāja: Liepāja University, pp. 32–41.
2. Martín Calvo, Rafael. 2019. “Evaluative Morphology: Conditions and Properties of Evaluative Forms Obtained by Affixation”. In *Bridging Languages and Cultures. Linguistics, Translation Studies and Intercultural Communication*, Guntars Dreijers, Agnese Dubova and Jānis Veckrācis (eds.). Berlin: Frank & Timme, pp. 133–151.

3. Martín Calvo, Rafael. 2019. "Morphosyntactic Procedures in the Translation of Evaluative Forms from Spanish to Latvian". In *Translation Today: National Identity in Focus*, Michał Organ (ed.). Bern: Peter Lang, pp. 183–195. DOI: 10.3726/b15753.
4. Martín Calvo, Rafael. 2019. "Morphological Typology of Affixed Evaluative Forms in Spanish and Latvian". In *Vārds un tā pētīšanas aspekti: rakstu krājums*, 23 (1/2). Gunta Smiltnece and Linda Lauze (eds.). Liepāja: Liepāja University, pp. 108–120.
5. Martín Calvo, Rafael. 2020. "Morphosyntactic Procedures in the Translation of Pejorative Senses in Evaluative Forms from Spanish to Latvian". In *Translatum nostrum. La traducción y la interpretación en el ámbito humanista*. Carla Botella Tejera, Javier Franco Aixelá and Catalina Iliescu Gheorghiu (eds.). Granada: Comares, pp. 39–58.
6. Martín Calvo, Rafael. 2020. "Evaluative Derivatives and Evaluative Forms: Two Distinct Groups of Affixed Lexical Units in Evaluative Morphology". In *Bridging Languages and Cultures II. Linguistics, Translation Studies and Intercultural Communication*. Guntars Dreijers, Jānis Sīlis, Silga Sviķe, and Jānis Veckrācis (eds.). Berlin: Frank & Timme, pp. 83–112.
7. Martín Calvo, Rafael. 2022 (forthcoming). "A Contrastive Analysis of the Distribution of Affixed Evaluative Forms across Word Classes in Spanish and Latvian". In *Via Scientiarium. Starptautiskās jauno lingvistu konferences rakstu krājums V*. Andrejs Gorbunovs, and Valērijs Sergejevs (eds.). Ventpils / Liepāja: Ventpils Augstskola / Liepājas Universitāte, pp. 17–43.
8. Martín Calvo, Rafael. 2022 (forthcoming). "A Descriptive Framework for Evaluative Morphology Resources". In *Valoda: nozīme un forma / Language: Meaning and Form*, 13. Rīga: Latvijas Universitātes Humanitāro zinātņu fakultāte.

Abstracts

1. Martín Calvo, Rafael. 2022. "Propuesta para un catálogo de afijos evaluativos del español". In *Latvijas Universitātes 80. starptautiskā zinātniskā konference. Humanitāro zinātņu fakultāte. Valodniecība. Literatūrzinātne. Folkloristika. Referātu tēzes*. Rīga: LU Akadēmiskais apgāds, pp. 45–47. https://www.apgads.lu.lv/fileadmin/user_upload/lu_portal/apgads/PDF/Konferences/2022/HZF_LU_80_konf-tk.pdf.

1. Evaluative morphology: a critical review of fundamental concepts in the study field

'Now,' said Tom, 'we face the problemette of distribution.'
'More of a problemola than a problemette,' said Bullock.
'A problerama, even,' said Sampson.
'I'd go so far as to call it a problemellaroni,' said Bullock'
(Stephen Fry)⁵

The objective of the present introductory chapter is the establishment of clear boundaries in terms of the various linguistic means through which evaluation may be conveyed in a given communicative context. The following discussion intends to lay the foundations of an analytical framework which will allow for the accurate characterization of the lexical units which are the main focus of this study, and which will be referred to as 'evaluative forms' (hereafter EVALs) throughout the study. It is one of the contentions of this study that several eminent research studies in the field of 'evaluative morphology' (hereafter EM) neglect to establish clear working definitions for some of the main notions discussed in them. In other instances, said definitions are arguably too ample. Indeed, the problematic aspects associated with the lack of a consistent framework, both from a conceptual, as well as from a terminological perspective, can be enumerated as follows:

Firstly, the lexical units traditionally known as diminutives and augmentatives are almost routinely discussed on the basis of vague or insufficient definitions, being usually characterized via their morphological and/or semantic characteristics (e.g., Ambrazas 1993, Jurafsky 1993 and 1996, or Hummel 1997). Jurafsky, for example, discusses the "universals in the semantics of the diminutive" without offering any characterization of its research object, morphological or otherwise (Jurafsky 1993), and in a latter study broadly defines *diminutive* both as a semantic category and as a function "defined as any morphological device which means at least 'small'" (Jurafsky 1996, 534). Similarly, studies like those of Gaarder (1966) or Crowhurst (1992) carry out discussions on specific uses of 'diminutives' without presenting a definition supporting the choice of their lexical units selected for analysis. Notable exceptions include Nieuwenhuis (1985), who describes several characteristic functions of diminutives and proposes a clear working definition (1985, 1–2). On a related note, a frequent feature of many studies is the

⁵ Fry 2004, 104.

description and discussion of one single type or category of evaluative forms, be it diminutives, augmentatives, pejoratives or others. Such approach cannot be construed as intrinsically flawed, but perhaps as insufficient, in that it describes the form and function of these lexical units but fails to address their notional core and to differentiate them from other similar, but essentially different, units. This single-type approach leaves unaddressed the relation of each type to each other, as well as to the larger system of evaluative morphology (whether intralinguistically or from a purely conceptual perspective). More recent research has addressed both of these issues (particularly Grandi and Körtvélyessy 2015 and Körtvélyessy 2015a), but as it will be argued in this study, perhaps more accurate frameworks and interpretation models are yet possible to develop.

A second key problematic aspect in the discussion in this study field stems from the fact that evaluative morphology arguably does not conform to either the inflectional or derivational paradigms which sustain much of contemporary morphological analysis. Indeed, these paradigms have proven unsuitable to account for and admit the processes by which evaluative morphology operates (see, for example, Scalise 1984 and Beard 1995). Indeed, as argued by various authors, EVAL-forming processes are best described and discussed under a separate paradigm:

it should be pointed out again that there also are certain formal properties of morphological systems which would suggest that the underlying nature of so called ‘expressive’ word-formation is markedly different from the typical meaning-changing derivational operations. (Szymanek 1998, 109)⁶

Discussions of evaluative forms developed within an inflection vs. derivation framework are bound to misleading characterizations and erroneous conclusions. In short, while there seems to be a considerable consensus among authors on the abstract notions underlying evaluative morphology, the morphosemantic differences that can be observed between the selected lexical units discussed in studies suggests the necessity of more accurate EVAL-defining criteria. In this regard, establishing a clear distinction between common derivatives and evaluative forms as two distinct types of lexical units is a prerequisite for a focussed description of a language’s EM resources. This dissertation addresses these two main issues and proceeds to their practical application via the description, quantification and contrastive analysis of the EM systems of Spanish and Latvian.

Concerning the intended contrastive perspective, a third problematic issue can be identified. Evaluative morphology presents a set of parameters or features upon which a

⁶ See also Scalise 1984, Fortin 2011, Nau 2013, and Körtvélyessy 2015a.

linguistic characterization may be developed. A list of said features includes, but is not limited to, available morphological processes, as well as their productivity and distribution across word classes, transmitted semantic and/or pragmatic features, etc. From a contrastive perspective, it is an ideal scenario when these features can be analysed quantitatively and expressed in terms that enable accurate comparison. In this respect, the pioneering work of Körtvélyessy (2015a) provides researchers with a useful indicator, the ‘EM saturation value’, a numerical value intended to express a language’s potential for EVAL-formation. However, Körtvélyessy’s proposed formula for the obtention of said value is not devoid of problematic aspects, such as the sole consideration of ‘diminutives’ and ‘augmentatives’ to the exclusion of other EVALs and the limitations inherent to her data-gathering approach. Regardless of certain perceived shortcomings, Körtvélyessy’s formula will be adopted as the foundation for the development of a revised proposal for the calculation of a set of sub-values that, considered in coordination, can reflect the availability of EM resources in a language. Such values can be of particular assistance in areal and typological research, as well as in contrastive analyses.

A fourth problem is connected to the traditionally accepted division of evaluative forms into discrete groups or categories: *diminutives*, *augmentatives*, *pejoratives*, *attenuatives*, *intensives*, *honorifics*, etc. As it will be argued in detail, such labels are useful from a conceptual standpoint but insufficient and unsophisticated enough to accurately reflect their attested diversity as well as context-dependent variation from a semantic-pragmatic perspective. While this aspect has been pointed out by a significant number of authors⁷, no actual step has been taken toward a joint, non-discrete consideration of all EVALs in a language in order to avoid misleading categorial characterizations. While recognizing the frequent semantic-pragmatic features of certain individual EVAL-forming morphs and processes, the discussion contained in this dissertation will be developed on the assumption of all EVALs being part of a single lexical group. Membership to this group is established according to several type-defining criteria (see subchapter 1.8), while required interpretations will be carried out according to a set of proposed interpretative features (see subchapter 2.5.1.3).

Following the description of the issues and challenges briefly articulated in this introduction, the first chapter of the dissertation discusses linguistic evaluation as

⁷ See, for example, Rūķe-Draviņa (1959), Gaarder (1966), Lázaro Mora (1981), Szymanek (1988), Almela Pérez (1998), or Provencio Garrigós (2009) among others.

expressed at various levels (subchapter 1.1), a brief account of the origins and use of the term *evaluative morphology* (subchapter 1.2), and a contrast between the term evaluative morphology (as defined in this study) and other related terms referring to notions which alternatively overlap, touch tangentially or essentially differ from it (subchapter 1.3). Additionally, the chapter also discusses the notation suggested for the academic discussion of evaluative morphology (subchapter 1.4), evaluative forms as a lexical type distinct from derivatives and inflectional forms (subchapter 1.5), the evaluative and non-evaluative roles of certain morphs (usually affixes) (subchapter 1.6 and 1.7), and the type-defining conditions of evaluative forms (subchapter 1.8).

1.1. Subjective evaluation in language: evaluative syntax, lexicon, morphology, and phonology

Linguistic subjectivity, understood as “self-expression in language” (Lyons 1994, as cited by Baumgarten et al. 2012, 1), is a common feature in natural languages, appearing in both implicit and explicit forms. Cross-linguistically, explicit evaluative content can be conveyed by various means at the phonological level (tone and intonation of the utterance), the lexical level (through deliberate choice of connotation-rich lexicon), the syntactic level (through rearrangement of the habitual order of syntactic components), and the morphological level (through morphological adjustments performed upon base words). Merlini Barbaresi characterizes evaluation as “a mental operation assessing the value of an object or event, as more or less desirable and important in the interpreter’s view” and emphasizes that “the speaker expresses a judgment ‘as to value’, not ‘as to fact’, according to his or her intentions, perspectives and standards of evaluation” (Merlini Barbaresi 2015, 38). This distinction between ‘value’ and ‘fact’ is relevant in two separate but interrelated ways. On the one hand, it subordinates the truth-value of the message to the subjective perspective of the sender. On the other hand, it entails that subjectivity is usually downplayed or avoided altogether in communicative situations where verifiable facts are relevant (such as legal, scientific or administrative texts). Consequently, evaluation appears more prominently in linguistic settings and instances where casualness and/or opinion weigh significantly.

From the viewpoint of the sender, Baumgarten et al. have pointed out that “self-expression can take various forms, e.g., the communication of personal feelings, affective states, attitudes, beliefs, value judgments and assessments” (Baumgarten et al. 2012, 1). From a broader perspective, encompassing both sender and receiver, sources of meaning

have been discussed by Leech, who establishes a clear distinction between ‘conceptual or denotative meaning’ and ‘connotative meaning’ (Leech 1981, 9). While expressions containing both of these share a communicative value by virtue of their referent (an actual object or concept), they differ in two key aspects, which specifically characterize connotative meaning as a transmitter of evaluation. Firstly, connotation is indeterminable *a priori*, as it is bound by the culture at large as well as by individual experience. Secondly, connotation is open-ended in that “any characteristic of the referent may contribute to the connotative meaning of the expression which denotes it” (ibid., 12–13). At any rate, regarding this shared sender-receiver perspective, connotative meaning usually points towards a certain amount of knowledge, emotion and attitude shared by these two agents. That is, they both perceive their extra-linguistic reality in roughly similar terms, and the implied connotations are usually part of a set of shared meanings. Indeed, the precise meaning of a communicative act is in direct relation to the contexts (both immediate and extended, both linguistic and extra-linguistic) in which it occurs.

Not disregarding that context and co-text are key towards an accurate interpretation of any proposition, the examples presented in (1) intend to illustrate some of the various forms of encoding linguistic subjectivity. The following propositions show that linguistic subjectivity may be conveyed in a covert or implicit manner, either in the form of cultural assumptions (1a) or the expression of personal convictions (1b). Subjectivity may also be presented in a more overt and explicit manner, taking the form of emphatic syntactic constructions (1c), lexical collocations (1d), morphological modification of a base (1e), or the use of particularly meaningful lexical items such as expletives, interjections and onomatopoeias, as well as a variety of prosodic features (1f)⁸:

(1a) Furthermore, cows are considered **sacred** in Hindu society.

(1b) They are **friendly**, **helpful** and know each of the girls personally.

(1c) I was **way younger** than those guys.

(1d) No, I am **far too old** to hope for such things.

(1e) Is a **supersad**, **superfunny**, **superaffecting** performance.

(1f) I was **sooo** disappointed by the movie!

Hunston and Thompson (1999) recognize that conveying opinion through language is a

⁸ Illustrative examples (1a) to (1f) are all extracted from the English Web 2020 corpus (enTenTen 2021c).

constant in any given message and that linguistic evaluation may be transmitted via lexical, syntactic or morphological markings. Accordingly, it is possible to examine separately *evaluative lexicon*, *evaluative syntax* and *evaluative morphology* in human languages (1999). To these categories, Mason has appropriately added that of expressive or evaluative phonology (Mason 2008_e, 203–208), where prosodic elements such as the tone, volume, pitch, and intonation arc of the message are given due consideration. Taking these interrelated facets as a set of phenomena, linguistic evaluation may be said to refer to “the various expressive strategies through which narrators comment on the propositional content of their stories and communicate their significance. A strategic component of effective narration, evaluation operates both at the global level of the text as a whole and at the local level of individual elements” (Fleischman 1990, 143).

Regarding linguistic subjectivity on the part of those who produce an utterance, evaluative morphology focuses its analysis on the morphological processes which generate evaluative forms (and/or evaluative constructions), as well as on the various semantic aspects and pragmatic functions they convey. Evaluative forms can be defined as morphologically marked lexical units which contain and transmit a certain amount of subjective connotation on the part of the speaker, often as a reflection of a personal opinion, attitude or judgment. In selecting one of these constructions over an unmodified base word, and in using a specific form from among the many that one same base word may afford, a message can be enhanced at different levels, notably semantically, stylistically, and pragmatically.

The phonological aspect of linguistic evaluation is often (though not always) intertwined with the morphological one, since “the formal expression of diminutive and augmentative meaning in languages is to a large extent influenced by sound symbolism” (Gregová 2011, 333). Two universals also refer to this connection:

There is an apparently universal iconic tendency in diminutives and augmentatives: diminutives tend to contain high front vowels, whereas augmentatives tend to contain high back vowels. (Universal #1926) (...) Front vowels predominantly correspond to diminutive and associated categories. (Universal #1001) (Plank and Filimonova 2006)

Štekauer (2015) also includes sound symbolism when cataloguing the various word-formation processes found in evaluative morphology. However, this inclusion will later be questioned on the grounds of it not actually constituting a morphological modification, but rather a prosodic one involving “the alteration, in point or manner of articulation”

(Nichols 1971, 826)⁹. Pentland is somewhat ambiguous when characterizing diminutive consonant symbolism as a “process by which certain consonants in a word may be replaced by other consonants to impart a diminutive meaning” (Pentland 1974, 238). Jurafsky posits that “in its formal realization the diminutive is commonly realized (...) by the use of higher tonality, including high tones, high front vowels, and fronted consonants” (1996, 534). In a more accurate formulation, Melnychuk points out that “the presence of the diminutive suffix may, but does not always, trigger the shift. The symbolism is thus an optional rule [and] it is not always necessary for the diminutive suffix to be present for the shift to occur” (1999, 182). As the observations of these authors reveal, most research linking sound symbolism and evaluativity focuses on diminutive meanings. However, several valuable studies also provide interesting insights into the relationship between sound symbolism and pejoration (Abelin 1999) or augmentation (Vanhove 2018). Moreover, as it is characteristic of morphological evaluatives, sound symbolism does not necessarily “merely denote small and large objects, but rather functions to signal the affective and evaluative relationship of the speaker to the referent” (Hinton et al. 1995, 8). This affirmation is also confirmed in language-specific studies: “sound change diminutive can encode a denotational meaning and emotional values in almost equal proportions” (Vanhove and Hamid Ahmed 2018, 54).

As described in this first section, the conveying of evaluative features can be found at a variety of linguistic levels, some of which appear to be closely interconnected. In the present study, the main focus is on the morphological realization of evaluativity, and consequently lexical, syntactical, phonological or prosodic means will not be addressed. The discussion will discuss specifically a) morphs which may act as evaluative markers, b) the type of bases they are capable of being attached to, and c) the semantic-pragmatic features which can be gleaned in evaluative forms.

1.2. Origins and adoption of the term *evaluative morphology*

This subchapter examines the origin and evolution of the term ‘evaluative morphology’,

⁹ Nichols’ study focuses on a number of native languages of Western North America, in relation to which the author specifically notes the following: “In the languages having diminutive affixes or reduplicative forms, the presence of the affix or reduplication almost always triggers the diminutive shift, although shifts also occur in the absence of the diminutive morpheme. A few languages also have an augmentative shift, generally the reverse of the diminutive shift, where the change in connotation can be extended to the pejorative.” (ibid.)

as employed to refer cross-linguistically to the various morphological processes by which a base word is adapted to express the speaker's subjectivity regarding an object (which may as well be an abstract concept: an action, a pronoun, an adverb, etc.) or an entire utterance. The origin and adoption of the term here discussed is a rather recent occurrence, as it can be traced back to the early 1990s. Reflecting the ascendancy of English as the dominant academic language in the field, the apparition of the term was prompted by the need to discuss in English, and under a common denomination, the various morphological aspects involved in the genesis, description and usage of evaluative forms.

While different types of evaluative affixes had long been identified as a specific research area in the field of linguistics, the first attempt to provide a somewhat comprehensive account of said affixes was Sergio Scalise, in his monograph *Generative Morphology* (1984). In this study, under the rubric 'Evaluative Suffixes', Scalise proposes a categorisation of these suffixes and, most importantly, describes how their morphosemantic functions differed in respect to traditional inflectional and derivational suffixes. From this perspective, and even if some of his initial insights have been later revised by both himself and other authors (Scalise 1994, Jurafsky 1996, Grandi 2005), Scalise's study establishes these affixes as a distinct research subfield.

Although historically authors made reference to suffixes involved in the creation of evaluative forms, there has been a progressive trend in the last decades towards a change of focus, from the morphological means themselves (usually suffixation) to the overall resulting morphosemantic function. Thus, in the last decades of the 20th century, there can be found terms such as *expressive word-formation* (Pharies 1983, Szymanek 1988), *affective morphology* (Beard and Szymanek 1988, Bauer 1997), *appreciative morphology* (De Bruyne 1989), *expressive morphology* (Zwicky and Plum 1987, Lieber 2004, Fortin 2011), *emotive suffixation* (Lang 1990), *appreciative derivation* (Lázaro Mora 1999), *affective suffixes* (Mackenzie 2001), or *appreciative morphemes* (Hualde et al. 2001). However diverse in designation, the linguistic phenomena most of these authors refer to are essentially alike, and their perspectives present only some minor differences, owing to the specific parameters chosen to describe and typify them¹⁰.

As far as it has been possible to attest it, the first mention of evaluative morphology

¹⁰ Not to be confused, the term *evaluative* in isolation, is employed by some authors to refer to a certain group of adverbs and adjectives expressing preference or partiality in the speaker's feelings: e.g., *unfortunately*, *sadly*, *regrettably*, *strangely* (Bach and Chao 2012, 2550) or *beautiful*, *clever*, *clumsy* (Delmonte 2012, 1321).

as a term appears in Gregory T. Stump's article *How Peculiar is Evaluative Morphology?* (1993), where the term itself is not actually defined, but rather contrasted to inflectional and derivational morphology. Shortly after, Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi write of "evaluative alteration formed by augmentatives and other intensifiers" in their seminal work *Morphopragmatics* (1994, 84). The term appears then prominently used in Laurie Bauer's articles *No Phonetic Iconicity in Evaluative Morphology* (1996) and *Evaluative morphology: In Search of Universals* (1997): "this type of morphology –under the label 'affective' or 'evaluative' morphology– has become a focus of attention because of supposed idiosyncratic facts about the way in which processes marking these notions are incorporated into the grammar" (Bauer 1997, 534).

Due to its relative novelty, evaluative morphology is rarely found as a standalone term in reference works, and it does not appear in any of the following works (here listed in chronological order): the *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics* (Bussmann 1996), *The Linguistics Encyclopedia* (Malmkjær 2004), the *Encyclopedia of Linguistics* (Strazny 2005), the *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* (Brown 2006), the *Concise Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics* (Berns 2010), *The Cambridge Dictionary of Linguistics* (Brown and Miller 2013). Only the online *Oxford Research Encyclopedia* includes the entry *Evaluatives in Morphology* where the term 'evaluative morphology' appears defined as "a field of linguistic studies that deals with the formation of diminutives, augmentatives, pejoratives, and ameliorative" (Grandi 2017_e).

The term evaluative morphology is a composite of two distinct elements which could previously be found in the research literature devoted to the topic. A common feature in such research (most notably in the context of Romance, Germanic and Slavic languages), was the restricted focus on the formation and description of diminutives, due to their significant roles in Classical Latin and Ancient Greek languages. The Indo-European roots and influence of diminutives in modern European languages was the object of several studies dating back to the late 19th and early 20th century, most notably sections of *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* (Brugmann and Delbrück 1906) and *Die Deminutiva im Altlatein* (Conrad 1930). Other studies of this period also refer exclusively to the use of diminutive affixes and in one or several languages: *Thesis Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der slavischen Deminutiv- und Amplificativsuffixe* (Belić 1901), *Die Deminutiva im Deutschen* (Wrede 1908), *Para la lingüística de nuestro diminutivo* (Alonso 1930), *Noción, emoción, acción y afecto en los diminutivos* (Alonso 1935), *Diminutieve en Affektieve Suffixen in de Germaanse Talen*

(Kruisinga 1942), and *Études sur la formation diminutive dans les langues romanes* (Hasselrot 1957). Only in some instances have authors recognized the semantic variety and interrelatedness of apparently distinctive forms obtained by a limited number of affixal means. Consequently, the titles of these studies reflected this connection but did not attempt to establish a single term for the overall function: *Deminutiva (nebst Hypokoristika), Amplifikativa, Deteriorativa* (Brugmann and Delbrück 1906, 668–685), *Pamazinājuma un subjektīvā vērtējuma piedēkļi* (MLLVG 1959, 174), *Diminutiv- und Augmentativ-bildung* (Ettinger 1974b), *Diminutives, Augmentatives and Pejorative Suffixes in Modern Spanish* (Gooch 1967), *Los llamados diminutivos y aumentativos en el español de Mexico* (Gaarder 1966), *Diminutives, Augmentatives and Pejorative Suffixes in English and Spanish* (Cruzado 1982), *Diminutives and Depreciatives: Semantic Representation for Derivational Categories* (Wierzbicka 1984).

Gradually, the designation *evaluative* in relation to morphological changes gained currency over others, as various terms focusing on affixal processes were not comprehensive enough when aiming to comprise evaluative forms obtained through reduplication or other non-affixal means. Since the turn of the century, most studies have adopted this term (and the associated *evaluative forms*) for their discussions, as attested by titles such as *Evaluative morphology from a cross-linguistic perspective* (Körtvélyessy 2015b), *Some aspects of evaluative morphology in Zulu* (Madondo 2000e), *Sardinian evaluative morphology in typological perspective* (Grandi 2005), *Gender and its interaction with number and evaluative morphology* (Di Garbo 2014e), *When evaluative morphology, pluractionality and aspect get tangled up* (Amiot and Stosic 2014), etc. Interestingly enough, the term has been re-introduced to other European languages and extensively adopted, as seen for example in *La genesi della morfologia valutativa in prospettiva interlinguistica* (Grandi 2003), *La morphologie évaluative* (Fradin and Montermini, 2009), or *L'interprétation intersémiotique autour de la morphologie évaluative ou altérative de l'italien LE à partir d'une image* (Colombo 2009e), as well as the Spanish-language studies by Cúneo (2014) or González-Espresati García-Medall (2015e).

The term appears in Lieber (2010), defined as “morphology that conveys information about size and frequently also about positive or negative valuation” (Lieber 2010, 200), and is the focus of some discussion in *The Oxford Handbook of Derivational Morphology* (Lieber and Štekauer 2014), but not on their previous joint work, the *Handbook of Word-Formation* (Štekauer and Lieber 2005). As mentioned before, the online *Oxford Research*

Encyclopedia contains the entry *Evaluatives in Morphology*, authored by Nicola Grandi (2017^e). Grandi, along with Lívía Körtvélyessy, is the editor of the monograph *The Edinburgh Handbook of Evaluative Morphology* (2015), a volume featuring an examination of some of the most relevant topics in the study field. An extensive portion of this monograph contains descriptive studies on the occurrence of evaluative morphology in over 50 world languages.

Two main conclusions can be drawn after the examination of the gathered bibliographical data concerning the origins and use of the term ‘evaluative morphology’. First, it may be advisable to follow the terminological lead from languages in which the phenomena that evaluative morphology comprises are diverse, productive and widespread in their usage. Among these languages, Romance and Slavic languages feature prominently, as they have been the object of much research in this particular field. The second conclusion is that the term is on its way to being adopted by a majority of authors, as the analysis of all aspects associated with the topic advances and gains a wider appeal among researchers. The adoption and explicit definition of the term appear, therefore, as a key step towards advancing research, as it may ensure that the focus of related research is on the same elements.

At this early stage of the study, it is necessary to engage in the precise formulation of a working definition of evaluative morphology which may support and warrant the arguments contained in this dissertation. As noted by Grandi and Körtvélyessy, “hardly any studies on evaluative affixes provide an explicit definition of evaluative morphology: by implication, it is unclear whether scholars are investigating the same data, or whether they share the same concept of ‘evaluation’. If this is the premise, different studies on evaluative morphology and data discussed can hardly be compatible” (Grandi and Körtvélyessy 2015, 8). Although the authors set out to establish a definition for evaluative morphology, their discussion turns instead to a definition of the linguistic items which are the focus of the discipline, and which they term *evaluative constructions*, a term first proposed in Grandi (2002). In the present study, evaluative morphology is defined as a field of linguistics that examines the morphological processes involved in the obtention of evaluative forms, as well as all semantic and pragmatic aspects associated with the use of said forms. Significantly, the field is demarcated as one in which only lexical units obtained by morphological procedures are addressed, excluding explicitly lexical, syntactic or phonological processes. Taking this definition as a departure point, the focus is now drawn to the exact characterization of evaluative forms.

1.3. Evaluative, expressive, connotative and extravagant morphology in contrast

Aiming to establish firm boundaries to the domain of this study, the present subchapter carries out a contrastive discussion of evaluative morphology vis-à-vis closely related study areas pertaining to the fields of evaluativity and morphology, such as *expressive morphology* and *extravagant morphology*. As noted by Ruzaitė, this variety of terms “highlight[s] the expressive and attitudinal nature” of evaluative constructions (2012, 184).

The denomination *expressive morphology* appears in works such as Pharies (1983), Zwicky and Pullum (1987), Le Guen (2012) or Williams (2021)¹¹. When Pharies discusses expressive word-formation in Romance languages, the author indicates that the relevant units include “onomatopoeias, reduplicatives, infantile words, nonsense words” obtained by processes which “operate with two elements present in the language, a derivational pattern and a phonetic source or base” (Pharies 1983, 347). In *Plain Morphology and Expressive Morphology*, Zwicky and Pullum, contrast “*plain morphology*, i.e. the ordinary productive (and nonproductive) word formation and word structure rules of a language, and what we will call *expressive morphology*”, examples being processes like expletive infixation (e.g., ‘abso-blooming-lutely’), *shm*-reduplication (e.g., ‘transformations shmtransformations’), and word formation with *- (e)teria* (e.g., ‘basketeria’) (Zwicky and Pullum 1987, 332). Under the label *expressive morphology* Zwicky and Pullum describe various word-forming instances which, they argue, violate or skirt the rules in ordinary grammatical morphology. Consequently, the authors posit that such transformations cannot be considered as ruled-based, but that are instead best characterized as extra-grammatical phenomena (ibid., 336). Matiello also considers that lexical units of this type are obtained by extra-grammatical means and that their genesis is “not rule-governed, but constructed or based on analogy” (Matiello 2013, 30).

In the various studies contained in *Expressive Morphology in the Languages of South Asia* (Williams 2021) expressive morphology is described as “grammatical resources for fashioning elaborative, rhyming, and alliterative expressions, conveying the emotions, states, conditions, and perceptions of speakers” (Williams 2021, i). In examining expressives in Nepali, Van Driem indicates these lexical units “do not have vague senses,

¹¹ The term *expressive morphology* is also used in other studies with a meaning akin to that of *evalautive morphology* (e.g., Steriopolo 2008).

but instead convey precise meanings and evoke highly specific images” and that “despite elements of sound symbolism, expressives represent a phenomenon distinct from ideophones and onomatopoeia” (Van Driem 2020, 66). As made obvious by the previous descriptions and examples, although the lexical units referred to as *expressive* in the above-mentioned studies may in some ways be loosely related to the lexical units which constitute the focus of evaluative morphology (i.e., evaluative forms), they are ultimately dissimilar in several respects, both from a semantic as well as from a morphological perspective. Williams points out explicitly this difference:

In a language such as Russian, we find expressive suffixes which convey a speaker’s attitude, whether it be positive or negative. These suffixes have an invariant form – although they may be altered by morphophonological context. These are not the kind of expressive forms that we find scattered throughout the languages of South Asia. (Williams 2021, 1)

From a morphological point of view, the units discussed under the *expressive morphology* label show a great degree of heterogeneity. Some of them are simply playful derivatives obtained from a base through affixation (*cake* > *caketeria*), some are extravagant compounds (*un-friggin’-believable*), while others have been characterized as ideophones¹² (*ka-boom*, *kerplop*), reduplications (*coffee-coffee*), or echo words (HIN *cay* ‘tea’ > *cay vay* ‘tea and the like’¹³).

From a semantic perspective, expressives such as those discussed above, usually convey an “expressive, playful, poetic, or simply ostentatious effect of some kind” (Zwicky and Pullum 1987, 335) but lack the semantic-pragmatic plasticity of evaluative forms as described in all relevant literature. Expletive infixation, while introducing certain originality in its formulation, is bound semantically to the contents of its constituting elements. That is, in terms of absolute meaning, the synthetic form *un-friggin’-believable* is semantically indistinguishable from the analytic construction *friggin’ unbelievable*. Moreover, also from a pragmatic perspective, the difference between the two options is hardly appreciable, if at all. On their part, *-shm* reduplications simply express emotions such as disdain, contempt, condescension, or disbelief on the part of the speaker, but do not operate at a semantic level. That is, the meaning of the word found at the root of the reduplicative process does not acquire –neither explicitly nor implicitly– any additional semantic feature. In this sense, they are not as complex as

¹² Ideophones have been defined as sound-symbolic words which “give a vivid representation of an idea in sound” (Doke 1935, 118).

¹³ The example is borrowed from Williams (2021, 8), from Hindi.

prototypical diminutives and augmentatives but operate effectively at an expressive level, as many other evaluative forms do. However, a key difference is that expletive infixation can be considered as a morphological process, whereby the resulting lexical unit is a single item, while *-shm* reduplications are better characterized as a lexical grouping, on par with certain collocations and set phrases. Consequently, only units obtained using expletive infixation can be considered for the moment as akin to other evaluative forms.

A term of recent coinage, *extravagant morphology*, has been proposed by Eitelmann and Haumann for the description of:

word-formation processes that straddle boundaries and turn extravagant in that innovative formations violate alleged or actual constraints (...), phenomena situated at the interface between morphology and syntax or morphology and semantics/pragmatics, thus extravagantly straying over various linguistic levels [and] borderline phenomena that are not easily reconcilable with traditional postulates of morphological accounts. (Eitelmann and Haumann 2022, 1)

Particular examples of these processes include contrastive reduplication (‘An evening bag or a BAG-bag?’), the extended use of certain suffixes (‘akwardish’), as well as “particle-verb nominalizations that involve a twofold attachment of the *-er* suffix (‘crowd-warmer-upper’)” (ibid., 2). Van Goethem and Norde (2020) also refer to *extravagant morphology* when discussing various Dutch morphemes which add the semantic feature [+ fake] to the compounds they are part of: e.g., *kunstgras* ‘artificial grass’, *nepjuwelen* ‘fake jewels’ (2020, 1). However, such morphemes are explicitly defined as compound-making morphemes and therefore the resulting units can only in certain specific instances be characterized as evaluative forms. In *Delineating extravagance*, Ungerer and Hartmann describe five essential characteristics of extravagance, the second of which is formulated as: “Deviation from the norm: extravagant expressions deviate from linguistic norms or expectations, as established through conventions of usage (and usually formally codified)” (2020, 349). Accordingly, evaluative forms cannot be considered extravagant, as their expression follows well-established norms, and their usage is tacitly codified. Therefore, only some (but not all) of the lexical units considered under the umbrella term *extravagant morphology* will be considered as evaluative forms, according to the type-defining conditions discussed in section 1.8.

One aspect that is common to lexical units classified as pertaining to expressive, evaluative and extravagant morphology is their eminently pragmatic use, that is, the explicit wish on the part of the speaker to convey something in a non-neutral manner. In this regard, the use of these lexical units in a communicative situation is dictated by a

desire to engage the interlocutor at a level other than the purely semantic.

There are studies that discuss the affixal processes examined in evaluative morphology under a variety of terms containing the adjective *expressive*: *expressive suffixes* (Stankiewicz 1954, Steriopolo 2017^e¹⁴), *expressive derivations* (Beard 1995)¹⁵, or *expressive morphology* (Steriopolo 2008, 2013, and 2015). Steriopolo establishes a rather complex and compartmentalized division among two types of affixes. On the one hand, she describes *expressive suffixes* or *attitude suffixes* (further subdivided into *affectionate* and *vulgar*), which “express the speaker’s attitude (affection or vulgarity) toward the referent and contribute an expressive meaning to the phrase” (Steriopolo 2008, 17–18). On the other hand, *size suffixes* are described as expressing “the speaker’s attitude (positive or negative) toward the referent, and they also indicate the size (small or big) of the referent. Thus, size suffixes contribute both expressive and descriptive content.” (ibid., 19). Steriopolo indicates that *size suffixes* are referred to in other works as diminutive and augmentative suffixes and that both types can express a positive or negative attitude of the speaker (ibid., 19–20). While such a distinction may be pertinent in Russian, the reliability of her classification comes into question when the author discusses in a later study the Spanish suffix *-(c)it-*, and which the author describes alternatively as a “size suffix” (Steriopolo 2015, 3 and 18), an “expressive suffix” (ibid., 10–15), and a “diminutive” (ibid., 11). As evidenced in Steriopolo’s study, the Spanish suffix *-(c)it-* can indeed be found in combination with various syntactic categories but, arguably, it is best characterized as an evaluative suffix whose presence may or may not involve any reference to size, be it in nouns (*tango* > *tanguito*), adjectives (*muerto* > *muertecito*), adverbs (*mismo* > *mismito*, *todo* > *todito*), pronouns (*tuyo* > *tuyito*), etc. Considering the particular case of the Russian language as presented by Steriopolo, it is clear that an effort must be made to develop a satisfactory terminology that is suitable for its cross-linguistic use.

The research on *expressive content* and *expressive dimension* by authors such as Potts (2007) or Gutzman (2012) is also centred on lexical items such as slurs, expletives, or interjections, and is therefore not specifically connected to evaluative morphology. However, Fortin (2011) has established a functional connection between what he terms

¹⁴ In later studies, Steriopolo employs the term *evaluative suffix* to discuss these same morphemes (Steriopolo 2018 and 2021^e).

¹⁵ “EXPRESSIVE DERIVATIONS (...) reflect at least five functions universally: the Diminutive, Augmentative, Pejorative, Affectionate, and Honorific.” (Beard 1985, 163)

expressive affixes and Potts' descriptive criteria for *expressives*¹⁶. Fortin justifies his choice of terminology as follows:

What I refer to as “Expressive Morphology” is called “Evaluative Morphology” by many authors (e.g., Scalise 1984; Stump 1993; Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi 1994; Grandi 1998). However, the term “evaluativity” has, in recent work, been used to refer to degree constructions that are evaluated against (and exceed) a contextually-specified standard. See Neeleman et al. (2004) and Rett (2008). Furthermore, as my semantic analysis unifies EM with the general theory of expressives, I adopt the interchangeable term “expressive” throughout. (Fortin 2011, 1)

Likewise, Fortin employs the term *connotative affixes* for the type of lexical units which Steriopolo discusses as *size affixes*, which “simultaneously express size and attitude [and] connote, as well as denote” (Fortin 2011, 143).

As it can be observed, there is no unanimity among researchers in that which concerns the use of the adjectives *expressive*, *evaluative*, and *connotative* in relation to the morphological processes resulting in the units traditionally characterized as diminutives, augmentatives, pejoratives, etc¹⁷. In this dissertation, the preferred term will be *evaluative morphology*, given its currency among most contemporary researchers in the field (as discussed in subchapter 1.2). An additional reason for the choice of this term is a semantic one, concerning the notions of evaluativity and expressivity. Evaluation is a product of the subjective perspective of the speaker. Semantically, it conveys an individual judgement about the size, quality, intensity, worth or emotional effect of an object (real or abstract), while from a pragmatic perspective, it conveys a judgement about how to convey a certain message in order to obtain a desired effect. Evaluativity can be said to be an internal (emotional or psychological) phenomenon, in so far as it cannot be falsified, even if the semantic content of the evaluative form would happen to be factually untrue. Conversely, expressivity may be described as more of an external or relational phenomenon. The speaker intends for the utterance to be perceived as uncommon, exceptional, shocking, etc. In this sense, it relies much more on some degree of external validation.

In general terms, evaluative morphology “refers to the synthetic marking of features

¹⁶ Fortin's thesis is summarized by Déchaine et al. (2015) when stating that evaluatives are expressives insofar as they “show the following properties: (i) they are predicated of the utterance situation; (ii) they present speaker-oriented evaluation; (iii) they are not paraphrasable; (iv) they achieve their content by being uttered; and (v) they are sensitive to context of use.” (Déchaine et al. 2015, 496).

¹⁷ This terminological variation is only compounded when examining research in languages other than English.

such as size and positive/negative emotional affect” (Prieto 2005_e, 11), where the speaker’s subjective assessment is conveyed performing certain morphological transformations upon a base. Adding some nuance, Bauer points out that even although “evaluative morphology has, as its core areas, diminutivisation and augmentativisation (...), diminutives and augmentatives frequently have meanings other than size [such as] emotional overtones of approval and endearment or disapproval and pejoration” (Bauer 1997, 5). Bauer goes on to remark that this ‘emotional’ colouring, may be difficult to interpret or establish unequivocally, and that “the term *evaluative morphology* seems also to allow for a wider reading than simply markers of size and positive or negative emotional affect, including such things as intensification and politeness or modesty” (ibid.). Similarly, Lefer and Grabar have defined evaluative morphology as the “morphological processes used to express augmentation, diminution, endearment/approval and contempt/pejoration” (Lefer and Grabar 2014, 170). But perhaps the most inclusive definition is that of Štekauer, who posits that evaluative morphology includes any and all morphological expressions meeting the condition of deviation from their default value (Štekauer 2015a, 45)¹⁸, and has examined in detail the morphological strategies involved in the construction of said expressions (as discussed in subchapter 2.5.1).

Therefore, it is at the intersection of the speaker’s subjective evaluation (understood as intended meaning) and the specific resources available to a language that evaluative forms come into being, by means of morphological changes at the word level. The present study proposes an in-depth examination of the morphological as well as semantic and pragmatic features of these units and aims to develop a framework for their description and analysis.

1.4. Notation in evaluative morphology

A particularly difficult aspect in the academic research of evaluative morphology is the absence of a standardized form of notation that may include all information pertinent to the discussion at hand, but that avoids both oversimplification and cumbersomeness. The rule-based presence of evaluative morphology processes involves the necessary transformation of a base word into an evaluative form, most frequently through the

¹⁸ “Evaluative morphology includes not only the semantic categories of diminutiveness and argumentativeness but all morphological expressions meeting a condition of deviation from a default value, whether in terms of substance, action, quality or circumstance.” (Štekauer 2015a, 45)

addition of a morphological evaluative marker. When one of these three elements (base, marker, or constructed evaluative form) is missing in a discussion, readers unfamiliar with a given language are not in a position to fully understand which changes have taken place and which additional collateral modifications (morphological or grammatical) may have taken place. At its most basic, the notation proposed in this study is exemplified in (1), where the base is followed by the symbol '>' to indicate the direction of the morphological process and the evaluative form shows the evaluative marker in bold for emphasis:

(1) decent > **decentish**

Another important aspect involves the separation, insofar as possible, of evaluative and non-evaluative morphs when describing evaluative markers (most commonly, affixes). For example, when discussing the Italian evaluative marker *-ino*, Grandi conflates the evaluative marker *-in-*, with the inflectional marker *-o*, which indicates the properties [+ masculine] and [+ singular] (Grandi 2017_e). Therefore, the evaluative marker should be indicated as a separate element:

(2) ITA *gatto* > *gattino*

As seen in this last example, additional difficulties arise when describing languages that may not be familiar to prospective readers. On the one hand, there is the issue of indicating which language is being discussed if the content does not allow its identification. For such purposes, explicit mention of the language or recourse to the language codes found in any of the relevant parts in the ISO 639 standard (2007) would be appropriate. In this study, the preferred norm will be ISO 639-3, although the codes will be written in small caps for easier identification¹⁹. On the other hand, there is the issue of indicating a translation of the evaluative forms under examination, in view to provide evidence of the semantic modifications and/or nuances introduced by the evaluative marker:

(3a) ITA *gatto* 'cat' > *gattino* 'small/little/dear cat'

(3b) LAV *kaķis* 'cat' > *kaķelis* 'small / dear / poor cat'

(3c) SPA *gato* 'cat' > *gatazo* 'big / awful cat'

Nonetheless, the challenges inherent to the interpretation and translation of evaluative forms are notorious and have been the object of discussion and research. Aside from

¹⁹ A list of codes and corresponding languages is available in Appendix I.

prototypical readings, an accurate and specific reading of a given evaluative form can only be provided when taking into consideration all available contextual as well as co-textual cues. Therefore, in that which regards notation, several alternatives are possible:

1. To not provide a translation when the semantic aspects of the base and the evaluative form are not relevant to the discussion. This may well be the case when examining morphological transformations from a merely formal perspective. Such option may also be useful in cases when it is a matter of attesting to the existence of certain evaluative forms, without their specific meaning being particularly significant.

2. To provide a gloss based on the identification of traditional semantic features. These glosses merely indicate that the reading of the evaluative form can be made along the prototypical lines established for the various traditional types of evaluative forms, be it diminutives (DIM), augmentatives (AUG), attenuatives (ATT), pejoratives, (PEJ), or other²⁰:

(4) KAT	<i>kal-i</i>	>	<i>kal-a-y</i>
	woman-NOM	>	woman-DIM-NOM
	‘woman’	>	‘young woman’

While this approach provides more information than the previous one, it is quite elaborate formally and, arguably, rather cumbersome to be used routinely. Moreover, it runs the risk of simplifying or misrepresenting the semantic features of the evaluative form, even with the inclusion of the suggested translation. Firstly, as made evident by the radial categories models proposed by Mutz (2015, in a study that reprises Jurafsky (1996) and Prieto (2005)), the semantic features and pragmatic functions of the traditional categories DIM, AUG, PEJ and ATT are tightly intertwined. This interconnection is such that, as argued in this dissertation, such distinctions are hardly operative from a systemic point of view. The use of traditional categories in the description of evaluative forms impose very limiting prototypical readings.

Moreover, this compartmentalized conception of evaluative forms struggles to account for (and indicate) the actual semantic nuances conveyed by certain forms. As it will be later discussed in detail, the Spanish verb *toquetear* (from *tocar* ‘to touch’), may be interpreted –depending on context– as iterative or incassative, while at the same time it also conveys notions of impropriety and/or carelessness. To interpret this evaluative form as a mere pejorative would imply an insufficient and possibly inaccurate

²⁰ Example (4) has been adapted from Topadze Gäumann (2015, 217).

characterization.

3. To provide an approximative translation or equivalent, introduced by the symbol ‘≈’. It is a well-established *lieu comun* in studies that address the translation of evaluative forms that the latter are virtually untranslatable in absence of context. Out-of-context translations tend to oversimplification and are bound to be approximative and potentially misleading. As formulated by Rūķe-Draviņa, the evaluative meaning “does not lie in the form itself, but is acquired at a given moment, adapted to the specific circumstances” (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959, 156*). This context-based interpretation is certainly the aptest one, not only because it allows the translation to reflect the semantic features of the evaluative unit in one particular instance, but also because it allows conveying the pragmatic functions that the evaluative form may carry out in a given speech act, as exemplified in (5)²¹:

(5) ST SPA *Verlaine en manos de **medicuchos**, Nerval y Artaud frente a los psiquiatras.* (Cortázar 2003, 238)

TT ENG *Verlaine in the hands of a **sawbones**, Nerval and Artaud facing psychiatrists.* (Cortázar 1966, 98)

This approach, however, may be too elaborate and cumbersome in certain analytical contexts. It is apparent, therefore, that each approach has its strengths and weaknesses, and that perhaps a case-by-case approach might be the most suitable option. Therefore, in the present study, given that the working language of the research is English, but the main objects of analysis are Spanish and Latvian evaluative forms, translations will be provided only in the discussion of examples where a translation helps in the understanding of the argument at hand. In cases where the meaning of the evaluative forms used does not affect or influence the discussion, English translations will not be included to not overburden the discussion.

Given that one of the main theses of this dissertation is that evaluative forms are best characterized as a fuzzy and non-discrete lexical type and that traditional labels (such as diminutives, augmentatives, honorific, etc.) are not sufficiently operative from an analytical perspective, said labels will be used exclusively when discussing the work of other authors or borrowing their examples, so as not to misrepresent their preferred approach. In that which concerns this dissertation, the preferred notation for evaluative

²¹ The example is taken from Martín Calvo (2020, 50).

markers will be based on the interpretative semantic features discussed in subchapter 2.5.3, indicated by means of their abbreviations: appreciation (APP), pejoration (PEJ), diminution (DIM), augmentation (AUG), intensification (INT), attenuation (ATT) / approximation (APPR), excess (EXC), exactness (EXA), expressivity (EXP), and repetition (REP). Thus, a thorough notation of an example is proposed in (8):

(8) SPA	<i>fiesta</i>	>	<i>fiestuqui</i>
	party.SING.FEM	>	party.APP.SING.FEM
	‘party’	>	‘≈ cool party’

In cases where it is relevant to discuss the various morphological components of a lexical unit (base, evaluative marker, inflectional endings or others), as well as its approximative translation, the notation proposed in (8) will be used, provided that it assists explicitly in the discussion of the argument at hand.

1.5. Evaluative forms as a lexical type distinct from derivatives and inflectional forms

A number of observations put forth by Scalise (1984, 131–133) are commonly regarded as the starting point for the discussion of evaluative morphology as a set of processes and phenomena to be considered separately from both derivation and inflection. The issue of the exact situation of evaluative morphology with respect to derivation and inflection has been the object of much discussion among morphologists. Körtvélyessy has offered a comprehensive review of the place of evaluative morphology in the system of morphology (2015a, 23–31), establishing four standard theoretical viewpoints, each subscribed by a relevant number of authors. The ample and nuanced account presented by Körtvélyessy can be of reference for a deeper understanding of this contentious aspect, one that will not be dealt with in detail in this dissertation, as it exceeds its main focus of research.

A starting point for the discussion proposed in the present subchapter can be Haspelmath’s assertion that “the inflection/derivation distinction is not absolute but allows for gradience and fuzzy boundaries” and that “we are dealing with a continuum from clear inflection to clear derivation with ambiguous cases in between” (Haspelmath 1996, 47). However, if evaluative forms are to be studied properly, the analytical framework needs to be established on its own, not defined in relation to schemata that consider evaluative formation processes and their resulting units as peripheral and non-prototypical. As argued eloquently by Nau, “only if we posit binary oppositions does non-inflectional logically entail derivational and vice versa” (Nau 2013, 272). The most

promising and sensible approach seems thus to be the recognition of a third set of morphological processes/rules, under the label *evaluative*. This approach was first suggested by Scalise, who argued for the consideration of a set of ‘evaluative rules’ (*regole valutative*), which would take effect after derivational rules, but before inflectional ones (1984, 266). This position has subsequently been adopted by other authors, who have argued that “the traditional paradigm of inflectional and derivational morphology breaks down when it comes to expressive affixes” (Fortin 2011, 74). Melissaropoulou and Manolesou also argue “against the discreteness of morphological processes and in favour of the existence of a morphological continuum” (2009, 63), providing some evidence that evaluative forms do not necessarily conform exclusively to derivational patterns.

A clear overview of the contrasting features that define derivational (DM) and inflectional morphology (IM) rules in relation to evaluative ones (EM) is proposed by Grandi, although the author has also argued the following:

It can be asserted that alterative affixes retain a derivational nature, as they substantially share the distinctive properties of derivation. (...) This is tantamount to saying that alterative affixes are less derivational than other affixes (...), but not to the point of requiring to be placed in an autonomous and distinct class or to be defined as inflectional. (Grandi 1998, 644)

Grandi’s comparative table is reprised by Fortin (2011), albeit with some minor adaptations. However, Fortin’s posture is that cross-linguistically, evaluative morphology “is neither inflectional nor derivational, but *sui generis*” (ibid., 42). In the present study, a theoretical stance akin to that of Fortin is adopted, although allowing for a revision of some of the morphological rules for evaluative morphology²²:

Property of the morphological rule	DM	IM	EM
1. Can change the category of the base	YES	NO	NO
2. Can change the subcategorization frames of the base	YES	NO	NO*
3. Can change the conceptual meaning of the base	YES	NO	NO*
4. Can change the grammatical meaning of the base	NO	YES	NO
5. Are completely productive	NO	YES	NO
6. Are relevant to syntax	NO	YES	NO

²² The present table is an adaptation from that proposed by Grandi (1998, 644) and later revised by Fortin (2011, 50). Table entries marked with an asterisk differ from those proposed by the above-mentioned authors.

7. Are obligatory	NO	YES	NO
8. Their possible outputs are predictable and ‘closed’	NO	YES	NO

Table 1. Morphological rules in evaluative morphology

Concerning rule number 3, it is argued here (against Fortin 2011) that evaluative forms can never change the conceptual meaning of the base, that is, their core semantic sense. If such a change takes place, either with the application of the evaluative marker or due to a semantic evolution over time, then the lexical unit in question cannot be considered any longer as an evaluative form. This is the case observed in, for example, agent nouns (1a), mass nouns (1b) or certain lexicalized diminutives (1c).

(1a) SPA *criticar*_V ‘to criticize’ > *criticón*_N ‘faultfinder, knocker’

(1b) LAV *priede*_N ‘pine tree’ > *priedaġa*_N ‘pine tree grove’

(1c) ITA *fumo*_N ‘smoke’ > *fumetto*_N ‘comic book’

In certain cases, the application of one morph can result in both an evaluative form (2a) and a mere derivative (2b). An accurate interpretation of the construction in question will depend on the context in which it appears:

(2a) LAV *acs*_N ‘eye’ > *acĭte*_N ‘eye.APP/DIM’

(2b) LAV *acs*_N ‘eye’ > *acĭte*_N ‘blackjack (card game)’

The morphological rule number 2 is also revised here. It is argued that, since the application of an EM rule does not cause the conceptual meaning of the base to change, its subcategorization frames do not either. However, while the subcategorization frames of the resulting evaluative form cannot be opposite to those of its base, they may afford only certain of the available frames but not others. That is, given several possible features for the base, the evaluative form may only be able to select some of them. This aspect can be illustrated with the Spanish verb *dormir*, which can work both as an intransitive (‘to sleep’) as well as a transitive verb (‘to put someone to sleep’). However, a common evaluative form of this verb, *dormitar*, can only be employed as an intransitive verb, as evidenced by the semantico-logical impossibility of (3b):

(3a) *Pedro duerme por la tarde* > *Pedro dormita por la tarde*

‘Pedro sleeps in the afternoon’ > ‘≈ Pedro snoozes in the afternoon’

- (3b) *Ella duerme a su hijo* > * *Ella dormita a su hijo*
 ‘She puts her son to sleep’ > * ‘≈ She snoozes her son’

However, also this narrowing of the subcategorization frames is not an automatic effect applicable to all evaluative forms. When considered with another example, as for example the Spanish verb *correr* ‘to run’²³. It can be observed that the evaluative form may indeed amplify the available subcategorization frames:

- (4a) *Pedro corre por la tarde* > *Pedro corretea por la tarde*
 ‘Pedro runs in the afternoon’ > ‘≈ Pedro runs around in the afternoon’
- (4b) * *Ella corre a su hijo* > *Ella corretea a su hijo*
 * ‘She runs her son’ > ‘≈ She chases her son around’

As seen in (4b), in this instance the evaluative form accepts a transitive reading, while the original base does not. While the sentence *Ella corre a su hijo* is grammatically correct (and could be translated as ‘She runs towards her son’), it does not allow for a transitive reading of the base verb *correr*²⁴.

The inalterable conceptual reference of the base, an aspect which is posited in subchapter 1.8 as one of the defining conditions of evaluative forms, is arguably the most salient feature of these lexical units vis-à-vis common derivatives. Consequently, it is argued that since the base word and the item which results from the application of an evaluative morphology process must be identical from a notional viewpoint (that is, they share one and the same extralinguistic referent), then said evaluative item is one particular linguistic instance or manifestation of the base, often one of many possible ones. Insofar as it is not the strictly conceptual content of the item that is altered, but its external appearance, its morphological composition, the term *evaluative form* appears to be an apt, as well as conceptually accurate one.

In an often-referenced formulation, Grandi (2002 and 2017), as well as Grandi and Körtevélyessy (2015) establish two defining conditions for *evaluative constructions*:

A construction falls into the scope of evaluative morphology if it satisfies two conditions, one relating to the functional-semantic level and the other to the formal level. The first condition indicates that a linguistic construction can be defined as evaluative if it has the function of assigning a value which is

²³ The verb in question has a number of additional meanings (such as ‘to move over’ or ‘to slide’), but for the sake of simplification, only the meaning ‘to run’ is taken here into consideration.

²⁴ It must be noted that, in certain specific collocations, the verb *correr* can indeed act as transitive: *Los mozos corren a los toros* ‘The youngsters run the bulls’.

different from that of the standard or default (within the semantic scale to which it pertains) to a concept: this value usually coincides with a shift towards the negative or positive end of the scale and is assigned without resorting to any parameters of reference which are external to the concept itself. The second condition indicates that an evaluative construction must include at least the explicit expression of the standard value (by means of a linguistic form which is lexically autonomous and is recognised by the speakers of the language as an actual word) and an evaluative mark (a linguistic element specifically devoted to expressing this shift). (Grandi and Körtvélyessy 2015, 13)

It is to be noted that Grandi (ibid.), along with Körtvélyessy (2015a) and Štekauer (2015), include as *evaluative constructions* lexical items obtained by means other than affixation, such as compounding and reduplication, as well as items obtained by means other than morphological in nature, such as change of grammatical gender, sound symbolism or tonal variation. These non-morphological means, by their very nature, may be argued to belong to the realm of evaluative expression, but not necessarily to that of evaluative morphology.

The key concept in the previous definition is that of *deviation*, which is described as follows:

Evaluative constructions can express both descriptive (or quantitative) and qualitative evaluation. In other words, an object (or a person, an action, etc.) can be ‘evaluated’ according to both its tangible, real characteristics (its size, its shape, etc.), and the speaker’s feelings towards it. (...) In quantitative/descriptive evaluation there is an objective, observable, evident deviation. In qualitative evaluation the speaker perceives or feels a deviation. (...) In both cases, a deviation from a standard or from a default value may be observed. (Grandi and Körtvélyessy 2015, 10)

The authors establish a descriptive evaluation, focused on the “tangible, real characteristics of the object”, as opposed to a qualitative evaluation, where the focus is on “the speaker’s feeling” towards the object and, in both cases, the essential underlying feature is a “deviation from a standard or a default value” (ibid.). However, a constant in this characterization is the reference to a specific object or notion with a standard physical or mental representation against which the evaluative form is measured, and deviation established. However, research shows that the use of evaluative forms is eminently pragmatic in nature, as defended by Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994 and 2001) and confirmed by subsequent quantitative research from a variety of authors²⁵. These studies suggest that the marking of certain bases as evaluative forms bears no direct relation to

²⁵ This aspect is discussed in detail in subchapter 2.3.

the speaker's consideration of the particular object or notion designed by the base, but that said base is simply chosen as a morphological locus to mark a specific pragmatic intention. The first part of Grandi and Körtvélyessy's definition hardly covers a number of pragmatic functions whose fulfilment can be considered very frequently as the motivators of the use of evaluative forms. Even taking into account that "qualitative evaluation assumes a subjective evaluation: personal feelings or opinions and, often, the influence of extra-linguistic context become the crucial factors" (ibid.), the key pragmatic intentional relationship addresser-addressee does not seem sufficiently accounted for.

When the above definition specifies that the evaluative construction must refer to "a value which is different from that of the standard or default (*within the semantic scale to which it pertains*)" (ibid., with emphasis added), it is to be understood that all constructions involving a change in conceptual or referential meaning may automatically not be defined as evaluative. However, various examples in the descriptions of languages contained in Grandi and Körtvélyessy's monograph contravene the study's theoretical framework²⁶:

(5a) ITA *zucchero* 'sugar' > *zuccherino* 'sugar lump'

(5b) FAS *pestân* 'nipple, breast' > *pestânak* 'baby's pacifier'

(5c) FAS *zer~zer* > redundant useless talk > *zer~zeru* 'talkative person'

(5d) TEL *moddu* 'dull' > *moddu-gaaḍu* 'dull fellow, dullard'

As seen in these examples, an accomplished lexicalization process has taken place and there is no evaluation neither in terms of quantity nor of quality of the original concept. Moreover, some of the examples show that the affixation process involves also lexical recategorization of the base, from verb to noun in (5c) and from adjective to noun in (5d).

A similar lack of consistency seems to be at play concerning the specification that the shift in value must be "assigned without resorting to any parameters of reference which are external to the concept itself" (ibid.). This condition seems to entail that the expression of any comparative aspect in a construction invalidates its consideration as an evaluative construction. But this is not the case in a few of the examples discussed. For example, the Dutch *sterk* 'strong' > *Beresterk* 'strong as a bear' (Hoeksema 2012, as cited by Štekauer 2015a, 52), described as an elative compound, includes an implicit element of comparison

²⁶ The references to the examples are as follows: Italian from Grandi and Körtvélyessy (2015, 5), Persian from Ardakani and Arvin (2015, 288–289) and Telugu from Sailaja (2015, 326).

(‘as a’) even if expressed synthetically. Compounds of this type do convey expressivity and even evaluation but cannot be considered as evaluative constructions under the definition proposed by Grandi and Körtvélyessy. Their semantic structure is founded upon a metaphorical similarity via a comparison of the type ‘as’ or ‘like’, as found in the English ‘jet-black’ (i.e., ‘black as jet’) or German *rauchdünn* ‘smoke-thin’ (‘thin as smoke’) (Celan 1964, 26). Therefore, the descriptive component in the compound establishes a reference to an external object or notion. The perspective adopted in this dissertation is that such compounds are best described as lexical units with expressive (and possibly evaluative) content, but not as evaluative forms of a base word. Separate consideration is deserved by units such as the Hungarian ‘excessive’ formations of the type *legnagyobb* ‘biggest’ > *legeslegnagyobb* ‘biggest of all’ (Kiefer and Németh 2015, 236), where the resulting form seems to implicitly compare to all other ‘big’ elements in a category. According to the translation provided by the authors, it apparently does not reflect the same non-comparative semantic feature that the absolute superlative conveys in other languages, such as Greek *βαθύς* (*vathýs* ‘deep’) > *βαθύτατος* (*vathýtatos* ‘very, very deep’) or Italian *lento* ‘slow’ > *lentissimo* ‘very, very slow’. However, it is also possible that the [+ excessive] feature that Kiefer and Németh attach to the affixal compound morph *leg-es* can also be interpreted as ‘exceedingly’ or ‘extremely’, in which case no comparison is involved, and it can be considered as a standard evaluative marker.

The second condition contained in Grandi and Körtvélyessy’s definition is less problematic, although the formal requirement of an ‘evaluative mark’ should be explicit regarding whether said mark must necessarily be of a morphological nature or whether it may also be of a phonological nature²⁷. Perhaps the only caveat to this condition is that it makes it difficult to include subtractive morphology as one of the productive processes in evaluative morphology, as described for Berber, where the subtraction of the circumfix *t__t* usually conveys augmentation: ZBT *taxamt* ‘tent’ > *axam* ‘big tent’ (Abdel-Massih 1971, 117)²⁸. It can be argued, however, that the very absence of the morph found in the evaluative form is in itself an ‘evaluative mark’, inasmuch as the null morpheme \emptyset can be said to mark the feature {singular} in ‘girl- \emptyset ’.

²⁷ Phonological alterations can, for example, be exemplified by affective palatalization in Basque (e.g., *sagu* ‘mouse’ > *xagu* ‘little mouse’ (Artiagoitia 2015, 204)) or geminate consonant aspiration in Telugu (e.g., *goppa* ‘great’ > *goppa* ‘very great’ (Sailaja 2015, 330)).

²⁸ It can be argued, however, that the very absence of the morphs found in the EVAL is an *evaluative marker*, inasmuch as the null morpheme \emptyset can be said to mark ‘girl+ \emptyset ’ as a singular noun.

Following these comments to Grandi and Körtvélyessy's definition, the proposal of an alternative one is in order. While evaluative morphology has been somewhat broadly identified in the previous section as the field of study concerned with the expression of evaluativity by means of specific morphological processes, the definition of the lexical units resulting from said processes requires more attention to detail and it will be examined in subchapter 1.7. However, before that discussion, some precisions must be made regarding the various functions of affixes (which make up the vast majority of evaluative markers in EM), in particular their evaluative versus non-evaluative ones.

1.6. The evaluative and non-evaluative functions of affixes

As a consequence of the distinction made in the previous subchapter between evaluative forms and units better described under other types of derivational processes, this section of the study posits and aims to demonstrate that lexical units previously lumped together under the labels *expressive derivatives* (Stankiewicz 1954), *evaluative derivatives* (Stump 1993, Böhmerová 2011_c), *evaluative forms* (Prieto 2005_e), *evaluative formations* (Körtvélyessy 2015a) or *evaluative constructions* (Grandi and Körtvélyessy 2015, Körtvélyessy 2015a) do in fact belong to two distinct classes or categories. Given that affixation is markedly the most productive of morphological processes in evaluative morphology cross-linguistically, it is also the process that has received the most attention in EM studies. Evaluative forms not obtained employing affixation (but by reduplication or others means) are never confused with common derivatives, and therefore they are of no concern in this specific portion of the study.

Both lexical types discussed in this section, *evaluative forms* and *evaluative derivatives*, comprise affixed forms from a given base, but they are distinct in many respects, as will be discussed at present. The confusion between these two categories is not without reason, given that evaluative forms have mostly been studied under the derivational paradigm. However, certain morphosemantic clues permit their differentiation. In broad terms, a difference can be established between *evaluative derivatives* (EDs), understood as lexical derivatives which may convey a certain amount of evaluative content and *evaluative forms* (EVALs), defined as base-bound forms which always convey some degree of subjective evaluation as well as various semantic features and/or pragmatic functions. The rationale for this nomenclature is as follows. In evaluative derivatives, evaluativity is (or may be) encoded at the linguistic level, i.e., it belongs inherently to the semantic makeup of the lexical unit in question, while in the

case of evaluative forms evaluativity consists of an added layer of meaning, a subjective and context-specific semantic and/or pragmatic element introduced by the speaker. We can observe the stated aspects in the following examples, where (1a) contains an evaluative form while (1b) contains an evaluative derivative:

(1a) There's an **echolet** of James Joyce there. (Patterson 2002_e)

Descriptive implicature: The speaker perceives the influence of Joyce.

Evaluative implicature: The influence perceived by the speaker is considered slight and subtle.

(1b) We have a new litter of **piglets** ready to go in 3 weeks. (Preloved 2019_e)

Descriptive implicature: A pig's offspring are for sale.

Evaluative implicature: [none]

It can be observed in (1a) that the use of the evaluative marker (the suffix *-let*) contributes a meaningful evaluative dimension that is separate from the propositional descriptive content. In contrast, there is no inherent evaluative content in (1b), as *piglet* is a fully lexicalized lexeme designating a swine's offspring. Even if its morphological makeup involves the presence of a morph usually characterized as a diminutive suffix (*-let*), the word *piglet* cannot be considered as a diminutive, but simply a noun featuring the sense 'offspring' as a semantic descriptor. It is possible to discern in *piglet* a certain amount of evaluativity when compared to semantically equivalent expressions like 'little pigs' or 'swine's offspring' but, in such case, evaluativity is not revealed at the morphological level, but at the lexical level –that is, revealed as a vocabulary choice on the part of the speaker. Whatever connotative content can be ascribed to *piglets*, it is triggered by cultural cues and the encyclopaedic knowledge of the language users, but it does not stem from a deliberate morphological process. If this would be the case, the most obvious evaluative form for the base *pig* would be *piggy/piggies*. As hinted at in the examined example, the tendency for evaluative derivatives and evaluative forms to be analysed as indistinct units owes to the common presence of a certain number of language-specific affixes as part of their morphological makeup. However, a failure to address and establish an explicit distinction between the various roles or functions which these affixes are capable of carrying out can be pointed to as the root of the mix-up between the lexical units here discussed.

In his approach to evaluative morphology, Stump discusses *evaluative rules*, defined as a “class of morphological rules which express diminution, augmentation, endearment

or contempt and which are transparent with respect to some morphosyntactic feature” (Stump 1993, 2). However, Stump’s approach misses the wider multiplicity of semantic senses conveyed by the application of said rules, overlooks the pragmatic dimension of evaluative forms, and occasionally misrepresents them. This is the case with the Spanish words *banderilla* and *organillo*, which are referred to as ‘diminutives’ (ibid., 10–11), although both words are lexicalized derivatives which do not convey any evaluative sense: *bandera* ‘flag’ > *banderilla* ‘decorated dart used in bullfighting’ and *órgano* ‘pipe organ’ > *organillo* ‘barrel organ’. Stump’s error, although explicitly pointed at by Dressler and Karpf (1995, 110), is further reproduced by Bauer (1997, 542). Moreover, Bauer also fails to establish in his study the above-mentioned distinction between common derivatives and evaluative forms. Consequently, when examining the “class-changing properties of evaluative affixes”, Bauer labels as ‘diminutives’ and ‘augmentatives’ common derivatives such as ITA *brontolare* ‘to grumble, to whine’ > *brontolone* ‘grumbler, whiner’, or NLD *zoet* ‘sweet’ > *zoetje* ‘sweetener’ (Bauer 549–550).

Far from being a matter of isolated instances, the treatment of evaluative derivatives as evaluative forms is a common occurrence in EM research, as seen also in the following example: “German and English diminutive suffixes change adjectives into nouns, as in *brown* ~ *brown-ie*, *quick* ~ *quick-ie*” (Dressler and Karpf 1995, 110). In this particular instance, the authors do not specify their intended meaning for *brownie*, but its use as a diminutive form of the colour brown is not attested. The affix which Dressler and Karpf label as ‘diminutive’ is perhaps best described in this case as a derivational affix used in the formation of deadjectival nouns with the semantic description {N embodies the feature in ADJ}: e.g., *mean*_{ADJ} > *meanie*_N, *straight*_{ADJ} > *straightie*_N, *cute*_{ADJ} > *cutie*_N. According to this semantic description for the derivational role of the *-ie* suffix, the word *brownie* does have its recognizable and attested interpretation as a chocolate cake characterized for its brown colour²⁹. This derivative is mirrored by analogous lexical units, such as *black* > *blackie* (a racial slur), *white* > *whity* / *whitie* (a pejorative term for Caucasians) or *whities* (briefs, male underwear). In a similar vein, and in relation to Dressler and Karpf’s second

²⁹ A less well-known referent of *brownie* (or *broonie*) is “a species of domestic fairy or house-spirit from Scottish fairy lore. If clothed at all these brown and shaggy headed fairies wear ragged brown clothing” (Bane 2013, 66-67).

example, *quickie* is most often found as a deadjectival noun with a lexicalized meaning, whose evaluative or expressive content is only revealed from a lexical perspective³⁰.

Additional instances of the mix-up between evaluative derivatives and evaluative forms are also found in Grestenberger and Kallulli (2018), who instead of differentiating the derivative from the evaluative role of the German morpheme *-el-*, identify it as a diminutive acting as a verbalizer: e.g., DEU *blöd* ‘silly’ > *blöd-el-n* (silly-DIM-INF) ‘to be/act a little silly’, or *Maus* ‘mouse’ > *maus-el-n* (mouse-DIM-INF) ‘to smell of mice’ (2018, 4–5). Yet another example is found in Kalnača’s description of Latvian evaluative morphology. The author illustrates *prefixal diminutives* with the derivative *smēķēt* ‘to smoke’ > *aižsmēķēt* ‘to light up (a cigar)’ and *circumfixal augmentatives* with *gulēt* ‘to sleep’ > *aižgulēties* ‘to oversleep, to sleep in’ (Kalnača 2015, 260). However, these can hardly be considered as evaluative forms, due to their distinct semantic characterization. Evaluativity in the verbs discussed by Kalnača would be better illustrated by forms containing different markers: *smēķēt* ‘to smoke’ > *pasmēķēt* ‘≈ to smoke briefly or just a little bit’, *gulēt* ‘to sleep’ > *izgulēties* ‘≈ to sleep enough, as much as needed’, or *pārgulēties* ‘≈ to sleep too much’.

(2) *Viņš laiski pagrieza galvu pret ienācēju un teica: — Izgulējies? — Pat pārgulējos, — Jānis atjokoja.*

‘≈ He turned lazily his head towards the newcomer and said: — You **slept enough**? — I even **slept too much** – Jānis joked.’

However, in both cases, the affixed derivatives are not to be considered as evaluative forms, but as lexemes with well-established meanings which are not interchangeable with those of their respective bases.

The problematic issue briefly illustrated points to two main questions which require careful consideration. Firstly, the language-specific markers (and affixes in particular) involved in evaluative morphology are of difficult semantic characterization. Traditional labels, while serving a general organizational purpose, often misrepresent the linguistic units they are ascribed to. Secondly, when examining the specific process of affixation, it is common to encounter that the same morphs that act as evaluative markers can also be found in the role of derivational affixes. Therefore, such morphs are present in derivatives

³⁰ It must be pointed out that the use of *quickie* as a deadjectival evaluative form of *quick* has in fact been attested, as in “a quickie divorce” (Stevenson 2010, 1456) or “This is all more than one can find in a quickie internet question” (COCA 2021_e).

which, although they may in some instances convey evaluative senses via their connotative meaning, cannot be considered as evaluative forms due to some semantic and syntactic properties. This aspect has been discussed previously by several authors, as is the case of Štekauer (2015b, 234) or Gregová (2015). The latter, discussing evaluative morphology in Slovak, affirms the following:

For example, *ceruzka* ‘pencil’ is not a diminutive, but the word *žienka* ‘woman-dim’ is, although the morphemic structure of both words is identical: root morpheme – suffix *k* – grammatical morpheme. The *-k-* in the word *ceruzka* ‘pencil’ is a derivative morpheme, and the suffix *-k-* in *žienka* is a diminutive marker. (Gregová 2015, 301)

In order to establish a clear definition of the terms employed in the study, a number of definitions are proposed here. Following the terminology widely employed in current EM research, this study adopts the term ‘evaluative form’, in accord with Körtvélyessy and Štekauer 2011, Prieto 2015, Grandi 2015, and others. Throughout the study, evaluative form will be employed as an umbrella term covering all morphological constructions obtained by means of an ‘evaluative marker’, as proposed in Martín Calvo 2019a. Evaluative markers, in turn, are here defined as morphs (affixal or otherwise) performing an explicit evaluative role in their application of a morphological process, whereby a base acquires an additional evaluative dimension which finds its realization in a variety of semantic features and/or pragmatic functions. From this perspective, the characterization of the evaluative markers is not form-based, but role-based instead, i.e., it comprises all evaluative roles of a given morph in specific lexical instances while excluding its potential role in constructions where evaluativity is a by-product of a derivational process.

Given that Spanish and Latvian are the languages that are the focus of this dissertation, Table 2 illustrates the different roles of some Latvian and Spanish morphs, both as EVAL-forming and as simply derivational. Examples in English are also proposed to assist in the illustration of the argument. English translations for the Spanish and Latvian entries in the ‘Derivational affixes’ column are meant as mere references and do not necessarily convey all the possible semantic features of the original. Entries in the ‘EVAL-forming affixes’ column are not translated, as an accurate interpretation and equivalence could only be provided in context. As argued throughout this study, the exact sense of an evaluative form depends on the interaction between the accepted semantic features of a given evaluative marker and the meaning of the base form on the one hand, as well as on the interaction of the resulting construction with co-textual and contextual

cues on the other. Schneider, for instance, discusses that the use of *kinglet* in reference to an adult, a real-life king, usually expresses a negative attitude (such as contempt), but in reference to a child, e.g., a boy acting as a king in a nativity, it may express a positive attitude (such as endearment) (Schneider 2003, 143).

	Derivational affixes (usually class-changing)	EVAL-forming affixes (always class-maintaining)
English	hair > hairy town > townie weird > weirdo hell > hellish ankle > anklet to grab > grabby to pose > poser	mom > mommy dog > doggie kid > kiddo dark > darkish wife > wifelet husband > hubby pregnant > preggers
Latvian	<i>strādāt</i> ‘to work’ > <i>strādīgs</i> ‘hard-working’ <i>staigāt</i> ‘to walk/wander’ > <i>staigulis</i> ‘vagabond’ <i>dīkt</i> ‘to whine’ > <i>dīkaļa</i> ‘crybaby, whiner’	<i>dzeltens</i> ‘yellow’ > <i>dzeltenīgs</i> <i>ezis</i> ‘hedgehog’ > <i>ežulis</i> <i>staigāt</i> ‘to walk/wander’ > <i>staigaļēt</i>
Spanish	<i>cabeza</i> ‘head’ > <i>cabezazo</i> ‘headbutt’ <i>sobar</i> ‘to grope, to fondle’ > <i>sobón</i> ‘handsy’ <i>tocar</i> ‘to touch’ > <i>retocar</i> ‘to touch up’ <i>silla</i> ‘chair’ > <i>sillín</i> ‘(bicycle) seat’	<i>tiempo</i> ‘time’ > <i>tiempazo</i> <i>problema</i> ‘problem’ > <i>problemón</i> <i>guapa</i> ‘pretty’ > <i>reguapa</i> <i>pronto</i> ‘soon’ > <i>prontín</i>

Table 2. EVAL-forming and derivative affixes in English, Latvian and Spanish

The issue of whether the morphological parallelism in these forms owes to the polyfunctionality of certain morphs, to arbitrary homophony or to a combination of both is an issue that may perhaps be better studied from a language-specific perspective, as cases may vary³¹. However, even positing the polyfunctionality of one same morph, and allowing for the evidence that some derivatives do indeed have encoded some measure of evaluation, the nature of the lexical units obtained after each respective morphological

³¹ Tolskaya, for example, shows that the diachronic evolution of an evaluative marker may result in a case of homophony: “[In Udihe] the diminutive suffix *-ziga* has become homophonous with the plural affix; thus *moxo-ziga* ‘a small cup’/‘cups’ is ambiguous between a diminutive and plural reading” (Tolskaya 1995, 334). Dahl, as well, argues that “morphemes that are used to form diminutives and augmentatives can also have various other functions that at least synchronically seem to have little to do with size, inviting the postulation of homonymy” (Dahl 2009, 2018).

process remains differentiable. In direct and causal relation to the observed category change in derivatives stands a shift in the signified, from that of the base to that of the derivative. While derivatives undergo a complete semantic shift, from one referent to another, the evaluative marker in an evaluative form only triggers a process of qualifying specification, of evaluative nuance or, in the case of eminently pragmatic uses of evaluative forms, a process of stance-taking vis-à-vis the interlocutor or the overall communicative situation.

Any time that the derivation process involves a change in the syntactic category of the base, the base and the resulting derivative cannot share a signified. This is consistent with Štekauer’s proposed framework for EM, which examines “morphologically complex words with evaluative meaning” (Štekauer 2015a, 43), but more specifically “any and all morphological expressions meeting the (...) condition of deviation from the[ir] default value” (ibid., 45). However, Štekauer’s framework does not explicitly address whether the evaluative constituent of the resulting words is indebted to the subjective perception of the speaker or to the semantic makeup of the word itself. A failure to establish this essential distinction may lead to equivocal characterizations and analyses. Examples (3a) and (3b) reproduce examples proposed by Štekauer (2015, 45 and 48) as illustrative of augmentative meanings:

(3a) SQI *madh*_{ADJ} ‘big’ > *stěrmadh*_{ADJ} ‘very big, enormous’

(3b) NIPMUCK *pisch*_N ‘peas’ > *pischchekau*_V ‘there is an abundance of peas’

However, it is arguably misleading to analyse both instances under one single paradigm. While (3a) follows the conventional morphosemantic pattern of an evaluative form (i.e., the base and the evaluative form share a signified, even after the application of an evaluative marker), (3b) involves a change of lexical category. Tellingly, the author from where example (3b) is originally taken specifies, under the rubric *Derivation*, that “the distributive morpheme (*-chekau*) turns nouns into verbs with the meaning of ‘there is an abundance of N’” (Gustafson 2000e, 128–129). In such a case, the derivative does not convey a deviation or specification from a standard or default value, since the signified has changed entirely. Regarding the class-maintaining character of evaluative forms, Bauer observes the following:

It does seem generally to be the case that evaluative morphology does not change the syntactic category of the base. This might be expected from the function of evaluative morphology. A noun which is noted as being of a particular size is still a noun; a noun which is stated to be liked or disliked

is still a noun; an adjective which does not apply with its full force still remains an adjective. (Bauer 1997, 549)

Moreover, even class-maintaining derivations are not necessarily evaluative. This is clearly seen in denominal singulative and collective nouns, as well as in agent nouns. Concerning the former, Grandi stresses a “correlation between diminutives and singulatives on the one hand, and between augmentatives and collectives on the other”, marking them as distinctive lexical subgroups. However, Grandi reports inaccurately the Catalan word *aigüeta* as a ‘small bottle of water’ (2015, 103). In the corpus Catalan Web 2014 the entry *aigüeta* is found either as a lexicalized diminutive (meaning ‘river that runs at the bottom of a ravine’ and employed most commonly in toponyms (Selfa Sastre 2000e, 86)) or as an evaluative form of *aigüa* ‘water’, usually with semantic-pragmatic features indicating appreciation or familiarity. The meaning proposed by Grandi (‘small bottle of water’) is certainly possible given a certain context, but it does not imply/warrant that it is the morph *-et-* that introduces any type of singulative sense to indicate “a conventional unit of this substance” (ibid.). Instead, the reading ‘a small bottle of water’ or simply ‘a glass of water’ appears through a metonymic use of the common evaluative form *aigüeta*, where the most usual interpretation of the marker *-et-* would involve a sense of appreciation and, when applicable, a pragmatic function to express familiarity or soften a request. Unfortunately, this inaccurate example is reprised in Pakendorf (2017, 125) to illustrate the same aspect, i.e., the singulative feature of the diminutive. A more accurate interpretation of the singulative sense is illustrated by means some of Grandi’s other examples, such as the French *grêle* ‘hail’ > *grêlon* ‘hailstone’, which contains the morph *-on-*, traditionally associated with French diminutives.

Agent nouns (*nomina agenti*), deverbal nouns whose semantic features frequently include an evaluative element (often augmentative and/or pejorative), constitute a lexical subgroup of difficult characterization. While marked as derivatives due to their compositional nature, a number of them can be labelled as *evaluative*, as the feature they transmit is presented in a non-neutral form, as in SPA *llorar* ‘to cry’ > *llorica*, *llorón* ‘crybaby, whiner’. However, as Kalnača points out, even if evaluative nuances are encoded in the construction of agent nouns, their primary meaning is to denote agency (Kalnača 2015, 257). Agent nouns conveying evaluative nuances comply with all defining criteria established for evaluative forms³² excepting the class-changing nature of

³² See Martín Calvo 2019a and subchapter 1.6 in the present study.

their formative process. From this point of view, also certain other evaluation-marked derivatives perform this function when contrasted to other, more semantically-neutral derivatives from the same base. Dammel and Quindt similarly argue this point when discussing certain German action nouns with the formative patterns *Ge-N-e* and *N-erei*, as opposed to the more neutral deverbial nominalizer *-ung*. This is exemplified in (4) with the two lexical units obtained from the base *forschen* ‘to research’, *Forscherei* / *ihr Geforsche* in opposition to the more common *Forschung* ‘research’ (Dammel and Quindt 2016, 48)³³:

(4) *Kim treibt ihre Forscherei / ihr Geforsche voran*

Descriptive content: ‘Kim pushes on her research’

Expressive content: ‘Speaker dismisses the research in question’

From a strictly functional standpoint, an argument could be made for the consideration of these evaluative derivatives as an exceptional, less-than-prototypical, subtype of evaluative forms. However, a fundamental feature of evaluative forms is their capability to take the place of their base and, in doing so, add a semantic or pragmatic layer to the utterance. This is something that evaluative derivatives cannot accomplish.

In the particular case of Spanish and Latvian, the difference between the evaluative and merely derivative functions of certain morphs (usually affixes) has usually been addressed in relevant studies. In her monograph of Latvian diminutives, Rūķe-Draviņa observed that “there is not a single diminutive suffix known that applies exclusively to diminutive forms. The same suffixes that are used for diminution also occur in derivations of other content” (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959, 401*). Reviewed studies on the evaluative morphology of Spanish vary in their reflection of this distinction, possibly because evaluative forms and expressive (or evaluative) derivatives are analysed jointly in a number of them. For example, although Fortin is aware that “the Spanish suffix *-azo* is ambiguous between several meanings, which do not appear to be cognate with the augmentative use” (2011, 38), the author still includes the word *balazo* in his analysis of *expressive affixes*. However, the derivative *balazo* ‘bullet impact, shot’ (from the base *bala* ‘bullet’) does not convey any expressivity or evaluation, just the notion of ‘impact’. Indeed, although the evaluative marker *-az-* usually conveys augmentation, admiration or

³³ For a more detailed discussion of deverbial derivation with the suffix *-ei* in German, see Henjum (2018).

contempt (e.g., *éxito* ‘success’ > *exitazo* ‘≈ great success’), it is also found as a derivational suffix indicating the blow or strike of an object, as seen in *hacha* ‘axe’ > *hachazo* ‘a blow or chop with an axe’, ‘elbow’ > *codazo* ‘a jab with the elbow’, *pluma* ‘fountain pen’ > *plumazo* ‘the stroke of a pen’ (fig. ‘swiftly’) (Lázaro Mora 1999, Morera 2005). This semantic content can also be adopted metaphorically: e.g., *teléfono* ‘telephone’ > *telefonazo* ‘a phone call’³⁴. Once again, whether morphs in question *-az/-azo-* are considered as one polyfunctional morph or as two homophonous morphs with two different etymological sources (as argued by Malkiel 1959), the resulting lexical units are sufficiently differentiated from a semantic viewpoint. The following subchapter reprises the discussion first presented in Martín Calvo (2020b), whose main aim is to provide sufficient evidence in distinguishing evaluative forms other evaluative derivatives from a semantic, syntactic and morphological perspective.

As shown in Table 2, also in Latvian it is possible to recognise a number of morphemes which can be found performing different roles, either as evaluative markers or as mere derivative affixes, depending on the base to which they appear attached. For example, while the Latvian morph *ie-* expresses mainly attenuation when attached to adjectives related to the sense of taste (e.g., *sālš* ‘salty’ > *iesālš* ‘a bit salty’, *salds* ‘sweet’ > *iesalds* ‘a bit sweet’, *rūgts* ‘bitter’ > *ierūgts* ‘a bit bitter’), the same morph acts mainly as a derivative suffix when attached to verbs. In the latter case, the obtained derivative reveals a clear shift in denotational content: e.g., *teikt* ‘to tell, to say’ > *ieteikt* ‘to advise’, or *kāpt* ‘to go up, to climb’ > *iekāpt* ‘to get into, to get on, to board’ (Kalme un Smiltneice 2001, 121 and 199). An analogous diversity in roles can be observed when comparing the application of morphs such as *-ēj-* (*smags* ‘heavy’ > *smagnējs* ‘rather heavy’, but *dzert* ‘to drink’ > *dzērējs* ‘person or animal who drinks (in this moment)’³⁵ or *-ul-* (*kaķis* ‘cat’ > *kaķulis* ‘≈ dear, small or poor cat’, but *čīkstēt* ‘to whine’ > *čīkstulis* ‘whiner’).

1.7. Morphosemantic contrastive analysis of evaluative forms and evaluative derivatives as two distinct categories of lexical units

A deep-seated and enduring source of ambiguity in linguistic research concerning evaluative morphology owes in part to a lack of definition concerning its object of study. A review of related literature shows a lack of agreement about their definition and

³⁴ This metaphorical sense of ‘hitting’ or ‘striking’ is also discernible in the equivalent French expression *un coup de fil* ‘a phone call’.

³⁵ “*Cilvēks, arī dzīvnieks, kas (pašlaik) dzer*” (Tezaurs.lv 2021).

semantic characterization, especially when studied not as isolated clusters (i.e., considering diminutives, augmentatives or pejoratives as separate groups), but as instances of a wider, interrelated morphological phenomenon. In classic works (Scalise 1984, Jurafsky 1996, Bauer 1997) as well as in contemporary research (Körtvélyessy 2015, Grandi and Körtvélyessy 2015, Prieto 2015) at least two distinctive lexical groups are discussed and analysed, usually under the traditional category labels ‘diminutives’, ‘augmentatives’, ‘pejoratives’, and ‘melioratives’. While the lexical units found in each of these groups are indeed related from a morphosemantic and functional point of view, they arguably also present several distinguishing features that do not warrant their joint consideration.

Dammel and Quindt have posited that “a canonical evaluative derivation pattern marks a subjective attitude (in most cases the speaker’s) towards the referent of the word formation” (Dammel and Quindt 2016, 43). In order to complete this definition, it must be noted that the speaker’s subjective attitude may also encompass other elements of the communicative situation (e.g., setting, channel, message, etc.). In support of their definition, Dammel and Quindt have proposed a set of four criteria to determine whether a morphological derivative has an evaluative function and whether said function occurs reliably, aside from external causes like its interaction with the base or context (*ibid.*). In this section of the study, evaluative derivatives (EDs) and evaluative forms (EVALs) are discussed in relation to each one of the proposed criteria.

The first criterion establishes that “evaluation is a productive and type frequent (sub)function of the derivative pattern at hand” (Dammel and Quindt 2016, 43). This condition is satisfied by EDs and EVALs alike, as lexical units in both of these groups are obtained according to language-specific affixal patterns. The productivity of said patterns is usually guaranteed, although from a diachronic viewpoint said productivity has been shown to fluctuate. Similarly, from a synchronic perspective, some affixes are decidedly more productive than others³⁶. A key aspect specified by this condition is that ‘derivative’ patterns may present more than one function. Indeed, as discussed in the previous section, a source of ambiguity and unfocussed analysis is the fact that EDs and EVALs often share a number of a given language’s affixal resources, and that they are both the product of morphological modifications to a base which they usually alter

³⁶ This aspect is, perforce, language specific. Relevant studies addressing this aspect are, for example, those of Rūķe-Draviņa (1959) for Latvian, González-Ollé (1962) for Spanish, and Ettinger (1974a and 1974b) for French.

semantically. Nevertheless, the fact that one same affix may be encountered in EDs and EVALs does not entail that said affix carries out an identical function in both cases (as shown in Table 2). It is therefore highly desirable that descriptions of a language's EM resources include an accurate and explicit reference to any instances of affixal polyvalence and the variety of semantic descriptions they bring about. The following (non-exhaustive) examples contain distinctive semantic descriptions associated with the suffixes *-ette* in English (1a to 1d), *-azo* in Spanish (2a to 2c), and *-en-* in Latvian (2a to 2d), detailing their two distinctive roles: a derivational role, on the one hand, and an explicitly evaluative (i.e., EVAL-forming) role on the other:

- (1a) {diminution (lexicalized)} *bra* > *bralette*, *cigar* > *cigarette*, *kitchen* > *kitchenette*
 (1b) {evaluation} *drink* > *drinkette*
 (1c) {feminine gender} *bachelor* > *bachelorette*, *Rambo* > *Rambette*
 (1d) {imitation} *flannel* > *flannelette*, *leather* > *leatherette*
- (2a) {hitting or striking, literal} *bala* ‘bullet’ > *balazo* ‘gunshot, gunshot wound’
 (2b) {hitting or striking, metaphorical} *alba* ‘dawn’ > *albazo* ‘attack at dawn’
 (2c) {quick or careless action} *vista* ‘sight’ > *vistazo* ‘glance, quick look’
 (2d) {evaluation} *gripe* ‘flu’ > *gripazo* ‘≈ heavy flu’, *padre* ‘father’ > *padrazo* ‘≈ wonderful father’³⁷
- (3a) {evaluation} *salds* ‘sweet’ > *saldens* ‘sweetish’, *bloda* ‘bowl’ > *blodene* ‘bowl.DIM/PEJ’
 (3b) {feminine gender} *vilks* ‘wolf’ > *vilcene* ‘she-wolf’
 (3c) {denominal adjectives} *vara* ‘power’ > *varens* ‘powerful’
 (3d) {denominal nouns} *dūmi* ‘smoke’ > *dūmenis* ‘chimney, flue, smoke-stack’

An interesting case, although relatively rare, is that of homophonous lexical units which express entirely different senses, some in the form of EVALs and some as derivatives containing varying degrees of evaluative content:

- (4a) SPA *cabeza*_N ‘head’ > ED: *cabezota*_{ADJ} ‘stubborn’
 EVAL: *cabezota*_N ‘≈ head.PEJ, head.AUG’

³⁷ For a more extended discussion of the various senses conveyed by the Spanish suffix *-azo*, see Tejera (1998, 1117–1119).

- (4b) SPA *toro_N* ‘bull’ > ED: *torete_N* ‘difficult problem’
 EVAL: *torete_N* ‘≈ young bull, bull.DIM, bull.APP’

In all previous examples, a neat semantic difference can be observed between instances in which affixes added to a base encode or do not encode an evaluative aspect. In other words, EDs may convey a connotative evaluative aspect of an encyclopaedic nature but they cannot be considered as EVALs since they usually do not stand in evaluative opposition to a non-evaluative form. Furthermore, their semantic content is altogether different from that of their base, although often related to them. At the risk of overgeneralizing, it can be said that the EVAL-forming affixes entail a wide range of semantic and pragmatic evaluative senses, while ED-forming affixes usually convey fixed and conceptualized semantic descriptions which only additionally or marginally may convey evaluation (as previously indicated for certain agent and action nouns). While neat divisions may be desirable from a conceptual point of view, the sheer diversity found in the actual use of language (*parole*) imposes necessarily fuzzy groupal boundaries.

The second condition established by Dammel and Quindt posits that “evaluation occurs independently from the semantics of the base, i.e., also in combination with neutral bases” (Dammel and Quindt 2016, 43). Although the authors discuss eloquently this criterion, the recourse to an evaluative characterization of the bases is problematic, as there is no strict framework or set of objective principles to establish a distinction between categories like *neutral* (*Forschung* ‘research’), *pejorative* (*Vielweiberei* ‘polygyny’) and *positive* (*rühmen* ‘to praise’)³⁸. Indeed, while the evaluative aspect of connotation-laden words may be perceived similarly by most language users (or perhaps only by a subset of them), how must be approached the characterization of other, nuance-rich lexical units that defy a clear positive/neutral/pejorative labelling? How is semantic neutrality defined within this paradigm and which criteria are there to accurately label words such as ‘posh’, ‘hunting’, ‘industrialization’, ‘sorry’, ‘goodbye’, ‘russification’, or ‘black’?

Another author that has adopted this approach is Volek, who carries out a detailed and well-illustrated analysis of various Russian derivatives, considering not their formation pattern, but “the semantic character of their base stem” (Volek 1987, 44). According to Volek, bases can be marked as *neutral* (e.g., beer, writer, house), *evaluative*

³⁸ “The classification was done by both authors independently by paraphrasing in context and cross-checking with dictionaries of MHG and ENHG, though a certain amount of intuition and subjectivity in these decisions is impossible to rule out” (Dammel and Quindt 2016, 52).

(e.g., good, lazy) or *emotive* (e.g., soul). Volek argues that in the case of neutral and evaluative bases “the emotive component comes through existence only through the word-formational process”, while in the case of emotive bases “the emotive component is merely modified by the word-formational process” (ibid.). A core problematic issue of this line of analysis and classification is that there are no proposed criteria to establish with any amount of reliability the ‘semantic character’ of words, which is bound to be not only language-specific but also highly subjective. This aspect marks Volek’s classification and subsequent analysis with a detrimental ad-hoc quality. As Merlini Barbaresi points out about Volek’s approach, “word connotations, intended as stable meanings picked up from contextual uses over time (...) are part of the complex semantics of the word” (Merlini Barbaresi 2015, 35) and therefore are not generally receptive to simplifying labels such as *neutral*, *expressive* or *evaluative*.

Despite the difficulty discussed in the formulation of the criterion, it is still possible to test the aspect it proposes by examining instances in which the base can most reliably be considered neutral. In relation to evaluative forms, such examination can involve the analysis of the EVAL-forming possibilities of the units most prone to semantic neutrality in a language’s lexicon. Indeed, evaluative forms may take as bases units from all major word classes and, as seen in (5a) to (5e), also from many of the more semantically neutral lexical categories, such as pronouns, interjections or numerals:

(5a) numerals: ESP *primero* ‘first’ > *primerito*

(5b) interrogative adverbs: DEU *wieso* ‘why’ > *wiesoerl* (Dressler and Karpf 1995, 111)

(5c) interjections: POL *ojej* ‘oh, aw’ > *ojekku* (Lockyer 2015, 198)³⁹

(5d) demonstratives: CES *toto* ‘this’ > *toto^k* (Dressler and Karpf 1995, 111)

(5e) possessive pronouns: ESP *nuestra* ‘our’ > *nuestrita*

The third of Dammel and Quindt’s criteria posits that “evaluation occurs independently from contexts, i.e., it is not variable across contexts, arises also in context isolation and it is not cancellable” (Dammel and Quindt 2016, 43). As pointed out before, the exact sense of evaluation found in an EVAL can only be assessed, interpreted and, if required, translated within a context (Martín Calvo 2019b). However, the evaluative component is always present, as it is an intrinsic component of the semantic and pragmatic makeup of

³⁹ Lockyer (2014) contains an discussion of English-language examples such as whoops > whoopsie and wow > wowie / wowee, oops > oopsie (2014, 77).

the EVAL. By contrast, the evaluative or expressive connotative aspect of certain derivatives may not be apparent in context isolation and is only activated in context, according to clues concerning encyclopaedic knowledge or culture-specific information. An illustration of the relevance of context for EDs is proposed utilizing the Spanish derivative *peludo*_{ADJ} ‘hairy, furry’ (from *pelon*_N ‘hair, fur’), featuring the suffix *-ud-*, which is usually employed to derivate denominal adjectives with the semantic description ‘abundant in N’ (Morera 2005, 129–131). In the three proposed instances, the adjective *peludo* is employed in reference to two different referents: a donkey in (6a) and (6c), and a group of children in (6b). The adjective’s connotative content may be (and is) interpreted differently not only in relation to these referents but also to the overall co-text. The implicit connotation for the native speaker of Spanish is rendered explicit and articulated in various translations, confirming the variety of evaluative and non-evaluative readings:

(6a) *Platero es pequeño, **peludo**, suave.* (Jiménez 1917, 17)

Platero is small, **downy**, smooth. (Jiménez 1960, 19)

Platero is small, **fluffy**, soft. (Jiménez 1978, 3)

*Platēro ir mazs, **spalvains** un mīļš.* (Jiménez 1988, 9)

(6b) *Los chiquillos gitanos, aceitosos y **peludos**.* (Jiménez 1917, 29)

The gypsy children come running after us, **shaggy** and oily-smooth. (Jiménez 1960, 25)

The gypsy children, oily and **shaggy**. (Jiménez 1978, 9)

*Melnīgsnēji un **sapinckājušies** čigānēni.* (Jiménez 1988, 14)

(6c) *Llevas sobre tu lomo **peludo** a los ángeles adolescentes.* (Jiménez 1917, 303)

[You] carry on your **furry** back adolescent angels. (Jiménez 1978, 152)

[*Tu*] *nes uz sava **spalvainā** čupra jaunus eņģelīšus.* (Jiménez 1988, 120)

As seen above, the lexical base for the derivative is not itself marked from an expressive viewpoint, and the evaluative connotations in the resulting derivative are context-dependent, as the different translations reflect: *peludo* is interpreted as rather neutral in (6c) but more positively in (6a), where it indicates the object’s expected and desirable quality. However, in (6b) the adjective is perceived as somewhat pejorative, as the quality portrayed is considered undesirable or unappealing. These examples evidence that evaluation is not an integral component of derivatives.

One last aspect of the criterion discussed in this section is that evaluation is not ‘cancellable’. Further in the discussion Dammel and Quindt concede that it is “hardly cancellable”, meaning that this criterion applies to a default or standard reading of the lexical unit while allowing for a range of readings, since “scalarity of evaluation is typical for expressive meanings” (Dammel and Quindt 2016, 67). In a similar manner, Fortin affirms that ‘expressives’, unlike conversational implicatures and other kinds of inductive inferences, are not cancellable, i.e., they survive under negation. Fortin sets out to test this criterion in relation to ‘expressive affixes’ with a sentence containing the Spanish EVAL *perrito* ‘doggy’ (from *perro* ‘dog’). For his illustrative example (7), Fortin (2011, 31) establishes a ‘descriptive entailment’ (i) and an ‘expressive entailment’ (ii):

(7) *El perr-ito de Juan está enfermo.*

the dog-DIM of Juan is ill.

‘John’s little doggy is ill.’

Entailments:

i. Juan’s dog is ill.

ii. The speaker likes Juan’s dog

It must be pointed out that Fortin’s description of the ‘expressive entailment’ (ii) is accurate only under the condition that the suffix *-it-* is interpreted in a certain, standard manner. But this reading is not the only available one, as the suffix *-it-* may only concern the object’s size, and therefore simply add a descriptive entailment: e.g., ‘(i’) Juan’s dog is small’.

Moreover, the suffix *-it-* could also indicate that the speaker, in fact, dislikes John’s dog (the pejorative sense of ‘diminutives’ has been well established cross-linguistically⁴⁰), or even, given an ironic use of the suffix, refer to the fact that Juan’s dog is actually rather large. But beyond this multiplicity of readings, what the use of the evaluative affix indicates without a doubt, is that the speaker does not adopt a neutral stance vis-à-vis the concerned object or the communicative situation at large, i.e., the speaker “takes a stance” (DuBois 2007, 139)⁴¹:

⁴⁰ Various studies contain a thorough discussion of this aspect, e.g., Rūķe-Draviņa 1959, Ettinger 1974a, Jurafsky 1996, or Prieto 2015.

⁴¹ DuBois defines ‘evaluation’ as “as the process whereby a stancetaker orients to an object of stance and characterizes it as having some specific quality or value” (DuBois 2007, 143).

An evaluatively marked signifier functions as a blueprint for *(re)arranging the properties of the referent in terms of salience* and establishing the dimension along which the referent is judged or suggests a specific attitude/stance, taken by the speaker choosing it. (Bagasheva 2014, 23)

Is it then possible to cancel the stance-taking evaluativity introduced by an evaluative form and expressed morphologically using an evaluative marker? Fortin argues against it and proposes (8) as the answer:

(8) *No es verdad que el perrito de Juan está enfermo.*

Not is true that the dog.DIM of Juan is ill.

'It's not the case that John's little doggy is ill' (Fortin 2011, 32)

The negation in (8) does not affect the 'expressive entailment' specified for (7), i.e., 'the speaker likes John's dog'⁴², but unfortunately its formulation seems inaccurate. Fortin's negation in (8) is merely directed to (and therefore only affects) the propositional content of the sentence (i.e., 'John's dog is ill'), but it does not address its evaluative content, as it should be the case, given that the locus of evaluation is the evaluative form and, in particular, the evaluative marker (the suffix *-it-* in this example).

Before addressing an alternative mode of assessing the cancelability of (7), a terminological distinction is in order. It can be argued that evaluative markers do not introduce semantic entailments, "a meaning that is present on every occasion when an expression occurs" (Grundy 2000, 73), i.e., a conditional assumption or requirement of the logical type 'p→q'. For example, although the suffixes *-it-* (SPA), *-iṅ-/-īt-* (LAT), and *-let* (ENG) are conventionally characterized as diminutives, their presence does not entail a statement about the real size or metaphorical relevance or quality of the object. In other words, the evaluative marker (EM) does not necessarily reflect a real-life property of the type 'if EM *-it-/-iṅ-/-let* → object small'. Moreover, given the attested variety of senses conveyed by individual evaluative markers, their evaluative features are also rarely reducible to a similar conditional formula (e.g., 'if EM *-it-/-iṅ-/-let* → object appreciated'). By contrast, evaluative forms automatically introduce an evaluative implicature⁴³, which appears as independent of the base and the proposition's descriptive content. Therefore, the term *evaluative implicature* will be favoured over Fortin's *expressive entailment* in

⁴² It is here assumed, for the sake of simplicity, that the utterance is non-ironic and the speaker is expressing affection towards the object.

⁴³ The term *evaluative implicature* also appears in Davis (2010) and Dynel (2013), although in both cases it is associated with propositions, and not to individual lexical units.

this analysis and employed from here on. Consequently, if the aim is to test the defeasibility or cancelability of the evaluative marker, it should be the evaluative implicature that ought to be cancelled. Grice establishes that “a putative conversational implicature that *p* is explicitly cancellable if, to the form of words the utterance of which putatively implicates that *p*, it is admissible to add *but not p*, or *I do not mean to imply that p*” (Grice 1989, 44). According to this, four subsequent assertions are here proposed for (7):

(9a) John’s little **doggy** is ill, # but it is not a doggy, just a dog.

(9b) John’s little **doggy** is ill. # I do not mean to imply that it is a doggy, just a dog.

(9c) John’s little **doggy** is ill, # (?) but I do not like that dog.

(9d) John’s little **doggy** is ill. # I do not mean to imply that I like that dog.

All four assertions (9a to 9d) are clearly infelicitous, and therefore fail to cancel the assumed evaluative implicature in question, i.e., ‘the speaker likes John’s dog’. Sentences (9a) and (9b) approach cancellation from a morphological perspective, by removing the influence of the evaluative marker. By contrast, (9c) and (9d) attempt cancellation in a more direct manner, by interpreting explicitly the evaluative implicature described for (7). In all cases, evaluation is not cancellable or, as formulated before, ‘hardly cancellable’. In fact, (9c) is a plausible sentence if the use of the evaluative form ‘doggy’ were of an ironic nature. But in such a case, the evaluative implicature of (7) would have to be reinterpreted as ‘the speaker does not like John’s dog’.

It cannot be overlooked that the use of evaluative forms constitutes a direct flouting of Grice’s ‘supermaxim of manner’, which relates not “to what is said but, rather, to HOW what is said is to be said” and includes the sub-maxims “avoid obscurity of expression, avoid ambiguity, and be brief” (Grice 1975, 46). However, evaluative forms are semantically and pragmatically ambiguous, as well as polyvalent and generally more complex than their base regarding their morphological constitution. As mentioned before, they exemplify Levinson’s M-heuristic, whereby “complex forms express complex interpretations” (Blutner 2010: 109). The evaluative dimension of EVALs can only be ‘cancelled’ through a lexicalization process, whereby the affixed form acquires a semantic characterization different from that of its base lexeme: e.g., *bra* > *bralet* / *bralette* or SPA *torno* ‘potter’s wheel’ > *tornillo* ‘screw’.

It can now be examined how evaluative derivatives fare when put to a cancellation test. As illustrated with the word ‘piglet’ (see example (1b) in subchapter 1.6), derivatives

often fail to convey an evaluative implicature and the element of evaluativity and stance-taking on the part of the speaker is mostly identified at a lexical level, i.e., in the choice of word vis-à-vis available equivalents in the lexicon: ‘brainy’ vs. ‘smart’, ‘intelligent’, ‘bright’, or ‘clever’. Certain agent and action nouns certainly pose a more difficult characterization. In the case of items for which there is not an obvious lexical equivalent in the lexicon, evaluativity can be seen as part of their inherent semantic description: e.g., LAV *pļāpāt* ‘to chatter’ > *pļāpa* or *pļāpātājs* ‘chatterbox’, ESP *charlar* ‘to chat, to chatter’ > *charlatán* ‘chatterbox’. Derivatives such as these are usually obtained from verbs which already contain a fixed and recognizable evaluative element, although such is not always the case: e.g., ESP *nariz* ‘nose’ > *narigón* ‘big-nosed’.

In direct connection to the above, the last of Dammal and Quindt’s criteria establishes that “the evaluative derivational pattern stands in systematic opposition to other, non-evaluative patterns” (Dammal and Quindt 2016, 43). Inversely, it is common for derivatives to block the available cell for a given semantic role (e.g., agent, recipient, experiencer, etc.). For example, the English suffix *-y* is found in denominal adjectives expressing real or metaphorical {abundance of N} (e.g., *hair_N* > *hairy_{ADJ}* or *brain_N* > *brainy_{ADJ}*), but this derivational pattern does not stand in systematic opposition to another, non-evaluative pattern. Even if a given derivative features noticeable evaluative content, this becomes apparent as a lexical choice (e.g., ‘pricey’ as opposed to ‘costly’ or ‘expensive’), not as a morphological adaptation. Given cases where there is more than one available derivative pattern for one semantic description (e.g., *curve_N* > *curvaceous_{ADJ}* / *curvy_{ADJ}*; *muscle_N* > *musculous_{ADJ}*, *muscly_{ADJ}*), it is not obvious that one formative pattern convey a higher degree of expressivity or evaluativity than the other. More likely, the use of each derivative is associated with aspects like register, dialect, sociolect, etc. Exceptions notwithstanding (as previously discussed for the case of agent nouns and other instances) common derivatives, marked-evaluatively or not, represent the usual lexical signifier for a given signified. This happens in clear opposition to evaluative forms, which perfectly illustrate Levinson’s M-heuristic: “what is said in an unusual way signals an unusual situation” (Levinson 2000, 38–39). In the case of evaluative forms, their base is marked as ‘usual’, while the affixed forms indicate some amount of explicit subjective evaluation on the part of the speaker. However, “on the descriptive propositional level, there is no difference in truth-conditionality between the neutral variant and the variant marked for evaluation –both refer to the same concept” (Dammal and Quindt 2016, 47).

Examining this last criterion in regard to evaluative forms is problematical, since these units are not derivatives and therefore, strictly speaking, are not obtained employing ‘derivational patterns’. However, evaluative derivatives can sometimes be found in opposition to more neutral derivatives from the same base. Thus, from the Spanish verb *limpiar* ‘to clean’ it is possible to obtain the neutral nouns *limpiadura* and *limpieza* ‘cleaning, cleanliness’, as well as the evaluation-heavy *limpión*, meaning a hasty and superficial cleaning (DLE)⁴⁴. In languages in which evaluative morphology is a prominent feature⁴⁵, lexical bases (especially adjectival and nominal ones) are often able to adopt a variety of evaluative markers, either individually or in certain patterned combinations, as illustrated in (10a) and (10b). Given any base as a signifier, an evaluative form usually stands in morphosemantic contrast to a variety of other available forms, all of which refer back to an identical signified. This particular feature of evaluative forms clearly counters Aronoff’s Blocking Principle, defined as “the non-occurrence of one form due to the simple existence of another” (Aronoff 1976, 43):

- (10a) SPA *chico* ‘boy’ > *chicuelo*, *chicarrón*, *chiquitajo*, *chiquillo*, *chiquín*, *chiquilín*
 (10b) LAV *plāns* ‘thin’ > *plāniņš*, *plāntiņš* (Rūķe-Draviņa 1953, 460)⁴⁶

In regard to the order of morphological rules, if a derivational process (11a) is involved in the obtention of an evaluative form (11b), it always precedes the EVAL-formation process. As seen in (11a) and (11b), while the Spanish affix *-ón-* blocks other derivatives of *pelo* ‘hair’ for the semantic description ‘lacking in N’, the application of various evaluative markers allows for the obtention of various evaluative forms which are not mutually excluding from a semantic or pragmatic viewpoint:

- (11a) SPA *pelón*_N ‘hair’ > *pelón*_{ADJ} (‘hairless, bald or very shorthaired’)
 (11b) SPA *pelón*_{ADJ} > *peloncito*_{ADJ} / *peloncillo*_{ADJ} / *peloncete*_{ADJ}⁴⁷

⁴⁴ The word *limpión* has several additional meanings in various Spanish-speaking countries, but they are not relevant to the discussion at hand. Interestingly, although the Spanish morph *-ón-* is mostly characterized as an ‘augmentative’, in this instance it conveys lightness and lack of thoroughness.

⁴⁵ This is the case of many Slavic, Romance, and Baltic languages in the SAE area, where EM saturation has been observed to be the highest in terms of language macro-areas (Körtvélyessy 2015a, 120–130).

⁴⁶ In this research, Rūķe-Draviņa lists up to eighteen ‘diminutive’ forms of the Lithuanian adjective *mažas* ‘small, little’ (Rūķe-Draviņa 1953, 452).

⁴⁷ In all these forms, the addition of the interfix *-c-* is required by the various evaluative markers but cannot be assimilated to the markers themselves.

As a fitting conclusion to the analysis in this section, the last example illustrates again several characteristics of evaluative markers here discussed. On the one hand, affixal morphs are not necessarily restricted to a single role: they can carry out derivational as well as evaluative functions, and it is highly desirable to establish a clear distinction between them in EM research.

On the other hand, the characterization and interpretation of evaluative markers do not allow for far-reaching generalizations. Although the morph *-ón-* is almost routinely described as an evaluative affix, usually characterized as ‘augmentative’ (Prieto 2005e, 61), it is frequently found in evaluative forms where it conveys pejorative (12a) as well as diminutive semantic features although in the latter instances (see 12b to 12d), it is common for the evaluative forms to have become partly or fully lexicalized:

(12a) *señor* ‘sir’ > *señorón* ‘bigwig, top cat, overlord’

(12b) *calle* ‘street’ > *callejón* ‘alley, backstreet’

(12c) *pluma* ‘feather’ > *plumón* ‘down’

(12d) *caja* ‘box’ > *cajón* ‘drawer’ or ‘crate’

The preceding discussion shows that although EM research comprises a wide range of evaluative constructions and of morphological processes to obtain them, an explicit effort must be made to differentiate the diverse types or categories of lexical units which are the product of said processes. While conceptual categories like ‘diminution’, ‘augmentation’ or ‘pejoration’ have proven to be useful in establishing investigative approaches, they are overly vague and insufficient from a categorial viewpoint. Rather, an alternative approach may lie in considering evaluative markers from an inclusive perspective, where all morphs are considered jointly according to their semantic and syntactic characteristics. Within this approach, a relevant aspect is the differentiation of the various types of lexical units resulting from the morphological processes considered in evaluative morphology. As examined in this subchapter, failure to do so may result in applying the same investigative approaches to units which are essentially different from a semantic, morphological and syntactic viewpoint. Nonetheless, the present analysis insists on a fuzzy consideration of all linguistic aspects involved in evaluative morphology and admits certain borderline cases which would require further and more focused investigation. The specific case of certain agent and action nouns occurring in some languages has been addressed, but a similar case can likely be made for other types of derivatives either in the languages here examined or in others.

In the final portion of this subchapter, both evaluative derivatives and forms have been contrasted to each other in relation to a set of criteria addressing evaluative content from a multiplicity of perspectives: stance-taking, cancellability, co-occurrence of formative patterns and blocking, semantic description, context, etc. The approach to the analysis of evaluative forms based on a semantic characterization of the bases has been explicitly described as problematic due to its inherent subjectivity (both from an interlinguistic perspective as well as from that of the language users) and lack of a solid theoretical basis. Given that the present dissertation focuses on evaluative forms alone (and not on other evaluative constructions), it has proposed the adoption of the term ‘evaluative marker’ as an all-encompassing designation comprising all possible morphs carrying out an explicit evaluative role. As initially argued in Martín Calvo 2019a, and more thoroughly in subchapters 2.1 and 2.2 of this study, the proposed term avoids the ambiguity and manifest insufficiency of traditional labels, a key aspect in EM research that has been previously commented upon by a number of authors. Lastly, and if only tangentially, it has also been shown that an accurate semantic and pragmatic interpretation of evaluative forms can only be discussed on a case-per-case basis, where context and co-text are considered. In a related direction, it has been illustrated that the reformulation process inherent to translation can be of significant relevance in explicitly revealing the various semantic and pragmatic aspects implicitly encoded in source-text evaluative forms.

1.8. Type-defining conditions and other characteristic features of evaluative forms

Having already discussed the difference between the various levels at which evaluativity can be expressed in language and having carried out a critical review of the core concepts associated with evaluative morphology as a study field, the final section of the introductory chapter in this dissertation aims to establish a well-founded morphosemantic characterization of evaluative forms. These will be described employing a set of criteria, or type-defining conditions, as well as by an additional number of distinctive features, in an effort to establish clear morphosemantic boundaries for these units as an identifiable lexical type. This section addresses and establishes the semantic and morphologic criteria upon which the selection of research units is based. Following Lefer and Cartoni’s *macro-approach* to the study of lexical morphology, evaluative forms are studied as constituents of a system. Said system has its roots in a notion, that of evaluativity as expressed through morphological processes that involve the category-preserving introduction of an

evaluative marker to a base. This approach is in contrast with the *micro-approach*, which would focus on an examination of each morphological process.

From a contrastive perspective, it is highly important to precisely delimit, define and describe the elements to be compared across languages as the comparability of the data, and hence the validity and reliability of the results, depends to a great extent on this description stage. In other words, we have to make sure that we are comparing like with like across languages. (Lefer and Cartoni 2011, 91)

Evaluative forms are here proposed as an open lexical type composed of units sharing a set of type-defining features. As first proposed in Martín Calvo (2019a)⁴⁸, the establishment of said set of morphosemantic conditions may facilitate a more accurate identification of evaluative forms from a cross-linguistic perspective. While an effort has been made to take into account the morphosemantic features observable in a variety of languages, the present set of conditions is admittedly subject to review and modification as required by additional linguistic data. Likewise, while the presented set of type-defining conditions has as its most immediate aim the delimitation of a study object, it makes no claims of exclusivity regarding evaluative content found in other derivative lexical units. That is, evaluative forms (as defined in this study) are considered as a subset of lexical units within a larger, fuzzy spectrum of evaluative constructions. Said spectrum also contains the lexical units to which other authors have referred as *expressives* or *evaluative derivatives*, and which are generally (though not always) characterized from a morphological point of view by the class-changing feature involved in their formation process. The main motive to establish a distinction between evaluative forms and other evaluative constructions is to highlight two main aspects. Firstly, that evaluative forms present a combination of morphemic and semantic features which are unique to this lexical type. And secondly, that a significant number of evaluative constructions have undergone a lexicalization process by virtue of which they have acquired fixed meanings. Although they can be considered evaluative constructions from a morphological point of view (given that they may contain a marker labelled as evaluative), they are ill-equipped to reflect subjective evaluative content, as their semantic features are stable. As argued and exemplified in subchapters 1.6 and 1.7, the use of these words may reflect subjectivity regarding a lexical choice on the part of the speaker, but rarely from a morphological perspective.

⁴⁸ Only affixed evaluative forms were considered in the indicated study.

Intending to accurately characterize evaluative forms as a distinctive lexical type, an effort has been made to establish a difference between type-defining properties (conditions *sine qua non*) and other morphosemantic properties or characteristic features. The conditions and properties here discussed draw necessarily from the seminal set of observations put forth by Scalise (1984, 131–133). Although Scalise’s study deals exclusively with evaluative suffixes and is language-bound to the specific case of Italian, the six properties the author posited for suffixed evaluative forms have become the blueprint for all subsequent characterizations. Another noteworthy effort regarding the enunciation of the properties of evaluative affixes is that of Grandi (2005, 2015, and 2017), who in his most recent work has identified and formulated eleven formal and semantic properties for said affixes (Grandi 2017_e). However, the focus in the next chapter is not on the evaluative markers themselves, but on the lexical forms which they assist in constructing. To illustrate each described property, examples will be provided drawing from the Spanish, Latvian and English languages, representing three different branches of the Indo-European family.

1.8.1. Type-defining conditions

Amplification of semantic features and pragmatic functions

Scalise’s first specification for evaluative suffixes is somewhat laconic and open-ended, stating that they “change the semantics of the base” (Scalise 1984, 132). More unambiguously, Grandi and Körtvélyessy have proposed that, from a functional-semantic viewpoint, a given construction “may be defined as evaluative if it has the function of assigning a value which is different from that of the standard or default” (Grandi and Körtvélyessy 2015, 13)⁴⁹. Indeed, any evaluative marker conveys a manifest amount of additional semantic-pragmatic content not previously represented in the base word. In terms of its semantic features and pragmatic functions, an evaluative marker must introduce an evaluative element directed either towards a specific object (the landing site of the marker) or, indirectly, to the communicative situation in general. The truth-value of the resulting evaluative form is subject neither to comparison to another object nor to any objective reality. In all the following examples, the base word refers to a quality for which there is no objective measure: ‘farness’ in (1a) and (1b), and ‘darkness’ in (1c). Consequently, the addition of an evaluative affix to the base indicates a semantic

⁴⁹ The notion of *deviation* is further examined in subchapter 2.1.

specification based on the subjective perception of the speaker:

(1a) LAV *Vēl esam **patālu** no ideāla, bet lietas iet uz labo pusi.* (LVK2018 2021_e)

‘≈ We are still **quite far** from the ideal, but things are going in the right direction.’

(1b) ESP *Eso fue **lejísimos** de donde estábamos, ni siquiera la oímos.* (CORDE 2021_e)

‘≈ That happened **very, very far** from where we were – we didn’t even hear it.’

(1c) ENG The Eye's voice's very low and **darkish**. (COCA 2021_e)

It must be noted that semantic features and pragmatic functions are difficult to tell apart with any certainty in many speech acts involving evaluative forms (as discussed in Prieto 2005_e or Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi 1994). As pointed out by Kryk-Kastovsky, these two elements are not mutually exclusive, since the morphological process which brings about the semantic extension has in turn pragmatic consequences (2000, 167). Ultimately, pragmatic aspects can only be examined with concrete examples discussed in concrete contexts that examine attentively each aspect of the communicative situation.

Morphological adjustment by means of an evaluative marker

A second property proposed by Grandi and Körtvélyessy addresses formal aspects and establishes that “an evaluative construction must include at least the explicit expression of the standard value (...) and an evaluative mark (a linguistic element specifically devoted to expressing this shift)” (2015, 13). This description closely mirrors properties previously put forth by Scalise (1984) and Grandi (2005). Morphologically, this condition implies that the formation of an evaluative form usually involves the expansion of a base, in such a way that it recognizably resembles said base⁵⁰. Implicit in this definition is the fact that category-changing derivatives cannot be considered as evaluative but also, perhaps, not even evaluative constructions. If the signified changes with the application of the derivative process, the ‘explicit expression of the standard value’ posited by Grandi and Körtvélyessy is not maintained. Kryk-Kastovsky illustrates this with the following example: POL *ciasto* ‘dough, batter’ > *ciastko* ‘cake’ > *ciasteczko* ‘cookie’ (2000, 168). Indeed, although *ciastko* and *ciasteczko* are derivatives obtained by the addition of morphs that may convey metaphorical diminution, their lexicalized meanings imply that they do not contain said ‘explicit expression of the standard value’. That is, neither the

⁵⁰ Notable, if typologically rare exceptions are found in *subtractive morphology*, where a morphological element of the base is lost in the evaluative form (Abdel-Massih 1971, 116), as well as non-concatenative processes, where changes occur in the base, but no element is actually added.

denotata *cake* nor *cookie* are deviations of the signified *dough* or *batter*.

The morphological adjustment introduced by the evaluative marker can take a variety of forms, depending on the morphological process involved. In the particular case of affixation, and taking into consideration language-specific restrictions, the possibilities are as varied as the different available types of affixes, e.g., prefixes, suffixes, circumfixes, interfixes, as well as various combinations involving these (co-fixation)⁵¹. As examined in Körtvélyessy (2015a), the amount, type and productivity of affixes show a significant amount of variation across languages. It must be noted that many authors have noticed that the affixation process often involves the addition of interfixes in order to satisfy language-specific morphological and phonological constraints. The following examples all rely on suffixation, without any intervening orthographical adaptations: LAV *bite* ‘bee’ > *bitīte* in (2a), ESP *cosa* ‘thing’ > *cosita* in (2b), and drop > *droplet* in (2c):

(2a) LAV *Motors rūca kā bitīte*. (LVK2018 2021_e)

‘≈ The motor roared like a **little bee**.’

(2b) ESP *Compraban cualquier cosita, siempre llevan algo*. (CORDE 2021_e)

‘≈ They usually bought any **little thing**, they always bring something along.’

(2c) ENG Jim wiped at a rolling **droplet** of sweat. (COCA 2021_e)

In reduplicative processes, the evaluative marker consists of a partial or total reduplication⁵² of some segment of the base: e.g., SOM *cád* ‘white’ > *cád-cád* ‘whitish’ (Lampitelli 2015, 479). A typologically uncommon process is that of subtractive morphology, as described for the formation of certain augmentatives in Tamazight (Berber) by Abdel-Massih. In such instances, the same marker that indicates diminution for masculine nouns (the circumfix *t-N.MASC-t*) is removed from feminine nouns to indicate augmentation (1971, 176–177): ZBT *afus* ‘hand’ > *tafust* ‘≈ small hand’, *taxamt* ‘tent’ > *axam* ‘≈ big tent’.

Semantic subordination or hyponymy

Grandi affirms that “the meaning of evaluative affixes is usually not referential (that is, the base-word and the derived word usually have the same referent)” (Grandi 2017_e).

⁵¹ This study follows the classification proposed by Beck in *The Typology of Morphological Processes: Form and Function* (2017), as developed in subchapter 2.6.1.

⁵² Partial reduplication is also referred to as *echo formations*, *echo words*, and *echo constructions* (see Rubino 2005 and Montaut 2010).

Leaving aside pragmatic aspects, the semantic implication is that an evaluative construction can be described as a type, instance or sort of its base word. That is, a given base may undergo a process of semantic distinction or specialization through various morphological processes and the presence of a variety of evaluative markers. The result of said processes will be the obtention of one or several semantically interrelated evaluative forms, only differentiated by the semantic nuances recognized by speakers for the evaluative marker. As seen in Figures 1a and 1b, evaluative forms are always semantically subordinate to their base, to which they stand in a relation of hyponymy. This relation is never reversible although in the case of a lexicalization process, semantic reconfiguration ensues and the original relationship between the base and the former EVAL dissolves. The following diagram presents various degrees of semantic subordination for the Spanish noun *chico* ('boy, guy'), showing that some evaluative forms may, in turn, become bases for the reapplication of an evaluative rule⁵³:

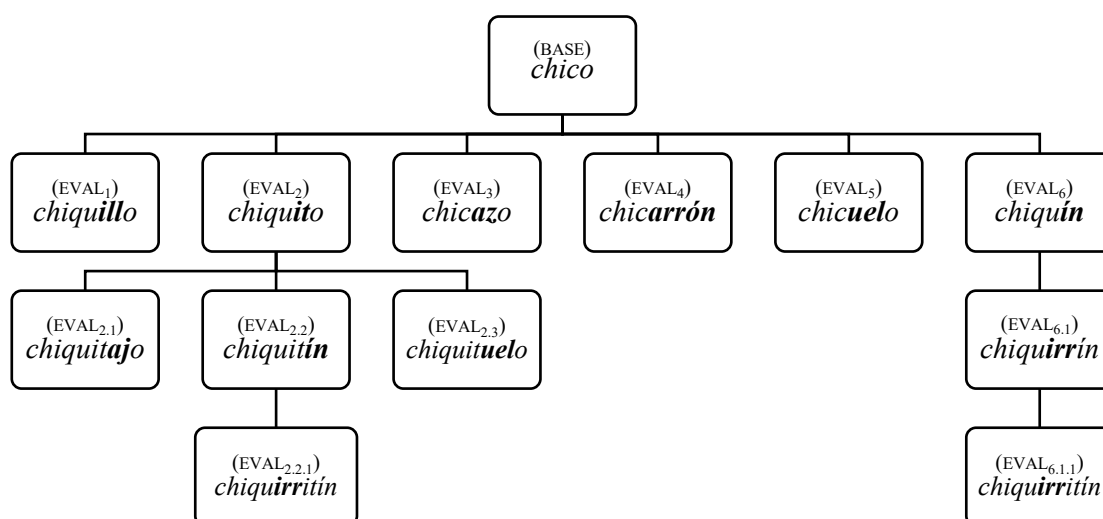


Figure 1. Evaluative forms from the Spanish base noun *chico* 'boy, guy'

Although it is problematic to discuss the semantic nuances of evaluative forms in absence of a well-defined communicative context, standard readings of the given examples in Figure 1 would depict *chiquillo*, *chiquito*, *chicuelo* and *chiquín* as diminutives (i.e., 'little boy, nice boy'), while *chicazo* and *chicarrón* could be portrayed as augmentatives (i.e., 'big boy, strong boy'). Subsequent forms constructed with *chiquito* as a base, would involve a more complex semantic characterization, associated to the interplay between

⁵³ Figure 1 does not contain all attested evaluative forms from the base *chico* 'boy'. NGLÉ (2011) offers some more: *chicarrón*, *chicazo*, *chicoco*, *chicote*, *chicuelo*, *chiquete*, *chiquilín*, *chiquillo*, *chiquitico*, *chiquito*, *chiquitín*, *chiquituco*, etc. (2011, 1041).

the two evaluative markers present. Thus, *chiquitajo* could be said to express an additional pejorative nuance (i.e., ‘≈ little brat’), while *chiquitín* and *chiquituelo* would, most commonly, emphasize the size-related and affective nuances linked to diminutivity (e.g., ‘≈ sweet little boy’). It is possible to attest relatively common forms (i.e., not nonce words) at a third level, where three evaluative markers appear combined. Interestingly, EVAL_{2.2.1} and EVAL_{6.1.1} turn out to have one identical morphological composition (*chiqu-irr-it-ín*), even if the application of the consecutive rules has followed verifiably different development paths.

As shown in Figure 2, a similar description could be developed for the various evaluative forms obtained from the Latvian base form *puisis* ‘guy, lad, youth’ (e.g., *puisēns*, *puisēniņš*, *pušelīš*, *pušelītis*, *pušelēns*, *pušuks*, *pušukiņš*, *pušītis*, *puškans*)⁵⁴:

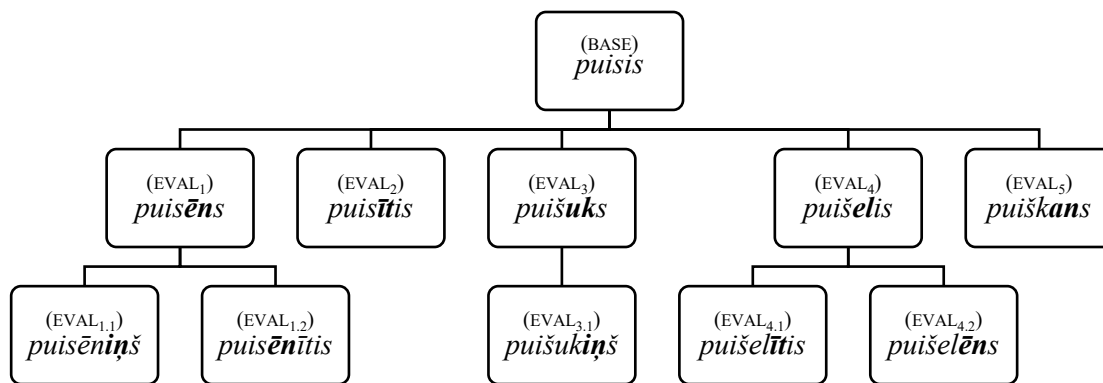


Figure 2. Evaluative forms from the Latvian base noun *puisis* ‘guy, lad, youngster’

In absence of context, the standard semantic reading in Latvian would be that of diminution and/or appreciation for all cases, although pejoration could be justifiably discerned for some of the EVALs in specific contexts. However, augmentativity does not appear to be available in Latvian as an interpretative feature for denominal EVALs.

As seen in the two previous figures, and expressed in Saussurean terms, the signified of the evaluative form must be one and the same as that of the base, although the signifier’s morphological makeup is modified by an evaluative marker. This relation between the base and its available evaluative forms expresses Allen’s ‘*is_a* condition’ (Allen 1978_e). In the context of evaluative morphology, this condition implies that a base

⁵⁴ Also Figure 2 does not contain all attested evaluative forms from the base *puisis*. Tezaurus.lv (2021_e) also includes subdialectal forms such as *puisīkis*, *puškins*, *puškēns*, and *pušāns*. A variety of forms is also available for the Latvian base *puika* ‘boy’: *puikiņš*, *puikucis*, *puikucītis*, *puikucēns*, *puikelis*, *puikels*.

and its associated evaluative forms must be connected by an *is_a* hierarchical relation, where the base (*B*) is a superclass of an evaluative form *eval₁*, and so *eval₁* is a subclass of *B*. The evaluative form is a subclass of its base because the linguistic specifications of the latter are reflected by those of the former. This property is crucial in telling apart evaluative forms from other evaluative constructions, such as lexicalized derivatives, as well as certain mass nouns or agent nouns. In those cases, the denotata of the derivative does not match that of their base, although they may be semantically related:

(3a) LAV *glābt* ‘to rescue, to save’ > *glābiņš* ‘salvation, shelter’⁵⁵

(3b) SPA *nariz* ‘nose’ > *narizotas* ‘big-nosed’

(3c) ENG one > onesie (jumpsuit, infant bodysuit)

(3d) ITA *zucchero* ‘sugar’ > *zuccherino* ‘sugar lump’

Categorial invariance

Satisfaction of the above-mentioned *is_a* condition implies an impossibility of change in terms of syntactic category. As Beard notes, evaluative markers “do not change the meaning or lexical class of the lexemes over which they operate; they generate nouns from nouns, verbs from verbs, and adjectives from adjectives” (Beard 1995, 163). This categorial invariance –discussed in Scalise (1984, 133), Bauer (1997, 549), and Grandi (2005, 193) among others– entails that a base and all its available evaluative forms always belong (and must belong) to the same word class⁵⁶:

(4a) LAV *brīdis_N* ‘moment’ > *brītiņš_N* ‘moment.DIM, brief moment, instant’

(4b) SPA *pintar_V* ‘to paint’ > *pintorrear_V* ‘≈ to paint.PEJ’

(4c) ENG aunt_N > auntie_N

Categorial invariance is also a key aspect in the recognition of evaluative forms, as the application of this condition allows for the exclusion of traditional derivatives which may convey evaluative content: e.g., SPA *mentir_V* ‘to lie’ > *mentiroso_N* ‘liar’, LAV *dzert_V* ‘to

⁵⁵ Examples of other non-evaluative deverbal nouns containing the morph *-iņ-* are *kauties* ‘to fight’ > *kautiņš* ‘fist-fight’ or *pūlētis* ‘to take pains, to work hard’ > *pūliņi* ‘trouble, effort’ (Kalme and Smiltņiece 2001, 69).

⁵⁶ Although Štekauer presents an instance of “class-changing augmentivisation” from the Jaqaru language, his example appears to involve a fair degree of lexicalization: *t’usqi* (‘dust’) > *t’usq.t’usqui* (‘very smoky’) (Hardman (2000, 53) as cited in Štekauer 2015a, 55). Consequently, this example does not invalidate the proposed condition.

drink’ > *dzērājs*_N⁵⁷ ‘big-drinker, drunkard’, ITA *mangiare*_V ‘to eat’ > *mangione*_N ‘hearty eater’. In cases such as these, although the derivative may present a certain amount of connotative meaning, such connotation does not derive from the speaker’s subjective perception but is instead intrinsic to the derivative’s semantic makeup. Their use on the part of the sender just reflects a preference for ‘evaluative lexicon’, as described in Hunston and Thompson (1999). Grandi and Körtvélyessy, in their inclusive description of evaluative constructions, also concede items such as agent nouns or lexicalized diminutives “a peripheral position with respect to more typical forms” (2015, 14).

Optionality

The application of the previous type-defining conditions leads to the establishment of an additional criterion, based on optionality and determining a relationship of interchangeability between a base and its available evaluative forms. That is, in any and all contexts, the use or non-use of an evaluative form does not affect the factual information conveyed by the involved lexical unit, i.e., it does not affect its denotative content. Beard has observed that “expressive derivations are always optional and subjective. A speaker may refer to a person of normal size with a Diminutive in one context and an Augmentative in another for emotional effect” (Beard 1995, 164). Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi have also remarked upon this characteristic, pointing that “the simplex may substitute the diminutive/augmentative in the same syntactic construction” (1994, 44). In the following examples, it can be observed that when EVALs are rewritten without their evaluative marker (i.e., as the original base) the denotational content of the utterance remains unchanged, even if there is a loss of the subjective semantic nuances introduced by the speaker:

(5a) LAV *Tie vairs nebija politiskie jocīni* [< *joki*] *un pļāpas*. (LVK2018 2021_e)

‘≈ It was no longer political **jokes.ATT/DIM** [< jokes] and idle talk.’

(5b) SPA *El único y tremendo bromazo* [< *broma*] *es el de una guerra*. (CREA 2021_e)

‘≈ The only and terrible **joke.AUG** [< joke] is that of a war.’

(5c) ENG Price feels high, given the slow**ish** [< slow] shooting speed. (COCA 2021_e)

This is not to say, however, that there are no specific utterances in which the substitution

⁵⁷ In Latvian, deverbal derivatives may take the past tense root (instead of that of the infinitive) as the base to which derivative morphs are applied. Thus, the derivative sequence in the example above would be *dzert* ‘to drink’ > *dzēra* ‘he/she/they drank’ > *dzērājs* ‘big drinker, drunkard’.

of an EVAL for its base would not result in an unorthodox or infelicitous formulation. This is particularly true of the case in which an EVAL appears directly contrasted to its unmodified base, as illustrated in (5d):

(5d) ENG Families, most of them very poor, who owned houses or trailers on small or **smallish** parcels of land. (Franzen 2010_e)

In such a case, the substitution of ‘smallish’ for ‘small’ would result in the repetition of the adjective, causing the sentence to be grammatically awkward. It is considered, however, that such ‘exceptions’ to the rule are not sufficiently significant to revoke the rule.

The optionality condition applies as well to the relation between evaluative forms and their syntactic environment. Grandi is categorical when asserting that “evaluative suffixes are never obligatory: no evaluative suffix is applied due to syntactic necessity and no syntactic construction can determine the use of an evaluative suffix” (Grandi 2005, 195–196)⁵⁸. Moreover, given the case of a syntactical requirement to use an affix usually associated with evaluative functions, the very constraint of its use would disqualify the construction from being considered as evaluative, since the resulting form would not truly express an individual’s subjective viewpoint, but merely a linguistic constraint. In such instances, it may be more appropriate to consider such morphs as merely performing an inflectional task, even if in other contexts they may indeed act as proper evaluative markers. As discussed in subchapter 1.7, the polyfunctionality of morphs used in EVAL-formation processes as well as in other roles is well-documented. Consequently, while the semantic features of the base and pragmatic functions of the speech act may be affected by the use of an evaluative form, the net objective semantic denotation is, and must remain, unaffected⁵⁹. Compliance with the optionality condition is illustrated by (6a). Contrarily, (6b) shows why a common derivative or a lexicalized diminutive would fail to do likewise. In (6b), ‘froglet’ and ‘frog’, while referring to one and the same animal, indicate a clear difference between two stages of development, and therefore the use of the term ‘froglet’ is not optional:

⁵⁸ This affirmation is apparently in conflict with Steriopolo’s affirmation that “a diminutive morpheme is obligatorily used in some languages, as in Maale” (Steriopolo 2013, 34). However, Steriopolo’s example perhaps misrepresents its original source, which merely establishes that “the diminutive is only marked for definite nouns” (Amha 2000_e, 71).

⁵⁹ A grey area in this respect concerns semi-lexicalized evaluative forms which, depending on the context, may be interpreted as real evaluative forms or as separate lexemes with a nearly fixed meaning that does not convey subjective evaluation. An example could be SPA *calle* ‘street’ > *calleja* ‘narrow street’ but also ‘≈ not very nice street’.

(6a) Dad is tired = Daddy is tired

(6b) The **froglet** totally absorbs its stubby tail and leaves the water, becoming an adult frog. (COCA 2021_e).

Additionally, the optionality condition is reinforced by the fact that the semantic features or pragmatic functions of the evaluative form are, in principle, undefined and, in absence of context, may remain unascertainable. In other words, lacking specific contextual and co-textual information relative to the communicative situation, the sender's intended meaning may not appear as obvious to the receiver. Let us consider the Latvian sentence in (7), containing the evaluative form *cepumiņu* (< *cepumi* 'cookies'):

(7) *Meitene apēda cepumiņus* 'The girl ate cookies.EM'

The use of the evaluative form, containing an evaluative marker usually characterized as diminutive, does not necessarily imply that the object in question is small (or smaller than average) in size. While this might be the case, the use of the evaluative marker may also reflect the speaker's liking of and positive attitude towards the object (the cookie), and/or a certain amount of emotional sympathy of the speaker towards the overall communicative situation. While in (7) the interpretation of the word *cepumiņus* as 'small cookies' is likely (since they do tend to be relatively small in size), the fact that they are a sweet snack also allows for a reading where appreciation (APP) of the object is the main supplementary nuance. In such cases, *cepumiņus* could be interpreted as 'cookies.APP, tasty cookies'. Such an interpretation may not be as readily suggested in cases where the object is more neutral from a semantic perspective. For example, it may be uncommon (although not impossible) for words like *skrūve* 'screw' or *lauska* 'shard' to be marked with anything other than the expression of small size: i.e., *skrūvīte* and *lausciņa* respectively. Although possible, a very specific context would be required for the speaker to convey fondness or contempt for these objects via an evaluative marker. The presence of subjective appreciation as conveyed by the evaluative marker in the word *cepumiņš* ('cookie.NOM.SING') is more clearly identifiable in (8), where the main aspect expressed by the added morpheme is undoubtedly the subject's fondness for the object:

(8) *Kārumus – konfektes un cepumus – viņa var ēst un ēst, cepumiņa dēļ izdarīs visu!*
(LVK2018_e)

≈ Sweets –candies and cookies –, she can eat and eat them; she will do anything for **cookies.APP!**

Indeed, authors who have addressed the pragmatics of EVALs have rightly pointed out that very often the use of said forms does not reflect any quantifiable property of the signified or even have a direct connection to the signified of the base (Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi 1994, Prieto 2005_e, Tirapu León 2014_e). In such cases, the presence of the evaluative marker may be best interpreted from a pragmatic viewpoint, as their use has been shown to alter “the impact of a speech-act, and/or add emotional colouring to the statement” (Ponsonnet 2018, 19).

1.8.2. Characteristic properties of evaluative forms

While the five conditions previously discussed have been labelled as type-defining, this subchapter contains some comments on various additional characteristic properties of evaluative forms. These characteristics are not necessarily unique to evaluative forms, but their joint manifestation in these units contributes to their identification as a distinctive lexical type.

Combinatorial potential and recursivity of evaluative markers

As previously illustrated in Figure 1 and 2, a notable characteristic of evaluative forms is the possibility for a given base word to accommodate different evaluative markers, thus allowing the obtention of a series of interrelated forms expressing a range of evaluative nuances. Additionally, more than one evaluative marker may concur on a base, even when conveying similar semantic aspects and pragmatic functions. Scalise remarked on the possibility of the “consecutive application of more than one rule of the same type as well as to the repeated application of the same rule on adjacent cycles” (1984, 133), as illustrated in (9a) and (9b):

(9a) ITA *fuoco* ‘fire’ > *fuoch-erell-o* > *fuoch-erell-in-o*

(9b) ITA *caro* ‘dear’ > *car-in-in-o*

In a similar direction, Grandi has observed the following: “On the syntagmatic layer: sequences of more evaluative affixes (or evaluative strategies) are widely attested; on the paradigmatic layer: evaluative affixes violate the ‘Blocking Rule’ (...); that is to say, more evaluative affixes sharing the same meaning (rival affixes) can be attached to the same base-word” (Grandi 2017_e).

Although comparatively rare, examples of evaluative forms containing more than three markers have been attested in occasional and highly expressive instances (e.g., SPA *chico* ‘small’ > *chiqu-irr-iqu-it-in* or LAV *knibs* ‘tiny’ > *knip-uc-üt-in-um-in-üt-in-*

imais)⁶⁰. In cases where two or more evaluative markers seem to express diverging or paradoxical semantic connotations, they are usually aligned at a functional level, expressing similar features. In (10), although the prefix and the suffix express what would traditionally be labelled as augmentation and diminution respectively, their joint function (in a prototypical reading) would be the expression of a general positive attitude towards the object:

- (10) SPA *viaje* > *super-viaj-ec-it-o*
 travel.SING.MASC > EVM-travel-INTF-EVM-SING.MASC
 ‘travel, trip’ > ‘≈ a very nice trip’

The properties here described are constrained to certain combinations of bases and evaluative markers and cannot be applied without restrictions (Scalise and Grandi 2001). Said restrictions have been the object of several studies, and are usually language-specific, as they regard the particular semantic, morphological and phonological features of each language.

Ample distribution among word classes

A characteristic feature of evaluative markers is that they are not, in principle, restricted to one specific word class. Within a language, various evaluative markers may be available to a range of word classes, mainly nouns and adjectives, but also adverbs and verbs, as well as to so-called minor word classes, such as numerals, pronouns or interjections (Lockyer 2015 and 2018). Ettinger first (1974a), and later Nieuwenhuis (1985), have suggested a hierarchy of evaluative forms based on their frequency across word classes categories. In both of these studies, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs are, in that order, the most represented, followed by either verbs, pronouns, and interjections (Ettinger 1974a, 161) or verbs, numerals, interjections, and pronouns (Nieuwenhuis 1985, 217). While illustrative instances for this property have already been presented for a variety of languages in subchapter 1.7 –see (10a) to (10e)–, this aspect is discussed in more detail in subchapter 2.5.2. The specific cases of Spanish and Latvian are examined thoroughly and contrasted in subchapter 3.4.

⁶⁰ The source for the Latvian example is Viks (1985, 26). The EVAL in question is a nonce word and common usage of Latvian evaluative markers rarely allows for more than three markers, four in some very specific combinations, usually related to colours *zaļš* ‘green’ > *ie-zaļ-g-an-īg-s* ‘greenish, green.ATT’ (Kalnača and Lokmane 2021e, 74).

Interchangeability among EVALs

While the optionality condition expresses a relationship between an evaluative form and its base, various evaluative forms stemming from one same base may also be in a relationship marked by their interchangeability, as the semantic features associated to their respective markers may be rather similar, as illustrated in (11a) and (11b):

(11a) SPA *galleta* ‘cookie’ > *galletita*, *galletilla*, *galletica*, *galletuca*, *galletina*...

(11b) LAV *meita* ‘daughter’ > *meitiņa*, *meituks*, *meitucis*, *meitukiņš*, *meitucītis*...

In such cases, opting for one form or another will not alter any aspect of the factual content of the message and will most likely have little effect at the semantic level. In any case, context and co-text will indicate whether interchangeability is possible. Likewise, it must be noted that this property is often restricted and demarcated by language-specific aspects such as euphony, stylistics or morpho-phonological rules.

Preservation of syntactic features

Although Scalise proposed that evaluative suffixes do not change “the syntactic features or the subcategorization frame of the base” (Scalise 1984, 133), this appears to be more a marked trend than a rule. For example, cases of evaluative forms whose gender marking differs from that of the base are far from uncommon cross-linguistically (Štekauer 2015a, 54). In some instances, this change seems to be triggered by the base (SPA *novela*_{FEM} ‘novel’ > *novelón*_{MASC}), while in others such change seems prompted by the evaluative marker itself (GER *Baum*_{MASC} ‘tree’ > *Bäumchen*_{NEU}).

Grandi argues that “diminutive affixes can attribute the feature [+countable] to a mass noun (e.g., ZBT *xiz:ut* ‘carrots’ > *taxiz:utt* ‘a carrot’)” (Grandi 2017_e). However, given that the resulting form does not evidence any evaluative content and involves a change in the signified, it is apparent that the Tamazight morph discussed by Grandi is carrying out a function which cannot be considered evaluative. This argument can also be illustrated with examples proposed by Kryk-Kastovski: POL *dym* ‘smoke’ > *dymek* ‘a plume of smoke’ or *śłoma* ‘straw’ > *śłomka* ‘a straw’ (2000, 168–169). While Grandi’s example shows a change in the subcategorization frame of the base, the problematic issue lies in the use of the label ‘diminutive affix’ and the consequent consideration of the resulting forms as diminutives.

Conclusions to the first chapter

This first chapter has addressed the main conceptual and terminological aspects involved in the study of evaluative morphology to examine the current state of affairs and establish the foundations for the subsequent discussion. Firstly, the various linguistic means to convey evaluation have been described, and a fundamental distinction between evaluation and mere expressivity has been established. A brief diachronic survey of the origins and use of the term *evaluative morphology* has been offered, specifying its exact definition for the purposes of this dissertation. A thorough review of literature on evaluative morphology has shown that the lexical material of processes discussed in relevant studies are diverse since not all resulting lexical units present equal characteristics in terms of semantic features. An effort has been made to discuss in detail the morphosemantic characterization of various types of lexical units, indicating that it is necessary to establish a distinction between ‘evaluative forms’ (EVALs) and other evaluative constructions that may resemble the former either semantically (by conveying some type of evaluation) or morphologically (as they may contain morphs identical to those used as evaluative markers). To circumvent possible mischaracterization of morphs capable of various functions in a given language, the term ‘evaluative marker’ (EVM) has been proposed to refer to morphs (usually affixes) which appear carrying out an explicit evaluative function, as opposed to instances where they may perform other derivational or even inflectional functions. The presence of the evaluative morph has been indicated as the main distinctive morphological aspect of evaluative forms. Lastly, a characterization of evaluative forms has been established through the description of five type-defining conditions as well as various additional characteristic features or properties which complete the depiction of these units.

The delimitation effort in this first chapter has a clear objective: it fulfils a methodological requisite to neutralize potential ambiguities and inaccuracies, as well as to provide the groundwork for the development of the arguments contained in this dissertation. Given the extreme diversity of semantic features and pragmatic functions triggered by evaluative constructions and given that their interpretation (in terms of intended meaning) is highly dependent on co-occurring linguistic and extra-linguistic elements, this first chapter has hinted at the pertinence of revising the traditional nomenclature in evaluative morphology, an issue which will be examined and fully developed in the next chapter.

2. Development of an analytical framework for the description of evaluative morphology resources in languages

*Is it even always an advantage to replace an indistinct picture by a sharp one?
Isn't the indistinct one often exactly what we need?*
(L. Wittgenstein)⁶¹

As argued in the previous chapter, descriptions of evaluative morphology resources are often partial and incomplete, making it difficult to establish a well-rounded picture of the study object at hand, and rendering individual descriptions impractical for their future use in contrastive analysis or typological studies. Evaluative morphology research often focuses on a salient feature from an individual language to the detriment of others, less significant features. Even studies that aim to describe the entire EM system of a language sometimes omit relevant information or are developed based on incomplete or undeclared frameworks. The present chapter introduces the proposal of an analytical framework that aims to be applicable cross-linguistically for an accurate and thorough description of a language's EM resources.

Despite its declared objective of maximum applicability, the proposal that will be developed in this chapter acknowledges its limitations –both perceived and unintended– in terms of its cross-linguistic suitability. As pointed out by Bradu, “the ideal is formulated together with the constraints that limit or relativize it” (Bradu 2004, 15*). The systemic cross-linguistic differences in terms of key descriptive notions (grammatical, morphological, syntactical, etc.) make it difficult to obtain definitions and analytic frameworks which can be relied upon across the board without encountering exceptions⁶². Such challenges become evident when discussing two main aspects. On the one hand, the concept of ‘word class’ has limited applicability, given the common existence of languages that either lack one or many word classes (e.g., Slavic languages lack articles or German does not differentiate between adjectives and adverbs⁶³) or simply have other similar-functioning units, as may be the case with noun-like and verb-like types of

⁶¹ Wittgenstein 1999, 173.

⁶² A comment by Saulwik (2015) is here offered as an illustrative example: “Evaluative morphology in Rembarnga is not a distinct morphological category and, as we will see, the language's polysynthetic genius causes a categorisation problem under a strict interpretation of the definitional criteria” (Saulwik 2015, 432).

⁶³ Citing Pensalfini (2015, 416), Pakendorf reports that Jingulu (Mirndi, Australia) “does not distinguish between nouns and adjectives” (Pakendorf 2017, 124).

adjectives in Japanese. Seeking to minimize the impact of potential disparities in the framework proposed in this study, the adopted approach will be to quantify its EM resources in relation to each language's grammatical descriptions in terms of word classes⁶⁴. On the other hand, the various morphological types of languages also pose a challenge to any analytic framework, given the differences in word formation processes not only between analytical and synthetic languages but also between agglutinative, fusional and polysynthetic ones. Due to these differences, it is expected that the framework will require reinterpretation or readjustment in its application to certain languages.

2.1. Previous approaches to the morphosemantic characterization of evaluative forms

Evaluative forms, particularly those obtained through affixation, and more specifically so-called diminutives, have been the object of much research and discussion in various subfields of linguistics, such as pragmatics, morphology, phonology, and others. However, a review of the existing literature shows a lack of agreement as far as the definition and semantic characterization of the lexical units considered for analysis. This is even more obvious when evaluative forms are studied as discrete groups (i.e., when considering diminutives, augmentatives or pejoratives separately), instead of as instances of a wider, interrelated morphological phenomenon. As discussed and illustrated in subchapter 1.8, the establishment of a set of type-defining conditions permits the identification of these units as well as their joint consideration as alike elements found within a spectrum or continuum. Mapping out in a comprehensive system the diverse semantic features (sometimes similar, sometimes opposing, and sometimes merely adjacent) expressed by all available evaluative markers in a given language can be of assistance in understanding the system as a whole and in characterizing in full the semantic nature of each marker. The present subchapter contains an examination of various approaches to the morphosemantic description of evaluative forms, as found in relevant studies on the topic.

Authors whose work partakes of the topics associated with evaluative morphology (particularly concerning affixation processes) have commented on the difficulty of pinpointing a satisfactory nomenclature to group and designate the diverse evaluative

⁶⁴ This aspect is thoroughly developed in subchapters 2.5.2 and 2.6.2.

markers (usually affixes) involved. As noted by Wierzbicka,

conventional linguistic labels such as ‘diminutive’ or ‘pejorative’ prove unhelpful in describing a language which has dozens of different ‘diminutive’ or ‘pejorative’ forms, like Russian. In addition to the formidable wealth of expressive forms, which have no exact equivalents of any kinds in typologically different languages like English, a different but no less formidable difficulty lies in the protean nature of many of these forms, some of which seem to have an extremely broad range of possible interpretations (Wierzbicka 1992, 238).

While in evaluative morphology the available set of morphological resources in any given language is limited (although not necessarily unchanging, if considered from a diachronic perspective), and the use of said resources is subject to specific rules, the semantic features they convey are virtually unlimited, as they have the potential of reflecting a substantial number of nuances in human emotion and intention. Moreover, the range of intended meanings is further expanded given the pragmatic functions underlying the use of evaluative forms. In his study of diminutive forms, Jurafsky states that “characterizing the semantics of the diminutive synchronically or diachronically has proved difficult [as it] can express a bewildering variety of meanings” (Jurafsky 1996, 534). Such sentiment is echoed by many other authors, some of whom have adopted a maximalist approach and developed convoluted and excessively abstract taxonomies –as may be the case of Gaarder 1966 or Montes Giraldo 1972– which are of problematic application.

Several authors have endeavoured to develop systematized approaches in an attempt to organize and characterize all semantic features expressed by evaluative forms (or, more frequently, only of diminutives, due to their cross-linguistic relevance). In discussing the issue of the polysemic nature of evaluative affixes, Lieber (2012, 2115–2116) examines the various approaches presented thus far in the relevant literature. The author states that neither Beard’s approach by means of inflectional categories (Beard 1995) nor her own analysis through semantic features (Lieber 2004 and 2012) is equipped to adequately deal with the issue at hand. Lieber goes on to hint at the possibility of extending these semantic features to account for semantic variation, but analogous efforts have proven to be excessively cumbersome. For example, Panocová’s attempt at a characterization of Russian diminutives (based on Miloš Dokulil’s onomasiological categories and Ján Horecký’s onomasiological model of word formation (Horecký 1997)) resorts to twenty different semantic features (Panocová 2013, 271).

Among Indo-European languages, Romance, Baltic, Slavic and Greek languages

arguably present the highest incidence of evaluative markers⁶⁵, compelling authors to either establish categorial divisions between them (although group boundaries are often absent or ill-defined) or leave a pressing question unexamined. The question can be bluntly formulated as follows: is the traditional distinction between so-called diminutives, augmentatives, melioratives, attenuatives, pejoratives, etc., the most effective and satisfactory approach to the study of these lexical units? It is worth noting that an overwhelming majority of EM research, both historically and at present, focuses solely on so-called diminutives while skirting the question as to how these evaluative forms relate to others with which they share overlapping semantic features and pragmatic functions. This is the case of in well-known studies such as Hasselrot 1957, Rūķe-Draviņa 1959, Ettinger 1974, Jurafsky 1996, Grandi 2005, or Schneider 2013.

Despite a long-standing tradition in the study of evaluative forms, there is no single systematic approach adopted by a meaningful majority of authors for their description. The only apparent consensus is that evaluative markers introduce an additional amount of semantic content regarding that expressed by the base, a neutral definition of which is considered the semantic standard. Given this notion of *standard*, the evaluative marker has been argued to introduce a *deviation*, although it might be more accurate to speak of *differentiation*. While the concept of *standard* may be apt for the analysis of some, more prototypical evaluative forms, it does not function as well in certain cases. If considering, for example, the evaluative form *kid > kiddo*, it is difficult to argue that ‘kiddo’ deviates in any meaningful way (neither size nor quality) from its base. However, it is clearly differentiated from it, as the evaluative marker *-o* may, according to context, convey features such as familiarity, derision, appreciation, or others. Deviation from a standard—a semantic or conceptual core—has been conceptualized and/or schematized according to various perspectives. In contemporary theoretical discussions on evaluative morphology, authors have adopted diverse taxonomic approaches, out of which two of the most systematic and relevant ones are those based on the conceptual frameworks of *semantic primes* and *radial categories*.

Having as its foundation Wierzbicka’s notion of *semantic primitives* or *primes* (Wierzbicka 1984 and 1996), Grandi and Körtvélyessy adopt a semantic primes approach to their characterization of *evaluative constructions* (the preferred term in their work). The authors note that, as evidenced by cross-linguistic research, these constructions may

⁶⁵ As indicated by the EM saturation value calculated by Körtvélyessy (2015, 105–106).

stress semantically either verifiable properties of the object (usually size) or the speaker’s subjective appreciation of the said object (therefore expressing, respectively, quantitative and qualitative appreciations):

While descriptive evaluation usually relies on the real and permanent characteristics of an item, qualitative evaluation is often based on temporary and variable parameters or situations: the first kind of evaluation is a description; the second one is a sort of interpretation. (Grandi and Körtvélyessy 2015, 10)

Consequently, their study develops a semantic primes’ framework constructed around two operating pairings, the semantic primes BIG / SMALL and GOOD / BAD. For each of the pairs, the norm or standard is defined by a zero value. While, in keeping with Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi’s *morphopragmatic approach*, Grandi and Körtvélyessy’s identification of the pragmatic-semantic functions of evaluative forms is pertinent (see Figure 3), the redistribution of said functions along a positive/negative axis does not reflect particularly well the reality of evaluative forms in communicative contexts.

	Descriptive perspective	Qualitative perspective
Shift towards the positive end	BIG augmentation age variation	GOOD intensification endearment authenticity/prototypicality expression of social position
Shift towards the negative end	SMALL diminution age variation	BAD approximation/reduction/attenuation contempt hypocorism expression of social position

Figure 3. Pragmatic-semantic features (Grandi and Körtvélyessy 2015, 12)

Firstly, it is terminologically and conceptually problematic to establish a positive/negative polarity for the descriptive perspective, as it imposes an inaccurate sense of ‘big is good’ and ‘small is bad’. An increase/decrease polarity would be more reflective of descriptive measurable properties (age, size, duration, etc.) and less loaded with judgemental overtones. Secondly, qualitative evaluation is represented along the “semantic scale of ‘feeling’” (Grandi and Körtvélyessy 2015, 11), and the reorganization of pragmatic-semantic functions that the authors establish can be considered as rather problematic. Specifically, the authors propose that “a shift towards the positive end of the axis corresponding to the semantic scale ‘feeling’ expresses a positive feeling of the

speaker towards an object, an action, a person, etc.” (ibid.). Moreover, by implication, features such as ‘hypocorism’, ‘attenuation’ or ‘approximation’ are suggested to involve a “shift towards the negative end”, entailing an eminently negative feeling of the speaker towards the object (ibid.)⁶⁶. However, the actual use of hypocoristics or attenuatives does not warrant that interpretation, at least not in a stable and predictable manner, as shown in (1a) and (1b) for attenuatives and (1c) for hypocoristics:

(1a) In some cases **bluish** mixtures have been resulted after extraction as a sign of partial oxidation. (iWeb 2021_e)

(1b) One pink and fruity, thirty-**fivish**, with voluptuous bosom burgeoning from her coat of squirrel-skin. (Orwell 1954, 24)

(1c) **Lolita**, light of my life, fire of my loins. (Nabokov 1959, 11)⁶⁷

Ultimately, as further steps are taken to abstract and systematize the original pragmatic-semantic functions in order to have them aligned with the semantic primes BIG / SMALL and GOOD / BAD, their characterization becomes increasingly strained and unrepresentative. In wanting to be schematic, Grandi and Körtvélyessy’s model turns out to be excessively reductive. While recognizing the relevance of pragmatic variables, the authors construct their model on the basis that “some morphological processes have regular pragmatic effects (and) some evaluative constructions are the regular formal correlate of extra-linguistic and contextual constraints” (ibid., 11). Indeed, a certain amount of semantic regularity can be ascertained both in the features that individual evaluative markers express, and in the way that these features are attested cross-linguistically⁶⁸. However, while common or frequent meanings can be relied upon for general discussions, they are insufficient in the construction of conceptual frameworks and can be misleading when applied to areas such as translation or the analysis of speech acts, where the importance of context-based meanings is paramount.

Following the theoretical lead of Jurafsky’s *Universal Tendencies in the semantics*

⁶⁶ It can also be argued that a feature such as *approximation* would fit just as well, if not more appropriately, in the descriptive axis, seeing as it indicates “a value or quantity that is nearly but not exactly correct”, as well as “a thing that is similar to something else, but is not exactly the same” (Merriam-Webster 2021_e).

⁶⁷ The cotext of the quoted passage clarifies the origin of the hypocoristic *Lolita*: “She was Lo, plain Lo, in the morning, standing four feet ten in one sock. She was Lola in slacks. She was Dolly at school. She was Dolores on the dotted line. But in my arms she was always Lolita.” (ibid.)

⁶⁸ Jurafsky points out in this direction when affirming that “the same varied and complex senses of the diminutive occur again and again across languages” (Jurafsky 1996, 538).

of the diminutive (1996), where the author maps out the semantic-pragmatic aspects of diminutives employing Lakoff's Radial Category model, various authors have proposed similar frameworks. Such is the case in Mutz 2015, as well as Prieto 2005_e and 2015, the latter of which includes a proposal for the mapping of the semantic features of augmentatives and pejoratives. The Radial Category model has as its centre a core meaning, from which other associated meanings are derived through different processes of semantic change: "inference (I), metaphor (M), generalization (G), and lambda-abstraction (L)" (Jurafsky 1996, 542). However, the studies by Jurafsky, Mutz and Prieto differ slightly in the construction and application of their respective models. For example, Jurafsky tries to establish a clear distinction between purely semantic uses and pragmatic ones, while Prieto and Mutz do not establish a clear demarcation.

The stance of these two authors seems more congruent with the reality of speech acts, where the semantic features and pragmatic aspects of evaluative forms are often bundled up together. In their seminal study of the Indo-European languages, Brugmann and Delbrück argue that the primitive sense of the diminutive was that of a meronymic relation of appurtenance, similitude and descent, as evidenced etymologically by the fact that morphs indicating diminutiveness coincided in their form with those used in the derivation of denominal adjectives, a function which they eventually shed (1906, 668–669). More recently, Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi have proposed a semantic component *small* and a pragmatic component *nonserious* as the core meaning of diminutives (1994, 84), while Jurafsky proposes the concept of *child*, based on several studies on the diminutive in non-Indo-European languages –Cantonese in Jurafsky (1988), Ewe in Heine et. al (1991), and Thai in Matisoff (1991).

Prieto has argued in favour of *little*, as the core meaning for diminutives, "assuming that littleness is a broader term than smallness; 'small' seems to refer only to size, but 'little' also refers to amount" (Prieto 2005_e, 75). This author goes on to argue that "'littleness' fits more within the category of grammatical primitives than 'childness'; all objects may be defined within a 'littleness' range, and not necessarily within a 'childness' range" (ibid., 80). However, in their study on evaluative morphology and language acquisition, Dressler and Korecky-Kröll counterargue that "the comparatively late emergence of the semantic meaning of smallness of diminutives contrasts with the early development of size perception, on which Prieto (2005) bases his claim on the basic meaning of littleness for diminutives and bigness for augmentatives" (Dressler and Korecky-Kröll 2015, 139).

At any rate, the radial category model that Prieto proposes for Spanish diminutives (2015, 86) closely resembles that of Jurafsky (1996, 542), although some revisions have been introduced. Prieto has also proposed a radial category model for augmentatives (ibid., 86), later revised by Mutz (2015). Mutz’s study, *Evaluative Morphology in a Diachronic Perspective* proposes not only a revision of Jurafsky’s and Prieto’s model but also revised versions of radial categories models for augmentatives and pejoratives, as seen in Figures 3, 4 and 5 (Mutz 2015, 149–152):

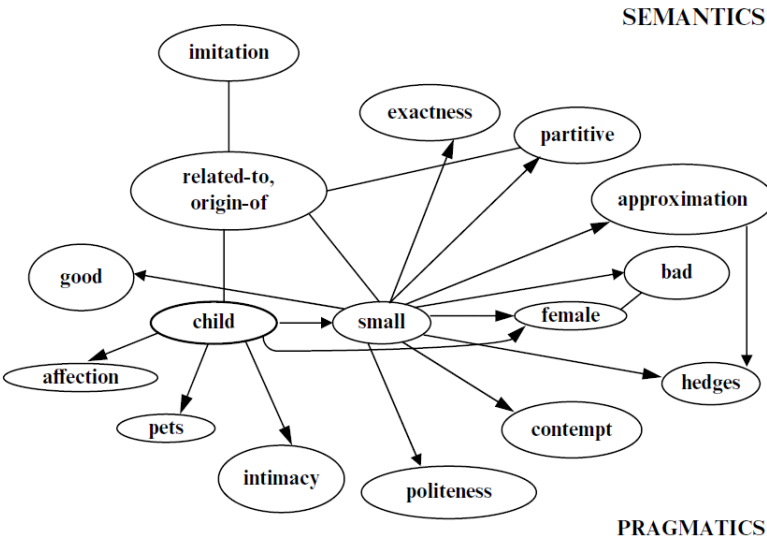


Figure 4. Mutz’s revised radial category of the diminutive (Mutz 2015, 149)

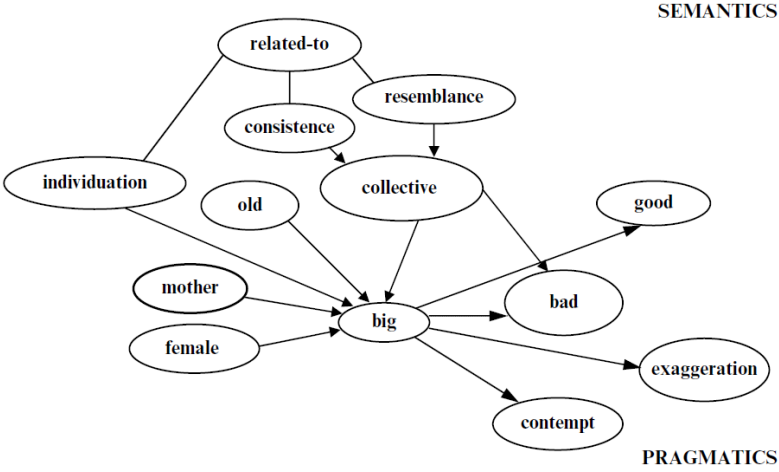


Figure 5. Mutz’s radial category of the augmentative (Mutz 2015, 151)

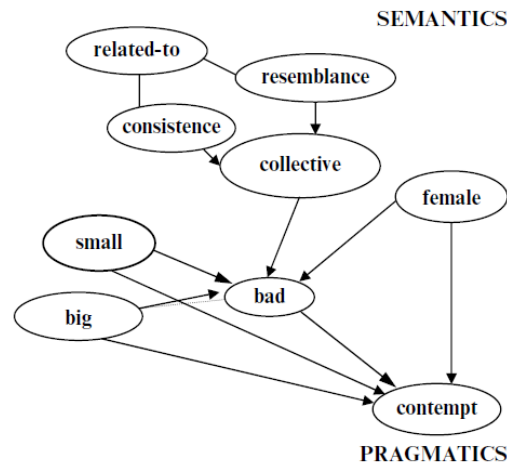


Figure 6. Mutz’s radial category of the pejorative (Mutz 2015, 152)

The side-by-side comparison of these three radial categories serves to highlight the many semantic-pragmatic intersections among them and evidences the challenges that featural overlappings and bidirectional relations may give rise to.

A first apparent problem from a purely conceptual viewpoint is that, if “genuine (suffixal) morphological amelioratives seem to be lacking cross-linguistically” (Mutz 2015, 153), it is difficult to posit GOOD as a core notion for evaluative forms. Mutz goes on to indicate that “an exception is the existence of the cross-linguistically used Latin and Greek ameliorative prefixes *super-*, *hyper-*, *mega-*, etc., which are originally spatial prepositions or dimensional adjectives” (ibid.). However, it is unclear why these prefixes are marked as amelioratives, instead of as augmentatives, given their etymology, which seems to be the underlying rationale for the traditional classification: *mega-* ‘large, great’, *hyper-* ‘over, above, beyond’, *super-* ‘above, over, beyond’.

Another problematic aspect of establishing a conceptual core (BIG, SMALL, BAD) is that it forces to mark an evaluative form as a diminutive, augmentative, or pejorative previous to its in-context interpretation. In fact, the attachment of a label becomes a prerequisite in order to be able to interpret all its possible semantic-pragmatic projections. This identification may prove problematic with context-dependent evaluative markers (such as reduplicative morphs), as well as with markers that do not relate to those core notions or markers without a strong etymological imprint, as could be the case of the English suffixes -eroo (switch > switcheroo), -ers (champagne > champers), -o (neat > neato), -ola (crap > crapola).

A third problem lies in the featural overlappings and bidirectional relations mentioned above. For one, it is interesting to see how one same element acts as a core

notion in one radial model, but as a mere semantic-pragmatic feature in another. Consequently, the bidirectionality of connexions all but blurs whatever distinction and singularity may have been initially intended. As observed by Haspelmath in his discussion of semantic maps, when “all the functions have connecting lines with all other functions, (...) the map is vacuous” (Haspelmath 2003, 218). As shown in Figure 7, something to such effect can be observed when superposing the main elements of the three radial categories⁶⁹. In the radial categories for diminutives and augmentatives proposed by Mutz (see Figure 4 to 6 above), both GOOD and BAD are both projections of the respective core notions BIG and SMALL, while the central notion BAD has one single projection, the pragmatic function ‘contempt’⁷⁰.

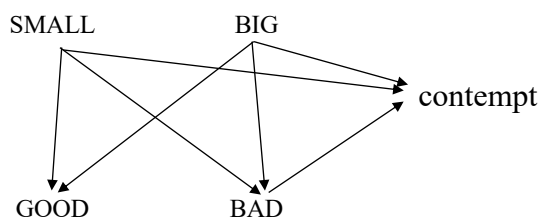


Figure 7. Superimposition of semantic projections in radial category models

However, additional connections must be taken into consideration if the aim is to obtain a thorough idea of all projections between core semantic notions and semantic-pragmatic features. On the one hand, augmentatives have been shown to also be able to convey diminution and/or attenuation (SMALL) (Prieto 2005e, 29): e.g., SPA *triste* ‘sad’ > *tristón* ‘≈ a little sad’, while diminutives have been shown to convey augmentation and intensification (BIG): e.g., FRA *jeune* ‘young’ > *jeunet* ‘very young’ or SPA *blanco* > *blanquito* ‘≈ quite/very white’) (Jurafsky 1996, 550). This involves additional projections between BIG and SMALL. Additionally, if GOOD is to be accepted as a semantic core, a radial categories model for amelioratives would have GOOD as a central notion with plausible semantic projections towards BIG and SMALL. For if the causal inferences ‘because it is small, it is good’ and ‘because it is big, it is good’ are to be accepted, the correlating extrapolations ‘because it is good, it is small’ and ‘because it is good, it is big’

⁶⁹ Some of the proposed semantic-pragmatic features are not here discussed in order to simplify the development of the argument at hand. Also, it is unclear whether the presence of certain features found in previous radial category models (such as ‘pets’, ‘consistence’ or ‘individuation’) can really be considered as semantic projections in evaluative forms.

⁷⁰ It must be noted that so-called pejoratives can also be used to convey jocularity, trivialization, or mere expressive emphasis.

could also be posited. The intensifier and ameliorative marker *-mira* described for Yukulta (also known as Ganggalida) shows that this inference is possible: GCD *pijanta* ‘swimmer’ > *pijanmira* ‘good swimmer’ and *palalaṇi* ‘old man’ > *palalaṇimira* ‘very old man’ (Round 2015, 449). As illustrated in Figure 8, the mapping of all possible projections only shows that the central semantic notions GOOD, BAD, SMALL, BIG and the semantic-pragmatic feature *contempt* are interrelated beyond plausible systematic differentiation:

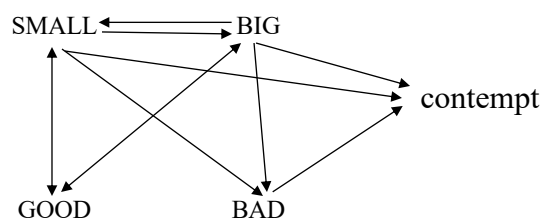


Figure 8. Superimposition of attested semantic projections for core notions

The radial category models, as proposed so far, focus excessively on formal aspects, in the form of specific affixes associated with regular, but multiple semantic-pragmatic features. Arguably, such multiplicity and attested overlap result in weakened links, in terms of exclusivity, between the affixes and their semantic-pragmatic features. In adopting this perspective, research falls short of addressing the defining characteristics that would allow for a joint characterization for all types of evaluative forms –regardless of their formation processes or the etymological origin of the evaluative markers.

To sum up, while the semantic primes and radial category models help to establish the diachronic hierarchy of semantic realizations of certain evaluative forms and to address the high frequency of pragmatic-driven uses, they do not convincingly draw the various semantic-pragmatic effects of all evaluative forms into a single, comprehensive framework. The limitations observed in these models are related to a) overgeneralization and/or simplification, which appears as undesirable in a study field where semantic-pragmatic nuance features so prominently; and b) the classification of evaluative markers into insufficiently defined categories, when a category-free approach could arguably facilitate the analysis.

In his article *The semantics of Evaluative Morphology*, Prieto notes that, according to a guiding principle of cognitive linguistics, language itself does not encode meaning, but is actually constructed at a conceptual level. In specific relation to evaluative morphology, Prieto affirms that evaluative suffixes do not encode meaning on their own

and mean virtually nothing by themselves (Prieto 2015, 29). His assertion echoes a particularly pertinent remark about diminutives from González Ollé, which can be applied to all evaluative forms as a lexical type:

Each diminutive is an individual case which requires individual analysis as each diminutive construction contains different values, even conflicting ones. A diminutive by itself does not have a meaning, for it is not possible to attach one to it: at best, our linguistic conscience will append to it whichever meaning it presents most frequently. (González Ollé 1962, 260)

Furthermore, Prieto goes on to point out that, beyond their etymological origin and their more conventional meanings –upon which Mutz (2015) or Grandi and Körtevélyessy (2015) build their arguments–, evaluative markers can be taken as prompts used in the process of meaning construction, and that an appropriate interpretation of each evaluative form must be made against the larger context of the message (Prieto 2015, 29).

A line of analysis akin to that proposed by Prieto had previously appeared in the research literature on the topic. At the turn of the 20th century, Brugmann and Delbrück, in considering the reasons why one same evaluative suffix could convey such a diversity of semantic features (endearment, smallness, increment, contempt and so on), put forth the conjecture that the suffix had in itself a neutral semantic charge which became activated or charged in one sense or another when in contact with the semantic features of the base and the overall communicative context where it appeared (Brugmann and Delbrück 1906, 679–80)⁷¹. In a similar vein, Rūķe-Draviņa, in examining the semantic features of diminutives in Latvian, observed that “in the interpretation of individual diminutive forms, each case should be examined individually and always considering the context at large” (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959, 13). Hasselrot, in his study on the formation of diminutives in Romance languages, also noted that “the sense of diminutives is very vague and wide: it is necessary to know the context and the situation in order to establish said sense” (Hasselrot 1957, 263). As a working hypothesis for the semantic categorization of evaluative forms as found in various types of speech acts, Tirapu León posits that contemporary Spanish evaluative forms, by and large, are lacking in predetermined meaning. That is, the author defines evaluative forms as essentially context-dependent in terms of their semantic-pragmatic signification and proposes the distinct consideration of three levels in their semantic analysis: grammatical, contextual,

⁷¹ While the discussion in Brugmann and Delbrück (1906) focuses on evaluative suffixes, the rationale can be transposed to evaluative markers at large.

and communicative (Tirapu León 2014e, 156). All these concurrent remarks from a variety of authors may be taken as an indication that a promising perspective towards the semantic characterization of evaluative forms might be the general consideration of evaluative markers as semantically polyvalent (and, therefore, as semantically ambiguous), whose charge is activated and realized according to specific lexical bases and specific communicative contexts. There is, in the relevant EM literature, a collective agreement on the wide spectrum of semantic features and pragmatic functions transmitted by the use of evaluative forms in most languages where they occur. Such variety of potential meanings and interpretations may be established as the basis of a phenomenon of semantic dispersion. From this perspective, there is a weakening of the link between the form (i.e., the specific evaluative marker) and the ascertainable semantic features and pragmatic functions it may convey. In other words, in each utterance, the semantic features and pragmatic features associated with a given evaluative marker vie for relevance, requiring an active interpretative process on the part of a receiver, a process which relies on linguistic and cultural cues, as well as on encyclopaedic knowledge.

A feasible theoretical approach to the situation above described may be the adoption of the notion of *semantic bleaching* in the analysis of evaluative markers. Throughout the 19th century, linguists like Bopp, von Humboldt and von der Gabelentz developed the concept of *semantic bleaching* (GER *Verblassung*) or, but it was Meillet who eventually coined the term *grammaticalization* (FRA *grammaticalisation*) to express the tendency of certain autonomous words to become semantically weak and eventually become mere grammatical markers (Meillet 1912, 133). Upon examining the evolution of grammatical forms, Meillet observed “the simultaneous weakening of the sense and form of accessory words, in such a way that when the respective weakening processes are quite advanced, said accessory words could become devoid of sense in itself and come to play a grammatical role when united to a main word” (Meillet 1912, 139). Subsequently, several studies have analysed the phenomena of bleaching or desemantization and how meaning may change over time from informative and unambiguous to more abstract and indefinite, as in Givón (1975), Heine & Reh (1984), or Bybee et al. (1994). Indeed, Bybee et al. argue that as linguistic material becomes grammaticalized, it undergoes both a semantic and a phonological reduction, through which it becomes more and more dependent on the surrounding linguistic material and overall context (1994, 9–22). From a diachronic perspective, it cannot be affirmed that evaluative markers have developed a grammatical function as such, but the grammaticalization process presents remarkable similitudes to

the semantic evolution of evaluative markers, as they reveal a distinct tendency towards semantic dispersion. In her examination of the common semantic paths of changes of diminutive, augmentative, and pejorative formatives, Mutz affirms that certain interpretations “can conventionalise and semanticise through constant use, leading to the emergence of pejorative affixes with the original diminutive or augmentative meaning bleached out” (Mutz 2015, 152).

Considering the relatively weak links between semantic-pragmatic features and specific evaluative markers, a weakness brought about by their multiplicity, the argument defended in this chapter is that an alternative approach to the characterization of evaluative marker and evaluative forms could be established. With the ultimate aim of developing a cross-linguistic descriptive framework of evaluative forms, evaluative markers will be considered as essentially ambiguous and unstable. This characterization helps to explain the remarkable semantic-pragmatic polyvalence of evaluative markers and the key role that each element involved in their construction and use has for their decoding or interpretation in each specific communicative context. That is, the semantic-pragmatic characterisation of individual evaluative forms will have to consider variables such as prototypical readings of the marker, semantic and grammatical features of the base, syntactic characteristics of the linguistic context, nonverbal elements (paralanguage: voice quality, rate, pitch, volume, etc.), prosodic features (such as rhythm, intonation, and stress), as well as the overall extra-linguistic context. This approach from the perspective of desemantization will be crucial in supporting the argument of evaluative markers as belonging to a non-discrete continuum or spectrum, as discussed in subchapter 2.2.

2.2. Proposal for a non-discrete categorization of evaluative markers

Cross-linguistically, evaluative affixes have been routinely distributed into discrete groups bearing the labels ‘diminutive’, ‘augmentative’, ‘pejorative’, ‘attenuative’, etc. This subchapter develops the argument briefly sketched already in previous sections of the present study, namely, that while these categorial labels may be useful from a notional standpoint, they are insufficient to accurately reflect the attested diversity of evaluative forms. Far from novel, this point of view is something of an underexamined *lieu comun* in evaluative morphology research:

Traditional morphology has made painstaking efforts to establish a manageable inventory of derivational categories which would grasp the elusive diversity of semantic patterns found in ‘expressive’ word-

formation. Consider, for example, labels such as Hypocoristics (Endearings), Pejoratives, Depreciatives, Intensives, etc. But attempts of this sort are bound to fail [since] these putative categories are not accountable for in cognitive areas. Besides, certain recurrent clusters of emotive, evaluative and/or attitudinal content are simply hardly nameable, and cannot be referred to by means of single, general labels. (Szymanek 1988, 106–107)

Szymanek’s observation echoes and is, in turn, echoed in a remarkable number of other studies, such as Gaarder (1966)⁷², Gooch (1967)⁷³, Lázaro Mora (1981)⁷⁴, Varela Ortega (2005)⁷⁵, Provencio Garrigós (2009)⁷⁶, Bernal (2015)⁷⁷, Topadze Gäumann (2015)⁷⁸ or Díaz-Hormigo (2016, 829). A related reflection from Rūķe-Draviņa (1959) is doubly relevant: it evidences that this aspect of evaluative morphology has been an issue long considered and that it affects a variety of languages (among them, Spanish and Latvian, the main study object of this dissertation):

In the case of diminutive derivatives, I retain the traditional term, although so-called ‘diminutives’ often do not express actual smallness but serve to express a diversity of senses. However, terms such as ‘affective suffixes’ or ‘subjective evaluation suffixes’ are not accurate either, as there are cases in Latvian when the use of a diminutive suffix does not express anything other than the smallness of the object. In order to accurately represent the wide-ranging expressiveness of diminutive suffixes, a new term should be coined, perhaps akin to ‘altered forms’, as employed in modern Italian linguistics (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959, 13)⁷⁹.

⁷² “Cross currents between one section and another within a group, involving whole series of synonymous or nearly synonymous expressions, are very common. (...) However, such cross currents are also found between the three main groups, and this, particularly in the case of diminutive-augmentative correspondences, is, on first contact, surprising and indeed an apparent contradiction in terms.” (Gaarder 1966, 13–14)

⁷³ “An outstanding feature, then, of the most important of the so-called diminutive and augmentative suffixes is this element of ambivalence, which means that to attempt to pigeon-hole them in any rigid and exclusive fashion leads inevitably to over-simplification and to the danger of error.” (Gooch 1967, 5)

⁷⁴ “Such suffixes are traditionally grouped under only three semantic headings, those of augmentatives, diminutives and derogatives, designations which only roughly fit a multitude of derivatives, and which do not always define well differentiated entities.” (Lázaro Mora 1981, 481)

⁷⁵ “It is customary to speak of diminutives, augmentatives and derogatives, although these meanings cannot be attributed to a specific suffix, since the appreciative or affective charge they may bring is a function of the lexical base to which they are attached and even of the occasion in which they occur and the intention of the speaker.” (Varela Ortega 2005, 47)

⁷⁶ “There is no barrier to delimit the values of the three types of appreciative (diminutive, augmentative and derogatory or pejorative).” (Provencio Garrigós 2009, 244)

⁷⁷ “The line between size and value judgment can often be blurry, as augmentatives can sometimes have a pejorative connotation and diminutives can sometimes express affection (though diminutives can also sometimes be pejorative in nature): real-world use of these suffixes shows that their meaning must be considered on a case-by-case basis and that, with variation in intonation, the suffixes can have the opposite meaning of what would normally be expected.” (Bernal 2015, 210)

⁷⁸ “The boundaries between quantitative and qualitative evaluation are not clear-cut. The same suffix may encode small size, contempt or endearment, depending on the context.” (Topadze Gäumann 2015, 218)

⁷⁹ Rūķe-Draviņa refers to the Italian term *nomi/aggettivi alterati*.

Despite the awareness of the problematic nature of the approach based on traditional categories shown by these and other authors, a major part of descriptive and/or contrastive research in the field only addresses a specific subset of the above-mentioned evaluative affixes. This common approach fails to address the fact that, in a significant number of languages, the morphological expression of notional categories such as diminution, appreciation, augmentation or pejoration are closely interrelated to each other, and are further associated with aspectual features such as iteration, attenuation, approximation or intensification, as more recent research on deverbal evaluative forms clearly establishes. Unfortunately, even in studies where such semantic interplay is expressly addressed, authors often insist on developing their arguments on the basis of discrete (and potentially misleading) categorial labels. This problem can be seen, for example, in the classifications proposed by Gooch (1967) or Lang (1990), who (in discussing discrete sets of evaluative suffixes) proceed against their own appreciation of how the semantics of the base word may influence the semantic characterization of the resulting evaluative form. Similarly, the German-language examples presented by Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi when discussing *diminutive verbs* confusingly include verbs with *diminutive nominal* bases: e.g., *Papier* ‘paper’ > *Papierl* ‘paper-DIM’ > *papierl-n* ‘to treat somebody badly’ (1994, 107). Their discussion also includes verbs with nominal bases whose meaning do not seem to convey any evaluative aspect: *Garten* ‘garden’ > *gart-el-n* ‘to garden-DIM-INF’⁸⁰ (ibid., 107–108). Moreover, none of these two examples can be compared neither in their construction nor in their semantic content to genuine deverbal evaluative forms, such as DEU *tanzen* ‘to dance’ > *tanzeln*. The reading of the evaluative form *tanzeln* includes aspectual as well as evaluative features, such as ‘to prance, to skip, to dance daintily’ (Grestenberger and Kallulli 2018, 5) or ‘to mince, to step delicately’ (Weidhaas and Schmid 2015, 1). While verbs such as *garteln* or *papierln* may convey some degree of evaluativity and rely for their construction on a morph associated with diminutiveness, labelling them as *diminutive verbs* is misleading, as they cannot be considered evaluative forms of a base.

As argued by Prieto, beyond the etymological origin and relatively conventional reading on the part of language users, EVAL-forming morphs are to be taken as prompts in the process of the construction of meaning, and a knowledgeable interpretation of each

⁸⁰ The definition of the dialectal form *garteln* does not differ in any significant manner from that of the standard verb *gärtnern*: they are both defined as ‘to work in the garden, mostly as a hobby’ (“*Gartenarbeit aus Liebhaberei verrichten*”) (Duden 2021c).

evaluative form must be made against the larger context of the message (Prieto 2015, 29). Consequently, the above-mentioned traditional categories are not in a relation of exclusive difference, but in one of partial overlap and mutual projections (as previously illustrated in Figure 8). This can be seen, for example, in the fundamental metaphors related to pejoration: ‘it is bad because it is small’ (diminutive features), ‘it is bad because it is big’ (augmentative features), ‘it is bad because it is insufficient’ (approximative features), or ‘it is bad because it is too intense’ (intensive features).

As per the above-mentioned reasons, this study posits that a boundary-setting approach may compromise all subsequent analyses, as research literature has long established that, aside from prototypical forms presented in absence of a real linguistic context, a single evaluative form can conflate not only various complementary and even contradictory semantic features but also a wide range of pragmatic functions. Traditional labels may be useful in establishing a classificatory grid with fuzzy boundaries among perceived groups (according to etymology and/or semantic features), but they are insufficient in at least two aspects.

On the one hand, these classifications rely heavily upon descriptions of Indo-European languages and classical etymologies, and consequently fail to reflect the semantic features of evaluative markers that do not fit into those established categories, as could be the case of the suffix *-is* (originating from a playful use of a Latin inflectional morph, and present in languages such as Swedish (Olofsson 2015, 308⁸¹) and Spanish) or the English suffixes *-eroo* (Wentworth 1942) or *-ola*, a folk morph adopted from its use in advertisement (Glowka 1985, Bauer 2014_e):

(1a) *Oh, **crapola**. Don't get your panties in such a twist...and give me back mine.*
(James 2012, 257)

(1b) SPA *Paz es una progre, muy **locatis** y con aficiones esotéricas* (NOW 2021_e)

On the other hand, it can also be argued that the Western-centric perspective in most studies occasionally appears as imposed to the description of languages of different genealogical affiliations. For example, in their study of evaluative morphology in Tibetan, Simon and Hill affirm that “structures which contain the morpheme *ħdra* ‘to be similar’ or the adjective *ħdra.po* ‘similar’ convey a diminutive meaning that can be paraphrased

⁸¹ Examples in Swedish include *tjock* ‘fat’ > *tjockis* ‘≈ fatty’, and *kompanjon* ‘friend’ > *kompis* ‘≈ buddy’ (Holmes and Hinchliffe 2003, 545).

as ‘kind of NP’” (2015, 382). According to the translations proposed for these morphs, they would be best described as conveying an attenuative or approximative meaning, involving perhaps a projection of the ‘diminutive’ feature. The proposed examples confirm this reading: *skyo.po-ħdra-cig* (poor-DIM-INDF) ‘kind of poor’ (ibid., 383). Crucially, neither the core feature *attenuation* (ATT) nor *approximation* (APP) are recognized in the radial category models previously examined, where they appear only as semantic projections.

Paradoxically, despite the widespread consensus in noting that traditional evaluative categories cannot be properly delimited and that semantic features are not group-bound, researchers insist on developing their analysis based on discrete groups of markers. Conflating senses and references – *Sinn* and *Bedeutung*, linguistic expression and real-world object or notion (Frege 1948) – does not seem to be an appropriate analytical approach for various reasons. Also, as shown in González Ollé (1962), Ettinger (1974), Günthner and Mutz (2004, 90–91) or Mutz (2015), when a diachronic perspective is adopted, evaluative morphs are clearly subject to semantic shifts and recategorization in more than one direction: from diminutive to pejorative, from augmentative to pejorative, from attenuative to diminutive, etc. This can be taken as proof that labels are hardly stable and can only represent, at best, a synchronic state of affairs. Moreover, some authors have remarked on the diatopic variation in the prototypical semantic features of certain evaluative morphs. For example, Bajo Pérez notes that the use of the morph *-it-* in hypocoristics is more readily to connote respect or recognition of a social position (with a sense akin to the feature *honorific* (HON)) in Latin American varieties of Spanish, while in Peninsular Spanish, it is more common for said marker to express familiar affection or irony (Bajo Pérez 1997, 71).

Evaluative morphology descriptions show that, more often than not, evaluative markers cannot be associated with a certain and fixed meaning, given their many semantic projections. From the approach that links form to meaning, it has been established that the use of one evaluative form may require different interpretations depending on the communicative context where it appears. Almela Pérez has remarked on the semantic versatility of evaluative morphs, and their capacity to express, in certain contexts, meanings or nuances other than those expected (1998, 5). This trait has been illustrated with instances where the interpretation of the evaluative morph can be described as

counterintuitive, such as a possible intensive sense in certain uses of ‘diminutives’: e.g., SPA *ten cuidado* ‘be careful’ > *ten cuidadito* ‘≈ be very careful’⁸².

From the opposite approach, linking meaning to form, it has been shown that one single feature can be expressed by evaluative markers traditionally considered as belonging to separate categories. For example, the feature ‘contempt’ or ‘dislike’ can be expressed in Spanish by means of so-called:

- diminutives: *poeta* ‘poet’ > *poetilla* ‘≈ poetaster’
- augmentatives: *grande* ‘big’ > *grandullón* ‘≈ disproportionately big, big and scary’
- pejoratives: *caballo* ‘horse’ > *caballejo* ‘nag’
- attenuatives / approximatives: *blanco* ‘white’ > *blancuzco* ‘≈ (unappealingly) whitish’⁸³
- other uncategorized markers: *rojo* ‘communist’ > *rojerás* ‘commie’

A similar relation between one semantic feature being conveyed by a variety of evaluative markers can be attested in Latvian. It must be stressed that semantic nuances are not conveyed exclusively by the evaluative marker but activated in each specific instance in which the interaction between the marker, the semantic make-up of the base and the communicative context makes it possible. Thus, for example, pejorative nuances can be found in Latvian evaluative markers usually associated to:

- diminutivity: *pilsēta* ‘town, city’ > *pilsētele* ‘≈ podunk, one-horse town’
- attenuation or approximation: *kritiķis* ‘critic’ > *kritikāns*⁸⁴ ‘≈ nay sayer, faultfinder’
- repetition or intensification: *staigāt* ‘to walk, to ramble’ > *staigalēt* ‘≈ to walk a lot, usually aimlessly’

This morphosemantic promiscuity or polyvalence is only exacerbated by the fact that evaluative markers often appear combined simultaneously, attached to a base word, posing additional challenges to the individual characterization or description of the resulting evaluative form. Traditional evaluative categories are not mutually exclusive, that is, the presence of the semantic features DIM, PEJ, AUG, ATT, etc., do not necessarily

⁸² Depending on the context and the power relations between speakers involved, the diminutive may also be pragmatically motivated indicating condescension or endearment.

⁸³ Arguably, the form *blanquecino* (where the morph *-ec-* is an interfix) is usually interpreted as ‘off-white, milky, whitish’.

⁸⁴ “*Taču te kritikāniem bazūnes var aizbāzt ar viņas pašas [sic] vārdiem.*” (Torops 2014, 10). ‘≈ But the trumpets of these critics.PEJ can be shut down with her [their] own words.’”

manifest in isolation. Quite the opposite, they often appear combined in evaluative forms, adding various layers of semantic-pragmatic nuance to the base word, as observed in a variety of languages, for example, Stankiewicz (1954) and Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (2001). In such cases, not only may the exact interpretation of the evaluative form be conditioned to aspects like prosody, connotative aspects of the base word or extralinguistic referents, but also by the fact that the evaluative form may contain evaluative morphs which, from a conceptual perspective, contradict each other, as seen in (2a) and (2b):

- (2a) SPA *coqueta* > *coquet-on-(c)-it-a*
 ‘coquettish.FEM.SING’ > ‘coquettish-AUG-(INTF)-DIM-FEM.SING’
- (2b) ITA *pezzo* > *pezz-ett-one*
 ‘piece.MASC.SING’ > ‘piece-DIM-AUG’ (Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi 2001, 49)

Referring to these forms as diminutives or as augmentatives would leave out some of their semantic content. However, describing (3a) as a ‘diminutive form of an augmentative conveying appreciation’ or (3b) as an ‘augmentative form of a diminutive expressing pejoration (or perhaps affection)’ would not be helpful in conceptual terms. Moreover, the construction process of these evaluative forms is not always easy to trace unequivocally and therefore it may be difficult to establish the order of application of the morphological rules. One last example to stress the lack of applicability of traditional categories is the Spanish evaluative form *tontorroncillo*, composed of a base and three evaluative markers which are traditionally considered as pejorative, augmentative and diminutive respectively:

- (3) SPA *tonto* > *tont-orr-on-(c)-ill-o*
 ‘silly.MASC.SING’ > ‘silly-PEJ-AUG-(INTF)-DIM-MASC.SING’

The specific reading of this evaluative form –i.e. the semantic features that will be given preference– will entirely depend on the context, as evidenced by the following two examples:

- (4a) *El miurita, además de flojo, es tontorroncillo, que es peor.* (Fernández Román 2017_e)

“≈ The *miurita*, aside from weak, is *silly*.INT.ATT, which is worse”.

(4b) *¿Es normal que todavía siga con la barriguilla mala? Como está aún tontorroncillo [...] esta tarde le he sacado un poco para pasear.* (Isabelmb 2011e)

“≈ Is it normal that his tummy is still unwell? Since he still is acting silly.INT.ATT [...] I have taken him for a walk this afternoon”.

In (4a), the co-text indicates a markedly disparaging tone, indicating an eminently pejorative interpretation of the evaluative form. This pejorative sense is reinforced by the also pejorative intention discernible in *miurita* (from *Miura*)⁸⁵. However, in (4b), the same evaluative form mainly conveys affection for the object (a pet), and once again this sense is reinforced by the affectivity conveyed by the marker in *barriguilla* ‘tummy’ (from *barriga* ‘gut, belly’).

A similar problem arises when analysing evaluative forms that include morphs that do not correspond to any of the proposed semantic primitives/cores SMALL, BIG, GOOD and BAD. This aspect can be illustrated with the Spanish prefix *re-*, which usually conveys repetition or intensification. Without a defining context and co-text, the semantic interpretation of the Spanish verb *retoquetear* (from the base verb *tocar* ‘to touch, to handle’) partakes of pejoration, augmentation, and pluractionality⁸⁶, although each feature is not represented by a dedicated affix. Context-conscious interpretations of *retoquetear* would involve the notions of touching or handling repeatedly, excessively, carelessly, and possibly inappropriately⁸⁷.

Lang has also noted the relevance of the denotative and connotative elements contained in the base word, and their combined effect with the evaluative marker: “it is often a question of the base transmitting its semantic import (...) to the suffix rather than the suffix having emotive or non-emotive properties of its own” (Lang 1990, 92). Cross-linguistically, this is quite noticeable in the case of base words expressing a profession or trade. Such bases, in combination with ‘diminutive’ markers show a noticeable tendency to express a pejorative sense: e.g., SPA *escritorcillo* or LAV *rakstnieķelis* ‘≈ hack (writer)’. However, the communicative context remains a crucial element in the appropriate

⁸⁵ The sentence cannot be understood without resorting to the encyclopedic knowledge of the reader. The proper name *Miura* refers to a particular breed of bulls characterized for their fierceness. The evaluative marker *-it-* in *miurita* is therefore clearly pejorative.

⁸⁶ Pluractionality is understood in this context as “plurality in events” (Cusic 1981, 61, as referenced in Mattioli 2020, 5).

⁸⁷ Furthermore, an attested use of *retoquetear* involves another meaning of the verb *tocar*, ‘to play an instrument’ or ‘to play music’. In that specific instance, *retoquetear* transmits the semantic senses of iteration and appreciation: “*A estos compadres de Badajoz se los rifan [...], y hasta les dejan retoquetear en las jaranas musicales de más prestigio*” (De la Fuente 2008).

interpretation of the subjective nuance conveyed by the evaluative marker in each separate instance, as in certain cases said marker may only be indicative of appreciation or small size.

The problematic issues discussed so far in this subchapter allow for the working hypothesis that the establishment of rigid and discrete classifications for the discussion and analysis of EVALs and evaluative markers may foreseeably lead to imprecise and incomplete descriptions. Consequently, the position adopted in this study for the subsequent development of the descriptive and analytic EM framework eschews the approach reliant on traditional evaluative categories. In his seminal work on fuzzy sets, Zadeh points to the fact that “more often than not, the classes of objects encountered in the real physical world do not have precisely defined criteria of membership” (Zadeh 1965, 3). This remark seems to be particularly apt to the case of evaluative forms. While they can, to a reasonable extent, be defined as a lexical type with specific morphosemantic characteristics (as described in subchapter 1.8), their subdivision into cognitive or semantic subsets has been shown to be problematic. This acquires even more relevance when a cross-linguistic perspective is adopted for contrastive descriptions. The fuzzy perspective, as applied to morphology in general and evaluative morphology in particular, has been previously discussed by Almela Pérez (1998 and 2003) and Tirapu León (2014_e). This approach, when examined along with the phenomena of semantic bleaching and semantic dispersion previously discussed, allows for a different, non-discrete approach to the description of evaluative markers and, therefore to the description of the evaluative morphology resources in languages. It is worth noting that, although the pragmatic aspects of evaluative morphology are not central to the present study, Lakoff refers in his treatment of hedges to words whose “meaning implicitly involves fuzziness” (1973, 471). As discussed elsewhere in this study, cross-linguistically the use of evaluative forms has an eminently pragmatic character, and an interpretation of their fundamental semantic vagueness must be made according to several co-occurring elements, both of a linguistic and non-linguistic nature. Accordingly, Almela Pérez rejects unchanging and inherent meanings for evaluative markers and proposes an interpretation of each evaluative form based on a hierarchy of influence. The elements in said hierarchy are, in order, the accepted semantic features of the evaluative marker, the semantic features of the base word, and the context and co-text (Almela Pérez 1998, 9).

To sum up, the adoption of a fuzzy, non-discrete alternative perspective implies that all evaluative markers in a language are considered as belonging to a single, non-discrete

spectrum, that of morphological evaluativity. Within said spectrum, certain markers may reveal a frequency-based tendency to be associated with certain semantic-pragmatic features, but not necessarily unilaterally or consistently. This fuzzy approach presents various analytical advantages which can be summed up as follows:

- a) it favours an understanding of systemic associations between evaluative markers, regardless of their etymological origin and morphological manifestation (affixal, reduplicative or other);
- b) it stresses, from a synchronic perspective, the semantic plasticity of individual markers, as well as the connexions and overlap of expressed semantic-pragmatic features among them. From a diachronic perspective, it frames the morphosemantic movements and transitions within the set, as described in studies tracing the evolution of individual markers;
- c) it allows for categorial permeability regarding new elements that may enter the system by being borrowed, created, or updated⁸⁸;
- d) crucially, it moves the interpretative focus from the traditional labels attached to markers to the many other linguistic elements discernible in the speech act, notably the connotations as well as encyclopaedic information encoded into the base's signified and signifier, the type of speech act, the power relationships between interactants, etc.

The conception of the fuzzy category for evaluative markers discussed in this study does not concern itself with degrees of belonging or the gradience of the elements included. As indicated by Ma, “grading is not regarded as an indispensable feature of fuzziness” (Ma 2011, 812). The author goes on to cite Lakoff to clarify that fuzziness can also arise from non-graded concepts which are defined by models that have no scales built into them (ibid.). A graded approach, together with the examination of the linguistic elements which may be found around the edges of the category, would make for interesting research. As pointed out by Keefe, “having fuzzy boundaries is closely related to having borderline cases. More specifically, it is the *possibility* of borderline cases that counts for vagueness and fuzzy boundaries” (Keefe 2000, 7). Such a study could complement the present one, but it would demand its own set of research methods and parameters.

⁸⁸ Arguably, evaluative markers may never fully abandon the category. From a diachronic point of view, even their loss of relevance due to lack of productivity does not involve their disappearance from the category, merely a lack of usage which may be reverted at some point.

2.3. The pragmatic functions of evaluative forms and the Morphopragmatics model

Throughout the previous discussion, while there has been a constant reference to the semantic-pragmatic aspects of evaluative forms, pragmatic functions have not been addressed specifically. This has been due to the fact that the morphological issues and related arguments discussed so far did not require the consideration of the pragmatic aspect, as they were more strictly related to the formal nature of evaluative forms, their defining characteristic vis-à-vis other lexical units, as well as their semantic content in relation to their more immediate and apparent denotative and connotative aspects. However, although the declared focus of the present dissertation is on morphosemantic aspects, the pragmatic functions associated with evaluative markers and processes are a key element in EM studies. It is worth noting that, from the perspective of the present study, a difference is established between a) pragmatic content ascribable to the morphological markers found in evaluative forms, and b) pragmatic content encoded at the lexical, syntactic, and prosodic level in utterances where an evaluative form appears. The rationale for this distinction lies in the fact that, from an evaluative perspective, the focus must be on morphosemantic and morphopragmatic aspects that reflect specific meanings and effects sought by the speaker. That is, the accent is on the speaker's intended meaning and effect as expressed via morphological means. While relevant to the decoding of evaluative forms, aspects like the speech act's word-choice, word arrangement or prosodic features –as well as the nature of the emotional or social relations between participants– exceed the scope of morphology. Thus, a thorough investigation of pragmatic functions associated with the use of evaluative forms would require a separate analysis.

The preeminent role of pragmatic functions in evaluative forms was recognized and pioneered by Spitzer (1921) and has been further developed in studies like that of Sifianou (1992), Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994 and 2001), Travis (2004), Badarneh (2010), Böhmerová (2011_e), Tirapu León (2014_e), Merlini Barbaresi (2015) or Eshreteh (2017), all of whom have examined the specific interaction between evaluative morphology and pragmatics. However, most of these studies are language-specific⁸⁹ and address exclusively the use of diminutives and/or augmentatives, failing to offer an overview of

⁸⁹ Greek in Sifianou (1992), Italian and German in Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994), Spanish in Martín Zorraquino (2012a and 2012b), Prieto (2005_e) and Tirapu León (2014_e), Spanish and German in Ramírez Sáinz (2008), Brazilian Portuguese in Turunen (2009), Akan in Appah and Appiah Amfo (2011), or Macedonian in Spasovski (2012).

evaluative forms from a systemic perspective. Additionally, as discussed below in this section, a review of available studies reveals that there has not been established a reliable classification for *pragmatic meanings, effects or functions* (the terms vary from author to author). The most thorough studies to date on this aspect are authored by Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994 and 2001), who propose the term *allopragms* for the description of the various pragmatic features derived from the main pragmatic feature *fictive*. This *fictive* feature is posited to be the “constitutive feature of diminutives” as well as of augmentatives, the latter being further specified by a *non-serious* feature (2001, 43–44)⁹⁰. Before addressing other aspects of their analytical model, the present study argues against the main feature *fictive*, which is considered excessively reductive and inoperative.

The above-mentioned authors argue that appealing to the added *fictive* and/or *non-serious* features, a speaker “evaluates the speech act as non-serious” and consequently lowers his responsibility towards and “commitment to the illocutionary force” of the speech act (1994, 144)⁹¹. However, in a considerable number of instances, particularly those which express disagreement, sarcasm, dismissal, or contempt, the use of ‘diminutives’ or ‘augmentatives’ ostensibly accentuates and emphasizes the speaker’s commitment to the illocutionary force and illocutionary strength of the utterance. That is, instead of defusing a potentially unpleasant situation, as in face-threatening illocutionary acts ‘threatening’ the hearer’s positive face, the use of the evaluative form strengthens the illocutionary force. In the following examples, the use of the EVALs’ base word would convey the same propositional/denotational meaning, with a noticeably reduced amount of antagonism:

(1a) SPA *La ministra Robles, que fue la única que ayudó mientras usted se iba al chaletazo.* (El Confidencial.com 2021_e)

‘≈ [It was] Minister Robles, who was the only one to help while you went away to your **fancy villa**.’

(1b) LAV *Ko dod šāds rakstiņš, pētījums, ja mums ir VADLĪNĪJAS...* (Tīmeklis 2020_e)

‘≈ Of what use is this **trivial article**, this research, if we have GUIDELINES...’

⁹⁰ “We assume that the general morphopragmatic meaning of DIM is [non-serious]. A [non-serious]-feature added is, among other things, a strategy for lowering one’s responsibility towards the speech act being performed, or, more specifically, for lowering one’s commitment to its illocutionary force (..). In other words, the speaker or author evaluates the speech act as non-serious, which allows the use of the evaluative diminutive suffix (..). This we claim is the constitutive morphopragmatic feature of diminutives.” (ibid., 144)

⁹¹ This view is maintained in more recent studies: “A non-serious feature added is a strategy for lowering one’s commitment to the illocutionary force” (Merlini Barbaresi 2015, 37).

An example like (1a) easily counters the *morphopragmatic* reading which insists that, through the introduction of a diminutive, “the speaker evaluates the speech act and the speech situation as non-serious, in the sense of non-formal, non-demanding, non-binding” (Merlini Barbaresi and Dressler 2020, 419). The extralinguistic context of (1a), a televised political debate, disproves such affirmation, as the speech situation can hardly be characterized neither as non-formal, non-demanding or non-binding. As indicated by Schneider, “diminutives in insults serve as dispraise maximisers [as] they are used to belittle the addressee and to demonstrate the speaker’s superiority” (Schneider 2003, 214). Because of this, it can be contended that while the *non-serious* feature may be found in some instances of ‘diminutive’ uses, it does not seem suitable to establish it as “the constitutive morphopragmatic feature of diminutives”. Moreover, Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi’s linking of evaluativity and fictiveness is highly speculative:

When the speaker signals, via the evaluative, that his speech act contains an element of fictiveness, which makes the speech act apply to an imaginary rather than to the real world, he specifies this fictive evaluation as non-serious through the semantic modifier non-important. (ibid.. 159)

What exactly is meant by “the speech act applies to an imaginary rather than to the real world”? If taken at face value, this statement could be applied to almost all but the most literal of utterances, as it would be the case with any speech act containing some type of figurative or metaphorical language: ‘I’ll be back in no time’, ‘He’s lost all hope’, ‘I feel nothing’, etc. Moreover, the argument does not hold true when confronted with linguistic data. In the assertive speech acts presented in (2a) and (2b) the evaluative forms simply appraise an aspect of the denotata (size or character of the action), while not renouncing to the essence of representative illocutionary acts, which is to “commit the speaker (in varying degrees) to something’s being the case, to the truth of the expressed proposition” (Searle 1976, 10):

(2a) SPA *Lo tengo en esta bolsita*

‘≈ I have it in this (little) bag’

(2b) SPA *Está canturreando en la ducha*

‘≈ He is crooning / humming in the shower’

An undeclared but apparent focus in Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi’s 1994 and 2001 studies is on aspects that can be characterized as ‘positive’ or ‘pleasant’: child-directed speech, affection, familiarity, mitigation, etc... However, considering the pejorative

aspects associated with diminutives, not enough attention seems to have been paid to more ‘negative’ aspects, not only irony and sarcasm, but more direct functions, such as ridicule, belittlement, or chastisement⁹². When Dressler and Barbaresi affirm that “violent emotions cannot be expressed with diminutives” (1994, 149), the authors conveniently illustrate this aspect with a positive emotion, “deepest love”. But the affirmation can be falsified if the emotion considered is a negative one. Skrābane, for example, notes that Latvian diminutives can also be interpreted as “a sign of hidden aggression (such as an adult speaking to a child misbehaving)” (Skrābane 2017, 139). Indeed, the use of ‘diminutives’ can reinforce a strong negative emotion with added belittling and disparagement of an interlocutor or an object:

(3) LAV *Atceries viņu? Veriņu – žiglo caunīti, zbiekstīti?* (Repše 2016, 166)

‘≈ Remember her? Our dear Vera, the cunning, sneaky little weasel!’⁹³

In (3), the speaker refers to a certain woman via a hypocoristic (*Vera* > *Veriņa*), and compares her to two animals, both nouns containing an evaluative marker. The larger context of the utterance clearly suggests that the speaker is criticizing the character in question, and therefore the ‘diminutives’ can only be interpreted as expressing contempt.

Searches in online forums (a medium which provides anonymity and the possibility of eschewing performative restraints imposed by real-life communications) often reveal a considerable level of hostility and antagonism channelled via evaluative forms in general and so-called diminutives in particular. The pejorative nuance is most noticeable in the case of bases not typically encountered with evaluative markers. In such instances, their impact is reinforced by the fact that they are infrequent forms:

(4a) LAV *Tāds pavārgs mūziķītis vien ir!* (Nra.lv 2011e)

‘≈ Such crummy.INT musician.PEJ he is!’

(4b) SPA *Eres un listillo de mierda.* (De la Cruz Gutiérrez 2014, 64)

‘≈ You are a shitty smartass.’

⁹² “As far as pragmatics is concerned, Wierzbicka's main aim is to reduce emotional and attitudinal meaning features to performative hypersentences of speakers such as "I think of you/it as someone/something small"; "I want to speak to you the way people speak to people they know well (and to children)"; "I feel something (good) towards you/it (as one does towards someone/something small)"; "I feel something good thinking of it"; "I want you to do something small"; "I think of you as of someone who is like a baby animal"; "I feel good feelings towards you as one does towards a baby animal"; "I assume you understand that these things are good.”” (Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi 1994, 90).

⁹³ A published translation renders the sentence as follows: “Remember. Dear Vera — the nimble **little weasel**? A **travesty**!” (Repše 2020, 197)

It is argued here that linguistic data disallows the main tenet of Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi's model and that, consequently, its applicability is questionable. Moreover, as argued by Turunen, "the presentation of all semantic and pragmatic manifestations of the diminutive as derived from a single underlying feature involves much speculation about a supposed origin or essence of the diminutive". (2008, 4). This speculative character pervades a great deal of the study here under examination. For example, positing that "the feature [non-serious] naturally evolves from the assumption that children cannot be taken as serious participants of the speech situation and that only adults are the prototypical speakers and addressees" (ibid., 147) can be construed as an unjustified assumption in the form of a self-serving argument. The attested higher frequency of 'diminutives' in child-centred communicative contexts could just as well be explained by an (equally speculative) argument about such abundant use being founded on a desire to downscale reality as a way of making it more accessible and familiar, as well as less potentially threatening.

Another aspect that makes the *morphopragmatics model* unwieldy is its lack of terminological systematicity. The section in which the most salient aspect of Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi's work is discussed contains an array of terms lacking systematicity and a basis on reliable categories. For example, *non-serious* is a morphopragmatic 'meaning' as well as a 'feature' (1994, 144), but also a 'morphological feature' (ibid., 145). 'Ludic character' and 'meiosis' and the '*diminutivum puerile*' are defined as realizations of the *non-serious* feature (ibid., 146). Next to these, several descriptors are listed as adding "emotional colouring": sympathy, empathy, pleasantness, fondness, tenderness, compassion, love, and affection (ibid., 147). Tellingly, when Merlini Barbaresi reprises this same topic in a later study, the author does not follow the previously proposed nomenclature and instead refers to a variety of "attitudinal/evaluative meanings involving speaker and addressee in their interpersonal relationships" which do not follow any type of structured or notional template: e.g., 'ironic understatement', 'derogatory irony', 'anger', 'euphemism', 'pleading', 'pleasure', 'false modesty', etc. (2015, 32–33). The use of such labels suggests that categories are established ad-hoc, without regard for a clear delimitation between situational aspects (e.g., 'child-centred speech'), emotional aspects (e.g., 'affection' or 'familiarity'), intentional aspects (e.g., 'criticism', 'euphemism' or 'mitigation'), or others.

A lacking aspect in both Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994) and Merlini Barbaresi (2015) is that their discussion of *pragmatic meanings/effects* is often carried out on the

basis of examples for which some co-text is sometimes provided but little or no extralinguistic context is provided, neither in terms of participants, responses or outcomes. Thus, in the Italian example “*una strad-ina di campagna senza traffico* ‘a country lane-DIM with no traffic’” the evaluative form is described as conveying “smallness and, at most, some connotations of peace and pleasure” (Merlini Barbaresi 2015, 38). However, given a likely scenario in which a driver has lost its way and feels stranded in some back road, an entirely different reading is possible. In this regard, Tirapu León (2014_e) demonstrates the advantages of a systematic and thorough approach in his examination of evaluative forms from a pragmatic perspective. In Tirapu León’s study, each example contains a coded description of the communicative elements (speakers, location, medium, geographical location), as well as sufficient context to properly frame possible motivations for the use of the evaluative form and understand its effect in the interlocutor.

To sum up, while it is obvious that pragmatic aspects play a fundamental role in the analysis of the use of evaluative forms, it can be argued that significant advances need to be made in the theoretical approach to this facet. Such advances include the establishment of a rigorous theoretical framework that, once again, considers evaluative morphology from a systemic perspective. Regarding the academic discussion of pragmatic aspects in specific examples, studies should follow a descriptive mode that accounts for co-text as well as content, following the methodological lead of Tirapu León (2014_e).

2.4. A reviewed model for the semanto-pragmatic analysis of evaluative forms

It is only recently, in Körtvélyessy’s Model of Evaluative Word Formation, that several distinctive notional categories have been represented in a structured manner as pertaining to the sphere of evaluative morphology. Körtvélyessy’s model (see Figure 9 below), is described as follows:

In my approach, (...) evaluative morphology is founded in the “supercategory” of Quantity that includes not only the core areas of evaluation (diminutiveness and augmentativeness) but also other semantic categories. These categories include various manifestations of Aktionsart and pluractionality whose concepts of multiplicity, iterativity, frequentativity, distributiveness, etc. are of quantitative nature (...) This approach also encompasses the semantic categories of attenuation (deintensification) and intensification. (Körtvélyessy 2015a, 41)

As evidenced in this description, the scope of evaluativity has been widened to address instances beyond the traditional categories of diminutives and augmentatives, particularly in that which concerns deverbal evaluative forms. This perspective is a welcome

departure from previous models, based exclusively on physical size and its metaphorical ramifications. The evaluative process is, however, still essentially defined as a deviation from a notional standard or archetype. Regarding this aspect, Körtvélyessy's approach posits that "the standard or default value, is anchored in the fundamental cognitive categories SUBSTANCE (including human beings, material objects), ACTION (including processes, actions proper and states), QUALITY (including properties, features, characteristics), and CIRCUMSTANCE (location, time, manner of action, cause of action, etc.)" (ibid., 41). Unfortunately, valuable as the author's proposal is, it would only cover evaluative forms obtained from bases belonging to major word classes: deverbal (action), denominal (substance), deadjectival (quality) and deadverbial (circumstance). It is unclear how this framework would account for and interpret evaluative forms whose bases are, for example, numerals, interjections, pronouns or prepositions – all of which have been widely attested. Admittedly, such evaluatives are less common and 'prototypical', but they make up a significant body of linguistic material that highlights the morphological adaptability and semantic multifacetedness of evaluative markers.

Additionally, the author assumes that "the key feature of evaluative morphology is the capacity of a language to express morphologically the semantics of 'less than / more than the default quantity'" (ibid., 41). Consequently, *quantification* is considered as the central notional category of the model, and *qualification* appears as a subsequent (but not obligatory), categorization through a metaphoric shift, as seen in Figure 9:

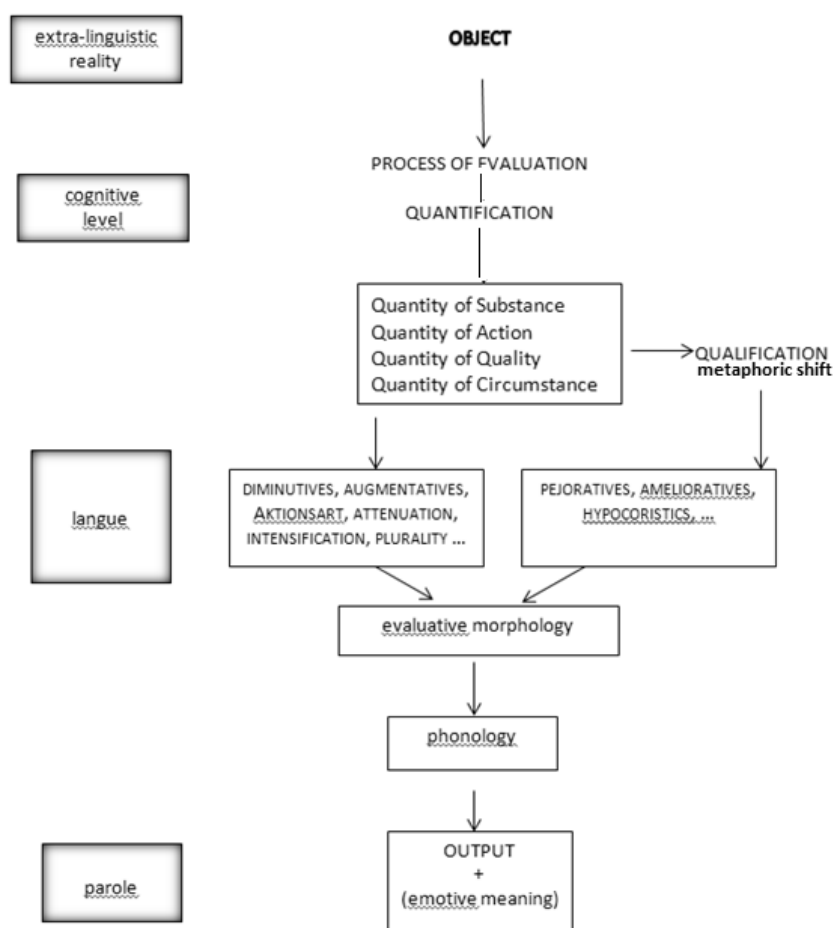


Figure 9. Körtvélyessy's model of evaluative word formation (Körtvélyessy 2015a, 45)

However, there are numerous examples cross-linguistically that do not rely on any quantitative notion. This can be said of evaluative markers that essentially convey, for example, pejoration or jocularity:

(1a) FRA *cinéma* 'cinema' > *cinoche*; *vulgaire* 'vulgar' > *vulgos* (Walker 2001, 194)

(1b) ENG *brush* > *brusheroo*; *bounce* > *bounceroo* (Wentworth 1942, 10)

(1c) SPA *político* 'politician' > *politicaastro*

In these examples (as well as in those discussed in 2.2, with the English evaluative marker *-ola*) no quantification step is involved, while semantic and/or pragmatic aspects are codified within the markers. Consequently, *quantification* cannot be the defining feature of evaluative morphology. Instead, two approaches appear as alternatives. On the one hand, the *quantification* and *qualification* cognitive processes could be posited as co-existing in an interpretative model, as separate and same-level elements. However, this would introduce an either/or disjunctive which would not reflect the path of interpretative analysis of many evaluative forms. On the other hand, in an alternative formulation,

quantification and *qualification* could be posited as a simultaneous process in which one or another aspect might, contextually, acquire more relevance. To illustrate this aspect, let us contrast a pair of examples containing the Spanish evaluative form *silla* ‘chair’ > *sillita*:

(2a) *Espera, voy a moverte la sillita.*

(2b) *Estoy harto de esta sillita.*

Assuming for (2a) a setting where a kindergarten teacher addresses a child about their small chair. This context would most likely lead to the inference that the evaluative marker in (2a) indicates diminution and/or endearment: ‘≈ Wait, I will move your nice/little chair’⁹⁴. Assuming for (2b) a setting where an adult-sized chair is unstable or uncomfortable. The inference for (2b) would then likely be that the speaker wants to convey annoyance with or exasperation towards the object, in which case the prevailing semantic feature would be contempt: ‘≈ I am tired of this (damn) chair’. In a prototypical reading of both cases, the real-world referent of the suffixed base (i.e., the chair) is actually the object affected by the evaluative marker⁹⁵. The referent of the base is, so to speak, the actual recipient of the evaluative charge. But, as made abundantly obvious in EM research, not only do pragmatic uses of evaluative forms statistically outnumber purely denotational and connotational ones, but often the pragmatic function of the evaluative form overrides the common semantic features of the marker. There are indeed instances in which the base of the evaluative form is merely the locus for the introduction of a pragmatic function, as illustrated in (2c):

(2c) *¡Deja ya de mover la sillita!*

The utterance in (2c) contains the same evaluative form found in (10a) and (10b), but its interpretation follows a different path. The form *sillita* may well not refer to the size of the object nor to any psychological or emotional state of the speaker regarding the object itself. Instead, the base *silla* is chosen as a locus or *landing site* for the evaluative marker⁹⁶

⁹⁴ In this and the following examples, an expanded linguistic context and other suprasegmental and paralinguistic clues would allow for different interpretations.

⁹⁵ In (2b), the feature *contempt* could also be read as projected towards a surrounding situation.

⁹⁶ “The choice of the landing site mainly depends on the lexical properties of the given word and on its pragmatic salience, with a preference for head nouns, but, often, more than one location in the sentence would be suited to this function. For example, an utterance such as Italian *è una rispost-ina permalosa* ‘it’s a resentful answer-DIM’ could be easily replaced with *è una risposta permalos-etta* ‘it’s a resentful-dim answer’. Sometimes, suffixation could involve more than one word in the same utterance (*rispost-ina permalos-etta* ‘answer-DIM₁ resentful-DIM₂’), with intensified effects.” (Merlini Barbaresi 2015, 38)

to convey exasperation with a situation at large: ‘≈ Stop already moving the (damn) chair!’. The relative unimportance of the evaluative marker and its landing site is attested by the fact that the change from an evaluative marker to another (see (2d)) or opting for a different base as the locus of projection of the pragmatic feature (see (2e)) would not alter significantly the possible reading(s) of (2c).

(2d) *¡Deja ya de mover la sillca!* ‘≈ Stop already moving the (damn) chair!’

(2e) *¡Deja ya de remover la silla!* ‘≈ Stop already moving the (damn) chair!’

The evaluative marker in (2d) may imply mitigation or intensification of the command, depending particularly on prosodic aspects of the utterance –although the presence of exclamation marks hints at intensification. In (2e), the evaluative marker stresses the repetitive nature of the action (which is anyway apparent), thus reinforcing the illocutionary strength of the command. What (2c), (2d) and (2e) make evident is that the signified of the base chosen by the evaluative marker is not, strictly speaking, the recipient of the evaluation. The base becomes the recipient of the morphological alteration introduced by the evaluative marker, but it functions as a vehicle or catalyst of sorts for the relevant semanto-pragmatic features that the speaker intends to convey.

The above-presented analysis serves as an introduction for the formulation of a proposal for a new model of analysis focused on the construction of evaluative forms. In essence, the proposed model presents the construction and definition of the evaluative form in terms of its key semanto-pragmatic features via a series of reanalyses, according to each one of the levels found along the different stages of utterance construction and transmission:

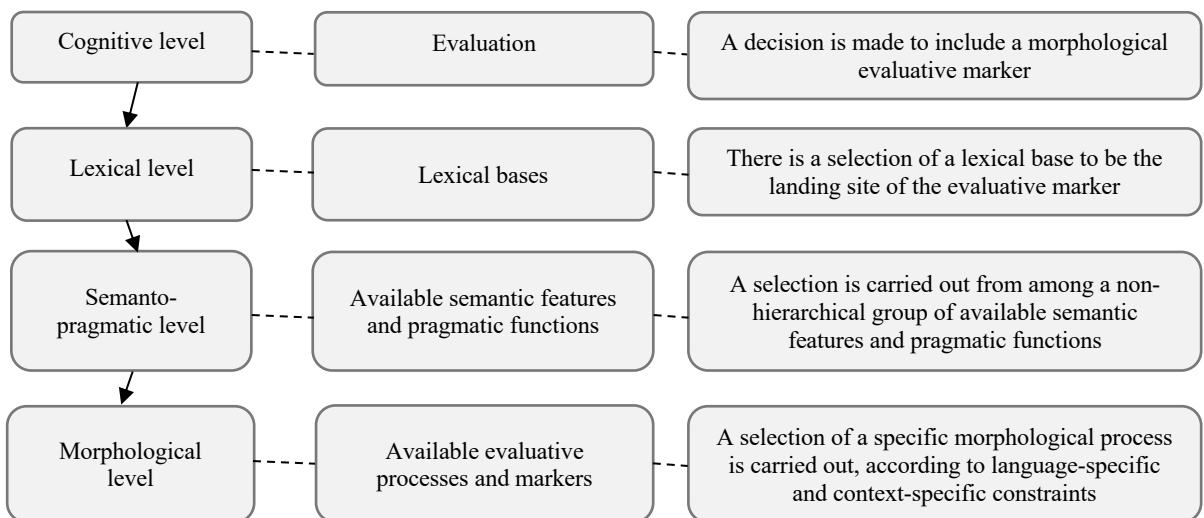


Figure 10. Model for the construction of meaning for evaluative forms

Each of the steps indicated in the proposed model for the construction of meaning in utterances containing evaluative forms is here discussed in some detail:

1. At the cognitive level, a decision is made by the speaker to include an evaluative component into the utterance. In the case of evaluative morphology, the speaker decides that evaluativity will be marked morphologically via the means of EVAL-formation processes available to a given language, taking into account the usage-sanctioned interpretations for different evaluative markers.
2. Insofar as the speaker is aware of the content and form of the utterance, a lexical base is selected to become the locus of application of the EM morphological rule (or rules). The base must be compatible with the EVAL-forming processes as well as with the evaluative markers available to the language.
3. At the semanto-pragmatic level, the general sense of evaluativity adopts a more nuanced formulation through a selection from among a pool of features (*interpretative semantic features*, as these will be described in subchapter 2.5.3). At this level, features would be, in principle, arranged in a non-hierarchical disposition and in an *and/or* relation to each other, rather than as standalone units. In this conception, it is not seen as a requirement to establish projections or causal relations among them. While some of the features may be more markedly semantic, others could be defined as markedly pragmatic, making thus the model compatible with the observation made by Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi in that certain evaluative forms, in specific contexts, can convey asemantic “autonomous pragmatic specifications” (1994, 426)⁹⁷. These features would then be selected individually (or as bundles) and would always be actualized on a case-per-case basis, which in itself would not cancel the objective recurrence of certain typical forms. The featural selection would be subject, to a certain extent, to accepted readings and the interaction between the denotational and connotational content of the base and the features. If, for example, the denotatum of the base were an abstract object or an action, features referring to size would not readily apply.
4. Lastly, at the morphological level, a morphological process of evaluative formation from among those available to the language and, more specifically, from among those which can convey the pre-selected morphopragmatic features.

⁹⁷ See also Merlini Barbaresi (2015, 32): “My claim is that some productive morphological operations are autonomously responsible for effects that cannot be exhaustively explained solely by their semantics plus generic contextual conditioning”.

With this step, the construction of the evaluative form is complete, and the initial, pre-contextual analysis of the obtained evaluative form can be advanced. This first reading will later be adjusted or revised according to the interaction of the form with other linguistic elements during the process of construction and transmission of the entire utterance. Standalone lexical units resulting from this process could be represented via an analytical form containing a variety of potential readings. Thus, the Latvian evaluative form *grāmatele* (from *grāmata* ‘book’) could be interpreted in absence of context as ‘≈ book [+diminution] and/or [+pejoration] and/or [+jocularity] and/or [+appreciation]’, given that these features reflect the accepted readings of the marker *-el-* in Latvian.

The proposal for the interpretative model in Figure 10 is here developed fully only until the level of construction of meaning of the evaluative form. At a subsequent stage, which would comprise the construction and transmission of the entire utterance, the pre-contextual analysis of the evaluative form would undergo a reanalysis according to the semant syntactic relations of the evaluative form to its immediate linguistic context, i.e., the form and function of adjacent lexical units. The choice of vocabulary, along with its arrangement and the overall syntactic formulation of the utterance would permit a further reanalysis of the evaluative form and additional pragmatic features become apparent. This contextual reading is extremely relevant concerning the concept of *landing site*, which designates the specific lexical unit that hosts the evaluative marker, although the sphere of influence of the semantic-pragmatic features of the latter may spread to the entire speech act. At the transmission level, the overall intended meaning and effect of the speech act are much more explicit, and a more accurate semantic-pragmatic interpretative analysis of the evaluative form is possible. The compounded result of all subsequent reanalyses would be a reading of the evaluative form that would satisfy the intended semanto-pragmatic meaning on the part of the speaker. Ideally, at the stage of reception, the interlocutor would interpret the evaluative form similarly. However, as previously indicated, a thorough pragmatic analysis that would include consideration of both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors is a task that exceeds the scope of this study.

2.5. Productivity indicators and other linguistic features in evaluative morphology descriptions

The discussion contained so far in the study has addressed a review of the state of affairs in the field of evaluative morphology and a critical examination of proposed

descriptive and analytical frameworks of analysis. Likewise, an effort has been made to establish the fundamentals for the development of an alternative framework, based on the definition and characterization of evaluative forms offered in subchapter 1.8, as well as the introduction of a fuzzy approach that dispenses with the traditional morphosemantic categories. This subchapter contains a description of the elements that will serve to structure the alternative descriptive framework proposed in this dissertation.

A review of available evaluative morphology descriptions of languages from all families and genera (e.g., Ettinger 1974a, Grandi and Körtevélyessy 2015 or Ponsonnet and Vuillermet 2018) reveals some descriptive features which are commonly discussed. As the interests of different researchers cover the entire spectrum of linguistic features, the number of focuses of study are very diverse: diachronic evolution, morphophonology, phonetic iconicity, emotional content, application of morphological processes, morphopragmatics, semantic features, etc. Seeking to develop the intended framework in such a manner that it is viable, not overly complex from a conceptual perspective and manageable for its cross-linguistic application, only a limited number of aspects relevant to the field of evaluative morphology have been selected. It must be stated that the aim of the framework is neither to examine etymological, diachronic or phonetic aspects, nor the morphological intricacies (interfixation, ablaut, clipping, or others) involved in the formation of evaluative forms in each language. Rather, its objective is to conceptualize and quantify insofar as possible five main aspects that have shown to be related to the language's potential in terms of productivity and use of evaluative forms. Productivity is understood in the following discussion in terms of availability, rather than actual profitability, as conceptualized by Corbin (1987) under the terms *disponibilité* and *rentabilité*⁹⁸. Fernández Domínguez summarizes these two concepts as follows:

Availability relates to whether a given word-formation process is able to develop new derivatives productively, and is hence a qualitative notion, an all-or-nothing matter, that is, a process is either available or unavailable. Profitability, by contrast, is a question of gradation, a quantitative concept, so one available process may create more derivatives than another one, that is, some processes are more profitable than others. (2013, 423)

The focus of this study is on available morphological resources and their potential in the

⁹⁸ A similar explanation is proposed by Ten Haken: “In terms of Corbin’s (1987) analysis of productivity, *disponibilité* (‘availability’) corresponds to the presence or absence of a rule in the word formation component. This is the central property underlying the other senses of productivity. *Rentabilité* (‘profitability’) depends on the interaction of a number of factors determining how often an available process is used in practice” (2019, 98).

formation of evaluative forms, not on their frequency, an analysis of which would require an approach based on quantitative analysis of large corpora containing samples from a variety of linguistic registers. The following list presents schematically the descriptive aspects considered as indicators of morphological productivity and semantic diversity. Each entry represents one of the aspects that will be examined and described in subsequent subchapters:

1. the description of all formal processes of a morphological nature attested in languages for the production of evaluative forms;
2. the distribution of evaluative forms across word classes (or parts of speech). Given the property of categorial invariance described for evaluative forms, this distribution reflects the variety of bases upon which EVAL-forming processes can be applied;
3. the available semantic features attested for evaluative forms cross-linguistically and the capacity of evaluative markers to convey them;
4. the recursive capabilities of evaluative markers featured in the construction of evaluative forms;
5. the overall amount of productive morphological means in the form of standalone evaluative markers available to a given language⁹⁹.

The listed aspects have been considered as indicators of productivity, given that they have an impact in terms of what evaluative forms may be obtained in a given language as well as what semantic features said forms may convey. There are other morphosemantic, morphophonological and morphosyntactic features that, although relevant for the comprehensive understanding of evaluative morphology from a language-specific perspective, have not been deemed to be of sufficient relevance to be taken into consideration for their cross-linguistic contrast. While such aspects are certainly relevant to the workings of evaluative morphology within a language (and may shed light on cross-linguistic regularities which may be of interest in typological studies), they do not reveal much in terms of the availability of a language's EM resources. Some of these aspects are:

- the changes in the grammatical gender of the base, triggered either by EVAL-forming processes or by the interaction between individual markers and bases;
- the restrictions in semantic compatibility between bases and evaluative markers or between bases and EVAL-forming processes, due to semantic, morphological,

⁹⁹ For the review and computation of this aspect, a synchronic perspective will be adopted.

- phonological or inflectional factors;
- the morphophonological adaptations triggered by EVAL-forming processes, such as required infixation, vowel and consonant changes, theme-vowel shifts, etc;
- the regularities in the areas of sound symbolism and phonetic iconicity, which remain of interest although their universality has been disproven;
- the order of evaluative morphs within the word-forming cycle, i.e., their position in relation to other morphs, be it derivational, inflectional or others.

2.5.1. Morphological processes in evaluative morphology

This subchapter contains a description of all morphological processes described in EM literature for the formation of evaluative constructions, with a particular focus on the work of Štekauer (2015a). Based on a 200+ language sample, Štekauer has described these processes and established a thorough typology, which includes affixation, reduplication, compounding, prefixal-suffixal derivation, circumfixation, root-and-pattern, sound symbolism, introflexion, and change of gender (Štekauer 2015a, 47–53). However, Štekauer’s study duly notes that the relevance or validity of these processes “depends heavily on the definition of the scope of evaluative morphology, (an issue on which there is no agreement between morphologists)” (ibid., 43). The subsequent examination of EVAL-forming processes follows the working definition for evaluative morphology and characterization of evaluative forms established in chapter 1. Consequently, the focus in the following analysis will be exclusively on EVAL-forming processes, not taking into consideration processes that are fundamentally derivational (i.e., the base and the derivative do not share a signified) while at the semantic level may present certain evaluative features. In this regard, the theoretical framework of this dissertation differs to some extent from other studies on evaluative morphology.

Štekauer proposes a total of 12 processes for evaluative formation, divided into *inflectional* and *derivational* groups (Štekauer 2015a, 46–53), although such division seems at odds with his admission in that “it is not possible to draw a clear-cut borderline between inflection and derivation and that the relation between these two areas of morphology is best treated ‘as a cline rather than a dichotomy’ (...), with prototypical cases at both ends of the cline” (Štekauer 2015b, 231). It must be noted that Štekauer’s notion of *evaluative formation* is at occasional odds with the one followed in the present study, notably in that which concerns the comparative degree of adjectives, which the author considers as *morphological evaluatives* (Štekauer 2015a, 44):

Just for illustration, if Slovak *domisko* ‘large house’, derived from *dom* ‘house’, evaluates this object as quantitative deviation from the default size of house within the category of SUBSTANCE, then, obviously, the comparative degree of Slovak *väčší* ‘larger’, derived from *velký* ‘large’, evaluates the size as quantitative deviation from the default size within the category of QUALITY. (ibid.)

As indicated in the type-defining conditions for evaluative forms, adjectives in the comparative degree or regular superlative do not qualify as evaluative forms, as they imply a term of comparison, i.e., ‘larger’ means necessarily ‘larger than X’ and ‘the largest’ means ‘the largest from among X’. Moreover, they are not interchangeable for their base or optional in relation to it:

(1a) April is the **cruellest** month. (Eliot 1922, 9)

(1a’) *April is the **cruel** month.

In such instances, evaluativity is expressed at a lexical level, even if by recourse to morphological means. Accordingly, in this section Štekauer’s proposed list of morphological processes will be reviewed according to their potential to produce evaluative forms as defined in subchapter 1.8. As mentioned previously, Štekauer’s classification is divided into 12 processes, shown here in Table 3:

Derivational evaluative formation	Affixation
	Prefixal-suffixal derivation
	Circumfixation
	Reduplication
	Prefixation of a reduplicated base
	Compounding
	Root and pattern
	Sound symbolism
	Introflexion
Inflectional evaluative formation	Change of inflection class
	Classifiers
	Clitics

Table 3. Evaluative formation processes, as proposed in Štekauer (2015a)

Although most of the EVAL-forming processes are less widespread than affixation¹⁰⁰ and are often areally restricted, they must be taken into account when aiming to propose a thorough typology that may sustain a descriptive framework with cross-linguistic

¹⁰⁰ Merlini Barbaresi and Dressler appear to challenge this assumption but rely for their argument on vague counterevidence: “The process of reduplication (but also prefixation) relative to a large number of world languages challenges such primacy, as shown in the constellation of studies concerning the 60, not yet or hardly documented languages described in Grandi and Körtvélyessy (2015)” (2020, 416).

applicability. As it will be discussed in detail, the linguistic evidence offered by Štekauer to characterize a number of these processes as evaluative has not been considered entirely conclusive. Also, a division into derivational and inflectional morphological processes does not seem adequate for evaluative morphology if, as previously argued, it is to be examined as a separate type of morphology. Lastly, the process labelled *sound symbolism* will not be discussed further in this study as it is not essentially morphological but phonological in nature: e.g., EUS *luze* ‘long’ > *luxe* ‘a little long, longish’ (Artiagoitia 2015, 204)¹⁰¹.

Seeking to examine thoroughly the possibility of EVAL-formation in different languages, this study follows the classification of morphological processes proposed by Mel’čuk (2000) and revised by Beck (2017), as listed in Figure 11. Each of the processes described by Beck will be briefly characterized and discussed in the context of EVAL-forming processes.

Additive	Metamorphic or non-concatenative
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Segmental or concatenative <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Compounding 2. Affixation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Canonical affixation (b) Infixation (c) Transfixation (d) Co-fixation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) Circumfixation (ii) Co-prefixation (iii) Co-suffixation (e) Interfixation B. Suprasegmental <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Suprafixation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Reduplication B. Segmental apophonies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mutation 2. Subtraction 3. Metathesis C. Suprasegmental apophonies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tonal 2. Accentual D. Conversion <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Categorical 2. Rectional 3. Paradigmatic

Figure 11. Taxonomy of morphological processes by signifier type, adapted from Beck (2017, 326)

The only adjustment to Beck’s taxonomy will consist of dividing reduplication processes into distinguishable variations, in manner similar to that proposed for the case of affixation. In reduplication, the organizational element will be the form and placement of the reduplicant.

¹⁰¹ Artiagoitia describes this process as follows: “I close my discussion of Basque by mentioning affective palatalisation, a sort of evaluative phonological rule (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2003, 39). Affective palatalisation converts neutral words into affective words, comparable with similar words with diminutives” (ibid.).

2.5.1.1. Additive morphology

Compounding

The process labelled as ‘compounding’ is exemplified by Štekauer via several analytic constructions, such as NEE *axoomo naabuc* ‘[mother + mosquito] big mosquito’ or *hulaxa mwa* ‘[old person + house] big house’, as well as in reference to lexicalized meanings: IND *anak ayam* [child + hen] ‘chicken’ (2015a, 51–52). Examples of other compounds sometimes refer to evaluative constructions which do not comply with the conditions established in this dissertation for evaluative forms (see 1.8), such as the already discussed example NDL *sterk* ‘strong’ > *Beresterk* ‘strong as a bear’ (ibid.). Languages discussed in Grandi and Körtvélyessy (2015) that describe compounding as part of their EVAL-forming processes are, among others, Nivkh, Choctaw, Modern Greek, and Telugu.

Examples offered for Nivkh show that the root verb takes on a participial marker *-ŋ-* as well as either the verb *ur-* ‘to be good’ or the verb *əki-* ‘to be bad’. However, after the morphological process is completed, the resulting forms are usually “verbs that occur in the attributive function [and] are very close to adjectives” (Gruzdeva 2015, 285). It is not clear that these forms can really be considered as evaluative forms since the syntactic role of the verb seems to approach that of a deverbal adjective:

- (2) NIV *Huŋ-iřkt amra-ŋ-əki-d*
that-berry taste-PTCP-be.bad-IND
‘Those berries are bad-tasting (taste badly)’

Examples offered for Choctaw are also inconclusive from the perspective of this dissertation, as they mostly refer to lexicalized meanings and, admittedly, “Choctaw evaluatives do not extend to a speaker’s evaluation of something as ‘good/bad’” (Haag 2015, 530). The bound word¹⁰² *ofi* (attaching to nouns) appears to simply produce lexicalized forms denoting offspring (3a) smaller size (3b) or a meronymic relation (3c)¹⁰³:

- (3a) CHO *nita* ‘bear’ > *nitofi* ‘bear cub’
(3b) CHO *book* ‘river’ > *bookofi* ‘creek’

¹⁰² Haag’s term *bound word* is maintained in the present discussion, as the author argues that “neither of the Choctaw forms will pass phonological tests for affixes, even though *ofi* is virtually always bound, as are the allomorphs of *holba*” (Haag 2015, 533).

¹⁰³ All examples from Choctaw are taken from Haag (2015).

(3c) CHO *ibbak* ‘hand’ > *ibbakofi* ‘finger’

Similarly, translations of denominal examples containing the bound word *holba* (and its allomorphs) reveal that the compounding process entails a change of referent (4a) or word class (4b):

(4a) CHO *issito* ‘pumpkin’ > *issito holba* ‘cucumber’

(4b) CHO *tfokfi* ‘sheep’ > *tfokfoba* ‘sheep-like’

The only true evaluative function seems to be in connection to deadjectival formations, where the bound word seems to convey the semantic feature of approximation: e.g., *oktfako* ‘blue’ > *oktfakolba* ‘bluish purple’. However, this does not seem to be a predictable interpretation, as seen in (5a) and (5b):

(5a) CHO *lakna* ‘yellow’ > *laknoba* ‘drab’

(5b) CHO *haksi* ‘drunk, duped’ > *haksolba* ‘simple-minded’

The examples discussed for Modern Greek rely on “prefixes, prefixoids or bound stems” (Melissaropoulou 2015, 270). The proposed evaluative morphs discussed in Xydopoulos (2009)¹⁰⁴, Melissaropoulou (2015) or Ralli (2020) are to be considered as affixoids, according to the set of criteria established by Stevens (2005, 73). In this sense, the proposed forms below cannot be considered as compounds, but as prefixed EVALs:

(6a) GRE *kapnízo* ‘to smoke’ > *polikapnízo* ‘to smoke a lot’ (Melissaropoulou 2015, 270)

(6b) GRE *xeri* ‘hand’ > *plakuxer* ‘damned hand, hand.PEJ’ (Ralli 2020, 6)

(6c) GRE *arçimařozos* ‘big mobster, chief mobster’ (Melissaropoulou 2015, 270)

A more convincing example of evaluative compounding is described by Sailaja (2015) for Telugu, where the nouns *amma* ‘mother’ and *ayya* ‘father’ are attached to other nouns to signal respect and esteem (HON) (7a), as well as to adjectives, to express endearment (END) (7b). However, in this latter instance (7b), the compounding process seems to involve a change in word class, from adjective to noun, and therefore the resulting lexical unit cannot be considered as an EVAL:

(7a) TEL *Durga* > *Durgamma* ‘[Durga + mother] dear Durga, respected Durga’ (ibid., 322)

¹⁰⁴ For example, the form *philo-* is described as a “bound morpheme” in Xydopoulos (2009).

(7b) TEL *bujži*_A ‘small’ > *bujžemma*_N ‘dear small girl’ (ibid., 323)

Another example of evaluative compounding described by Sailaja involves the adjective *pačči* ‘raw’, to express intensification (INT), as seen in (7c):

(7c) TEL *abaddham* ‘lie’ > *paččabaddham* ‘[raw+lie] gross lie’ (ibid., 325)

Compounds such as (7c), as well as others containing expletives, are discussed extensively by Hoeksema in relation to Dutch, under the label *elative compounds* (Hoeksema 2012). Hoeksema defines these as “any compound XY in which X serves as a modifier that is used to denote a very high degree of the property associated with head element Y”. Under the umbrella term ‘elative compound’, Hoeksema goes on to distinguish compounds in which the referents of both stems are conjugated (8a), and compounds in which the stem that is not the head of the compound acts as an affixoid, having undergone a process of complete or partial loss of its original meaning, as seen in (8b), (8c) and (8d):

(8a) NLD *pijlsnel* ‘[arrow + fast] fast as an arrow’

(8b) NLD *straatarm* ‘[street + poor] very poor, poor.INT’

(8c) NLD *bereslech* ‘[bear + bad] very bad, bad.INT’

(8d) NLD *stervensduur* ‘[dying + expensive] prohibitively expensive, expensive.INT’

As previously mentioned, compounds of the type in (8a) cannot be considered as EVALs, since they rely on a comparison (usually a stereotypical one). On the other hand, compounds in (8b), (8c) and (8d) contain nominal or verbal stems which, semantically, are reduced to indicating intensification in their EVAL-forming role. According to Booij, “the meaning of intensification that is connected to these nouns is a type of meaning expressed prototypically by adjectives [and adverbs], and hence the categorial reinterpretation of these nouns in this context is a natural development” (Booij 2010, 61, as cited in Van Goethem 2013, 11).

Evaluative affixation is also apparent in constructions obtained from the morphological process which could be labelled as *expletive affixation*. In opposition to expletive infixation, the two components in expletive affixation are to be found side by side. The desemantization process, morphological flexibility and grammatical promiscuity observed for expletives (see Bergen 2016) allows considering these lexical

units as affixoid-like, as defended by Ascoop and Leuschner (2006)¹⁰⁵. For example, following the brief studies of Elgersma (1998) and Siddiqui (2011), Miller (2017) has discussed in depth the English intensifier ‘ass’:

(9a) I just want to be a woman who sleeps in a **big-ass** hotel bed. (COCA 2021_e)

(9b) They fired me ‘cause I wouldn’t wear their **silly-ass** clothes on the job. (COCA 2021_e)

The usage of the intensifier (or ‘word suffix’) ‘ass’ is also examined in detail by Widawski (2015), who discusses its application as a compounding process. As made obvious in Widawski’s study, the stem ‘ass’ acts conveying all the features of an evaluative marker in certain occasions (e.g., *weak_A* > *weak-ass_A*), while acting as a deadjectival nominalizer in others: e.g., *fat_A* > *fat-ass_N* [very fat person] (ibid., 25). Illustrative examples from Widawski’s work (ibid., 24–25) show that nominalized compounds are not interchangeable with their head elements, while EVAL compounds are, as shown in (9c) and (9d) respectively:

(9c) You’re being a smart-ass – *You’re being a smart

(9d) I’m tired of hearing about his fake-**ass** friends – I’m tired of hearing about his fake friends.

Bengtson, who also considers the intensifying ‘ass’ as an enclitic “attaching to the right edge of the host” (2021, 35), has examined a parallel case in Danish. In Danish, Bengtson argues, the noun *røv* ‘ass, arse’ can be found as a proclitic expressing pejoration (e.g., *røvtur* ‘[ass + trip] crappy trip’) as well as intensification (e.g., *røvantik* ‘[ass + antiquated] very antiquated’) (ibid., 44–48). Adducing an intervening grammaticalization process, both Miller and Bengtson analyse ‘ass’ and *røv* in this context as clitics, preferring said label to that of ‘suffix’ since, Miller argues, the intensifier is “flexible in its syntactic restrictions” (Miller 2017, 37–38)¹⁰⁶. Likewise, Bengtson cites Spencer and Luís (2012) to argue that “a genuine affix only attaches to words of a particular category” (ibid., 1). However, as often remarked in EM descriptions, evaluative markers are notably indiscriminate with regards to their bases. Consequently, word class boundedness or

¹⁰⁵ In a classic definition, Marchand describes semi-suffixes (or suffixoids) as elements which “stand midway between full words and suffixes” (1969, 356).

¹⁰⁶ Likewise, Bengtson cites Spencer and Luís (2012) to argue that “a genuine affix only attaches to words of a particular category” (ibid., 1). However, as discussed repeatedly, evaluative markers are notably indiscriminate with regards to available bases.

restriction cannot be considered as a defining characteristic of affixes, at least not of evaluative ones.

Evaluative compounding is also attested with the non-head element preceding the heads of the compounds. Not infrequently, the non-head element is also an expletive: e.g., load > **shit**load, ton > **fuck**ton, or backwards > **arse**backwards (COCA 2021_e). Similar constructions are also common in other languages, such as Swiss German (10a and 10b), Dutch (10c) or German (10d)¹⁰⁷:

(10a) GSW *komisch* ‘strange’ > **huere***komisch* ‘strange.INT’ (Zoss 2021, 243)

(10b) GSW *geil* ‘fun’ > **huere***geil* ‘superfun, fun.INT’ (Berndeutsch 2018_e)

(10c) NLD *simple* ‘simple’ > **dood***simpel* ‘simple.INT’ (Hoeksema 2012, 115)

(10d) DEU *egal* ‘irrelevant’ > **scheiß***egal* ‘≈ totally irrelevant’ (Finkbeiner et al. 2016, 3)

In all the cases described, the added non-head stems appear with a semantic description different from that of their original signified. In these specific instances, they have become resemanticized as intensifiers which can be glossed as ‘huge’, ‘very much’, ‘complete’, ‘totally’ and similar adjectival or adverbial expressions. However, this alternative semantic function does not interfere or exclude the non-head stems’ reference to a specific signified when found as standalone lexical units. In other words, the same signifier is attached simultaneously to two signifieds with two distinct semantic descriptions. In this dissertation it is considered that the non-head stems found in compound EVALs have not yet fully developed the features of clitics or affixes and, consequently, they are discussed within the paradigm of morphological compounding.

Affixation

Several types of affixation (according to the typology established by Beck 2017) have been attested in evaluative morphology studies and are here briefly commented upon.

Canonical affixation. Beck subsumes under the term *canonical affixation* the prefixation and suffixation processes. As evidenced by cross-linguistic research, affixation is decidedly the most common and productive of EVAL-forming processes (Grandi and Körtvélyessy 2015). Consequently, but inaccurately, the term *evaluative affixation* often appears in the research literature as synonymous with *evaluative morphology*, “even if evaluative affixes do not cover the whole range of constructions

¹⁰⁷ The affixoidal elements in these examples stem from the lexemes GSW *huere* ‘whore’, NLD *dood* ‘dead’, and DEU *scheiße* ‘shit’.

that fall within the domain of evaluative morphology” (Grandi 2015, 74). Their presence has been sufficiently attested and exemplified in previous sections of this dissertation.

Infixation uses affixes that interrupt roots but are not interrupted themselves (Mel’čuk 2000, 528). Attested and productive infixes of recent coinage but significant currency in informal speech are the so-called *Homeric infix -ma-* (11a), which has been described as introducing a nuance of pseudo-sophistication (Luu 2015_e), and the African American Vernacular English infix *-iz(z)-* (11b):

(11a) saxophone > sax**o**maphone; secretary > secre**ma**tary (Yu 2004, n.p.)

(11b) dark > **dizz**ark (Miller 2004_e¹⁰⁸).

As summed up by Matiello, these infixes “can either be a bound morpheme (*-iz-*, *-ma-*), or correspond to a free morpheme (*bloody*, *diddly*, *friggin’*, *fuckin’*)” and the resulting forms “exhibit an additional nuance of meaning that tells us something about the speaker’s attitude” (2013, 186–187). This evidence disproves Plag’s affirmation that “that English has a process of infixation of (certain) words, but there are no bound morphemes that qualify for infix status” (Plag 2018, 100). The use of infixes consisting of a ‘free morpheme’ are usually discussed under the label *expletive infixation* (McCarthy 1982), including forms such as *theo-jolly-logical* (Okada 1999, 361), *Ne-fuckin-braska*, *per-bloody-haps*¹⁰⁹ (McCarthy 1982, 576–577), *wel-diddly-elcome* (Matiello 2013, 195), or even complex words like *air con-friggin’-ditioner* (ibid., 186). Interestingly, euphemistic variations of the original expletive (e.g., *bally*, *blessed*, *blooming*, *fugging*, etc.) function as allomorphs and perform unconstrained the same evaluative role: e.g., *absofrickinlutely* (Adams 1999, 110).

Given that the additional segments added to the bases do not alter the referent of the bases, the consideration of the resulting constructions as EVALs seems more appropriate than that of ‘derivatives’, as described in McMillan’s seminal study regarding this type of lexical units (McMillan 1980, 163). However, considering that the ‘infixes’ like those in the above-discussed examples maintain their original semantic description when found as standalone lexical units, as well as their morphological integrity, it could be argued that these constructions might be better analysed as *infixated compounds*¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁸ “...mother said be home by dizzark” (ibid.)

¹⁰⁹ ““Perhaps!” Leo fumed to himself. “**Per-bloody-haps!**”” (Fox 2014, 135).

¹¹⁰ As far as it has been possible to ascertain, such term has not been previously employed neither in relation to this type of constructions, nor in relation to any other lexical units. This hypothesis would require a thorough examination in a dedicated study.

Transfixation occurs in cases where “affixes interrupt roots and are interrupted by elements of roots themselves” (Mel’čuk 2000, 528). Evaluative transfixation has been attested as a widespread process in Semitic languages:

(12a) HEB *šéver* ‘fraction’ > *šavrir* ‘small fraction’ (Faust 2015, 238).

(12b) HEB *kómeç* ‘small quantity’ > *kamcuc* ‘very small quantity’ (Faust 2015, 238)

(12c) CAS *tipi* ‘piece’ > *täepäe* ‘little piece’ (Sakel 2004, 100 as cited in Štekauer 2015a, 53)

(12d) ARA *jisr* ‘bridge’ > *jusayr* ‘small bridge’ (Arbaoui 2015, 461)

(12e) ARA *kabiir* ‘big’ > *kubayr* ‘slightly big’ (Arbaoui 2015, 461)

Co-fixation is an umbrella term under which three different types of affixation are described: *circumfixation*, *co-prefixation*, and *co-suffixation*. Beck proposes that “co-fixation or simulfixation (Hagège 1986, 26) involves the application to a base of two (or more) affixes that, taken together, constitute a single, non-decomposable, linguistic sign” (2017, 335). More specifically, Beck defines *circumfixation* as the simultaneous application of a prefix and a suffix which must be taken together as a set, specifying that “the meanings of these affixal combinations are non-compositional and unanalysable, meaning that they have to be treated as single signifiers” (Beck 2017, 336-337). Considering circumfixes as single affixes, Bauer refers to them as *discontinuous morphs* (Bauer 2003, 28). While circumfixes are described as occurring “at the beginning and at the end of the host at the same time”, other sets of double affixes appearing in other positions are referred to as *parafixes*: FIL *sakit* ‘to hurt’ > *ag-s-inn-akit* ‘to hurt one another’ (Velupillai 2012, 91–92). Bauer argues that although there exist many instances where “two or more affixes act together to provide a meaning which neither can have in isolation (...), circumfixes are the only cases which are common enough to have a special term applied to them” (Bauer 2003, 28). The role of circumfixes as evaluative markers has been attested in several languages, Tamazight (Berber) among others: *fus* ‘hand’ > *tfust* ‘≈ small hand’ (Abdel-Massih 1971, 128).

Beck describes as separate categories of co-fixes the groupings of prefixes and suffixes labelled *co-prefixes* and *co-suffixes* respectively (Beck 2017, 337). As far as it has been possible to ascertain, no instances of these two processes have been described associated with EVAL-formation. The instances of evaluative forms where more than one evaluative marker appears are considered as cases in which one same morphological rule is applied recursively. While there are cases in which one affix may require the presence

of another, they cannot be said to form one ‘single, non-decomposable, linguistic sign’. Rather, their joint individual presence is required: e.g., TEL *siita* > * *siita-talli* > *siit-amma-talli* ‘dear Sita, respected Sita’ (Sailaja 2015 324–325).

Interfixation. Interfixes (or intermorphs) are defined as semantically empty linking morphs found between the two elements of a compound and also as morphs with no grammatical function but serving as a nexus between a stem and a derivational or inflectional suffix (Beck 2017, 338; 352). Given their lack of semantic content, interfixes cannot be considered as productive evaluative markers, although they may be found in evaluative forms, as required by language-specific morphological and phonological rules, as examined in some detail in Gregová 2011. In the Spanish example in (10), the interaction between the base and the evaluative marker *-ill-* requires the insertion of the interfix *-ec-*:

(10) SPA *flor* ‘flower’ > *flor-ec-ill-a* > *florequilla* ‘≈ little flower’

Suprafixation. Beck defines suprafixation as “the addition of a predefined suprasegmental element, most commonly a fixed tonal melody, to a base. Suprafixation, as opposed to suprasegmental apophony, always involves the application of a specific suprasegmental element or pattern, a suprafix” (2017, 338). Insofar as it has been possible to ascertain, no instances of this process have been found described in relation to the formation of evaluative forms.

2.5.1.2. Metamorphic or non-concatenative morphology

Reduplication

Reduplication is understood in this study as “the repetition of a sequence of segments” (Raimy 2000, 1), “where the material produced by copying, called the *reduplicant*, is adjacent to the original, often called the *base*” (Frampton 2009, 3). From a semantic perspective, reduplication has been shown to convey diminution, augmentation, attenuation, intensification, prototypicality, as well as various types of lexical aspect (Aktionsart) (Moravcsik 1978, Gomeishi et al. 2004, Xu 2012, Mattes 2014). Xu (2012) indicates that:

in most cases, reduplication expresses an increasing quantification, but in some cases it can indicate a diminution of the meaning. This case may present counterexamples to iconicity. In fact, the origin of

reduplication is iconically motivated, and when reduplication becomes a morphological means (a more abstract item), the diminutive meaning is possible in some languages. (Xu 2012, 57)¹¹¹

From a formal point of view, the classification of reduplications can be carried out according to a number of different variables, but the basic distinction between reduplication types is according to the segment reduplicated, in which case it can be described as either full or partial. Mattes describes these as follows:

Full productive reduplication means that a morphological constituent (the simplex form) is copied as a whole, e.g., a word, a stem, a root, or, much less frequent, an affix. (...) Partial reduplication means that a portion of the simplex form (a root, a stem or a word) smaller than the whole is copied. This reduplicated portion (the “base”) can be a segmentally or a prosodically defined unit, i.e. a foot, a syllable, a mora, or a phoneme (sequence). (Mattes 2014, 35)

However, reduplications may be simultaneously characterized according to other classification parameters:

- position: the location of the base in relation to the stem –initial, internal or final;
- direction: the placement of the reduplicant in relation to its base –left, right or interior;
- exactness: formal identity between the base and the reduplicant –exact or non-exact;
- adjacency: direct attachment of the reduplicant to its base or separation between them by the stem or other morphs (ibid., 36).

To avoid an excessive cumbersome classification that would account for all combinatorial possibilities of the above-mentioned parameters, the present study will consider the full/partial distinction concerning the portion of the stem that is reduplicated, as well as the left, interior or right placement of the reduplicant in respect to its base, as these two features are arguably the ones that will produce most distinctive evaluative forms:

(13a) full-preposing: IMI *xya* ‘white’ > *xya~xya* ‘whitish’ (Ingram 2001, 161)

(13b) full-postposing: EUS *handi* ‘big’ > *handi-handia* ‘very big’ (Artiagoitia 2015, 203)¹¹²

(13c) partial-preposing: FRA *fille* ‘girl’ > *fifille* ‘≈ little girl, sweet girl’

(13d) partial-postposing: HEB *zanav* ‘tail’ > *znavnav* ‘small tail’ (Faust 2015, 239)

(13e) partial-infixing: SHS *sqéxhe* ‘dog’ > *sqéq̄xhe* ‘little dog’ (Lun Yu 2003, 43)

¹¹¹ “Reduplication can also express diminution in Agta (spoken in Philippines), Nez Perce (northwestern United States), Thompson (found in Canada), and attenuation in Quileute (spoken in the United States), Swahili, Thai, Mandarin and Tagalog.” (Moravcsik 1978, 322– 323)

¹¹² “Basque has a characteristic intensificational reduplication [which] consists of repeating an adjective and inflecting the second instance” (ibid.).

Reduplication can also co-occur with other adaptive morphological and phonological processes. In this dissertation, only additional processes that perform an explicit evaluative role will be taken into consideration. For example, in (14a) the evaluative marker is composed of the affix *-ala-* preceded of the initial consonant segment of the base. Likewise, in (14b), the evaluative form is made up of the full reduplication of a nominal base and the prefix *ka-*. In the case of the Muna language, the joint appearance of the reduplicative and the prefix *ka-* may indicate, depending on the referent of the base, diminution or pejoration (van den Berg 2015, 368).

(14a) AGT *wer* ‘creek’ > ***w-ala-wer*** > ***walawer*** ‘small creek’ (Healey 1960, 6)

(14b) MNB *lia* ‘cave, hole’ > ***ka-lia-lia*** > ***kalialia*** ‘small cave/hole’ (ibid.)

Gomesi et al. have identified a common reduplicative strategy, *contrastive reduplication*, and argued that its characterization requires a combination of phonological, morphosyntactic, syntactic, and lexical factors (Gomesi et al. 2004, 307). In terms of semantic content, its single attested feature is *prototypicality*, which could be glossed as ‘real’, ‘truly’, ‘really’ or ‘actually’.

(15a) Oh, we’re not LIVING-TOGETHER–living-together. (ibid., 308)

(15b) That’s not AUCKLAND–Auckland, is it? (ibid.)

Hohenhaus (2004), in his study of this phenomenon under the label *identical constituent compounding*, concluded that the common semantic pattern for identical compounds in English is “an XX is a proper/prototypical X” for nouns and “XX = really/properly/extremely X” for adjectives, adverbs and verbs (2004, 301). However, it can be argued that reduplications of the type discussed at the beginning of this section are similar to (but ultimately different from) contrastive reduplication compounds, given that the latter involve “the copying of words and sometimes phrases” in a construction which “restricts the interpretation of the copied element to a ‘real’ or prototypical reading”. Arguments to not include these among evaluative forms can be presented from two main perspectives:

- a) Functional: while an evaluative form can always be substituted by its base without altering the denotational content of an utterance (see the ‘Optionality condition’ in subchapter 1.8.1), contrastive reduplication compounds sometimes fail to be interchangeable with their bases:

(16) I'm up, I'm just not **UP-up**. (Gomesi et al. 2004, 308)

(16') * I'm up, I'm just not up.

(17) I'll make the tuna salad, and you make the **SALAD-salad**. (ibid.)

(17') * I'll make the tuna salad, and you make the salad.

In (16), the reduplicated base takes the significance of an adverb such as 'really' or 'actually'. The absence of that additional semantic information makes (16') illogical. Similarly, the reduplicant in (17) must be interpreted as performing an adjectival role, that is, appearing in place of an adjective like 'real' or 'normal'. While (17') is not illogical, it can be argued that is ambiguous and not very effective from a communicative point of view;

- b) Formal: given that this type of reduplication involves the cloning of a syntactic constituent (not just a stem), and that the reduplicant does not fully integrate with its base (as seen in the examples), the resulting lexical unit is an evaluative compound considerably different from those found in other languages (e.g., LAV *melns* 'black' > *melnmelns* 'black.INT').

Although a certain amount of evaluativity and pragmatic functions are apparent in the use of contrastive reduplication compounds, it appears that they do not satisfy the conditions established for evaluative forms and therefore will not be considered as such in the remainder of the discussion. This is not, however, the case with all reduplicative compounds. As examined further in some detail, Latvian reduplicative compounds can be replaced by their 'bases', i.e. the stem which is reduplicated in the construction. In the following example, the resulting compound consists of a free reduplication of the word *zils* 'blue'¹¹³, and the resulting construction conveys intensification (INT):

(18) LAV *Tad Murmulītis lūkojās uz **zilzilo** ezeru.* (LVK2018 2021_e)

'≈ Then Little Babbler stared at the **blue.INT** lake.'

A rewriting of the sentence that would substitute the reduplicative compound for the motivating word, would only eliminate the subjective nuance, while the net referential meaning would remain essentially unchanged.

A particular type of reduplication is 'echo formations' (also known as 'echo words' or 'ricochet words'), in which a base is fully reduplicated, but the

¹¹³ As discussed in Chapter 3, this type of Latvian compounds originates from syntactic constructions in which the 'reduplicant' appears as an independent word: *zils jo zils, zilum zils, zili zils*.

initial segment or syllable of said base is overwritten by a segment or syllable: e.g., easy-peasy, heebie-jeebies, itsy-bitsy. A well-known type of echo words in English is found in *shm-* reduplicants, as illustrated in (19a) and (19b):

(19a) He's just a baby! / Baby-**shm**aby. He's already 5 years old! (Merlini Barbaresi and Dressler 2020, 426)

(19b) Breakfast?! Breakfast **shm**reakfast, look at the score for God's sake. (Nevins and Vaux 2003, 703)

As put succinctly by Nevins and Vaux, “the elements of a *shm*-reduplication generally take the form of a topic comment binomial pair, often with incomplete list intonation” (ibid., 702), while its semantic-pragmatic characteristics are summed up as follows:

The dismissive sense of the construction can also be employed modally, to reassure, to downplay a situation or problem that is potentially overwhelming or threatening, or to lighten a situation with humor by pretending to dismiss it. (ibid., 703)

Analogous formal, semantic, and functional arguments as those presented against the consideration of contrastive reduplication compounds as evaluative forms can be presented for the case of *shm-* reduplications.

In a survey of echo formations in Hindu languages, Mohan (2009) discusses their morphological formation and availability of different bases but is sparse regarding the semantics of the obtained lexical units, indicating only that “the semantics of the echo-word formation involves 'etcetera', 'generality' and 'such things' interpretation” (Mohan 2009, 332). However, in a description for Telugu of a type of pejorative formation where the reduplicant is composed of the “nonsense syllable *gi-*” followed by the reduplicated final portion of the base, Sailaja indicates that the reduplicated forms “carry a wide range of meanings. They can be derogatory, or simply dismissive. They usually do not carry just the literal sense of ‘other such things’” (2015, 329).

(20) TEL *puli* ‘tiger’ > *puli~gili* ‘tiger.PEJ’ (ibid.)

The lack of context in the examples provided by Mohan 2009 and Sailaja 2015 makes it difficult to judge whether these formations are akin to *shm-* reduplications. In other words, whether the resulting reduplicant can be considered as a lexical addition or as a morphological one. Examples found in context, seem to indicate that they can be considered as lexical additions, at least in that which concerns verbal constructions, as in (21):

(21) TEL *Ceppannu gippanu* ‘I won’t tell or do anything like that’ (Steever 1988, 63)

The more comprehensive semantic description of echo formations provided by Abbi 2018, confirms that evaluativity is only one of the many features presented by these forms. Abbi affirms that echo formations are “a semantically elaborate grammatical category for the reason that it encodes (1) generality, (2) plurality, (3) non-specificness, (4) accentuation, (5) attenuation, (6) creates superordinate structures and, (7) classify types” (Abbi 2018, 7). In view of these aspects, the present study will not discuss further this type of echo formations as evaluative forms, as their belonging to this lexical group has not been fully ascertained.

Segmental tonal apophony

Under the label *aphophonies*, Beck includes processes that involve modifications to a base by “making changes to one or more of its segments, altering its tonal or accentual patterns, or by removing material from it” (Beck 2017, 344). Beck’s study establishes a difference between:

a) *Mutation* or *replacement*, “a phonological alternation in a particular segment or segments of a base that expresses a regular meaning” (ibid.). The most common of mutations in relation to evaluative forms are ablaut (22a) and (22b), as well as umlaut (22c), although in both examples, they appear to be changes triggered by the affixal morphs (-*hu* for Tibetan, -*el-* for Latvian and -*lein* for German in the examples below). In the reviewed literature, mutation has not been clearly identified as a standalone EVAL-forming process¹¹⁴.

(22a) BOD *spra* ‘ape’ > *sprehu*

(22b) LAV *skraidīt* ‘to run around’ > *skraidelēt*

(22c) DEU *Buch* ‘book’ > *Büchlein*

b) *Subtraction* or *truncation* “is a morphological process that removes part of the base” (Beck 2017, 347). This process, although rare in evaluative formation, has been attested in some languages, where the evaluative marker takes the form of a disfix:

(23) SHI *tagrtilt* ‘mat’ > *agrtil* ‘large mat’ (Lahrouchi and Ridouane 2016, 457)

¹¹⁴ Heath (1987) discusses the relation between ablaut and diminutive formation in a Moroccan Arabic dialect, but it has not been possible to interpret the author’s data in an unequivocal manner. Also Gilles argues that umlaut “has to be regarded, next to suffixation, as a core feature of diminution in Luxembourgish” (2015, 263), but the data confirms that the umlaut process is only available in a number of instances, and is triggered by the addition of an evaluative suffix (-*chen*).

c) *Metathesis* involves a modification by altering the order of the elements in the base via permutation. The consulted EM literature has not provided any instance in which metathesis appears as a productive EVAL-formation process.

Suprasegmental apophonies

According to Beck's description, suprasegmental apophonies "involve making a change to the tonal melody, accentual pattern or some other non-segmental phonological feature of the base" (2017, 348). Following Mel'čuk (2008, 304), Beck differentiates *tonal* from *accentual* apophonies. In the case of the former, there is an irregular "alteration in the tonal melody of a base [which] does not involve the application of a specific melody that could be identified as a tonal suprafix" (ibid.). Agbetsoamedo and Di Garbo have indicated for the Sɛlɛɛ language that "tonal alternation is used to express the speakers' positive or negative attitudes towards the referents (...). High tone is associated with derogatory meanings whereas low tone expresses a positive attitude" (2015, 493). However, the authors discuss this aspect in relation to "analytical diminutives, [which] are constructions which do not involve morphology at all and thus are peripheral to the domain of evaluative morphology" (ibid.). Citing Luo (1987, 200), Arcodia points out that in Xinyi Cantonese "the diminutive form of nouns is built by adding a nasal coda and raising the pitch at the end of the tonal contour" (2015, 358). In the case of accentual apophonies, a change in meaning "is conveyed by a shift in stress or lexical accent" (Beck 2017, 348). According to the literature review for this study, suprasegmental apophonies are rare as EVAL-forming processes and, when present, usually appear associated with other morphological modifications. Furthermore, their action is analysable from a phonological or prosodic viewpoint, rather than from a strictly morphological one. The interaction of prosody and morphology has been amply examined in previous studies, such as McCarthy and Prince 1996, Walther 1999 or Inkelas 2011. Walther defines *prosodic morphology* as "the study of natural language phenomena in which the shape of words is to a major extent determined by phonological factors" (1999, 1), while McCarthy and Prince define it as "a theory of how morphological and phonological determinants of linguistic form interact with one another in a grammatical system" (1996, 318). Consequently, while suprasegmental apophonies may justifiably be considered as EVAL-forming processes, they will not be further examined in this study, so as to restrict the focus to essentially morphological processes.

Conversion

The term *conversion* alludes to alterations of the grammatical properties of the base. Given that these alterations do not entail any modifications to their morpho-phonological features, conversion is also known as *zero derivation* or *null derivation* (Bauer and Valera Hernández 2005). Beck (2017) describes three subtypes of conversion:

- a. *categorial conversion* involves a change in word class or part of speech: e.g., *pepper_N* > *pepper_V*;
- b. *rectional conversion* “involves a change in the government or agreement pattern of a word” (ibid., 351), as could be the case of shifts in grammatical gender;
- c. *paradigmatic conversion* modifies the paradigmatic properties of the word, as can be observed in changes in noun class.

Although Štekauer states that “conversion appears to be totally absent” from evaluative formation (2015, 47), several attested instances contradict this affirmation. While categorial conversion would disqualify any resulting unit from being considered an evaluative form, rectional conversion has been already discussed as the occasional by-product of affixation processes in some languages, a shift triggered either by the base (24a) or the evaluative marker (24b):

(24a) SPA *patada*_{FEM} ‘kick’ > *patadón*_{MASC} ‘≈ strong kick’

(24b) DEU *Bohne*_{FEM} ‘bean’ > *Böhnchen*_{NEU} ‘≈ small bean’ (Gilles 2015, 266)¹¹⁵

Štekauer’s affirmation that “a change of gender is frequently employed in evaluative formation” (Štekauer 2015a, 54) can be construed as a partial or incomplete description¹¹⁶. Considering the illustrative examples contained in his discussion, in most cases where a gender shift occurs, it is perhaps best characterized as a collateral change triggered by certain morphosemantic aspects of the affixation process, instead of as a productive process in and of itself. However, more convincingly, a shift in gender as a genuinely EVAL-forming process has been described for Papuan language Iatmul by Jendraschek (2015, 409), as well as for Berber, by Grandi (2015b, 456).

¹¹⁵ Interestingly, the same author brings attention to the fact that in Luxembourgish, the same evaluative suffix (*-chen*) does not trigger a change in gender: LTZ *Boun*_{FEM} ‘bean’ > *Béinchen*_{FEM} ‘≈ small bean’ (ibid.).

¹¹⁶ Aside from this, it must be noted that a significant number of Štekauer’s examples include lexicalized units with no evaluative content: e.g., Figui Berber (BFG) *a-yənža*_{MASC} ‘ladle’ > *ta-yənžat*_{FEM} ‘spoon’, or Migaama (NMY) *dâmbá*_{FEM} (fem.) ‘mountain, mountain range’ > *dâmbú*_{MASC} ‘rock’ (ibid., 54).

Agbetsoamedo and Di Garbo argue that “in most Bantu languages (...) the encoding of diminutives is performed by means of gender shifts that are not supported by additional suffixation. Some genders are semantically inherently associated with evaluative meanings, such as gender *ka / tu* in Shona, which is almost exclusively used to form diminutives” (2015, 492). However, it must be noted that the authors refer to *grammatical gender* since, for example, *mukomana* ‘boy’ and *musikana* ‘girl’ are both class-1 nouns, which comprise “humans [and] a few other animates” according to Aikhenvald (2016, 21). The common Western/Indo-European conception of grammatical gender –usually divided into *masculine*, *feminine* (sometimes bundled up together as *common*) and *neutral* (as well as the absence of it)– is inadequate to reflect or interpret languages operating on the basis of noun classes (also known as *gender classes*). To avoid confusion, *gender shifts* involving a change in noun class are discussed here as *noun class shifts*, that is, as examples of paradigmatic conversion.

Noun class shifts as an EVAL-forming process have been discussed for Sɛlɛɛ, where “the use of the diminutive suffixes (...) is almost always combined with gender or class shift. None of these genders can, however, express diminution independently from suffixation” (Agbetsoamedo and Di Garbo 2015, 492). Consequently, evaluative suffixation appears to be independent of class-change (25a), but not inversely (25b) (*ibid.*, 490). As such, it cannot be considered in and of itself an EVAL-forming process:

(25a) SNW *di*_{CL5}-*bulaa* ‘onion’ > *di*_{CL5}-*bulaa-bi*_{DIM} > *dibulaabi* ‘small onion’¹¹⁷

(25b) SNW *kansie*_{CL1} ‘bird’ > *ka*_{CL3}-*kansie-mii*_{DIM} > *kakansiemi* ‘small bird’

Regarding noun class shift in the Shona language, Déchaine et al. indicate that “evaluatives are from a set of N-class prefixes that mark grammatical class” (2015, 496)¹¹⁸. The Venda language has also been reported to use gender shift independently from evaluative suffixation, although remaining compatible with it, as shown in (26b):

(26a) SHO *mu*_{CL1}-*cheri* ‘drinker’ > *zi*_{CL21}-*mu*_{CL1}-*cheri* > *zimucheri* ‘heavy drinker’
(Mudzingwa and Kadenge 2014, 130).

¹¹⁷ The authors mention the suffix *-bi* as the only diminutive suffix which can occur on its own, without any shift in gender.

¹¹⁸ Aikhenvald indicates that “noun classes in Bantu languages are a well-known example of a semantically opaque system, (...) based on the interaction of shape, size, and humanness” (Aikhenvald 2016, 21).

(26b) VEN *khali*_{CL9} ‘clay pot’ > *thi*_{CL17}-*kali* ‘small clay pot’ > *thi*_{CL17}-*kal-ana* > *thikalana* ‘very small clay pot’ (Poulos 1990, 87, as cited in Agbetsoamedo and Di Garbo 2015, 493)

Given this evidence, paradigmatic conversion (in the form of noun class shifts) can indeed be considered as a productive morphological process in the formation of evaluative forms.

Cliticization

Although not included in Beck (2017), the last EVAL-forming process examined in this subchapter is cliticization, as proposed by Štekauer (2015, 46). In several languages from a variety of genealogies, cliticization has been shown to play a productive role in EVAL-formation, as in the case of Mazatec (Oto-manguean family), Eton (Bantu family), Apma/Abma (Oceanic family), or Dalabon (Gunwinyguan family). For example, in Eton “the diminutive proclitic *N-əH-* (plural *b-əH-*) can be put in front of any full noun in order to form a diminutive or singulative” (Van de Velde 2008, 207): e.g., *ilé* ‘a tree’ > *mə ilé* ‘a small tree’; *bilé* ‘trees’ > *bə bilé* ‘small trees’ (ibid.). Some clitics in Apma are described as conveying the semantic features minimisation (*ga=*, *gam=*, *=gam*, *=ga*), addition (*mu=*) or approximation/reduction (*=te*) (Schneider 2015, 346–348). Ponsonnet and Evans have also analysed enclitic affixation in Dalabon, where the clitic *=wurd* can convey a wide range of features, including attenuation, empathy, small size, and others (2015, 402). In view of these examples, it can be considered that cliticization is a productive, although relatively rare EVAL-forming process.

Following the above discussion, and as expressed in Table 4, the remainder of the study will only examine a certain number of morphological processes as productive in the construction of evaluative forms. An asterisk (*) marks processes which may be productive as EVAL-forming processes but are not considered to be essentially morphological in nature:

Morphological Processes	EVAL-forming processes
Compounding	YES
Prefixation	YES
Suffixation	YES
Infixation	YES
Transfixation	YES
Circumfixation	YES
Co-prefixation	NO

Co-suffixation	NO
Interfixation	NO
Suprafixation	NO
Full-left reduplication	YES
Full-right reduplication	YES
Partial-left reduplication	YES
Partial-right reduplication	YES
Partial-interior reduplication	YES
Mutation	NO ^(?)
Subtraction	YES
Metathesis	NO
Tonal suprasegmental apophonies	YES *
Accentual suprasegmental apophonies	YES *
Categorial conversion	NO
Rectional conversion (gender shift)	YES
Paradigmatic conversion	YES
Cliticization	YES

Table 4. Attested EVAL-forming processes across languages

The detailed discussion carried out in this section will serve to establish a blueprint for processes that will require to be addressed in the description of a language’s EM EVAL-forming possibilities. In the subsequent description and contrastive analysis of Latvian and Spanish developed in chapter 3, these processes will be addressed individually to determine their presence or absence in each language. Also, the number of attested EVAL-forming processes will serve to carry out the calculations for the various EM saturation values proposed in subchapter 2.6.

2.5.2. Distribution of evaluative forms among word classes

Most EM descriptive studies examining the availability of different word classes as bases in EVAL-forming processes follow a distinction between major and minor word classes. Nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs make up the four major word classes while adpositions, pronouns, conjunctions, determiners, and interjections, are labelled as minor word classes¹¹⁹. However, as discussed by authors like Hengeveld (1992) and Haspelmath (2001, 2012), word-class division is by no means cross-linguistically uniform. So-called major word classes can either be lacking in a language (then termed *rigid*) or a language may not differentiate between two word classes (termed *flexible*), i.e. “a single part of

¹¹⁹ “Alternative terms for major and minor classes are content words/function words and, especially in Chomskyan linguistics, lexical categories/ functional categories” (Haspelmath 2001, 16539).

speech may be used in different functions” (Hengeveld 1992, 65). Anward uses Swedish as an example of a language that lacks “a distinct class of adverbs, using adjectives as predicate modifiers” (2006, 630). While Kornfilt affirms that “it is largely assumed that nouns, verbs, and probably also adjectives are universal parts of speech” (2020_e), Bhat cites Dixon (1982) to point out that in “a large number of languages found over most of North America, East and Southeast Asia, and also the Pacific, adjectives are indistinguishable from verbs” (Bhat 2000, 49). Such formal imbalance, even present among closely related languages, may become more pronounced between languages genealogically unrelated, for which the Anglo- and Eurocentric notions and definitions of individual word classes may not apply neatly¹²⁰.

EM research literature has traditionally been focused on nouns and adjectives, and only more contemporary studies have addressed deverbal evaluative forms. Lexical units from minor word classes have received comparatively little attention, and hardly ever from a cross-linguistic perspective. A problematic issue in the research field of evaluative morphology is that studies which would carry out a thorough description of a language’s resources are rare or, whenever existing, are brief and lacking systematicity. While the more than 50 single-language descriptions contained in Grandi and Körtvélyessy (2015) are indeed an extremely valuable source of data and linguistic material, they are nonetheless succinct and lacking in a unified approach. Some of them focus on discussing individual evaluative markers, while others focus on morphological processes or semantic features. The difficulty of establishing a reliable *tertium comparationis* is addressed by Körtvélyessy when arguing that “the comparison of word classes that can be diminutivised or augmentivised in languages so distinct as are, for example, English, Hungarian, Slovak, Jingulu and Plains Cree seems to be rather complicated. Semantic categories do not offer a remedy, because of either the plethora of various theoretical approaches or, consequently, an absence of agreed and fixed terminology” (2015c, 108). Himmelmann also sums up the near unfeasibility of a widely accepted consensus, pointing out that “classifications can be based on syntactic (distributional), morphological, semantic, or pragmatic criteria [but] the resulting classifications often fail to correlate, with authors being divided as to how to deal with the incongruities” (2017_e).

¹²⁰ For a more elaborate discussion of the problematic aspects of this issue, studies by Anward (2006), Newmeyer (2010), Haspelmath (2010; 2012) or those contained in Vogel and Comrie (2000) offer a thorough examination.

As mentioned in subchapter 1.8, a singular feature of evaluative markers (in opposition to common derivational and inflectional morphs) is that they are not, in principle, bound to a single word class. This extended availability has been the object of some research and authors like Ettinger (1974a) and Nieuwenhuis (1985) have suggested hierarchies among word classes susceptible to EVAL-formation processes. Said hierarchies reflect the ample prevalence of denominal and deadjectival evaluative forms, followed by deverbal ones. However, ascertaining the productivity of evaluative markers within a language imposes the task of establishing some organizational structure or principle that accounts for all possible instances. The specific approach adopted in this study, and which will be discussed in detail in subchapter 3.4, can be summed up as follows: the distribution of evaluative markers among word classes is carried out on a case-per-case basis, according to the recognized word classes in the description of each language.

2.5.3. Interpretation of semantic features conveyed by evaluative forms

As expressed laconically by Andreou, “although the intuitive effects of evaluative morphology are clear, the semantic details are certainly not” (2017, 4). It has been argued in subchapter 2.2 that traditional category-based evaluative labels do not accurately portray the wide range of semantic features displayed by evaluative forms in a manner that would facilitate their analysis or comprehension. As discussed recurrently in EM literature, “since diminutives and augmentatives can often express pejoration and melioration, their semantics largely overlap” (Ponsonnet 2018, 18).

Another issue of contention is how semantic features, pragmatic functions and emotional connotations are routinely discussed interchangeably and often without drawing well-defined boundaries among them. In the present study, the focus will be solely on semantic features, that is, meanings that can be glossed via elemental semantic notions. The analysis of pragmatic functions is an aspect that can only be properly developed by examining individual linguistic contexts and employing the analytic tools and frameworks specific to the discipline, as done, for example, by Tirapu León (2014_e). While the conceptualization of the pragmatic domain of evaluative forms is extremely important to the thorough understanding of these lexical units, it essentially examines their role in interpersonal communication, that is, their intended effect rather than the speaker’s subjective evaluation.

Ponsonnet has also added to the ongoing discussion with a proposal of *emotional connotations* for diminutives and augmentatives. Even from that perspective, the author concludes that “in general diminutives and augmentatives do not stand in sharp contrast with respect to their emotional connotations [and] at the level of the most basic positive/negative oppositions, the contrast is not obvious at all” (2018, 43). When the author tries to establish some points of distinction, the argument does not appear to be entirely accurate. For example, the assertion that “connotations specific to diminutives are that of romantic and/or sexually oriented love” is easily disproven by the widespread use of Spanish ‘augmentatives’ with bases that refer to individuals or body parts. These are often found in evaluative forms conveying appreciation (APP) with sexual overtones, e.g., *mujer* ‘woman’ > *mujerona* ‘≈ corpulent and/or desirable woman’, *muslos* ‘thighs’ > *muslazos* ‘≈ large and/or desirable thighs’:

(27) SPA *¡Bendita seas, Mimy, por esos muslazos que son el número de la noche!*
(CREA 2021_e)

‘God bless you, Mimy, for those thighs.APP which are the highlight of the night!’

An aspect that becomes apparent in a literature review of EM-related studies is the proliferation of terminology with reference to similar, and often identical concepts. Under the terms *semantic features*, *semantic denotations*, *semantic connotations*, *emotional connotations*, *evaluative meanings*, etc., a wide array of descriptors has been proposed. While some of these are based on qualitative and quantitative aspects, others appeal to situational elements (such as *flirt* or *child-oriented speech*), to vaguely poetic labels (e.g., *caressing* or *graceful*), or rather whimsical designations such as “comfort of familiar routines” (Ponsonnet 2018, 24), “condescending superiority” (Alonso 1961 [1935], 167), “strategic humbleness” (Gaarder 1966, 586), or “flirt” (Prieto 2005_e, 145).

Ardakani and Arvin, on their part, have listed list a total of twenty-four *evaluative meanings*¹²¹:

augmentative, diminutive, endearment, affection, authenticity, admiration, politeness, modesty,

¹²¹ “Although the two poles SMALL and BIG originally belong to the quantitative category, and similarly the two poles BAD and GOOD belong to the qualitative category, they can also be interpreted metaphorically and figuratively. On the other hand, the combination of SMALL and BIG with BAD or GOOD gives rise to new complex evaluative meanings. The values can also be looked at from the binary perspective of state versus process. The cross-combination of the four values which stand for the probable combination of quality and quantity gives rise to four other combinatorial values. Looking at the system of values in this way may help with the reorganisation of the value concepts and their terminology accordingly. A quick count of the number of terms used for labelling the values takes us to twenty-four terms, many of them synonyms or near-synonyms which have to be defined accurately” (Ardakani and Arvin 2015, 294).

honorifics, intensification, excessiveness, superlatives, contempt, disdain, pejoratives, derogation, member, serious, insignificant, gender, number, person, possibility and ability. (2015, 295)

While a sound argument is put forth for the obtention of these meanings, it is unclear how, from the point of view of evaluativity terms like *gender*, *member*, *possibility* or *person* are relevant labels. Unfortunately, the authors do not provide accurate definitions or illustrations for each meaning, and therefore the framework is remains of difficult application or further discussion.

Considering the attested interrelatedness of semantic and pragmatic aspects, and in line with the non-discrete approach discussed for the categorization of evaluative markers, the model developed in this dissertation proposes a closed group of fundamental *interpretative features*, based on semantic and expressive meanings attested in available EM descriptions. The aim is to simplify the analysis of evaluative forms, always from the point of view of intended meaning, as the way in which an evaluative form is interpreted by an interlocutor may differ significantly. The proposed fundamental interpretative features support a functional and dynamic (i.e., context-based) approach, where evaluative markers are analysed in specific instances and etymological aspects, as well as prototypical readings, are deemed secondary in terms of relevance. Before discussing the individual interpretative features, the proposed approach will be exemplified with an examination of the following set of utterances in Spanish:

(28a) *¡Qué pelazo tienes!* ‘≈ What a beautiful (/and long) hair you have!’

(28b) *¡Qué ojos tienes!* ‘≈ What beautiful eyes you have!’

(28c) *¡Qué manazas tienes!* ‘≈ What clumsy/large hands you have!’

The prototypical reading of the evaluative marker *-az-* is that of an ‘augmentative’ but, as seen in the approximative glosses, in only of the examples given would ‘big’ or ‘large’ be a reasonable possible main semantic feature. Therefore, instead of marking these evaluative forms as ‘augmentatives’ with certain projections as semantic features, they might be better described as evaluative forms to which a fundamental interpretative feature is attached, arguably (but not necessarily) *appreciation* (APP) for (28a) and (28b), but *pejoration* (PEJ) for (28c). Supplementary pragmatic readings could be derived or inferred from additional contextual clues, but they are not essential to the strict analysis of the evaluative form. That the form *pelazo* can be used in an ironic sense when directed to someone with little or no hair, does not imply that the pragmatic feature [+ irony] can be ascribed to the evaluative form per se. Indeed, the [+ irony] feature remains (albeit

weakened) even if the presence of the evaluative form would be removed:

(28a') ¡*Qué pelo tienes!* '≈ Such hair you have!' ¹²²

This is not to say that such pragmatic readings are not relevant to the accurate interpretation of the evaluative form, only that they are not strictly ascribed to their morphological make-up. Such contextual readings can also vary depending on the point of view of the analysis. If (28b) is considered from the perspective of the speaker, the evaluative form could be interpreted as 'eyes.APP' (although a reading including pejoration cannot be entirely ruled out). While the pragmatic intention of the speaker might involve praise and/or flirtation, the interlocutor may interpret it differently, and experience it as annoyance or even harassment. Once again, neither 'flirtation' nor 'annoyance' or 'harassment' belong to the strict semantic analysis of the evaluative form, but to a larger, contextual interpretation of the utterance. It has been established that semantic and pragmatic features often appear bundled together and, quite often, not in static combinations: [small + belittlement], [small + affection], [small + jocularity], [big + honorific], [attenuation + pejoration], etc. It is argued here that the semantic features of evaluative forms can be analysed according to case-specific interactions of various interpretative features, whose combined effects make up the evaluative content of each form in each context. It is considered that it is later, at a lexical (word-choice), syntactic (word arrangement) and prosodic (delivery) that further pragmatic functions can enter into play, usually isolating and consolidating the pragmatic features discernible in the evaluative form¹²³.

Given the issues discussed above, the objective of the present section is to establish a catalogue of interpretative features that cover as many denotational and connotational aspects of evaluative forms as possible. Said features are catalogued employing labels that are distinctive enough without being overly specific, in order to avoid excessive segmentation. The many *features*, *meanings* and *functions* gathered from available EM descriptions and related studies have been collected, contrasted and unified inasmuch as possible. The entries in the set of fundamental interpretative features are meant as

¹²² As way of comparison, in the utterance 'How generous Mr. Scrooge is!', the fact that the word *generous* will probably be read as ironic or sarcastic, does not mean that the pragmatic feature [+ irony] is contained in the word itself.

¹²³ Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi's Morphopragmatics model posits a slightly different interpretative approach: "We first isolate semantic meaning within pragmatic meaning, then describe semantic meaning, and finally ask how pragmatic effects are related to this idealized semantic meaning" (1994, 608–609).

superindexes of other, more specific ones, and one of its intended aims is to serve for cross-linguistic description. In line with the tenets of the *open systems theory* of classifications (as discussed in Shera 1970 or Mai 2004), the proposed set is open to reinterpretation, to the addition of elements or recategorization of the existing ones in view of additional empirical data. In general terms, the open systems theory proposes “approaches to classification research that seek to recognize the relativistic nature of classifications, while at the same time, preserving some degree of stability of the systems” (Mai 2004, 39).

The set of interpretative features consists of a total of ten items, encompassing three pairs of opposites, as well as four standalone features. The standalone features in question are *excess*, *exactness*, *expressivity* and *repetition*, while the abovementioned pairs can be summed up as follows:

Interpretative features	
1. Appreciation (APP)	conveying positive or negative emotional involvement with the object or communicative situation;
2. Pejoration (PEJ)	
3. Diminution (DIM)	
4. Augmentation (AUG)	
5. Intensification (INT)	conveying mainly assessment of immaterial or nonfigurative properties of an object.
6. Attenuation (ATT) / Approximation (APPR)	
7. Excess (EXC)	conveying the notion of overabundance
8. Exactness (EXA)	conveying the notion of precision
9. Expressivity (EXP)	conveying a semanto-pragmatic function of increased expressivity by means of casualness and jocularly
10. Repetition (REP)	conveying the notion of reiteration (mainly in relation to actions)

Table 5. Fundamental interpretative semantic features for EVALs

As a matter of theoretical principle, most of the features are available to all and any morphological markers, while it is depending on etymological, diatopic and diachronic aspects (as well as contextual ones) that certain readings acquire perceptible prevalence. Likewise, features often appear bundled, and only a contextual interpretation can provide a sense of which feature may prevail in an individual utterance. In the following discussion, the pairs *diminution* ↔ *augmentation* and *appreciation* ↔ *pejoration* are

discussed only briefly, as their occurrence in evaluative morphology is well established in existing research.

1. Appreciation (APP)

It conveys a notion of positive evaluation of and disposition towards the marked object or the speech act situation at large. It encompasses (but is not restricted to) senses such as:

- familiarity, sympathy, tenderness, endearment, intimacy;
- affection, hypocorism, goodness, amelioration;
- respect, esteem, regard, recognition of worth or status (honorific), politeness;
- excellency, commiseration and empathy
- pleasantness, correctness (for actions).

The feature [+ appreciation] is often found associated with both diminution and augmentation: e.g., SPA *película* ‘film’ > *peliculón* ‘film.APP, great film’. Round (2015) has described the Yukulta intensive and ameliorative morph *-mira* (e.g., *pijan-ta* ‘swimmer’ > *pijan-mira* ‘good swimmer’), as well as the meliorative *-paṭa* on kinship nouns (e.g., *ḡari-cu* ‘father’s mother-kin’ > *ḡari-paṭa* ‘dear granny’) (2015, 449–450). Plungian (2001) has also described the “diminutive/laudative” morph *-ke* for Mansi: e.g., *toti* ‘he is carrying (something)’ > *toti-ke* ‘he is carrying (something) with pleasure’ (Plungian 2001, 675).

To the extent that honorific markers may be a cultural requisite, their status as evaluative markers could be disputed in certain languages, as their use would be mainly regulated by cultural conventions and may not reflect an individual evaluative stance on the part of the speaker. However, when used voluntarily to convey esteem and recognition of worth, such morphs can be analysed as conveying a general sense of appreciation.

2. Pejoration (PEJ)

It conveys a notion of negative evaluation of and disposition towards the marked object or the speech act situation at large. It encompasses (but is not restricted to) senses such as badness, contempt, enmity, wrongdoing, unpleasantness, antipathy, disrespect, disregard, disaffection, irrelevance, aimlessness: e.g., SPA *animal* ‘animal’ > *animalejo* ‘animal.PEJ’.

The antihonorific affixes described for Japanese by Potts and Kawahara (2004) can also be accounted for under this feature. Whether the antihonorific marker is attached to a subject, an object or an action, the interpretative constant is a sense of contempt and disaffection on the part of the speaker.

3. Diminution (DIM)

It conveys mainly the evaluative notion of a decrease in quantity, particularly concerning physical objects and age. It encompasses (but is not restricted to) senses such as smallness and littleness, and its most immediate analytical gloss is by means of the adjectives ‘small’, ‘little’ or ‘young’: e.g., LAV *kaste* ‘box’ > *kastīte* ‘box.DIM’. In general terms, it is the semantic interaction between the base and the evaluative morph which indicates whether the main feature [+ diminution] is accompanied by other features, usually [+ appreciation] or [+ pejoration].

4. Augmentation (AUG)

It conveys mainly the evaluative notion of an increase in quantity, and it encompasses (but is not restricted to) senses such as largeness, amplitude, greatness, addition, heftiness. Available analytic glosses would be expressed by means of adjectives like ‘big’, ‘large’, or ‘great’: e.g., SPA *zapato* ‘shoe’ > *zapatón* ‘large shoe’.

5. Intensification (INT)

It conveys mainly the evaluative notion of an increase in intensity. It encompasses (but is not restricted to) senses such as richness, fullness, thoroughness, entirety, completeness: e.g., SPA *tormenta* ‘storm’ > *tormentazo* ‘intense storm’. This feature could be glossed analytically via adverbs such as ‘absolutely’, ‘extremely’, ‘completely’, ‘entirely’, ‘totally’, ‘very’, etc. Štekauer notes that “intensifiers appear to have a special status in evaluative morphology because it can go in both directions from the default value, i.e., it can intensify towards smaller as well as larger quantity than the default, depending on the semantics of the basic word” (2015, 45).

Elative superlatives, quite common in Romance languages, are also represented by this feature. Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi also discuss an elative superlative for German (and other Germanic languages): *der beste* ‘the best’ > *der allerbeste* ‘the best (of them all)’ (1994, 558). The authors consider that although diachronically it can be characterized as a compound, nowadays it is rather considered as a prefixed derivative (ibid.)¹²⁴. Aside from affixation, also reduplication can be found as a means to express intensification, as

¹²⁴ Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi are, however, crucially inaccurate in their agreement with Rainer (1983), when arguing that “a morphological elative, e.g., *fort-issimo*, cannot be further intensified by *molto* (**molto fort-issimo*) (...), by the same token an “inherent elative” like *splendido* cannot be further intensified by *molto* but can accept *-issimo*” (1994, 493). However, *molto fortissimo* is a common term in musicology (Sosna 2011, 83) and the collocation *molto splendido* can be readily found in some sources: “*Pier Traversaro fu signor di Ravenna molto splendido*” (Aligheri 1807, 257).

in the examples offered by Fejes from the Komi (*iĭin* ‘far’ > *iĭin-iĭin* ‘very far’) and Udmurt languages (*tcagır* ‘azure’ > *tcagır-tcagır* ‘deep azure’) (Fejes 2016, 3272-3273). Pensalfini (2015) has also described a similar semantic feature for the Jingulu morpheme *-kaji*, arguing that it is “an evaluative morpheme which marks the referent of its base as a proper or ideal instantiation of its type [and] typically translates into English as ‘thoroughly, properly, right through, directly, [or] very much so’” (2015, 418): e.g., *mujiya nga-ka* ‘I have forgotten’ > *mujiya-kaji-nga-ka* ‘I have completely forgotten’ (ibid.)¹²⁵.

6. Attenuation (ATT) / Approximation (APP)

Attenuation and approximation convey mainly the evaluative notion of an intrinsic lack or decrease in intensity¹²⁶. They encompass (but are not restricted to) senses such as mitigation, partiality, paucity, deficiency, reduction, incompleteness, lack, indetermination or uncertainty. This feature could be glossed analytically via adverbial constructions such as ‘approximately’, ‘around’, ‘almost’, as well as the locutions ‘more or less’, ‘not quite’, ‘not very’ and ‘or so’. Morphologically, it can find a close equivalent in the English suffix *-ish*, as in *sweet* > *sweetish* ‘somewhat sweet’ (Merriam-Webster 2021_e)¹²⁷ or *wet* > *wetish* ‘somewhat wet’ (CED 2021_e). As mentioned above, attenuation or approximation are often expressed concerning immaterial or nonfigurative properties for which there is not an established or obvious standard. Such properties often concern psychological and physical states, as well as notions related to the senses (particularly colour and taste): e.g., LAV *sarkans* ‘red’ > *iesarkans* ‘reddish’.

In certain cases, the presence of this feature may also attest to a sense of doubt, insecurity or ambiguity rooted in a mental state, and may or may not be reflective of any quantitative or qualitative aspects of the object or notion that is the referent of the marked base. This specific aspect is termed *epistemic* in Tirapu León (2015_e, 292–297), as it appears in reference to a sense of uncertainty expressed by the speaker about the propositional content of the expressed: e.g., *nine* > *nineish* ‘about nine’.

¹²⁵ However, Pensalfini stresses that the interpretation of this marker varies according to the base and the context: “In every instance in which it occurs, *-kaji* performs an evaluative function. In (3a) ‘put’ becomes ‘directly put, put right on’; in (3b) ‘fly’ becomes ‘fly around, really fly’; in (3c) ‘beat’ becomes ‘thump, beat hard, really beat’; and in (3d) ‘forget’ becomes ‘completely forget’” (ibid. 419).

¹²⁶ While both senses are relatively easy to distinguish in certain instances, there are others in which it is difficult to establish a strict difference. In wanting to keep the present proposal from being excessively fragmentary, the interpretative features *attenuation* and *approximation* are discussed jointly.

¹²⁷ A second definition found for ‘sweetish’ in Merriam-Webster proposes “unpleasantly sweet” (ibid.), while CED defines it as “rather sweet” (2021_e).

7. Excess (EXC)

It conveys mainly an evaluative judgement concerning superabundance or overdose. In general, it could be glossed analytically via the addition of the adverb ‘too’ or the adverbial locutions ‘too much’ and ‘too many’. As presented by Artiagoitia, apparently the Basque morph above-described (-*xe*) can is also used dialectally to convey the feature [+ excess]: *gazi* ‘salty’ > *gazixe* ‘too salty’ (2015, 199). Kiefer & Németh have also described this feature for Hungarian, through a reduplication of the superlative prefix *leg-*: *legjobb* ‘the best’ > *legeslegjobb* ‘the best of all’ (2015, 236). Kenesei et al., on the other hand, term this construction as “emphatic superlative” (2002, 335) and propose the gloss ‘absolutely’. Consequently, given that there is not the value judgement associated with the expression of excess, perhaps the morph *leg-* may be better characterized as conveying the feature [+ intensification].

The feature [+ excess] seems to hint at the likely presence of an array of opposite senses, namely insufficiency, absence or scarcity. However, the literature review does not appear to confirm this supposition. While diminution, attenuation and approximation are well-attested features, evaluative markers that would imply a value judgement of lack, deficiency or shortage are not easily identifiable. In other words, it has not been possible to attest evaluative markers conveying a feature that could be glossed analytically using the expression ‘not enough’ or the adverb ‘insufficiently’. In her examination of deverbal evaluative forms, Tovina defines the conative aspect as an action performed “with insufficient effort to produce the result” (2015, 109). However, the study contains no particular example of this aspect. In a study on conativity, Sonnenhauser (2017) cites Vincent (2013, 284) to establish that conativity is expressed via “morphemes or constructions in which there is a sense of trying” (2017, 310). Sonnenhauser goes on to conclude that “the close relation between attempt and success is the defining feature of conativity” (ibid., 312), which can be taken to indicate that it is a feature that arises contextually and not directly related to the performance of the action, but its outcome. Therefore, the hypothetical feature [+ insufficient] will not be further examined in this study, as no evidence of its realization in evaluative morphology has been ascertained.

8. Exactness (EXA)

Certain evaluative markers have been characterized as conveying the evaluative notion of exactness, precision, thoroughness and prototypicality. This feature could be glossed analytically via adverbs such as ‘precisely’, ‘completely’, ‘exactly’, ‘totally’ or ‘right’, as

well as locutions such as ‘this very + NOUN’. It must be noted that this sense of evaluative *prototypicality* or *exactness* is at odds with the definition of evaluative forms as indicating “morphological expressions meeting a condition of deviation from a default value” (Štekauer 2015a, 45). While Štekauer’s characterization has its obvious merits as a working definition, the existence of evaluative forms such as those discussed under this rubric points towards the desirability of an improved definition. A marker indicating the feature [+exactness] has been described for Basque, a language in which Argoitia contends that the suffix *-xe* (and its allomorph *-txe*) can be used in combination with demonstrative deictics (*hau* ‘this’ > *hauxe* ‘precisely this’), manner and time adverbs based on demonstratives (*honela* ‘thus’ > *honelaxe* ‘exactly in this way’), and for other deictic adverbs (*orain* ‘now’ > *oraintxe* ‘right now’) (Artiagoitia 2015, 198)¹²⁸.

Birioukova and Hardman (2015) have described the feature *limitative* concerning the Jaqaru morph: *-cha* (*-čá*), whose closest analytic gloss in English would be “only, just, no more, that’s all” (Hardman 1966, 87). Considering the difficulty of conveying the meaning of this morph, the authors indicate that it is very close to the Latin American Spanish expression *nomás* (‘that’s it, just’) (Birioukova and Hardman 2015, 597)¹²⁹:

(29a) JAQ *sipsa-cha* ‘[a single woman-LIM] just a single woman’ (ibid., 598)

Indeed, the adverb *nomás* is used in many Spanish variants of Hispanoamerica with the sense of ‘just, only, precisely’ (NGL 2010, 621). The adverb is found strengthening a limited number of evaluative forms which could be characterized as expressing exactness:

(29b) SPA *Con **estito** nomás se evitarán los enfermos gastar miles en operaciones....*

‘≈ With this.EXA alone, the sick will avoid spending thousands on operations...’

9. Expressivity (EXP)

This feature is discernible in evaluative forms in which the semantics of the evaluative markers do not, in principle, convey an evaluation of size or quality, but simply supplement the utterance with a sense of familiarity and casualness. This feature encompasses (but is not restricted to) senses such as jocularity, profanity, playfulness, and irreverence. General analytic glosses for the expression of equivalents of evaluative

¹²⁸ In their monograph of the morphology of Basque, Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina (2003) characterize this morpheme as a suffix with an “intensive meaning” (2003, 332).

¹²⁹ In another study, Hardman specifies that the suffix in question “bears neutral, non-judgemental attitude, though it implies a reduction of importance, insignificance on some level and ‘emotional limitation regarding the referent’” (Hardman 2000, 22).

forms conveying this feature are difficult, as there is not a singular semantic aspect involved, but rather the conveyance of certain pragmatic functions. Examples of this feature can be seen in the application of the French suffix *-o* (*prolétaire* ‘proletarian’ > *prolo*), the Spanish suffix *-is* (*guapa* ‘pretty’ > *guapis*) or the Latvian *-en-* (*frizūra* ‘hairdo, hair style’ > *fričene*, *diskotēka* ‘discotheque’ > *disene*). In a significant number of cases and languages, evaluative forms that convey this feature have also undergone a process of back-clipping, but the presence of an evaluative marker distinguishes these forms from standard apocopes. Thus, the Latvian slang *matemātika* ‘mathematics’ > *matene* conveys a sense of playfulness and informality which goes beyond the mere familiarity of the English apocope ‘maths’. Likewise, the French evaluative noun *intellectuel* ‘intellectual’ > *intello* can be aptly rendered in English via connotation-heavy equivalents, such as ‘bookworm’, ‘brainiac’ or even ‘geek’.

10. Repetition (REP)

Particularly frequent in deverbal evaluative forms, the feature repetition often appears accompanied of the features [+ attenuation], [+ intensification] and [+ pejoration]. It encompasses (but is not restricted to) senses such as iterative, frequentative, distributive, repetitive, diversative or dispersive:

(30a) SPA *chupar* ‘to suck, to lick’ > *chupetear* ‘to suck.REP’ > *rechupetear* ‘to suck.REP.PEJ’

(30b) HUN *skákat* ‘to jump’ > *skackat* ‘≈ to perform small jumps’ (Tóth 2020, 260)

As discussed in various parts of this study, verbs characterized as pluractional, frequentative or iterative have recently been discussed as pertaining to the sphere of evaluative morphology. However, it can be argued that while the indication of repetitiveness may be at the root of their semantic content, it is the additional meanings that qualify them as evaluative forms. A verb that would solely indicate repetition (of any sort) would simply refer to a verifiable and objective quality of the action performed. Therefore, it is the additionally encoded meanings that mark certain verbs as evaluative.

2.5.4. Recursivity of evaluative markers in EVAL-formation

As discussed in subchapter 1.8.6, one of the characteristic features of evaluative markers is their recursivity, understood as the “cyclic reapplication of the same process” (Ralli 2012, 91). A particular characteristic of evaluative markers is that they do not necessarily block other markers carrying out an identical function (that of evaluation), even when

they carry out similar or near-identical semantic features. Although recursivity has been amply remarked upon in EM research, no individual study has addressed a typology of this feature. In this regard, and according to consulted EM descriptions, three different types of recursion are considered separately:

a. *repetition*, which involves the repeated application (twice or more) of one same evaluative marker:

(31) SPA *poco* ‘little, few’ > *poquitito* [*poqu-it-it-o*]

b. *recurrence*, which involves the consecutive or simultaneous application of two or more evaluative markers by the application of the same EVAL-forming process (affixation or other):

(32a) HUN *kutya* ‘dog’ > *kutyuska* [*kuty-us-ka*] (Tóth 2020, 260)

(32b) LAV *mamma* ‘mom’ > *mammucite* [*mamm-uc-īt-e*]

(32c) SPA *beber* ‘to drink’ > *beborrotear* [*beb-orr-ot-ear*]

c. *concurrency*, which involves the presence of two or more evaluative markers resulting from the consecutive or simultaneous application of two or more different EVAL-formation processes. This combinatorial feature can be seen, for example, in forms obtained by means of prefixation plus reduplication:

(33) MNB *golu* ‘ball’ > *ka-golu-golu* ‘small ball’ (van den Berg 2015, 368)

Since the presence and flexibility of this feature in a language is also considered a productivity indicator, its diverse manifestations are examined in the present descriptive framework and quantified through a *recursivity resources* value (E_{RR}) in subchapter 2.6.4.

2.5.5. Evaluative markers involved in EVAL-formation

Just as previous sections in this chapter all address various morphological processes or aspects that touch upon EM productivity, this last section addresses the number of available evaluative markers in a language. As discussed earlier in this study, various morphs may come to perform the role of an evaluative marker, some of them already pre-existing (as is the case of affixes), and some of them generated in relation to the base they appear attached to (as in the case of reduplicative processes). Given that it is not possible to account for all context-dependent evaluative markers, only standalone markers will be taken into consideration in this section.

EM studies and descriptions are rarely exhaustive in this respect. A majority of studies

limit themselves to the discussion of a limited number of them. The selection is usually carried out either in terms of common usage or in terms of a semantic label such as diminutive, augmentative, honorific, etc. While it is understandable that not all descriptions can afford or achieve the level of thoroughness and detail seen in, for example, Rūķe-Draviņa (1959) or González Ollé (1962), authors should strive to represent a wide sample of the language's resources, instead of limiting the discussion to just the most typical instances. An account of the variety of evaluative markers in a language is beneficial to evidence the morphological and semantic diversity of the markers, as well as to their joint consideration as an interrelated organisation of individual units.

With the examination of the various productivity indicators carried out in this subchapter, the stage has been set for the systematized discussion of a quantitative framework that may account for the overall productivity of a language's evaluative morphology system. Such framework is presented and described in the next subchapter.

2.6. Quantification of a language's evaluative morphology resources

Typological studies aim to establish group relations among languages based on formal or functional features and said groupings are intended to reveal similarities and differences among the world's languages. It can be argued that studies addressing the description of a linguistic feature in a language should go beyond attesting the presence or absence of said feature in individual languages. Rather, research should strive to describe the said feature in a systematic manner and, if possible, to find the means to measure quantitatively its significance in the linguistic system in which it appears.

In a study expressly devoted to the elucidation of the universal character of evaluative morphology, Körtvélyessy presents a 203-language sample, out of which a significant 29% (a total of 58 languages) does not appear to have any of the morphological resources associated with evaluative morphology (at least, according to the research parameters established by the author). Körtvélyessy, therefore, concludes that evaluative morphology is not a language universal, as “the data indicate that rather than being a universal phenomenon, EM is areally conditioned” (Körtvélyessy 2015c, 67). The significance of evaluative morphology is remarkable in a majority of languages in the Standard Average European (SAE) linguistic area, as it is a major feature in Romance, Slavic and Baltic languages, while it is also present (although to a lesser extent), in Germanic ones (Körtvélyessy 2015a, 120–130). Despite not being a linguistic universal, it remains a significant feature cross-linguistically, and therefore it would be relevant to establish a

manner of determining its relevance within a language.

A previous typological grouping of languages according to their EM resources, focused on the presence or absence of diminutives, the presence or absence of augmentatives, and the possible combinations among these options, so that four types were described: “type A: presence of diminutives; absence of augmentatives; type B: presence of both diminutives and augmentatives; type C: absence of both diminutives and augmentatives; type D: absence of diminutives; presence of augmentatives” (Grandi 2011, 7). This viewpoint, however, is not sufficient for the present analysis, as it does not take into account significant portions of the semantic features (or pragmatic functions) conveyed by evaluative forms, such as those listed and discussed in subchapter 2.5.3.

In order to carry out a reliable contrastive analysis, the application of a quantifying framework can be of substantial assistance. Structuring the investigation in accordance with a model that can provide objective and measurable parameters will result in several analytical advantages. The quantification of difference allows for a more accurate assessment of the significance of divergences encountered between two languages and, concerning said significance, more accurate predictions can be expected in terms of challenges related to activities such as language learning or translation. From a typological perspective, the quantification of various descriptive parameters permits a subsequent distinction among groups of languages sharing similar numerical values.

The quantification of EM resources in a large sample of the world’s languages has been pioneered by Körtvélyessy in her study *Evaluative morphology from a cross-linguistic perspective* (2015a). Exceptional in its magnitude and rich in insights, the results presented in her work provide an invaluable basis for any subsequent research in the field, whether descriptive, contrastive, or typological in nature. One of the explicit aims in Körtvélyessy’s study is the calculation of an EM *saturation value* for each of the 132 languages considered in her survey¹³⁰. Said value is defined as follows:

EM saturation is a mean of three values: word-formation value (V_{WF}), cognitive category value (V_{SC}) and word class value (V_{WC}). They are numerical representations of productive use of word-formation processes, cognitive categories and word classes in evaluative morphology in a language: $S_{EM} = (V_{WF} + V_{SC} + V_{WC}) : 3$. (Körtvélyessy 2015, 55)

¹³⁰ Körtvélyessy’s sample comprises a well-balanced selection of languages, representing all macro-areas recognized in the *World Atlas of Language Systems*, Africa, Eurasia, North America, South America, Australia-New Guinea, SE Asia and Oceania (2015a, 52).

The results obtained from her analysis –based on data extracted from informant surveys– show definite tendencies concerning the evaluative morphology of languages in terms of number of available morphological resources and semantic features expressed by means of EVAL-forming processes. However, the present subchapter discusses some objections which are considered relevant and pertinent vis-à-vis Körtvélyessy’s approach. The discussion contained in this section also proposes a revised calculation formula for the EM saturation value following the productivity parameters discussed in subchapter 2.5.

A preliminary and broad objection is Körtvélyessy’s focus on the presence and/or absence of diminutives and augmentatives. On the one hand, and from a strictly technical perspective, this approach does not address the breadth suggested in the title of her study. On the other hand, as contended in subchapters 2.1 and 2.2 these traditional categories are, in many languages, morphosemantically intertwined to the point of near indiscernibility from categories such as pejoration, attenuation, intensification, honorific, etc. Consequently, it can be argued that an analysis based on specific interpretative features (such as those proposed in subchapter 2.5.3) is better suited to reflect the semanto-pragmatic diversity attested for evaluative forms in EM descriptions.

Another matter requiring careful examination is how the numerical values obtained for each of the aspects examined –word-formation value (V_{WF}), cognitive category value (V_{SC}) and word class value (V_{WC})– can best reflect the relevance of the studied aspect. This is a relevant methodological concern as the assignment of numerical values in Körtvélyessy’s study is not founded upon any solid theoretical principle. Moreover, in the final calculation of the EM saturation value, no proper underlying notion justifies the joint computation of the three separate values. In this regard, the revised proposal argues for the individual consideration of the three values proposed by Körtvélyessy, as well as an additional value obtained by examining the recursive aspect of EVAL-formation, as described in 2.5.4. It is believed that the separate consideration of these values may draw a more detailed picture of the similitudes and differences between any language pair or group in subsequent interlinguistic contrastive analyses.

It must be noted that prima facie Körtvélyessy’s calculations do not always appear to be consistent with existing EM descriptions for certain languages (2015, 105–107). For example, it is unexpected for Slovak to have such a high EM saturation (S_{EM} 7.67, the highest value next to Italian, Occitan, Serbian and Slovene) when Gregová describes that this language only has three available ‘augmentative’ suffixes, used mostly in “the domain of nouns, less frequently [with] adjectives and rarely [with] verbs and adverbs”

(Gregová 2015, 304). Also, Norwegian presents a rather high value (S_{EM} 4.00), when by certain accounts this language is similar to Swedish and Danish (S_{EM} 2.00 in both cases) in having poor EM resources (Olofsson 2015, Skommer 2016_e). The S_{EM} 4.00 puts Norwegian EM resources on a level with, for example, Catalan which, as discussed by Bernal (2015), presents a wealth of affixal resources applicable to several word classes to express a wide range of evaluative features¹³¹. By contrast, Udihe has a higher S_{EM} (4.33) despite being a language in which “the inventory of evaluative morphemes (...) is impoverished and consists of two diminutive suffixes” whose productivity seems to be limited to nouns and adjectives (Tolskaya 2015, 334). The significant number of discrepancies between available EM descriptions and the EM saturation values calculated by Körtvélyessy points to the need of improving certain aspects of both, descriptive studies on EM resources as well as the model for their quantification. Regarding the first aspect, EM descriptions should ideally be developed according to a similar set of pre-established aspects or parameters. This would facilitate cross-linguistic contrasts and allow a more accurate calculation of the saturation value of individual languages. In that which concerns the second aspect, the proposal presented in this subchapter aims to measure EM resources and to express the obtained measurements in a way consistent with available EM descriptions.

While the quantitative model here presented is admittedly a rework of that proposed by Körtvélyessy (2015a), an alternative notation is introduced to mark its difference and reflect certain modifications in its approach. The original three values calculated by Körtvélyessy appear here under an alternative designation, in which ‘E’ stands for evaluative:

1. E_{FP} value: number of EVAL-forming processes attested in a language;
2. E_{WC} value: number of word classes available as bases for evaluative forms in a language;
3. E_{IF} value: number of interpretative features attested for evaluative forms in a language;
4. E_{RR} value: number of recursive resources attested for evaluative forms in a language;
5. E_{EM} value: overall number of evaluative markers attested in a language.

¹³¹ “Catalan is, without a doubt, a rich language when seen in terms of evaluative morphology.” (Bernal 2015, 215)

In the following subsections, the calculations and approach adopted in Körtvélyessy's study are discussed, and alternatives to the obtention of the different values are proposed.

2.6.1. Saturation value for EVAL-formation processes (E_{FP})

The section in Körtvélyessy's questionnaire addressing word-formation processes shows that affixation is only represented in four variants (prefixation, suffixation, infixation and transfixation), but does not reflect co-fixation, interfixation, circumfixation or multiple affixation (Körtvélyessy 2015a, 223–224). The author's calculation of the *word-formation value* is described as follows:

The word-formation value (V_{WF}) reflects the number of word formation processes and their specification. If the number of word formation processes used in evaluative formation is 1 or 2, it is evaluated by 1 point; the use of 3 or 4 processes is valued by 2 points, etc. Extra points are added for subparameters such as the possibility of repetitive use of evaluative affixes. (ibid., 55)

The relation between the collected data and the numerical values assigned reveals a certain arbitrary quality, and the description lacks the explanation of which specific 'subparameters' are considered, and which amount of 'extra points' these are assigned. In this case, as in the case of the calculation of the other values, Körtvélyessy does not provide an illustrative example containing the breakdown of each value, which could be discussed or contrasted. Additionally, it is debatable whether the recursive (or 'repetitive') use of evaluative markers¹³² can be conflated with the number of EVAL-formation processes towards a quantitative computation of the word-formation value. Lastly, and considering the questions included in Körtvélyessy's informant's questionnaire¹³³ as reduplication is considered as an EVAL-forming process, it stands to reason for its various morphological realizations (full, partial, preposing, postposing, and infixing) to be considered on a par with those pertaining to the process of affixation, instead of being characterized as *subparameters*.

The review carried out in subchapter 2.5.1 examined the catalogue of EVAL-forming processes proposed by Štekauer (2015) while discussing the attested EVAL-forming processes from among the comprehensive classification of morphological processes

¹³² The questionnaire includes three questions: "Does your language have more than one AUGMENTATIVE suffix?; Is more than one AUGMENTATIVE suffix possible in a word?; Can one and the same AUGMENTATIVE suffix be used more than once in the same word?" (Körtvélyessy 2015, 223–224). The questions are asked in relation to diminutive prefixation, diminutive suffixation, and augmentative prefixation.

¹³³ The questionnaire is available at the end of Körtvélyessy's study (2015a, 223–227).

proposed by Beck (2017). As listed in Table 4, the number of attested EVAL-forming processes has been set to 15: compounding, five types of affixal processes, five types of reduplicative processes, subtraction, rectional conversion (gender shift), paradigmatic conversion (noun class shift), and cliticization. In this section, the value related to EVAL-formation processes (E_{FP}) will be obtained from the quotient obtained from dividing all attested EVAL-formation processes in a language by a divisor. Said divisor could be either a) the number of all morphological processes previously described for a language or b) the number of processes already attested as productive in EVAL-formation. Given the lack of thoroughness mentioned in relation to EM descriptions, as well as the near-impossibility of being sufficiently familiar with all existing EM descriptions, it is possible that some of the morphological processes not attested as EVAL-forming during the writing of this study may be available in some language or languages. Therefore, to err on the side of caution, it seems safer to assume as the divisor the total number of morphological processes. This approach is, admittedly, not entirely unproblematic. While it seems clear that the dividend must always be the number of attested EVAL-forming processes in a language, using the number of morphological processes existing in a language as a divisor would result in a saturation value that would reflect more accurately the EVAL-forming resources in relation to its own morphological resources. However, adopting the total number of morphological processes as the divisor seems to be a more neutral approach. It is an approach that allows for easier cross-linguistic contrast and does not require a previous discussion of all available morphological processes for a given language¹³⁴. The quotient obtained from dividing the number of attested EVAL-forming processes in a language by the chosen divisor will be a numerical value between 0 and 1 (which, if desired, can also be expressed as a percentage).

As mentioned above, this study follows an adapted version of Beck's classification of morphological processes, comprising a total of 22 (since tonal and accentual suprasegmental apophonies are not considered to be essentially morphological processes). Out of these, only 15 have been marked as morphological EVAL-forming processes¹³⁵. Consequently, for example, in a language L_1 for which a total of 11 EVAL-

¹³⁴ Admittedly, such choice implies that the obtained E_{FP} value may indirectly be affected by the overall morphological resources of a given language.

¹³⁵ As discussed in 2.5.1.2, cliticization has been added as a process and reduplication processes have been subdivided into five types, according to the position of the reduplicant as well as to the portion of the base which is reduplicated. However, further subdivisions and alternative classifications would also be possible, as discussed in Mattes (2014, 35–38).

forming processes have been attested, the word-formation value would be calculated as follows: $E_{FP} = 11/22 = 0.5$. In case that the chosen divisor would be the number of EVAL-forming processes attested cross-linguistically, the resulting quotient would be $E_{FP} = 11/14 = 0.73$. While the choice of the divisor is a matter which may be argued from a variety of perspectives, the essential aspect is to remain consequent with the choice when computing the value for different languages.

2.6.2. Saturation value for distribution among word classes (E_{WC})

Concerning word classes, two main aspects can be objected to the calculation of the *word class value* (V_{WC}) in Körtvélyessy (2015a), both bearing direct relation to its sheer scope. Körtvélyessy investigates the presence of diminutive and augmentative formations in four major word classes, i.e., nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs¹³⁶ and the word class value is calculated on a direct basis, computing one point for the presence of each word class available to diminutive and augmentative EVAL-formation (ibid., 55). Unfortunately, Körtvélyessy's study does not examine so-called minor word classes (pronouns, numerals, determiners, interjections, etc.), although it can be conjectured that it is precisely in relation to these groups that significant and nuanced cross-linguistic discrepancies might be found. Also, the restriction to the notions 'diminutive' and 'augmentative' entails leaving a significant number of evaluative forms unaccounted for.

To address these perceived shortcomings, as well as to circumvent the problematic aspects briefly commented in subchapter 2.5.2, the present study suggests an alternative approach to the quantitative computation of the productivity of evaluative forms concerning word classes (E_{WC}). Such an approach consists of taking into consideration all word classes recognized in a language's grammatical description and establishing which of these are susceptible to EVAL-forming processes. Employing this calculation, it is possible to obtain quotients that reflect the productivity of a language's EVAL formation across word classes in relation to its own grammatical description. This approach is in stark contrast with approaches that would propose a fixed Eurocentric or Anglo-American catalogue of word classes against which genealogically unrelated languages would be examined. It is of course doubtful whether any single approach would manage to satisfy both a proper consideration of the grammatical specifics of languages as well as total

¹³⁶ Additionally, the survey also collects information on class-changing derivatives, conflating once again EVALs and other evaluative constructions, when arguably they are best characterized as two different lexical groups (see 2.3 and 2.4, as well as Martín Calvo 2020b).

interlinguistic contrast.

As discussed in regard to the word-formation value, also the word class value would be the numerical quotient in which the divisor would be the total number of word classes described for a given L_1 language and the dividend would be the total number of word classes available to some type of EVAL-formation processes. Said quotient will be found in an interval ranging from 0 (indicating a complete absence of EVAL-forming processes in any word class) to 1 (indicating productive EVAL-forming processes in all word classes). Therefore, for a language L_1 whose grammatical description would recognize a total of 12 word classes, and for which bases from 5 of those word classes would have been attested to accept evaluative markers, the value would be calculated as follows: $E_{WC} = 5/12$. The numerical value of the quotient would be $E_{WC} = 0.42$.

A challenging aspect of this computation is apparent when considering the word class value from a contrastive perspective. The fact that similar E_{WC} values are obtained for two given languages may suggest (but not necessarily indicate) a correlation between the types of bases to which their respective evaluative markers can be attached to. Arguably, the closer the genealogical affiliation, the more similar the grammatical descriptions of a language pair (L_1 and L_2) are likely to be. Consequently, the obtained E_{WC} value can be expected to reveal actual similitudes and/or discrepancies. However, such correlation is not guaranteed in the case of languages genealogically unrelated. Significant variations among the E_{WC} values obtained for an L_1 / L_2 pair in a contrastive analysis may be indicative of some predictable difficulties and challenges in areas such as language learning and translation. From a typological perspective, languages can be grouped according to this value, keeping in mind that it measures the potential realization of a linguistic feature in a language, but that it may not necessarily be accurate in cross-linguistic contrastive analyses.

2.6.3. Saturation value for interpretative features (E_{IF})

The third and last of numerical values calculated by Körtvélyessy is the *cognitive category value* (V_{SC}). For the description of this value, Körtvélyessy takes Dokulil (1962) as its theoretical foundation, and subsequently establishes four categories to be considered: quantity of substance, quantity of action, quantity of quality and quantity of circumstance (Körtvélyessy 2015a, 51):

The cognitive category value (V_{SC}) is based on the presence of cognitive categories in the evaluative morphology of a language. Each cognitive category is assigned one point. If a language, for example,

expresses the categories of Quantity of Substance and Quantity of Quality, the presence of 2 cognitive categories is evaluated by 2 points. If 3 categories are expressed, the score is 3, etc. (ibid., 55)

However, in Körtvélyessy's Model of evaluative word formation (ibid., 45) there are at least two assumptions that do not entirely reflect the common use of evaluative forms. Firstly, the description of the cognitive categories reveals that the concepts represented roughly correspond to the four major word classes: *substance* for nouns, *action* for verbs, *quality* for adjectives and *circumstance* for adverbs¹³⁷. However, this framework of cognitive categories leaves again unaccounted for all evaluative forms which take bases from different word classes. Secondly, the above-mentioned model assumes that the use of evaluative forms 'prototypically' occurs in relation to an object: "The model is founded on the idea of evaluative morphology as a continuum in which prototypical cases express the meaning of quantity under or above the default value" (ibid., 4). Aside from the available evidence that, as discussed in 2.5.3, some of the semanto-pragmatic features conveyed by evaluative forms are not related to quantity, research has shown that the use of evaluative forms ostensibly bears more relation to the utterance or the communicative context at large (the pragmatic aspect) than to the reality expressed by the base marked as evaluative. This particular aspect was noticed by Spitzer, which termed such use of certain evaluative forms as *Satzdiminutiva* and *Satzpejorativa*, i.e. propositional diminutives and pejoratives: "The playfulness is a mood in the speaker that provides the foundation of the sentence, its tone: the playfully added suffixes originally do not correspond to any logical need for expression, they do not adhere to the individual word, which is why I have called them (...) 'sentence diminutives' (Spitzer 1921, 201–202). In a felicitous parallelism, Spitzer compares a certain use of evaluative affixes to a musical key, a tone that permeates the expression without any necessary connection to an object, real or abstract (ibid., 201)¹³⁸. This insight was further discussed by Alonso (1961 [1935]), who stressed the role of the pragmatic functions of evaluative affixation, i.e., the main object of the use of evaluative forms is to signal to the interlocutor a certain stance-taking and to move said interlocutor to a certain action. As discussed in 2.3, this viewpoint has

¹³⁷ "The standard or default value is anchored in the fundamental cognitive categories SUBSTANCE (including human beings, material objects), ACTION (including processes, actions proper and states), QUALITY (including properties, features, characteristics), and CIRCUMSTANCE (location, time, manner of action, cause of action, etc.)" (ibid., 41).

¹³⁸ "Die Suffixe wirken wie Vorzeichen in der Musik, sie bestimmen die 'Tonart' der menschlichen Rede" (ibid.)

been given a thorough theoretical treatment and substantiation in Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994), as well as in Günthner and Mutz (2004), who consider the use of evaluative forms here discussed as akin to that of other pragmatic markers. Contemporary studies which rely on evidence found in large corpora corroborate Alonso's assessment. For example, when examining the pragmatic, sociolinguistic and semantic aspects of Spanish evaluative forms, Prieto (2005) explicitly stresses the following:

The pragmatic functions of Spanish EVALs seem more relevant than (or at least as relevant as) the semantic senses of such suffixes, if we consider their frequency and productivity. Pragmatically, these suffixes have a very diverse range of functions and effects. At least in the data analyzed here and in other studies, pragmatic functions account for more EVALs than semantic senses. (Prieto 2005, 145)

A dedicated quantitative study carried out by Reynoso Noverón (2003) also supports Prieto's affirmation, as the former author affirms that, out of all uses of diminutives found in a corpus representing various national varieties of Spanish, an average 66% (with percentages oscillating between 72% and 49 %) were employed 'subjectively', i.e., not alluding to the notion of size (Reynoso Noverón 2003 as cited in Malaver 2018, 12*). In a similar vein, Prieto reports a 78% of pragmatically driven uses of diminutives, and a 92% for augmentatives in his Spanish-language corpus (Prieto 2005_e, 110 and 136). This is, as it will be shown, not a phenomenon limited to the Spanish language. Kiefer and Németh, for example, in discussing Hungarian denominal diminutives affirm that "their pragmatic meaning normally overrides semantics" (2015, 227). Such data appears to contradict claims that "pragmatic functions are secondary meanings" (Jurafsky 1996 as cited in Mutz 2015¹³⁹). Sifianou also defends that "in both Greek and English, the primary function of diminutives, as the term suggests, is to express the idea of 'little', or 'smaller' than the non-diminutive form" (Sifianou 1992, 157). The author, however, does not present any quantitative evidence to support his affirmation. In any case, it cannot be ruled out that semantic or pragmatic pre-eminence may be dissimilar cross-linguistically, as it has been argued to be the case concerning age (Savickienė and Dressler 2007).

In 2.5.3 a few examples have been examined in which no quantification step (in terms of size, amount, intensity, etc.) is required to interpret the evaluative form. This can also be affirmed in cases in which the base does not allow for any sense of quantification, as discussed for example by Karttunen (1990), when the author indicates that the Nahuatl honorific suffix *-tzīn*, when added to postpositional constructions and particles "refers to

¹³⁹ In reviewing Jurafsky (1996), it is not entirely clear how Mutz comes to this conclusion.

no one, just to the general context of the conversation”, as in *quēmahtzīn* ‘yes, indeed-HON’ or *ihquitzīn* ‘thus, so-HON’ (1990, 283-284). Even in cases when evaluativity conveys an ‘honorific’ or ‘antihonorific’ sense, as described for Telugu (Sailaja 2015, 330), Japanese (Potts and Kawahara 2004), Tibetan (Simon and Hill 2015, 387) or Shona (Déchaine et al. 2015), the parameter QUANTIFICATION does not seem to be required for their interpretation. Therefore, it appears that data does not support Körtvélyessy’s proposal in that QUANTIFICATION must necessarily be a part of the EVAL-formation interpretation process.

Moreover, regarding a subsequent QUALIFICATION step, Körtvélyessy argues that it occurs in the following manner: “If there is a need for qualitative evaluation, based on the metaphorical shifts SMALL IS CUTE and BIG IS NASTY, the evaluation takes the qualification path” (Körtvélyessy 2015a, 44). The author supports this claim by referring to evidence from diachronic and cross-linguistic evidence found in Mutz ([2015]¹⁴⁰). However, examining Mutz’s study it becomes evident that Körtvélyessy’s proposed metaphorical shifts are reductive to the point of hindering a proper interpretation of a given evaluative form. As shown by Mutz and discussed in subchapter 2.1, the concepts GOOD and BAD can both be objects of metaphorical shifts from the central concepts SMALL and BIG (Mutz 2015, 149–151). Moreover, in a proposed radial category for pejoratives, Mutz also indicates that both SMALL and BIG are concepts that may shift diachronically towards the central meaning BAD (ibid., 152). If anything, Mutz’s study unwittingly highlights the difficulty in establishing boundaries between these traditional categories by revealing the high degree of semanto-pragmatic overlap among them.

Given the perceived insufficiencies examined in Körtvélyessy’s Model of evaluative word formation and the author’s ensuing list of cognitive categories, the present study proposes resorting to the list of interpretative features described in subchapter 2.5.3. The calculation of the value associated with interpretative features (E_{IF}) can again be obtained as the quotient resulting from dividing the total number of attested features in a language by the total number of described interpretative features, which for the purposes of this study has been set at 10¹⁴¹. Therefore, in language L_1 for which 8 interpretative features have been attested, $E_{IF} = 8/10 = 0.8$. As indicated before, if any EM description would

¹⁴⁰ In Körtvélyessy’s study, Mutz’s study is still undated, and marked as “forthcoming” (ibid.).

¹⁴¹ It is understood that the establishment of the features cannot be wholly satisfying in terms of their exact definition and labels, but an effort has been made in subchapter 2.5.3 to represent as wide a range of evaluative senses as possible.

prove to require the justified amplification of the proposed interpretative features, the divisor in the previous formula would be altered, but the computation procedure could be maintained.

2.6.4. Saturation value for recursivity resources (E_{RR})

Recursivity in EM can be considered as a key productivity factor given that it is one of the features that differentiates evaluative morphs from a majority of derivative and inflectional ones. The repeated application of one same morphological rule (be it in the form of the same or different morphological processes) allows for evaluative forms to encode and convey highly nuanced semantic features and pragmatic functions. Calculation of the recursivity resources value (E_{RR}) will also take the form of a quotient in which the divisor is a number expressing all available combinations of the three cases pertaining to recursion, that is, repetition, recurrence, and concurrence (as described in 2.5.4). The combinatorial possibilities of these three elements give rise to seven possible combinations which will be examined in subchapter 3.6. In this classification, no distinction is made among different morphological processes or individual markers, given that their separate consideration would make the calculations unnecessarily demanding and unwieldy. The dividend in the proposed calculation will be the number of instances or combinations of instances attested for a language. The result will, once again, be a value between 0 and 1. Thus, for a language L_1 for which 4 different types of recursive combinations have been attested: $E_{RR} = 4/7 = 0.57$.

2.6.5. Saturation value for standalone evaluative markers (E_{EVM})

In contrast to the calculation of the previous productivity values, the calculation of the number of standalone evaluative markers takes the form of a simple addition. In this study, neither allomorphs nor combinations of evaluative markers will be considered separately. While a truly exhaustive account of all available evaluative markers in a language would require a dedicated study, it can be argued that even a reasonably thorough collection of recognized markers may already provide a rather accurate image of a language's wealth in this respect. The value E_{EM} may not, in and of itself, give a full idea of a language's EM productivity, but it can attest to its diversity of forms and, foreseeably, of semanto-pragmatic features. Moreover, the E_{EM} value, when considered in combination with the rest of EM values, may be of assistance in conveying a more comprehensive picture of an EM system's overall richness and productivity.

A challenging aspect in the assemblage of a language's catalogue of evaluative markers appears both in terms of their formal evolution and productivity across time, as well as their presence or absence in the various nationlects, dialects and subdialects pertaining to the language in question. Regarding the former, it is considered in this study that EM descriptions should adopt a synchronic perspective (unless that a given research aims to examine historical aspects of the language), accounting for evaluative markers which are relevant and productive at one given moment in time. In that which concerns the various levels of dialectal variation, studies should adopt the perspective better suited to the specifics of the study. While this aspect may not be a concern in the case of languages with a rather limited number of speakers or geographical distribution, its clear definition is crucial for languages with a high degree of variation across geographical areas.

In the case of Spanish, various nationlects (e.g., Argentinian Spanish, Chilean Spanish or Mexican Spanish) represent a standard for vast numbers of speakers, but nonetheless, a standard with which speakers from other Spanish-speaking countries are often unacquainted. Within nationlects, dialectal variations are often easily recognized (if not always used) by native speakers. The existence of a wealth of written records dating from as far back as the late 10th century (as found in the *Glosas Emilianenses*), and the effects of a long-standing process of standardization (begun in the 13th century, consolidated with the successive apparition of descriptive grammars since 1492, and monitored since 1713 by the Spanish Royal Academy), makes it possible for academics to trace with precision the changes of evaluative markers in their semantic and morphological evolution, as well as their geographical distribution.

The case with Latvian is somewhat different, as it is a language “whose distribution area almost fully coincides with the borders of the State of Latvia”, and only counts with about 1.5 million native speakers (LVA 2021_e). Contrariwise to the case of Spanish, substantial written records of the Latvian language are scarce before 1689 (when the first translation of the Bible appeared)¹⁴² and, according to Veisbergs, “real writing in Latvian started only in the 19th century” (1993_e). Moreover, a comprehensive process of orthographic standardization only took place in the first two decades of the 20th century (LVA 2021_e), meaning that Latvian dialects and subdialects often feature a broad variety of evaluative affixes which are, in fact, mere allomorphs. Such is the case, for example,

¹⁴² A list of writings in Latvian prior to this date can be found in Vanags (1992, 392–393).

with the auslaut *-iņš* (*-iņ-* as an evaluative suffix), which has been attested in subdialectal uses as *-iņč*, *-iņ*, *-iņc*, *-iš*, *-in*, *-īc*, *-ins*, *-inš*, *-inc*, *-īš*, *-ēņč*, *-enis*, *-ins*, *-inis*, or *-ēns* (Rudzīte 1964, 198; LVDA 2021, 141; Stafecka 2016). It must be pointed that such recorded subdialectal variations are often “phonetic differences not reflected in the orthography” (Rūķe-Draviņa 1977, 114). From a chronological perspective, it must also be considered that while three dialects are recognized in the language¹⁴³, morphological, phonological, lexical and syntactical subdialectal features have faded significantly in the last few decades. Already in 1977, almost half a century ago, Rūķe-Draviņa affirmed that “the normalizing influence of education has blurred distinctive local subdialects so that some dialectal peculiarities have disappeared” (ibid.). However, the various volumes describing features of Latvian subdialects (LVDA 1999, 2013 and 2021) are based on linguistic materials gathered from respondents born mostly in the period between 1880 and 1910 (LVDA 1999, 259–300), and therefore do not accurately reflect the contemporary currency of subdialects, many of which “are so similar that they cannot be distinguished” (ibid., 308)¹⁴⁴. Moreover, as further indicated, “already in the 1930s and later in the 1950s there were many regions without speakers of true subdialect” (ibid., 309). More recent surveys reveal that “people only rarely (...) speak in sub-dialect outside their territory [and that] sub-dialects have gradually become the language of micro-environments: home, family, communication with relatives and neighbours” (Stafecka 2016, 478). Stafecka even affirms that “Although historical regional dialects are still relatively well preserved in Latvia, nowadays one can no longer speak of dialects and sub-dialects in the traditional sense because, due to changes of administrative borders, the traditional sub-dialects are subject to attrition and gradual loss” (Stafecka 2015, 12).

Given these considerations, and the synchronic approach recommended for EM descriptive works, the approach adopted in developing the evaluative marker catalogues for Spanish and Latvian proposed in subchapter 3.2 has been to include only widely recognized evaluative markers, employed by (or naturally available to) most speakers of each language.

¹⁴³ The dialects in question are the Middle dialect (*Vidus dialekts*), the Livonian dialect (*Lībiskais dialekts*), and the High Latvian dialect (*Augšzemnieku dialekts*) (LVDA 2021, 186).

¹⁴⁴ The authors go on to note that “usually the subdialects of one dialect are very similar in Latvian, more remarkable differences are between subdialects of different dialects” (ibid., 309).

Conclusions to the second chapter

This chapter has been dedicated to a critical review of the specifics of the descriptive and analytical frameworks existing in evaluative morphology, engaging specifically with Štekauer's typology of EVAL-forming procedures as well as Körtvélyessy's dual proposal of a word-formation model for evaluative constructions and a method to calculate a language's EM saturation value (EM_{SV}). While admitting the considerable relevance of these authors' studies, their proposals have been assessed taking into consideration the theoretical discussion and positions defended in chapter 1. The net result of this portion of the dissertation is the proposal of a revised calculation approach for a number of quantitative values which, taken as individual indicators, may help to express the character and productivity of a language's EM system. A composite of five separate numerical values is expected to be of assistance in an intended objective assessment of a language's EM resources. In contrast to Körtvélyessy's approach to the calculation of the EM saturation value, no obvious theoretical or practical benefit seems to be derived from the obtention of an average or sum total of all five indicators. Arguably, their reflection of entirely different linguistic aspects makes their joint consideration rather problematic. In view of this, all five numerical indicators will be examined as individual indexes, an approach that seems well suited to put in relief specific differences and similitudes of two or more languages regarding their EM resources. It must be noted that the intention of the quantitative framework here developed is not so much the obtention of indisputable numerical indicators, but rather, the obtention of reliable indicators which may serve as guide and reference in descriptive works and contrastive analyses, as well as in typological and areal characterizations.

Three main conclusions can be drawn from the previous discussion to summarize the theoretical aspects reviewed in this chapter as well as the suggested directions of future research in this area:

1. Studies in the field of evaluative morphology must clearly define (as to nature, and not only as to function) the intended object of analysis, and clearly establish its limits concerning other related linguistic units. Although many authors recognize the inadequacy of current taxonomies regarding evaluative forms, most continue to work within a traditional paradigm (diminutives, augmentatives, amelioratives, attenuatives, etc.), where definitions are scarce and only rarely take into comparative account other elements from the system.

2. Current semantic categorizations of evaluative forms are useful in depicting and representing the overall performance of these lexical units, but appear to be the source of inaccurate conceptualizations, and arguably hinder the proper characterization and definition of semantic features of individual evaluative forms.

3. There is sufficient theoretical foundation to adopt as a working hypothesis that evaluative suffixes present a fundamental semantic dispersion which makes them ambiguous from the point of view of their semantic-pragmatic features. Therefore, the semantic characterization of EVALs in view to their interpretation and subsequent translation can only be carried out by examining the overall linguistic and non-linguistic context where they appear.

In the following chapter, the third and final, the descriptive framework presented in this chapter is applied to a language pair in order to achieve a double objective. From a purely theoretical viewpoint, the subsequent discussion aims to ascertain whether the framework is applicable and whether the numerical values obtained do indeed reflect the intended aspects. From a practical viewpoint, the numerical indicators will serve as reference points to establish a contrastive analysis of the EM resources available to the Spanish and Latvian languages. While said analysis is meant as an end on itself in this study, it is intended that any insights gained may be of assistance in forthcoming studies that examine evaluative morphology in relation to activities such as language learning or translation and interpreting.

3. A contrastive analysis of Spanish and Latvian evaluative morphology resources

A number of influential studies –such as Whitman (1970), Fisiak (1980), Krzeszowski (1990), Chesterman (1998), or Lefer and Cartoni (2011)– have stressed the critical necessity of carrying out contrastive analyses which are supported by a clear and explicit description of their methodological approach. At the same time, many of these authors have remarked upon the relative rarity of such explicit methodological descriptions, even though the motives for their implementation appear to be quite objective and self-explanatory. In that which concerns the present study, the analytic process proposed by Whitman (1970) serves to structure this last chapter. Whitman’s proposed contrast analysis consists of four steps, i.e., *description*, *selection*, *contrast* and *prediction*, each of them described as follows:

- (1) taking the two languages, L1 and L2, and writing formal descriptions (D1 and D2) of them (or selecting descriptions of them); (2) picking forms (x and y) from the descriptions for contrast; (3) making a contrast of the forms selected (x/y); and (4) making a prediction of difficulty (P) on the basis of the contrast. (Whitman 1970, 192)

These steps are applied to the particulars of this study, although the last step, involving predictions, will not be addressed in detail, since its proper development would be better served by dedicated studies that could investigate said predictions from one specific perspective: language learning, translation, bilingualism, or other. Lefer and Cartoni quote James (1980) to establish that “the minimum requirement of ‘parallel description’ is that the two languages be described through the same model of description” (Lefer and Cartoni 2011, 96). Such viewpoint is also echoed by Krzeszowski, according to whom “the fundamental demand on such descriptions is that they should be made within the same theoretical framework” (Krzeszowski 1990, 35). The two previous chapters in this study have fulfilled the function of presenting and discussing the fundamentals of a framework of description and analysis applicable to research in the field of evaluative morphology in general and to the analysis of evaluative forms in particular. The guiding principle of the discussion so far has been to establish a frame of reference from which to undertake a structured and focused analysis of the evaluative morphology resources of the Spanish and Latvian languages. To date, such descriptive task has not been carried out in full in regard to the Spanish language, as EM research tends to focus on specific areas, either in terms of traditional categories or of specific affixes. As for Latvian, a

comprehensive description of its evaluative morphology system has not been fully developed, although studies such as Enzelīns and Mülenbach (1927), Rūķe-Draviņa (1953 and 1959), Staltmane (1958), MLLVG (1959), Freimane (1993), Soida (2009), and Kalnača (2015) are significant signposts for its realization.

The formal description of the relevant aspects of each language (step1) spans subchapter 3.1, which contains a comprehensive review and commentary of previous evaluative morphology research of Spanish and Latvian, and subchapter 3.2, which presents a reasoned and illustrated catalogue of EVAL-forming markers, attesting their presence in a variety of sources¹⁴⁵. The catalogues for Spanish and Latvian (and subsequent calculation of their E_{EM} value) has been placed at the beginning of the chapter to help readers become acquainted with the various standalone evaluative markers in each language. The selection of units for analysis and their contrast (steps 2 and 3 respectively) is developed simultaneously in subchapters 3.3 to 3.6. Each of these subchapters addresses one of the four remaining productivity indicators described for the calculation of the EM saturation values: word-formation processes (3.3), distribution among word classes (3.4), interpretative features (3.5) and recursivity (3.6). The development of each one of these sections relies on a set of explicitly identified *tertium comparationis* (TC), previously discussed in subchapter 2.5, which provide a “common platform of reference (...) against which similarities and differences between the elements compared can be identified” (Lefer and Cartoni 2011, 96). Lastly, subchapter 3.7 presents a summary of the productivity values calculated in previous sections and a contrastive analysis including a brief discussion of the implications suggested by attested similitudes and differences between this language pair. This final discussion intends to convey a well-rounded picture of morphologically-expressed evaluation in the class-invariant construction of lexical forms in both Spanish and Latvian.

3.1 Evaluative morphology in Spanish and Latvian: a diachronic survey of previous research

Although the lexical items which are the main focus of evaluative morphology have been the object of a considerable amount of scholarly research dating back to some of the earliest descriptions of individual languages, the conception of evaluative morphology as

¹⁴⁵ Employed sources for the extraction of lexical units include lexicographic works, academic studies, journals, literary works, corpora, as well as linguistic material collected online.

a well-defined and separate field of study is of relatively recent establishment, as discussed in section 1.2. Consequently, a significant number of EM studies address individual aspects of the formation or semantics of certain evaluative forms (mainly so-called diminutives), but rarely do they adopt a systemic approach that may consider those elements as part of a larger phenomenon. Also, from an interlinguistic perspective, there has not previously been a unified theoretical perspective that would allow for the contrast of said studies. The present subchapter offers a diachronic review of the descriptive works and partial insights of scholars who have examined various aspects of evaluative forms (or lexical units which according to the definitions provided in this dissertation can be considered as such) in the Spanish and Latvian languages.

3.1.1 A review of previous research on the evaluative morphology of Spanish

The study of morphosemantic features nowadays considered under the term evaluative morphology can be attested in Spanish to as far back as 1492, the publishing date of the first Spanish grammar, authored by Antonio de Nebrija. Given the considerable number of descriptive grammars and studies of Spanish in different languages, the present survey is limited to works which have pioneered and contributed significantly to the discussion of relevant elements and characterization of evaluative forms.

In his *Gramática castellana* (1492), Nebrija discusses the existence of diminutives and augmentatives within the group of denominal derivatives. Nebrija establishes that the presence of diminutive forms is more pronounced than in the Latin and Greek languages and stresses the affixal variety and possibility of recursion of diminutive suffixes. In view of a terminological lacuna, Nebrija proposes the term *aumentativo* ('augmentative') for lexical units which he defines as opposed to diminutives, as their main semantic function would be the expression of augmentation (as opposed to diminution). Morphological equivalents of the Spanish augmentative, Nebrija writes, are not to be found in Latin, Greek or Hebrew, but are identifiable in Arabic (1492, book III, ch. 3, fol. 30 r.)¹⁴⁶. In terms of semantic features, Nebrija remarks on the flexibility of these lexical units to express, depending on the context, appreciation or pejoration (ibid.). This aspect is consistently reflected in subsequent grammars and dedicated studies. A remarkable aspect of Nebrija's brief notes is his reference to the notion of augmentative and diminutive

¹⁴⁶ The pagination system of the 1492 facsimile does not correspond to contemporary conventions. Instead, the number of the book, chapter and recto or verso portions on each page are indicated.

deverbal verbs: e.g., *besar* ‘to kiss’ > *besicar* ‘≈ to kiss repeatedly with soft kisses’ (ibid., book III, ch. 10. fol. 37 v.)

A disciple of Nebrija, Correas (1626) also reviews diminutives and augmentatives in his grammar in a more detailed and example-rich fashion, establishing a list of involved suffixes (9 for diminutives and 8 for augmentatives), and stressing their recursive character (Correas 1903 [1626], 113–118). Correas’ illustrative examples show that a clear demarcation has not yet been established between evaluative forms and other evaluative derivatives containing the same suffixes. The author proposes rigid semantic definitions for some of the suffixes, but they are overly restrictive when considered from a contemporary perspective (ibid., 116*). Correas also describes various deverbal derivatives as frequentatives, augmentatives and diminutives, reprising some of Nebrija’s examples, and perceptively pointing out that often the frequentative aspect is conflated with the diminutive one: *beber* ‘to drink’ > *beberricar* ‘≈ to drink in small sips’, *comer* ‘to eat’ > *comiscar* ‘≈ to eat by taking many small bites’ (ibid., 196*).

The grammars published by the Royal Spanish Academy in the 18th century consider diminutives and augmentatives as common derivatives (RAE 1771, 25; RAE 1793, 24) and refer to them only briefly, offering a few examples but not discussing any specific feature aside from their semantic flexibility according to context (RAE 1771, 28–29; RAE 1793, 31–32). However, Salvá’s *Gramática de la lengua castellana* (1835) explicitly considers diminutives, augmentatives and pejoratives as categories distinct from common derivatives (1835, 34). Among other aspects, the work of Salvá discusses a list of evaluative suffixes (3 augmentatives and 16 diminutives), the existence of morphological irregularities, and the lexicalization process undergone by certain evaluative forms (ibid., 31–33). Salvá also reprises the notion of evaluative verbs (e.g., *pintar* ‘to paint’ > *pintorear* ‘to paint badly’, *jugar* ‘to play’ > *juguetear* ‘≈ to play lightly, perhaps absentmindedly’, *llover* ‘to rain’ > *lloviznar* ‘≈ to rain lightly, to drizzle’), as well as that of frequentative ones (e.g., *temblar* ‘to tremble’ > *temblequear* ‘≈ to tremble continuously’) (Salvá 1835, 56*). Later in the 19th century, Bello (1905 [1847]) dedicates a brief chapter to evaluative forms, but his remarks are mostly limited to denominal lexemes, with only a passing reference to diminutive suffixation of adverbs and gerundives (ibid., 54–58). However, a novel aspect in this study is the author’s emphasis on establishing a functional resemblance between absolute superlatives (e.g., *grande* ‘large’ > *grandísima* ‘≈ extremely large’) and augmentatives (ibid., 272*). The 1872

Royal Spanish Academy grammar makes explicit mention of the wide distribution of evaluative forms among lexical groups (RAE 1872, 18*). This grammar also describes the group of ‘pejoratives’ (*despreciativos*), as separate from ‘diminutives’ and ‘augmentatives’, indicating that they express mockery, disdain or scorn: e.g., *caldo* ‘broth’ > *calducho* ‘≈ unsavoury broth’, *poeta* ‘poet’ > *poetastro* ‘poetaster’ (ibid.*).

Already in the 20th century, a novel insight found in Hanssen’s *Spanische Grammatik auf historischer Grundlage* (1913 [1910]) is the discussion on the multiplicity of semantic senses that may be ascribed to each evaluative affix, as they are described individually (ibid., 129–153*). Hansen examines specific morphological concomitances between the evaluative markers found in diminutives, augmentatives, and deverbal evaluative forms conveying frequentative and/or diminutive, and/or pejorative semantic features (ibid., 159). A relevant feature of Hanssen’s monograph is its exhaustive discussion of the derivational role of affixes, which indirectly establishes a rather complete catalogue of affixes with explicit specific evaluative functions. This catalogue can be considered as a collateral by-product of Hanssen’s study, since in the work itself the evaluative role is not distinguished from the merely derivative. Subsequent studies of the 1910’s and 1920’s follow similar approaches and arrive to similar conclusions, as seen in García de Diego (1914, 184), or RAE (1917, 13–21). The latter addresses a number of morphological and phonological constraints involved in affixal EVAL-forming processes and expands the proposed catalogue of diminutive suffixes to 15 in total (plus a number of allophones), as well as 10 augmentative suffixes and 11 pejorative suffixes (ibid., 19–21).

A significant step forward appears in the work of Lenz (1920). Aside from pointing out a group of evaluative forms characterized by their expression of amelioration and endearment (as opposed to pejoration), Lenz suggests the general label *apreciativo* (‘appraising, evaluative’) to encompass all lexical units under the sub-labels ‘diminutive’, ‘augmentative’, ‘pejorative’, etc. (Lenz 1920, 190*). This is significant, as it evidences that evaluative forms (including absolute superlative or ‘elative’ formations) share enough morphosemantic traits to be considered under one single label. Lenz not only observes that the evaluative features of the evaluative marker often reflect the individual’s subjective appreciation of an object more than the actual size or worth of the object, but also nods explicitly towards the pragmatic functions of evaluative forms when indicating that in certain cases the use of the evaluative marker mitigates the lack of emphatic modal particles found in languages such as Classic Greek or German. Lenz’s study presents specific examples where the use of the evaluative forms can be interpreted as conveying

mitigation, modesty, and face-saving (ibid., 194–195). An additional relevant aspect of Lenz’s work is his discussion of phonetic iconicity in relation to evaluative forms (196–203), an aspect later developed in relation to other languages by authors such as Bauer (1996), Gregová (2010) or Körtvélyessy (2011).

In two separate articles (1930 and 1935), Alonso discusses the relevance of the various roles of diminutives, distinguishing between a notional role involving the idea of size, an affective role involving subjective evaluation, and a pragmatic role. The extension of Alonso’s studies allows the author an in-depth discussion of several examples which illustrate that the semantic-pragmatic interpretations of diminutives cannot be solely inferred from the accepted readings of individual evaluative markers. Instead, Alonso argues, said meaning is only deductible from the combined consideration of a number of elements, such as the attitude of the speaker, phonological/prosodic aspects, the tenor of the communicative situation, and others. (Alonso 1961 [1935], 167*). That is, one evaluative form can be interpreted very differently depending on the characteristics of its textual context and the accompanying communicative situation. Alonso’s study advances an interpretative trend based on describing different senses or meanings of the diminutive, but his approach lacks a genuine organizational basis, relying instead on situational and poetic descriptors. While this approach, which found a wide echo in subsequent studies, affords an interesting viewpoint on the use of evaluative forms from a stylistic perspective, it diverts somewhat from the understanding of these lexical units from a conceptual standpoint. A significant novelty in Alonso’s work is the discussion of the *sentence diminutive*¹⁴⁷, indicating the manner in which the use of an evaluative marker may not have as much of an immediate semantic effect on the base word as on the entire utterance. Alonso also abounds on the pragmatic uses of the diminutive, described as an intentionally established emotional rapport on the part of the speaker towards its interlocutor (ibid., 170), and indicates that the connexion between the use of diminutives and seeking to affect the interlocutor by means of *captatio benevolentiae* (‘obtaining someone’s favour or goodwill’) had already been expressly discussed by Latin grammarian Priscian, about AD 500. However, Alonso’s discussion is incomplete in that no description or characterization of the object of discussion is offered, nor any frame of reference is established. This is a feature which will be a near constant in a majority of subsequent studies, be it of diminutives in particular or of evaluative morphology in

¹⁴⁷ Alonso borrows from Spitzer the original German-language term *Satzdiminutiva* (Spitzer 1921).

general. While Alonso's studies are limited in scope, they are particularly relevant in that they highlight evaluative forms as markers of style and communicative tone, beyond the specific semantic features conveyed by individual markers.

Published in 1945, Navarro Tomás' *Cuestionario lingüístico hispanoamericano* is the first study to develop a systematic semantic description of various Spanish evaluative markers. It is a rather comprehensive catalogue of morphs employed in "expressive and appreciative suffixation" and, although the morphs are classified according to their primary or standard readings, the author does not make a distinction between the common derivatives and evaluative forms obtained by their application. As previously indicated in relation to Alonso's work, not only does the study of diminutives receive most of the attention from scholars, but they often neglect to offer explicit working definitions of these units, as well as to discuss them in the larger context of evaluative affixation and, particularly, in their semantic and morphological characterization vis-à-vis augmentatives, pejoratives, etc. Gooch authored the first monograph on the study of Spanish evaluative forms as an interrelated group: *Diminutive, augmentative, and pejorative suffixes in modern Spanish* (1967). Gooch's category-discrete approach is only presented after putting forth a relevant caveat:

An outstanding feature, then, of the most important of the so-called diminutive and augmentative suffixes is this element of ambivalence, which means that to attempt to pigeon-hole them in any rigid and exclusive fashion leads inevitably to over-simplification and to the danger of error. Despite the fact that the arranging of suffixes in categories and the formulation of general guiding principles in relation to them is the main object of this book, it is essential to bear in mind constantly that the context and particular circumstances of each case must be the final arbiter. (Gooch 1967, 5)

Similar observations can also be found in Latorre (1975, 110*) and Lang (1990), who devotes a part of his study to establishing a difference between the various roles of affixes, depending on the base to which they are attached. In this regard, Lang remarks that it is not in the mere affixal process that triggers evaluation, but that affixal morphs may be evaluative in certain combinations but just derivative in others. More recent studies have continued not only pointing out the semantic polyvalence of evaluative markers, but also their characterization as part of a not entirely discrete arrangement of intersecting groups. Thus, Sanmartín Sáez (1999) introduces a novel approach establishing a typology of suffixes not framed by discrete criteria, but by parameters based on gradation, allowing for the intersection of categories (1999, 214*). Consequently, the author stresses that a given suffix may not belong to one category alone but may be integrated or present in others.

In the last decade of the 20th century, several authors called attention to the neglect that deverbal evaluative forms have experienced in previous research. Pena (1993) presents sufficient evidence to convincingly argue that many of the affixes traditionally characterized as evaluative in relation to nominal, adjectival and adverbial bases can also be found attached to verbal ones. Rifón Sánchez (1998) examines further the question of deverbal evaluative forms, establishing consistent ties between *Akstionsart* and evaluativity at a semantic level, and further evidencing morphological identification between evaluative markers. The insights advanced by Rifón Sánchez have been later fully developed in the work of Fábregas (2017). Most recently, Prieto (2005, 2015) has reprised the contextual interpretative approach, affirming that, beyond their origin and their more conventional meanings, evaluative markers can be taken as prompts used in the process of meaning construction, and that an appropriate interpretation of each evaluative form must be made against the larger context of the message (Prieto 2015, 29).

A study by Almela Pérez (2003_e) can be considered as precursor of some of the theoretical aspects defended in this dissertation, given that the author advocates for a fuzzy and non-categorial approach to morphology, including the problematic distinction between derivation and inflection. His point of view is championed in this study, which questions the idea of discrete groups among evaluative markers and posits that an interrelated continuum of forms may be considered as a more appropriate characterization. Authors like González-Espresati (2014) and Tirapu León (2014_e) have carried out detailed reviews of studies on diminutives from the second half of the 20th century onward, and their research can be consulted for an in-depth commentary of said studies. As pointed out by Tirapu León, a number of these often have a speculative character and lack conclusions based on quantitative research. In the remainder of this section, the focus will be exclusively on research which has brought new and relevant perspectives to the study of evaluative forms. For the sake of completeness, it must be noted that many other authors have examined meaningful aspects of Spanish evaluative morphology, and deepened the current understanding of its workings in regard to prosody (Crowhurst 1992), infixation (Martín Camacho 2001), semantic interpretation (Zacarías-Ponce de Leon 2006), allomorphy (Ambadiang y Camus Bergareche 2013), morphophonology (Horcajada 1998), dialectal variation (Ambadiang 2011), functional descriptions (Montes Giraldo 1972; Kuscielek 2012), cognitive aspects (Inchaurrealde 1997, Ruiz de Mendoza 1998_e, Santibáñez Sáenz 1999), interlinguistic contrastive analysis (Ramírez Sainz 2006, Lenoir 2012), pragmatical aspects (Tirapu León 2014_e,

González-Espresati 2014), or semantic aspects (Fortin 2011).

3.1.2 Review of previous research on the evaluative morphology resources of Latvian

This subchapter presents a chronological review of research studies which have addressed the topic of evaluative morphology in Latvian, and which have advanced in a meaningful way the description of EVAL-forming resources and evaluative forms in this language. An aspect to consider prior to the following discussion is that in a majority of studies the description of evaluative morphology in Latvian has been restricted to the discussion of its diminutive suffixes. Although these ‘diminutive suffixes’ have often been characterized as expressing not only diminution, but also other types of subjective evaluation, it is generally considered that Latvian does not have specific morphological means to express neither augmentation nor pejoration.

The first significant reference to Latvian diminutives and their morphological constituents can be found in Henrico Adolphi’s *Erster Versuch, Einer kurtz-verfasseten Anleitung, Zur Lettischen Sprache* (1685), where their formation is described, as well as the existing relation between available diminutive-forming suffixes and the declension paradigm of the base word. The author also remarks on the multiplicity of semantic features encoded by the affixes contained in his discussion, mentioning the senses of appreciation, reverence, scorn, and pejoration (Adolphi 1685, 15–18*). Adolphi also comments on the compounded or amplified semantic effect of polyaffixal diminutives, which are referred to as *Subdiminutiva*: e.g., *Dehls* ‘son’ > *Dehl-iņ-sch* ‘a small or dear son’ > *Dehl-ul-iņ-sch* / *Dehl-ul-it-is* ‘a very small or very dear son’ (ibid., 18*).

G. F. Stender dedicates an entire section of his *Neue vollständigere lettische Grammatik* (1761) to diminutives, remarking on their semantic flexibility (from appreciation to contempt and ridicule) as well as on the existence of formations with more than one evaluative suffix. Additionally, Stender addresses the construction of diminutives not only from nominal bases, but also from adjectival and adverbial ones: e.g., *maza* ‘small’ > *maziņa*, or *taggad* ‘now’ > *taggadiņ* (1761, 24). In his *Lettische Grammatik* (1783), Stender also includes a brief discussion on the topic of diminutives, to which the author refers as “*Deewa wardiņi*” ‘God’s little words’ (1783, 35). In this work, diminutives are described as resulting of derivational processes: *kungs* ‘sir’ > *kundiņšch* [*kundziņš*], *kohks* [*koks*] ‘tree’ > *kohziņšch* [*kociņš*], *rohka* [*roka*] ‘hand’ > *rohziņa* [*rociņa*]. Stender’s description offers a match between declensions and available

diminutive suffixes in denominal constructions *-iņšch* (1st declension), *-ihts* and *-itis* (2nd declension), *-utinsch* (3rd declension), *-iņa*, *-tiņa* and *-niņa* (4th and 6th declension), *-ite* and *-ele* (5th declension) (ibid., 48–49). However, Stender also notes that “Latvians do not always follow the formation of diminutives with such exactness” (ibid.), adding that EVAL-forming affixes are often used in declensions other than the standard one. As in his previous work, Stender’s 1783 study also contains a discussion on the availability of adjectival and adverbial bases for the obtention of diminutives (ibid., 50), as well as mention of *Subdiminutiua*, i.e. bases to which more than one diminutive suffix has been attached, and which the author describes as expressing gradation: *lehnām* [*lenām*] ‘slowly’ > *lehn-iht-am* ‘very slowly’ > *lehn-iht-iņ-am* ‘very, very slowly’ (ibid., 51).

The next relevant work which examines Latvian diminutives is Bielenstein’s *Handbuch der lettischen Sprache* (1863a). While some of the discussion regarding these forms is similar to that contained in the studies previously mentioned, Bielenstein’s work contains a number of novel remarks on *diminutive endings* (*Deminutions-Endung*). On the one hand, the author examines in some detail the use of diminutive suffixation onto adverbial bases. These are shown to accept the evaluative affixes *-īt-*, *-îť-*, *-iņ-*, *-îñ-* (as well as the composite *-îťiņ-*): e.g., *taggad* [*tagad*] ‘now’ > *taggadiņ* / *taggadiñ* ‘just now’. If the adverbial endings *-im* or *-am* are present in the evaluative form, evaluative suffixes always precede these in the resulting form: e.g., *pamaz(i)* ‘slowly’ > *pamazîťim* / *pamazîťiņam* ‘very slowly’¹⁴⁸. Bielenstein also notices that the evaluative suffix *-iņ-* can be found in the comparative form of adjectives (termed *comparierten Adverbien* in the original), preceding the comparative morpheme *-ák-*: *labbi* ‘good’ > *lab-iņ-ák-i* ‘a little better’, *turpu* ‘far’ > *turp-iņ-ák-i* ‘a little further’, *augsti* ‘high’ > *augst-iņ-ák-i* ‘a little higher’ (Bielenstein 1863a, 218–219)¹⁴⁹. One other interesting aspect in Bielenstein’s work is the remark that the morphemes (*Sylbe*) *-el-*, *-ul-*, and *-en-* are used in certain dialects to intensify the diminutive connotation conveyed by other ‘diminutive’ suffixes: e.g., *māmiņa* ‘mommy, dear mom’, *mām-ul-iņ-a*, *mām-ul-îť-e* (ibid., 218).

Although Bielenstein does not establish a specific construction path for EVALs with two affixes, the affirmation that the suffixes *-ul-*, *-el-*, *-en-* intensify existing diminutive constructions implies the following order: *māma* > *māmiņa* > *māmuliņa*. However, the

¹⁴⁸ The translations for these Latvian examples simply reproduce those indicated in the original text in German. In that which refers to this particular example, it can be noted that the EVAL *pamazîņam* is also possible.

¹⁴⁹ Bielenstein does not specify the construction order of these EVALs (either *labs* > *labiņš* > *labiņāks* or *labs* > *labāk* > *labiņāks*), but such aspect is not immediately relevant to the discussion at hand.

independent existence of forms containing only the above-mentioned suffixes (*māmule*, *brālulis*, *meitene* (nowadays lexicalized)) suggests that alternative formation paths would be available: e.g., *māma* > *māmule* or *māmiņa* > *māmuliņa*; *brālis* ‘brother’ > *brālītis* or *brālulis* > *brālūtītis*.

However, it is in relation to verbal bases that Bielenstein introduces the most relevant aspect of his examination of diminutive suffixation. In his discussion of deverbal derivation, Bielenstein considers a group of *diminutive verbs* as distinctive from others characterized as causatives and frequentatives:

Diminutive verbs, which express that the action or the event takes place to a lesser degree or in briefer or shorter instances (frequentative meaning) [...] are always constructed by the insertion of the diminution syllables [*Deminutionsyllben*] *-al-*, *-al-* [-a|], *-el-*, *-ul-*, *-ul-* [-u|], *-ar-*, *-er-*, *-ur-*, *-in-*, *-en-*, before the class marker. (Bielenstein 1863a, 229*)

Bielenstein’s description of the semantic changes introduced in the verbs obtained by means of this particular type of suffixes evidences that ‘*diminution syllables*’ might not be the most terminologically accurate: e.g., *urbt* ‘to bore, to drill’ > *urbulēt* ‘to bore a bit’, *kāukt* ‘to howl’ > *kaukurāt* ‘to howl repeatedly or continually’, *krāpt* ‘to cheat’ > *krāpalāt* ‘to cheat a bit’, *staigāt* ‘to walk’ > *staigalāt* ‘to walk a bit, up and down’. Indeed, the more contemporary forms of this last example, *staigaļāt* or *staiguļot*, are defined as having a derogatory expressive connotation: ‘to walk, usually without a serious reason or aim’ (Tezaurs 2022_e)¹⁵⁰. This characterization confirms that the addition of these suffixes does not simply add the notion of diminution to a base but introduce an evaluative interpretation of the action at hand. In Bielenstein’s more detailed description of the Latvian language, *Die lettische Sprache nach ihren Lauten und Formen erklärend und vergleichend* (1863b and 1864), the author goes into a much more detailed examination of diminutive suffixation, being of particular relevance his observations on deverbal derivation. This type of derivation results in a group of verbs marked as *diminutive (frequentative)*, a label consistent with the author’s affirmation that the diminutive and frequentative senses often overlap (Bielenstein 1863b, 412*). The description of the morphological process involved in the derivation of these verbs includes a reference to the occasional addition of the interfixes *-d-*, *-t-*, and *-st-* for reasons of euphony: *salt* ‘to freeze’ > *sal-d-el-ēt* ‘≈ to freeze a bit sometimes’ (ibid., 405). Another remarkable

¹⁵⁰ “*Staigāt, parasti bez nopietna iemesla*” (‘To walk around, usually without any serious purpose’) (ibid.).

presence of diminutive suffixes is in combination with infinitive forms, although such combination is marked as dialectal and “increasingly rare” (ibid., 172). In these cases, the involved suffix is either *-iņ-* or *-in-*: e.g., *sēkla sāk didziņ* ‘≈ the seed begins to germinate (a little bit)’¹⁵¹. However, it must be noted that these *diminutive infinitives* usually appear accompanying another form of the same verb, strengthening in fact the meaning of the latter: *rātiņ rāja* ‘≈ scolds severely’, *sáuziņ sáuz* ‘≈ calls loudly’. From a grammatical perspective, Kalnača has described these suffixed derivatives as passive voice participles which have become adverbialized (*adverbētas divdabja formas*) (Kalnača 2012, 20), while Škrabal and Veckalne have characterized their semantic function as ‘reinforcing a particular action or change of state’ (2019, 218)¹⁵². According to these indications, it is apparent that, in the particular case of these constructions, the involved morph (*-iņ-/-in-*) can be best described as a derivative suffix, not an evaluative one. However, the fact that the morphs in question usually convey intensification strengthens this study’s view in that the evaluative charge of certain morphs is not so much categorial as context-dependant.

The variety of evaluative nuances described in Bielenstein’s work is also described in studies concerning the dialectal use of certain suffixes, mainly with nominal bases. For example, in his discussion of the particularities of the Aluksne subdialect, Brencis indicates that the auslaut (or ultima) *-ene* is used to derivate augmentatives (“*palielināmuos lietu vārdus*”, e.g., *cilvēks* ‘person’ > *ciļvecene* ‘tall person’), as well as to convey expressive irony, e.g. *puisis* ‘boy’ > *puisene* (Brencis 1914, 138). In the same study, Brencis also points out the use (although infrequent) of the suffix of Russian origin *-ušk-* to indicate diminution as well as pejoration: *brōlis* (*brālis*) ‘brother’ > *brōluškis*, *gūvs* (*gōvs*) ‘cow’ > *gūtuška* (ibid).

Somewhat surprisingly, neither Endzelīns’ *Lettische Grammatik* (1922) nor his *Latviešu valodas gramatika* (1951) contain specific sections devoted to the formation and use of diminutives, although these are often referred to in his discussion of the various roles of nominal suffixes. Nonetheless, Endzelīns refers succinctly on a few occasions to the varying connotations introduced by the suffix *-en-*, although indicating that its use is restricted to dialectal demarcations. The semantic nuance apparent in the examples found

¹⁵¹ In a later work, *Die Elemente der lettischen Sprache* (1866), Bielenstein only includes a brief mention to diminutives, which for the most part reprises the remarks and illustrative examples already contained in his previous works.

¹⁵² Škrabal and Veckalne have also illustrated that this type of syntactic collocation, found most typically in texts of Latvian folklore, poses a veritable challenge in terms of translation (2019, 221–222).

in several of his examples include ‘amplificative meaning’ (*amplifikātīva nozīme*), e.g., *suns* > *suntene*, *roka* > *rocene* (Endzelīns 1951, 300 (with further reference to Brugmann and Delbrück 1906, 679)), but also ‘derogatory nuance’ (*nievīga nokrāsa*), e.g., *vista* ‘hen’ > *vistene*, *cūka* > *cūcene* (Endzelīns 2001, 143).

In their joint work *Latviešu valodas mācība* (1927), Endzelīns and Mülenbach include a brief note which – reprising the observations put forth by Bielenstein in regard to deverbal evaluative forms – indicates that the suffixes *-elē-*, *-alē-*, *-aļā-*, *-uļo-* are involved in the derivation of verbs whose meaning involves a diminution or attenuation of the base verb’s meaning: *kāpelēt*, *jādelēt*, *skraidelēt*, *gāzelēt*, *rāpalēt*, *staigalāt*, *spīguļot*, *streipuļot* (Endzelīns and Mülenbach 1927, 27*). However, the meanings of the verbs presented as examples can in fact be characterized semantically in a much ampler fashion, as they denote actions defined not only by iterative and frequentative connotations, but also by a sense of aimlessness (particularly in motion verbs and often with a pejorative sense), limited intensity, lack of completion, etc. When Endzelīns reprises this topic in a later work (1951), he speculates on the exact formation process of verbs containing the above-mentioned suffixes. The author conjectures that certain among them might be considered as denominal verbs, according to the following derivational process: *ēst_v* ‘to eat’ > *ēdelis_N* ‘hearty eater’¹⁵³ > *ēdelēt_v* ‘≈ to eat often and greedily’¹⁵⁴. However, he considers that others may in fact be deverbal forms from base verbs which, in turn, are deverbal iterative forms from yet another base (Endzelīns 1951, 806):

(1a) *skriet* [*skriet*] ‘to run’ > *skraidīt* [*skraidīt*] ‘≈ to run about’ > *skraidelēt* ‘≈ to run about (aimlessly, playfully, or other)’.

(1b) *raut* ‘to pull’ > *raustīt*¹⁵⁵ ‘to pull repeatedly’ > *raustelēt* ‘to pull repeatedly in different directions, to pull lightly’.

Rūķe-Draviņa’s article *Adjectival diminutives in Latvian* (1953) examines in detail the

¹⁵³ In this case, the deverbal noun is constructed upon the root of the present tense, *ēd-*.

¹⁵⁴ While MLLV (2021_e) does not contain an entry for the verb *ēdelēt*, Tezaurs.lv contains the following definition “*Bieži rijīgi ēst*” ‘To eat voraciously often’ (2021_e). However, the indicated source for the Tezaurs.lv entry is Mühlenbachs and Endzelīns (1925), where *ēdelēt* is defined as ‘*gefrässig sein*’, ‘to be voracious or greedy’ (ibid., 572). The illustrative example for the entry in question confirms the interpretation made by Tezaurs.lv, in that the verb *ēdelēt* is used in reference to the act of eating: “*viņš cauru dienu ēdelē*” ‘he eats voraciously all day long’ (ibid., 573).

¹⁵⁵ In this derivative form, the interfix *-st-* precedes the deverbal suffix *-ī-*, which usually conveys iteration.

formation of Latvian deadjectival evaluative forms, although the declared perspective of the study is to examine diminutive suffixes. As an addition to previously observed features of these suffixes, Rūķe-Draviņa mentions their use with adjectival superlatives: e.g., *bāls* ‘pale’ > diminutive *bāliņš* > comparative *bāliņāks* > superlative *visbāliņākais* (Rūķe-Draviņa 1953, 458)¹⁵⁶.

A key study for the advancement of the understanding of morphological evaluativity in Latvian is Velta Staltmane’s *Verbu veidi mūsdienu latviešu literārajā valodā* (1958), which contains an analysis of the evaluative aspects involved in certain types of verbal prefixation. Staltmane points at this semantic feature in a number of prefixed verbs, singling out the diminutive sense of many deverbal verbs with the prefix *pa-*, and noting that this sense does not necessarily regard the length of the action (1958, 13 and 38). In addition, Staltmane has also described the verbal prefixes *aiz-*, *ap-*, *ie-*, *pie-*, and *uz-* as capable of conveying a diminutive sense, as well as a variety of expressive and evaluative nuances which appear closely interrelated to other aspectual features (ibid., 41–44). This is an aspect has been examined in more detail in Freimane 1993, Mathiassen 1997, LVG 2013 and Horiguchi 2015.

Rūķe-Draviņa published in 1959 her canonical study *Diminutive im Lettischen*, an entire monograph dedicated to all morphosemantic aspects of diminutive suffixes in Latvian. This systematic study is the first one to discuss in detail a catalogue of available suffixes, identifying up to 60 different ones, although this number includes allomorphs as well as diachronic orthophonetic variations. Moreover, only a small number of the suffixes are described by the author as productive (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959, 167). Rūķe-Draviņa’s research is based on data obtained by means of a comprehensive country-wide survey and discusses in detail the regional uses of each suffix. From a morphological point of view, the study establishes that although Latvian diminutives are most frequently denominal, the same suffixes can be found with units from other word categories, including adjectives, adverbs, interjections, verbs, numerals, and even pronouns (ibid., 320–343). From a semantic perspective, Rūķe-Draviņa concludes that diminutive suffixes “can express not only the smallness, youthfulness, or dearness of the person or object named, but also flattery, respect, appreciation, sympathy, irony, or other emotions”

¹⁵⁶ “Although in modern Latvian the superlative form is normally used with the definite ending [-*ais*], indefinite superlatives do occur from time to time in colloquial speech, mass media, and even contemporary literary prose” (Kalnača and Lokmane 2021c, 157), e.g., *labs* ‘good’ > *labāks* ‘better’ > *vislabāks* (indefinite ending) or *vislabākais* (definite ending) ‘the best’.

(Jēgers 1962, 78), as well as augmentation (*augmentative Bedeutung*), intensity (*Intensivierung*), melioration (*Meliorierender, begriffsmildernder Ton*), pejoration (*Pejorative Bedeutung*) (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959, 331–334). In consonance with the focus of her study, the author also discusses some cases where certain verbal forms appear in combination with suffixes previously characterized as diminutives: *čūcēt* ‘to sleep’ > *čūcīnāt*, *iet* ‘to go’ > *ietīnāt*, *turēt* ‘to hold’ > *turīnāt* (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959, 27). But unfortunately, the study does not address the type of verbs that Bielenstein had described as ‘diminutive’, even though the involved suffixes are identical to those identified and discussed in her study. It is relevant to mention again Rūķe-Draviņa’s comment in relation to the most apt term for the lexical units discussed in her monograph. The author points to the necessity of addressing the diversity of senses conveyed by these affixes but rejects *affective suffixes* and *subjective evaluation suffixes* on the grounds that sometimes the suffix expresses nothing other than actual diminution. Instead, she posits that “in order to accurately represent the wide-ranging expressiveness of diminutive suffixes, a new term should be coined, perhaps akin to *altered forms*” (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959, 13). This terminological suggestion is reprised in the present study, where the umbrella term *evaluative forms* is being used in relation to all lexical units consisting of a base to which one or more evaluative markers have been attached.

Several relevant and novel aspects concerning evaluative morphology are discussed in the 1959 Latvian grammar *Mūsdienu latviešu literārās valodas gramatika*. From a terminological perspective, it includes a list of “suffixes expressing diminution and subjective evaluation” (*pamazinājuma un subjektīvā vērtējuma piedēkļi*) (MLLVG 1959, 174), marking expressly that these two aspects, diminution and subjective evaluation, are not necessarily identical. Furthermore, this work differentiates among the various roles in which many of these suffixes can be found and addresses the need to establish terminological differences for the diverse types of lexical units they can be found as a part of:

Since words obtained by means of «subjective evaluation» suffixes actually denote the same concept as their base word and merely convey the speaker’s attitude to the subject or phenomenon, articulating some expressive judgment, some linguists consider these derivatives not as individual words, but as forms, and the involved suffixes as inflectional [*formveidojošiem*]. In this grammar, constructions obtained by means of these subjective suffixes are dealt with in the derivatives section, given that most of these suffixes have derivational roles besides the inflectional one. (MLLVG 1959, 83*)

As discussed previously in this study, the binary derivational-vs-inflectional paradigm is considered unsuitable for the analysis and classification of evaluative forms, and the

quoted excerpt points towards an awareness of the inherent difficulty in characterizing these units.

While MLLVG does not add any additional suffixes to those previously characterized as diminutives, its examination of a number of other affixes (*at-*, *-an-*, *-g-*, *-en-*, *ie-*, *-īg-*, *-gan-*) includes their expression of some degree of subjective evaluation, often in the sense of diminution or, more accurately, attenuation: *krēsla* ‘twilight’ > *iekrēsla* ‘≈ light twilight’ (MLLVG 1959, 187), *slābs* > *slābans* (ibid., 235), *salds* ‘sweet’ > *saldens* ‘sweetish’ (ibid., 238), *smags* ‘heavy’ > *smagnējs* ‘≈ quite/rather heavy’ (ibid., 247–248), *remdens* ‘lukewarm’ > *remdenīgs* ‘≈ slightly lukewarm’ (ibid., 279), *tāls* ‘distant’ > *attāls* ‘quite distant’ (ibid., 293)¹⁵⁷. It is pointed out that the attachment of more than one of these evaluative affixes to a single base does not seem to be accompanied of a significant compounded semantic effect in the direction of either diminution nor attenuation: *zaļš* ‘green’ > *zaļgs* ‘greenish’ > *zaļ-g-an-s* > *ie-zaļ-g-an-s* ‘a bit greenish’ or *rūgts* ‘bitter’ > *rūgtens* ‘slightly bitter’ > *parūgtens* ‘quite or slightly bitter’ (ibid., 295–296). It is also significant that in the section of the work which discusses suffixes found in deverbal evaluative forms (such as *alā-*, *-aļā-*, *-alē-*, *-elē-*, and *-uļo-*) these are described as ‘extended suffixes’ (*paplašinātie piedēkļi* or *paplašinājumi*) of the verbal suffixes *-ā-*, *-inā-*, *-ē-*, *-ī-*, and *-o-* (ibid., 332*): e.g., *grūst* ‘to push’ > *grūstīt* ‘to push repeatedly’ > *grūstelēt* ‘≈ to push repeatedly’¹⁵⁸. Deverbal verbs obtained from bases which already express iteration are described in MLLVG as expressing “iteration with a special connotation” (*iteratīva nozīme ar īpašu nokrāsu*) (ibid., 333), which may include aimlessness, lack of intensity, playfulness, pejoration or other.

Although published in 2009, the studies contained in Emīlija Soida’s *Vārddarināšana* date back to the decade of the 1970’s. Her observations confirm the evaluative aspects described in MLLVG in relation to morphemes not usually characterized as diminutive suffixes. Indeed, Soida discusses the use of nine suffixes (*-an-*, *-ād-*, *-gan-*, *-g-*, *-en-*, *-ēj-*, *-isk-*, *-īn-*, *-īg-*) for the derivation of deadjectival adjectives whose semantic content, although not homogeneous, often indicate mitigation, attenuation or diminution of the intensity of the characteristic indicated (Soida 2009, 115–124)¹⁵⁹: e.g., *salds* ‘sweet’ >

¹⁵⁷ Soida has also examined the evaluative and non-evaluative uses of most of these affixes (2009, 115–122 and 143–147).

¹⁵⁸ These forms are not only of difficult translation, but also of difficult description in monolingual dictionaries. For example, *grūstelēt* is simply described as an iterative form of *grūstīt*, which is itself already an iterative form of *grūst*.

¹⁵⁹ This topic is also discussed by Kalme and Smiltņiece (2001, 123–124).

iesalds / saldēns ‘≈ a bit sweet / sweetish’ > *iesaldēns* ‘≈ a bit sweetish’¹⁶⁰.

Soida also discusses in some detail the evaluative content of deverbal verbs obtained by means of nine deverbal auslaut or ultima (*izskaņa*¹⁶¹): *-alēt*, *-aļāt*, *-avāt*, *-avot*, *-elēt*, *-enēt*, *-ulēt*, *-uļāt*, and *-uļot*. Morphologically, Soida describes these endings as composed of a verbal suffix (*verbu pamatizskaņa*), plus a linking consonant (*l*, *ļ*, *n*, or *v*) preceded by a vowel (ibid., 196*). Thus, the components of a verb such as *kraucelēt* ‘to cough lightly, sporadically’, would be, according to Soida, as follows:

<i>krauc-</i>	<i>-e-</i>	<i>-l-</i>	<i>-ēt</i>
stem	preceding vowel	linking consonant	verbal suffix (auslaut or ultima)

The relevant aspect in this characterization is that the final vowel (together with suffix *-t*, indicating infinitive) is considered a verbal suffix which is detached and independent from the preceding elements, as first suggested by Bielenstein (1963a). However, Soida does not explicitly indicate that the obtainable combinations of ‘linking consonants’ and ‘preceding vowels’ always result in morphs identical to those in other derivative or EVAL-forming roles: *-al-*, *-aļ-*, *-ul-*, *-uļ-*, *-av-*, *-el-*, *-en-*. The possible implications of this formal coincidence will be further discussed in subsequent sections of this chapter.

Soida’s description of the combinatory possibilities for deverbal formation containing the above-mentioned morphs evidences a relatively systematic stem-vowel change (ablaut) triggered by the introduction of said ‘vowel+consonant’ linking morphs (*savienojums*). Soida provides various examples of base verbs without a stem-vowel (e.g., *kost* ‘to bite’), in which the auslaut provides a stem-vowel (here underlined) to the obtained deverbal: e.g., *kost* ‘to bite’ > *kodelēt*. However, Soida’s illustrative examples for such cases often fail to notice (or, at least, to remark explicitly) that in many instances an intermediate derivative process has already taken place. Thus, for many of her examples, a pre-existing derivative can be attested, confirming again the stem-vowel shift above discussed. The following examples reprise some of Soida’s, adding in parenthesis the omitted derivative and underlining the ablaut in question:

¹⁶⁰ As in previous instances, the translation of these evaluative forms proves challenging. The definitions offered by the monolingual dictionary are as follows: *iesalds* and *saldēns* are defined as *mazliet salds* ‘a bit sweet’ or ‘sweetish’, while *iesaldēns* is defined as *mazliet saldēns* ‘a bit sweetish’ (Tezaurs.lv 2021e).

¹⁶¹ This term is defined in Latvian as the word’s “last suffix and inflectional ending” (VPSV 2007,172).

(2a) *kost* ‘to bite, to nibble’ > [*kodīt* ‘to nibble, to gnaw’] > *kodelēt*.

(2b) *lauzt* ‘to break’ > [*lauzīt* ‘to break repeatedly, into small pieces’] > *lauzelēt*.

In Table 6, examples contained in Soida’s study are organized so as to show the consistency of the above-mentioned theme-vowel shift. It must be pointed out that variations from a verbal base may co-exist in the language. Thus, from a quite common verb like *staigāt* ‘to walk, to wander, to loiter’, the suffixed variants *staigalēt*, *staiguļot* and *staigaļāt* are all available, although some are featured only in dialectal uses¹⁶²:

Additional morph	Auslaut ¹⁶³	Stem vowel shift	Example
-a/	-ot	<i>o</i> : <i>ā</i>	<i>rāpot</i> ‘to crawl’ > <i>rāpaļāt</i> ‘to crawl in various directions’
-al-	-āt	<i>ā</i> : <i>ē</i>	<i>brēkt</i> ‘to cry, to scream’ > <i>brēkāt</i> > <i>brēkalēt</i> ‘to cry loudly and briefly from time to time’
-av-	-āt	<i>ā</i> : <i>o</i> , <i>ā</i>	<i>gulēt</i> ‘to sleep’ > <i>gulšņāt</i> ‘to sleep lengthily or repeatedly’ > <i>gulšņavot</i> , <i>gulšņavāt</i> ‘to fall sleep and wake up repeatedly’
-el-	-īt	<i>ī</i> : <i>ē</i>	<i>kāsēt</i> ‘to cough, to hack’ > <i>kāselēt</i> ‘to cough lightly’
-el-	-t	- : <i>ē</i>	<i>slēgt</i> ‘to close, to lock’ > <i>slēdzēlēt</i> ‘to try to lock repeatedly’ ¹⁶⁴
-ul-	-īt	<i>ī</i> : <i>ē</i>	<i>urbt</i> ‘to drill, to bore’ > <i>urbīt</i> > <i>urbulēt</i>
-u/	-āt	<i>ā</i> : <i>o</i>	<i>staigāt</i> > <i>staiguļot</i> ‘to walk up and down, usually aimlessly’
-u/	-īt	<i>ī</i> : <i>o</i>	<i>smaidīt</i> ‘to smile’ > <i>smaiduļot</i> ≈ ‘to smile repeatedly’
-u/	-ot	<i>o</i> : <i>o</i>	<i>vārgt</i> > <i>vārgot</i> > <i>vārguļot</i>

Table 6. Stem-vowel variation in Latvian deverbal EVALs

While most deverbal EVALs either adopt a stem vowel or undergo a change, it appears that in certain cases base verbs maintain their stem vowel when adopting some of the

¹⁶² In this latter variant (*staigāt* > *staigaļāt*), the above-mentioned vowel-theme shift is absent, showing that said shift is a marked tendency, more than a morphological requirement or, in any case, that there are exceptions to the hypothetical rule.

¹⁶³ In the entries from this column, *-t* is the verbal marker for infinitives, while a preceding vowel constitutes the verbal suffix that is the stem vowel of the base verb. Verbs like *cirpt* ‘to shear’ do not have a suffixal stem vowel after its root, a defining feature of the conjugation class 1 verbs in Latvian (Kalnača and Lokmane 2021c, 221).

¹⁶⁴ Aside from *slēdzēlēt*, Tezaurs.lv (2021c) also contains *slēdzēlāt*, both verbs marked as dialectal in character. As discussed by Endzelīns, a denominial origin for some of the verbs discussed in this table cannot be ruled out. In this case, the dialectal noun *slēdzele* ‘key’ could be posited as a hypothetical base. In the previous case of *gulšņavot* / *gulšņavāt*, the nominal bases *gulšņa* or *gulšņava* ‘sleepyhead’ might also be hypothesized.

above-mentioned extended suffixes: e.g., *gulēt* > *gulšņāt* > *gulšņavāt*.

For verbs ending with *-elēt*, Soida indicates that the frequentative feature indicated by the verbal suffix appears bound to a pejorative nuance which is introduced by the linking morph *-el-* (ibid.*). While the author does not discuss explicitly the semantic nuances introduced in the case of each separate morph (*-al-*, *-uļ-*, *-av-*, *-el-*, etc.), she characterizes many of the verbs containing said extended suffixes as conveying an iterative aspect that is reinforced and/or nuanced by pejoration (ibid., 196–197). Subchapters 3.3.2 and 3.4.4 contain a more detailed examination of the morpho-semantic features of these suffixes.

Later studies dedicated to the general morphology of Latvian, such as those by Fennell and Gelson (1980), Laua (1981), Mathiassen (1997), Kalme and Smiltņiece (2001), Paegle (2003), Kalnača (2004), Prauliņš (2012), Vulāne (2013) and Horiguchi (2015) confirm, reinforce and further illustrate the characteristics of affixation as a means to express subjective evaluation in Latvian already discussed.

To date, only a brief article by Andra Kalnača, included in the *Edinburgh Handbook of Evaluative Morphology* (2015), has aimed at a more comprehensive approach to the characteristics and resources of evaluative morphology in Latvian, by examining the various possible types of evaluative constructions. Said study, structured as a review of the DIMINUTIVE vs. AUGMENTATIVE as well as GOOD vs. BAD conceptual dimensions, does not break any new ground and, unfortunately, contains discussions of lexical units which cannot be considered as evaluative forms and, on occasion, not even evaluative derivatives. While the overall sense of her approach is well-directed, the specific examples Kalnača presents do not always reflect diminutive or augmentative meanings of the base, as they are fully lexicalized derivatives: e.g., *smēķēt* ‘to smoke’ > *aižsmēķēt* ‘to light up (a cigar)’ or *kustināt* ‘to cause to move’ > *iekustināt* ‘to get moving’ (Kalnača 2015, 260). Kalnača addresses the association between prefixed verbs and the diminutive and augmentative senses, as well as the ways in which how aspect, actionality and evaluation appear interconnected in certain verbs (ibid., 259–260). The author characterizes the deverbal ultima *-āt*, *-īt*, *-ot*, *-ināt* as conveyors of iterativity and argues that “if iterativity is viewed as akin to quantity, i.e., if we presume that a repeated action is also an action that is performed a lot (Grandi 2009) it is possible to speak about suffixal augmentatives in Latvian” (ibid., 260). However, equating iterativity with augmentation does not appear to be a convincing enough argument, and the author admits that “Latvian augmentatives can only be postulated as part of the word-formation system with grave

reservations” (ibid., 256).

As previously indicated for Spanish evaluative morphology, more recent studies tend to focus on very specific aspects: diminutive suffixation and declensions (Urbanovica 2014), aspect and evaluativity in deverbal verbs (Horiguchi 2015), interlinguistic translation (Veidenberga 2014 and 2020), and others. Interestingly, an apparently unrelated study by Freidenberga, *Nominālā vārddarināšana Georga Manceļa darbos* (2016), contains a significant number of pertinent remarks concerning the use of diminutives and related aspects such as gender change, double suffixation, lexicalization, and ‘false diminutives’ (Freidenberga 2016, 119–128).

In conclusion, it can be said that a number of affixes described as very productive in the formation of so-called diminutives have been the near-exclusive object of research in relation to Latvian evaluative morphology. The morphological expression of other semantic features such as augmentation, pejoration, attenuation, intensification, etc., has been rather marginal and has not been the object of much research so far, particularly from a systemic perspective. Although the above-mentioned affixes have been attested to express not only diminution but also other types of subjective evaluation, it is generally considered that Latvian does not have dedicated affixal means to express either augmentation or pejoration. That is, augmentative, attenuative or pejorative semantic nuances have usually been described within the conceptual frame of diminution, i.e., as semantic projections of it. However, while Latvian may not have affixes that convey exclusively augmentation or pejoration, many of the above-discussed affixed are indeed capable of conveying said semantic features, particularly in the areas of deverbal and deadjectival evaluative forms. Therefore, an effort is made in the present chapter to examine the evaluative morphology resources of Latvian from a comprehensive and inclusive perspective, by presenting a reasoned catalogue of evaluative affixes, examining their combinatorial possibilities in relation to all word types, as well as their range in terms of semantic connotations.

3.2 Catalogues of evaluative markers in Spanish and Latvian

In the present subchapter, two separate catalogues of available standalone evaluative markers are presented, one for Spanish and one for Latvian. The objective in proposing these catalogues is double. Firstly, it intends to establish a specific proposal that may in future research be reviewed, and added to or subtracted from, as new insights on the topic become available. Secondly, it aims to collect in one single grouping morphs that, beyond

their standardized readings, are firmly interrelated via their evaluative function and can be characterized as EVAL-forming markers¹⁶⁵.

In the elaboration of the catalogues, only standalone markers (usually affixes) have been taken into consideration, as markers obtained from processes such as reduplication are dependent on their interaction with the basis for their formation and are virtually illimited in number. According to the non-discrete approach adopted in this dissertation, the catalogues are organized alphabetically, and no attempt at a thorough semantic characterization of each morph is intended. Despite the declared aim of this section, it is obvious that a broad and dedicated study would be required for the close examination and comparison of the semantic characterizations offered by different authors, from a diachronic as well as a diatopic perspective. In the two following subsections, each entry is illustrated with an example which includes both a base word and an evaluative form, for which an approximative translation is offered. If a relatively straightforward translation to English is available, it will be suggested. If such translations is not readily available, possible readings will be specified via the interpretative features described in subchapter 2.6.3: e.g., ESP *vino* ‘wine’ > *vinillo* ‘wine.PEJ, wine.APP’. However, as stated previously, decontextualized translations of evaluative forms may be incomplete (and even potentially misleading) as one same form may be glossed very differently depending on the context. As shown by Gregová (2015, 296), an accurate semantic description of evaluative markers requires the explicit representation of the various morphological elements contained in both the base word and the resulting evaluative form. In any case, the objective of these catalogues is not to label the semantic readings accepted for each evaluative marker, but simply to indicate their availability in the corresponding language.

The catalogues proposed in the following two sections also include prefixoids of Greco-Latin origin attested in Spanish and Latvian EVALs. While many of them are routinely found performing a derivative role (notably in the development of scientific terminology), only those which have been attested as EVAL-forming in each language have been included. The EVAL-forming use of said prefixoids has been determined on the basis of an automated search in reference works as well as on the available corpora for each of language – CREA, CORDE and NOW for Spanish, and LVK2013, LVK2018

¹⁶⁵ This aspect does not contradict, given the case, the separate consideration of a number of these same morphs as performing an eminently derivative function in other constructions (which may or may not convey as well certain evaluative features).

and LVTK2007 for Latvian¹⁶⁶. While the obtained results inform the elements included in the catalogues, it is not ruled out that more focused research could verify additional evaluative uses of other prefixoids of Greco-Latin origin. While lexical units containing the prefixoids *macro-*, *mini-*, and *micro-* may convey evaluativity, they have not been included in the following catalogues as evaluative markers, given that they attach almost exclusively to nouns, expressing a factual quality in the sense of augmentation or diminution in relation to a perceived standard. However, they do not convey the semantic flexibility of other EVALs, and it has been deemed that they can be better characterized as evaluative derivatives as their meanings are easy to gloss unequivocally: e.g., SPA *macroencuesta* ‘far-reaching survey’, *minivacaciones* ‘brief holidays’, LAV *mikrobuss* ‘small bus’.

It is frequent in EM research to list evaluative markers accompanied by gender markings: e.g., SPA *-ito*, *-illa* or LAV *-ulis*, *-iņš*¹⁶⁷. However, it must be considered that readers of descriptive works may not be familiar enough with a given language to tell apart the evaluative marker from other grammatical morphemes indicating gender, number, case, tense, etc. Consequently, the above indicated markers should be discussed isolated from any other derivational or inflectional morphemes: e.g., SPA *-it-*, *-ill-* or LAV *-ul-*, *-iņ-*.

3.2.1 Proposed catalogue of evaluative markers in Spanish

As it is common in much of evaluative morphology literature, most studies on Spanish evaluative markers usually focus on suffixation, and only rarely on prefixation¹⁶⁸. Moreover, said studies departmentalize the relevant morphs according to a category-based approach which, as argued throughout this study, lacks in definition, and does not succeed in establishing meaningful boundaries among sub-sets. Attempts at category-based classifications impose meanings and constraints which do not reflect faithfully the everyday usage of evaluative markers at the level of parole. Although reviewed studies show some discrepancy on the exact number of morphs to be considered as well as on

¹⁶⁶ Particularly useful in this research has been the work of Depuydt (2009_e) on the various uses of the morphs *archi-*, *extra-*, *super-*, and *ultra-*.

¹⁶⁷ In reference to Latvian, evaluative markers are presented unmarked for gender in Enzelīns (1938, 74–101) and Nau (2013) but not in Rūķe-Draviņa (1953, 1959 and 1977), MLLVG (1959), and Kalnača (2015) among others.

¹⁶⁸ Noteworthy exceptions are *Los prefijos intensivos del español* (Martín García, 1998), *La prefijación en la clase de ELE. Los prefijos apreciativos* (Serrano Dolader, 2007), or *Clasificación de los sufijos españoles* (Hyejin, 2009).

their respective morphosemantic characterization, most authors agree that synthetic constructions involving these markers¹⁶⁹ are commonly divided into three groups: diminutives, augmentatives, and pejoratives. However, authors have long and consistently remarked on the semantic polyvalence of such morphemes (as already discussed by Casares 1950, 115), and on the problematic issue of delimiting and maintaining these categories as discrete, as discussed in Almela Pérez (2003_e) or Díaz-Hormigo (2016, 829).

Evaluative affixation is a very productive linguistic resource in Spanish and evaluative forms can take as bases lexical units from most word classes. The diversity of semantic features and pragmatic functions conveyed by Spanish evaluative forms is amplified by a very large number of speakers reflecting areal preferences and morphosemantic idiosyncrasies. Previous catalogues of show that speakers of Spanish have between 30 and 65 available evaluative affixes (not including allomorphs), although these differ in productivity and geographical currency. The large disparity in this computation is owing to two main factors. On the one hand, studies dedicated to evaluative affixation often limit themselves to the study of one single type or category, most commonly so-called diminutives, as in Hasselrot (1957), Lázaro Mora (1976), Martín Zorraquino (2012a and 2012b) or Fortin (2011). These studies describe the uses of (and restrictions to) the most common suffixes, without aiming to establish a thorough and well-reasoned catalogue. A commendable effort is found in González-Espresati (2014), whose study on Spanish diminutives collects a group of 17 suffixes, indicating which of them have been previously catalogued by other authors (2014, 255–256). However, his review does not take into consideration relevant works such as Butt and Benjamin (1988), Santana et al. (2003), Provencio Garrigós (2009), Kaplanová (2010), or Debowiak (2014). On the other hand, the count of affixes varies depending on whether certain affixal combinations are considered as stable and separate units, which would account for the 65 affixes described in Almela Pérez (1998). However, given that category-based descriptions do not follow a reliable organizational principle (other than general trends in their use), several affixes are found in different groups, according to the individual perspective of each author's classification.

¹⁶⁹ There is not a terminological agreement as to the morphs (mostly affixes) in question, which are usually referred to as *apreciativos*, *valorativos* or *emotivos* (*appraising*, *evaluative* or *emotive*, respectively) as found in Lázaro Mora (1999), Varela Ortega (2005), Hualde et al. (2010), RAE (2011) or Tirapu León (2014_e).

The present catalogue's aim to maximize inclusivity, that is, to include the maximum possible number of evaluative markers, as listed in Table 7 (below). While the intended thoroughness of the catalogue does not imply any claim to completeness, it is thought to be (as far as it has been possible to ascertain) the most extensive and systematic catalogue of Spanish evaluative markers proposed to date. It is expected that the present proposal will serve as a reliable foundation to any subsequent discussion on this topic. The illustrative lexical units for each entry in the catalogue have been attested in reliable written sources, mostly national journals, and literary works, as well as a in number of written and oral corpora –mainly those of the Royal Spanish Academy (CREA, CORDE, CORPES), and the web-based NOW. The catalogue contains a total of 58 entries and does not include as separate entries neither allomorphs (which are indicated between parentheses) nor non-compulsory affixal combinations. The catalogue considers as allomorphs those which are the result of phonological constraints, as is the case of the graphemes *c* > *qu* and *z* > *c*. In selecting the examples, an effort has been made to avoid bases which are may already be semantically perceived as positive or negative, so the semantic effect of the evaluative marker can be observed more clearly.

Evaluative marker	Illustrative example
<p><i>-ac-</i></p> <p>(<i>-aca</i>)</p>	<p><i>fiesta</i> ‘party’ > <i>fiestaca</i> ‘party.aug, party.APP’</p> <p><i>negro</i> ‘black person’ > <i>negraco</i> ‘black person.PEJ, black person.AUG’</p> <p><i>comunista</i> ‘communist’ > <i>comunaca</i> ‘commie’</p>
<p><i>-ach-</i></p>	<p><i>cuerpo</i> ‘body’ > <i>corpachón</i> ‘body.AUG, body.PEJ, body.APP’</p>
<p><i>-ada</i></p>	<p><i>cachete</i> ‘slap’ > <i>cachetada</i> ‘slap.AUG’</p>
<p><i>-ain-</i></p> <p>(<i>-aina</i>)¹⁷⁰</p>	<p><i>dulce</i> ‘sweet’ > <i>dulzaino</i> ‘sweet.PEJ, sweet.INT’</p> <p><i>tonto</i> ‘silly’ > <i>tontaina</i> ‘silly.PEJ’</p>
<p><i>-aj-</i></p> <p>(<i>-aja</i>)</p>	<p><i>moño</i> ‘bun, chignon’ > <i>moñajo</i> ‘bun.PEJ’</p> <p><i>tartamudo</i> ‘stutterer’ > <i>tartaja</i> ‘stutterer.PEJ’</p>
<p><i>-amen</i></p>	<p><i>piltra</i> ‘cot, sack’ > <i>piltrosamen</i> ‘sack.EXP’</p> <p><i>musculatura</i> ‘muscles’ > <i>musculamen</i> ‘muscles.EXP, muscles.APP’</p>

¹⁷⁰ In the case of this morph, its gender-invariant (epicene) form *-aina* is the more common one: *soso* > *sosaina*, *chulo* > *chulaina*.

-anc- ¹⁷¹	<i>viejo</i> ‘old’ > <i>viejanco</i> ‘old.ATT’
-ang-	<i>frito</i> ‘fried food’ > <i>fritanga</i> ‘fried food.PEJ’ ¹⁷²
-arr- ¹⁷³	<i>sueño</i> ‘sleepiness’ > <i>soñarra</i> ‘sleepiness.AUG’ <i>moco</i> ‘snot’ > <i>mocarro</i> ‘snot.PEJ, snot.AUG’ <i>nube</i> ‘cloud’ > <i>nubarrón</i> ‘cloud.PEJ’
-astr-	<i>pillo</i> ‘urchin’ > <i>pillastre</i> ‘urchin.DIM, urchin.APP’ <i>crítico</i> ‘critic’ > <i>criticastro</i> ‘critic.PEJ’
-at- (-ata) ¹⁷⁴	<i>niño</i> ‘boy’ > <i>niñato</i> ‘brat’, <i>ciego</i> ‘blind’ > <i>cegato</i> ‘blind.INT’ <i>drogadicto</i> ‘drug addict’ > <i>drogata</i> ‘druggie’ <i>bocadillo</i> ‘sandwich’ > <i>bocata</i> ‘sandwich.EXP’
-az-	<i>boda</i> ‘wedding’ > <i>bodaza</i> ‘wedding.AUG, wedding.APP’ <i>poco</i> ‘little’ > <i>pocazo</i> ‘little.INT’
-ej-	<i>asunto</i> ‘matter’ > <i>asuntejo</i> ‘matter.DIM, matter.PEJ’
-el- ¹⁷⁵	<i>currar</i> ‘to hustle, to work’ > <i>currelar</i> ‘to hustle.EXP’ <i>manduca</i> ‘grub, chow’ > <i>manduquela</i> ‘grub.EXP’
-eng-	<i>blando</i> ‘soft person’ > <i>blandengue</i> ‘wimp, weakling’
-ent-	<i>flaco</i> ‘skinny’ > [<i>flacucho</i> ‘skinny.PEJ/ATT’] > <i>flacuchento</i> ‘skinny.PEJ/ATT.EXP’
-equ-	<i>temblar</i> ‘to tremble’ > <i>temblequear</i> ‘to tremble.REP, to tremble.PEJ’

¹⁷¹ More examples with this evaluative morph and a discussion of its semantics are available in Faitelson-Weiser (1993, 46).

¹⁷² NGLÉ indicates that this suffix usually conveys augmentativity in Bolivian Spanish (NGLÉ 2011, 1046).

¹⁷³ Forms containing this morph and conveying diminution have tended to become lexicalized: *chivo* ‘kid, goat’ > *chivarro* ‘goat between one and two years of age’. Its semantic polyvalence is evident in some lexicalized forms: *guija* ‘rolling stone’ > *guijarro* ‘small rolling stone’, but *chino* ‘small stone’ > *chinarro* ‘a stone somewhat larger than a *chino*’. This morph, which often triggers a gender change in the base, is considered in NGLÉ as an interfix: *tipo* > *tip-arr-ac-o*, *bicho* > *bich-arr-ac-o* (2010, 163). This study defends its independent status as a suffix, given that the examples offered in NGLÉ 2010 do not actually require the morph, since *tipaco* and *bichaco* are both possible evaluative forms. In these forms, the evaluative marker *-ac-* usually conveys augmentation, while the addition of *-arr-* would usually add a sense of intensity and/or pejoration (e.g., *dulce* ‘sweet’ > *dulzarro* ‘sweet.INT’).

¹⁷⁴ Hidalgo Navarro includes this morph in a group including others whose function is labelled as *parasitic suffixation* (*sufijación parasitaria*) since they often take the place of other, more common endings (not necessarily derivative suffixes) (2003, 585). Sanmartín Sáez considers it a *connective* suffix, as it indicates appurtenance to a specific group of speakers and its use reinforces the union between interlocutors, becoming a sign of identity and belonging (1999, 214, as cited in González-Espresati García-Medall 2015e, 117). The presence of this suffix is often accompanied by clipping of the base, but this is more a trend than a requirement as, in some cases, the affix is added to an otherwise unchanged base: *priba* > *pribata*, *bronca* > *broncata* (ibid., 586). Sanmartín Sáez points out at a neutral “expressive addition” (ibid.) and includes this suffix in the same group the suffixes *-aca* and *-eto*. As allomorphs of *-ata*, the author offers *-ota* (*drogota*) and *-eta* (*fumeta*, *sobeta*) (though not in the same role as the feminine form of *-ote* and *-ete* respectively).

¹⁷⁵ Relevant notes on this evaluative marker can be found in Peretz (1940, 123) and Ulašin (2006, 57).

-er-	<i>patriótico</i> ‘patriotic’ > <i>patriotero</i> ‘patriotic.PEJ’
-eras	<i>entendimiento</i> ‘understanding’ > <i>entendederas</i> ‘understanding.PEJ’
-err-	<i>chupar</i> ‘to lick’ > <i>chuperrretear</i> ‘to lick.REP, to lick.EXP, to lick.PEJ’
-érrim-	<i>célebre</i> ‘famous’ > <i>celebérrimo</i> ‘famous.INT, extremely famous’
-et- ¹⁷⁶	<i>calvo</i> ‘bald’ > <i>calvete</i> ‘bald.dim.APP’ <i>golpear</i> ‘to hit, to knock’ > <i>golpetear</i> ‘to knock.REP, to knock.DIM’
(-ete)	<i>andando</i> ‘walking’ > <i>andandete</i> ‘walking.APP’
(-eto)	<i>cara</i> ‘face’ > <i>careto</i> ‘face.EXP, face.PEJ’
(-eta)	<i>sobado</i> ‘asleep’ > <i>sobeta</i> ‘asleep.EXP’
-i ¹⁷⁷	<i>chulo</i> ‘cool’ > <i>chuli</i> ‘cool.DIM, cool.EXP’
-ic-	<i>ahora</i> ‘now’ > <i>ahoritica</i> ‘now.INT’
(-iqu-)	<i>gemir</i> ‘to whimper’ > <i>gemiquear</i> ‘to whimper.REP.ATT’
(-ich-)	<i>puchero</i> ‘pot’ > <i>puchericho</i> ‘pot.DIM, pot.APP’
-ij-	<i>escondite</i> ‘hideout’ > <i>escondrijo</i> ‘hideout.DIM/PEJ’ <i>mentira</i> ‘lie’ > <i>mentirijilla</i> ‘lie.APP.DIM’
-ill-	<i>charla</i> ‘talk’ > <i>charlilla</i> ‘brief talk, nice talk’
-in-	<i>colores</i> ‘colours’ > <i>colorines</i> ‘colours.APP’
(-ín)	<i>pronto</i> ‘soon’ > <i>prontín</i> ‘soon.DIM/EXP’
-ing-	<i>señorito</i> ‘young master, rich kid’ > <i>señoritíngo</i> ‘young master.PEJ’
-irri ¹⁷⁸	<i>ojos</i> ‘eyes’ > <i>ojirris</i> ‘eyes.APP’
-is	<i>fino</i> ‘refined’ > <i>finolis</i> ‘refined.PEJ’
-ísim-	<i>hermana</i> ‘sister’ > <i>hermanísima</i> ‘sister.EXP’
-it-	<i>hecho</i> ‘done’ > <i>hechito</i> ‘done.DIM, done.INT, done.APP’
(-ít-)	<i>día</i> ‘day’ > <i>diíta</i> ‘day.APP’
(-ich-) ¹⁷⁹	<i>bonito</i> ‘beautiful’ > <i>boñicho</i> ‘beautiful.APP’
-oide	<i>bueno</i> ‘good’ > <i>buenoide</i> ‘≈ goody-good’

¹⁷⁶ The masculine form of this marker usually takes the form *-ete* (instead of in *-eto*). For a discussion of the allomorphs *-eto/-eta*, see Hidalgo Navarro (2003, 586) and Herrero Moreno (1989, 84).

¹⁷⁷ Monzó Gallo describes this suffix as an ‘hyporistic suffix’ and justifies the semantics of its derivational role by alluding to the phonetic iconicity of /i/, indicating that the presence of the suffix /-i/ implies a movement towards emotional stance-taking on the part of the speaker, which may convey either endearment of dislike (2017, 13).

¹⁷⁸ Against Malkiel (1970), Iribarren Argaiz argues for a Basque origin of this morph (2010, 114–115).

¹⁷⁹ Kany also has discussed the use of the morph *-ich-* as a palatalized allomorph of *-it-*, typical of Chilean Spanish (1962, 133).

-on- (-ón-)	<i>cursi</i> ‘tacky, kitsch’ > <i>cursilona</i> ‘tacky.INT’ <i>triste</i> ‘sad’ > <i>tristón</i> ‘sad.ATT’
-ong-	<i>fácil</i> ‘easy’ > <i>facilongo</i> ‘easy.PEJ, easy.INT’
-orr- (-orri-) ¹⁸⁰	<i>tinto</i> ‘red wine’ > <i>tintorro</i> ‘red wine.APP, red wine.PEJ’ <i>andar</i> ‘to walk’ > <i>andorrear</i> ‘to walk aimlessly’ <i>boda</i> ‘wedding’ > <i>bodorrio</i> ‘wedding.pej’
-os-	<i>elegante</i> ‘elegant’ > <i>elegantoso</i> ‘elegant.EXP, elegant.ATT’
-ot-	<i>pinchar</i> ‘to prick, to poke’ > <i>pinchotear</i> ‘to prick.REP.PEJ’
-uc- (-uqu-)	<i>bolsa</i> ‘bag’ > <i>bolsuca</i> ‘bag.APP’ <i>besar</i> ‘to kiss’ > <i>besuquear</i> ‘to kiss.REP/PEJ’
-uch-	<i>pálido</i> ‘pale’ > <i>paliducho</i> ‘pale.PEJ’
-uel-	<i>tirano</i> ‘tyrant’ > <i>tiranuelo</i> ‘tyrant.PEJ, tyrant.DIM’
-uj-	<i>apenado</i> ‘saddened’ > <i>apenujado</i> ‘sadenned.ATT’
-ull-	<i>grande</i> ‘big’ > <i>grandón</i> ‘big.INT’ > <i>grandullón</i> ‘big.INT.INT’
-un-	<i>viejo</i> ‘old’ > <i>viejuno</i> ‘old.PEJ’
-urr-	<i>mancha</i> ‘stain’ > <i>manchón</i> ‘stain.AUG’ > <i>manchurrón</i> ‘stain.PEJ.AUG’ <i>cantar</i> ‘to sing’ > <i>canturrear</i> ‘to sing.ATT, to sing.PEJ’
-uz-	<i>borracho</i> ‘drunkard’ > <i>borrachuzo</i> ‘drunkard.PEJ’
-uzc- (-usc-) (-izc-)	<i>negro</i> ‘black’ > <i>negruzco</i> ‘black.ATT’ <i>pardo</i> ‘dun, lackluster’ > <i>pardusco</i> ‘dun.ATT’ <i>blanco</i> ‘white’ > <i>blanquizco</i> ‘white.ATT’
archi-	<i>famoso</i> ‘famous’ > <i>archifamoso</i> ‘extremely famous’
extra-	<i>suave</i> ‘soft’ > <i>extrasuave</i> ‘extra-soft’
hiper-	<i>crítico</i> ‘critical’ > <i>hipercrítico</i> ‘hyper-critical’
mega-	<i>tímido</i> ‘shy’ > <i>megatímido</i> ‘mega-shy’
pseudo-	<i>artístico</i> ‘artistic’ > <i>pseudoartístico</i> ‘pseudoartistic’
super-	<i>limpio</i> ‘clean’ > <i>superlimpio</i> ‘super clean’
ultra-	<i>civilizado</i> ‘civilized’ > <i>ultracivilizado</i> ‘ultracivilized’

¹⁸⁰ The use of the allomorph *-orri-* does not necessarily involve a gender shift of the base, as in the example above (*boda*_{FEM} > *bodorrio*_{MASC}). In the EVAL *vida*_{FEM} ‘life’ > *vidorria*_{FEM} ‘life.PEJ’, no such shift occurs.

<i>re-</i>	<i>rubio</i> ‘blond’ > <i>rerubio</i> ‘very blond, blond.INT’
<i>recontra-</i>	<i>parecida</i> ‘similar’ > <i>recontraparecida</i> ‘very similar, similar.INT’
<i>requete-</i>	<i>mirar</i> ‘to look’ > <i>requetemirar</i> ‘to look.REP, to look.INT’
<i>rete-</i>	<i>viejo</i> ‘old’ > <i>reteviejo</i> ‘very old, old.INT’

Table 7. Catalogue of productive evaluative markers in Spanish

As illustrated by Table 7, Spanish has a vast array of morphs which may have, among other functions, that of evaluative markers. Out of the 58 affixes contained in the catalogue, only 11 are prefixes (or prefixoids), while the rest are suffixes, indicating that suffixation is the most productive morphological rule in Spanish EVAL-formation. An additional number of affixes (16 in total) have not been included in the previous catalogue due to their lack of current productivity, lack of sufficient evidence attesting their use or their restricted character, i.e., their use being limited to small communities of speakers. Said evaluative markers are compiled in Table 8:

Evaluative marker	Illustrative example
<i>-áce-</i>	<i>amarillo</i> ‘yellow’ > <i>amarilláceo</i> ‘yellowish’
<i>-ales</i>	<i>viejo</i> ‘old person’ > <i>viejales</i> ‘old person.EXP’
<i>-alla</i>	<i>gente</i> ‘people’ > <i>gentualla</i> ‘rabble, people.PEJ’
<i>-asc-</i>	<i>rubio</i> ‘blond’ > <i>rubiasco</i> ‘blond.EXP/APP’
<i>-cul</i> ¹⁸¹	<i>libro</i> ‘book’ > <i>libriculo</i> ‘book.EXP, book.DIM’
<i>-enque</i> ¹⁸²	<i>flaco</i> ‘skinny’ > <i>flaquenque</i> ‘skinny.INT’ <i>abajo</i> ‘down’ > <i>abajenque</i> ‘down.INT, much further down’
<i>-ezn-</i>	<i>rufian</i> ‘ruffian’ > <i>rufezno</i> ‘ruffian.DIM’
<i>-i(n)che</i> ¹⁸³	<i>color</i> ‘color’ > <i>colorinche</i> (Posse 1981, 87) <i>güero</i> ‘whitey’ > <i>güerínche</i> ‘whitey.PEJ’ (Alatorre 2001, 4)
<i>-ichich-</i>	<i>poco</i> ‘little, few’ > <i>poquichicho</i> ‘little, few.EXP’

¹⁸¹ Although the Latin diminutive *-culus* survives mostly in fully lexicalized units (*receptáculo*, *montículo*, *canalículo*, *corpúsculo*), it can also be found employed with a humoristic intention: “*un lustroso grupo de libriculos de la colección Crisol*” (Sánchez Dragó 2001, 33).

¹⁸² The evaluative use of this morph is discussed in Moreno-Fernández (2020, 115).

¹⁸³ The possible origin and uses of this suffix, used mainly in Mexico, are discussed in Lope Blanch (1992) and Alatorre (2001).

-ifl-	<i>engaño</i> ‘swindle, ruse’ > <i>engañifla</i> ‘swindle.EXP’
-oco ¹⁸⁴	<i>vino</i> ‘wine’ > <i>vinoco</i> ‘wine.EXP/PEJ/DIM’
-ol-	<i>piedra</i> ‘stone’ > <i>p(i)edrolo</i> ‘stone.AUG’
-uci ¹⁸⁵	<i>tasca</i> ‘bar, tavern’ > <i>tascucio</i> ‘tavern.PEJ’ (Sánchez Dragó 2001, 47)
-ul-	<i>ninfa</i> ‘nymph’ > <i>nínfula</i> ‘nymphet.APP’
-ung-	<i>chata</i> ‘dear one’ > <i>chatunga</i> ‘dear one.EXP’
-ut-	<i>francés</i> ‘French’ > <i>franchute</i> ‘French.PEJ, ≈ frog’

Table 8. Spanish evaluative markers of limited productivity

Although the relevance of affixes contained in Table 8 should not be underestimated, it has been considered that a detailed discussion of these evaluative markers exceeds the aims of the present study.

3.2.2 Proposed catalogue of evaluative markers in Latvian

As done in the previous section, this subchapter presents a proposed catalogue of all evaluative suffixes described in studies on Latvian evaluative morphology, considering that allomorphs and adaptive interfixes (usually *-t-* and *-sn-*) are not counted as separate markers¹⁸⁶. Dialectal affixes have been included for the sake of thoroughness, given that evaluative forms obtained by means of these affixes are easily understood by speakers of standard Latvian. As discussed by Urbanovica (2014), the catalogue of Latvian diminutives seems to have become reduced as the language has evolved. Presently, the number of diminutive suffixes considered as truly productive and widespread is limited to half a dozen: *-iņ-*, *-īt-*, *-el-*, *-ēn-*, *-uk-*, *-ul-* (Vulāne 2013, 220–242). As mentioned above, it is considered that Latvian does not have dedicated affixes for the expression of pejoration, although pejorative senses (such as contempt, caricature, satire, scorn, derision, or ridicule) are often conveyed by means of the affixes characterized as diminutives, particularly in the case of nouns (and less often in adjectives). Rūķe-Draviņa

¹⁸⁴ NGLE describes this suffix as characteristic of the Andean area (2011, 1041), and has been described in some detail in Rabanales (1958).

¹⁸⁵ Pharies considers this suffix as a variant of *-uz-* (2004, 159).

¹⁸⁶ For a discussion on allomorphs of many of the evaluative markers contained in this catalogue, see Kalnača 2004.

examines pejoration only as a semantic nuance or connotation¹⁸⁷ found in diminutives (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959, 334–335).

The following catalogue also includes the morpheme *pus-*, which, as found in EVALs, has undergone a partial loss of its original meaning (‘half’) and has developed an alternative semantic description, conveying attenuation or diminution. Moreover, as described in MLLVG (1959), in the morpheme *pus-* seems to convey those semantic meanings with more intensity than the suffix *pa-* (as in *daudz* ‘much’ > *padaudz* ‘a bit too much’) (1959, 309–310*). Veisbergs also includes this morph among others which are characterized as *semi-prefixes* found in evaluative compounds (1999, 96). The advancement of the grammaticalization process of this morpheme has been corroborated more recently by Vulāne, who affirms that the morpheme *pus-*, along with some others, shows grammatical features that makes it resemble *prefixoids* (Vulāne 2013, 191 and 250*), that is, a segment that has characteristics of both a free morpheme and a bound morpheme¹⁸⁸. Taking into consideration the cline of grammaticality proposed by Hopper and Traugott (2003, 7), it can be argued that, in certain constructions, the morpheme *pus-* acts much like an evaluative prefix. In the example *atbilde* ‘answer’ > *pusatbilde* ‘≈ half-hearted answer’, the emphasis is not on a measurable quality (the length of the answer) but in a subjective quality of the marked base (the appropriateness or aptness of the answer) or even on the communicative intention of the speaker. A contextualized use of evaluative forms containing the marker *pus-* can be seen in (1a) and (1b)¹⁸⁹:

(1a) ...*bet tomēr šad tad attopies **pusnetīriem** matiem pirms skriešanas ārā no mājas...*
‘≈ ...but still sometimes one sees one’s **half dirty** hair just before running out of the house...’

(1b) ...*vienkārši man bija tādi **puslokaini, **pustaisni** mati...***
‘≈ ...I just had this **curlish** [lit. **half-curly**], **straightish** [lit. **half-straight**] hair...’

Obviously, the sense of ‘half’ in the illustrative examples is not descriptive, but merely evaluative, as it refers to non-measurable properties. In such cases, it is best interpreted as an element expressing approximative quantification, as it could be conveyed by the

¹⁸⁷ Throughout her study, written in German, some of the various nouns used to indicate ‘nuance’ or ‘connotation’ are *Bedeutungsschattierungen*, *Unterton*, *Nebenton*, *Nebensinn*, *Nuance*, and *Beigeschmack* (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959).

¹⁸⁸ The morpheme *pus-* is also described as a ‘prefix’ in Fábregas et al. (2018, 532–535).

¹⁸⁹ The sources for these examples are Seekthesimple.com (2017c) for (1a) and Dieviete.lv (2016c) for (1b).

adverbs ‘rather’, ‘quite’, ‘partially’ or the English suffix -ish.

Below, two lists are presented – Table 9 contains productive evaluative markers while Table 10 contains evaluative markers which have been described as not currently productive in the consulted research literature. Given that the geographical distribution and total number of speakers of Latvian is much more reduced than that of Spanish, dialectal variation is similarly less ample. Consequently, evaluative markers which may be typical of a certain dialect but recognizable by any native speaker when applied in context have also been included in the catalogue. As in the case of Spanish, translations are only approximative, often relying on standardized readings, given the lack of context. In the case of lexical units with several meanings, only the relevant one for the example has been included in the translation. Semantic senses have been indicated according to the definitions in the online dictionary Tezaurs.lv (2021_e) when these were available. Evaluative forms for the illustrative examples have been extracted from available descriptive works on the subject, particularly Endzelīns (1922, 1938 and 1971), Staltmane (1958), Rūķe-Draviņa (1953 and 1959), MLLVG (1959), Soida 2009, and Markus-Narvila (2013). Some commentary is provided below on the use and relevance of some of the following evaluative markers:

Evaluative marker	Illustrative example
-an-	<i>bāls</i> > <i>bālgs</i> ‘whitish’ > <i>bālgans</i> ‘whitish, off-white’
-ēj-	<i>smags</i> ‘heavy’ > <i>smagnējs</i> ‘rather heavy’ <i>tuvs</i> ‘near’ > <i>tuvējs</i> ‘quite near’
-el-	<i>vīrs</i> ‘husband’ > <i>vīrelis</i> ‘husband.DIM/PEJ’ <i>skribūt</i> ‘to write’ > <i>skribelēt</i> ‘to write.PEJ, to scribble’
-en-	<i>mitrs</i> ‘humid’ > <i>mitrens</i> ‘humid.ATT’
-iņ-	<i>mala</i> ‘edge, shore’ > <i>maliņa</i> ‘edge.DIM’
-īt-	<i>saule</i> ‘sun’ > <i>saulīte</i> ‘saule.APP’
-uk- (-uc-)	<i>brālis</i> ‘brother’ > <i>brāļuks</i> ‘brother.APP’ <i>pika</i> ‘lump, clod’ > <i>pikucis</i> ‘lump.DIM’
-ul-	<i>smuka</i> ‘pretty’ > <i>smukule</i> ‘pretty.APP’
ap-	<i>ārstēt</i> ‘to cure, to treat (medically)’ > <i>apārstēt</i> ‘to cure.ATT’
ekstra-	<i>seksiģa</i> ‘sexy’ > <i>ekstraseksiģa</i> ‘extra-sexy’ (Korsete.lv 2021 _e)

<i>hiper-</i>	<i>sievīška</i> ‘feminine’ > <i>hipersievīška</i> ‘hyperfeminine’
<i>ie-</i>	<i>sāļš</i> ‘salty’ > <i>iesāļš</i> ‘salty.ATT’ <i>pelēks</i> ‘grey’ > <i>iepelēks</i> ‘grey. ATT, greyish’
<i>iz-V-ties</i>	<i>sviķot</i> ‘to imbibe’ > <i>izsviķoties</i> ‘to imbibe.INT, to imbibe.EXC’
<i>mega-</i>	<i>viegls</i> ‘light’ > <i>megaviegls</i> ‘extremely light’
<i>no-V-ties</i>	<i>dzied</i> ‘to sing’ > <i>nodziedāties</i> ‘to sing for a long time, usually until tired’
<i>pa-</i>	<i>grūts</i> ‘difficult’ > <i>pagrūts</i> ‘difficult.ATT’
<i>pār-</i>	<i>smieties</i> ‘to laugh’ > <i>pārsmieties</i> ‘to laugh.INT’
<i>pār-V-ties</i>	<i>gaidīt</i> ‘to wait’ > <i>pārgaidīties</i> ‘to wait too long, to wait.EXC’
<i>pie-</i>	<i>slēpties</i> ‘to hide’ > <i>pieslēpties</i> ‘≈ to hide partially (also quickly)’
<i>pie-V-ties</i>	<i>strēbt</i> ‘to gulp down’ > <i>piestrēbties</i> ‘to gulp down.INT’ <i>ēst</i> ‘to eat’ > <i>pieēsties</i> ‘to eat copiously, until sated’
<i>pseido-</i>	<i>patiesība</i> ‘truth’ > <i>pseudopatiesība</i> ‘pseudotruth’
<i>pus-</i>	<i>stīvs</i> ‘stiff’ > <i>pusstīvs</i> ‘stiff.ATT’
<i>sa-</i>	<i>gulēt</i> ‘to sleep’ > <i>sagulēt</i> ‘to sleep plenty, until sated’
<i>sa-V-ties</i>	<i>ēst</i> ‘to eat’ > <i>saēsties</i> ‘to eat.INT, to eat.EXC’
<i>super-</i>	<i>spēcīgs</i> ‘strong’ > <i>superspēcīgs</i> ‘super-strong’ (Veisbergs 1999, 96)
<i>ultra-</i>	<i>seksīgs</i> ‘sexy’ > <i>ultraseksīgs</i> ‘ultrasexy’

Table 9. Catalogue of productive evaluative markers in Latvian

According to the catalogue in Table 9, the number of productive evaluative markers attested in this study for Latvian is 26¹⁹⁰. These are divided into three different types of affixes: 9 suffixes, 12 prefixes (or prefixoids), and 5 deverbial circumfixes. As suggested by the semantic glosses provided, attenuation (ATT), intensification (INT), appreciation (APP), diminution (DIM) and pejoration (PEJ) are the features more readily conveyed by these markers. Remarkably, the feature augmentation (AUG) seems to be entirely absent from the glosses. However, this aspect will be examined in some more detail in subchapter 3.5.

An interesting item in the catalogue is the suffix *-ušk-*, borrowed from Russian

¹⁹⁰ Although proposed by Staltmane (1958, 41), the deverbial prefix *aiz-* has not been included as an evaluative marker as no reliable examples have been found to justify its inclusion.

through close contact between the two languages. Despite its non-Latvian origin, it has been included in the catalogue, as it has been found to be productive with Latvian bases: *meita* > *meituška*, *krieviete* > *krievuška*, *sieva* > *sievuška*. It also appears attached to bases which have undergone a process of back clipping: *kafejnīca* ‘coffee shop’ > *kafuška* (Bušs and Ernstone 2006, 216), *universitāte* ‘university’ > *unuška* (Tezaurs 2022e), *krievu valoda* ‘Russian (as a school subject)’ > *kriluška*¹⁹¹.

Similarly, the evaluative marker *-en-* seems to be currently productive mostly combination with backclipping: *diskotēka* > *disene*, *algebra* > *alene*, *ģeografija* > *ģēgene* (Ernstone 1999, 31). Such EVALs feature with particularly prominence in the jargon of students. The use of this morph has also been described in relation to certain subdialects (see Endzelin 1922, 221 and Rūķe-Draviņa 1959, 212–217), being characterized as a diminutive (e.g., *gulta* ‘bed’ > *gultene* ‘small bed’, *kūts* ‘stable’ > *kūtene* ‘little stable’), as well as an augmentative and pejorative: *cirvis* ‘axe’ > *cirvene* ‘dull axe’, *pirksti* > *pirstenes* ‘big, ugly fingers’, *berns* ‘child’ > *bernene* ‘naughty child’ (Endzelīns 1971, 99).

Table 10 (below) gathers 24 additional morphs which different authors have discussed as diminutive or evaluative affixes but indicating, at the same time, that they are limited in their productivity, that their use is mainly restricted to dialectal uses (with some subdialectal allomorphs here shown between parentheses), or that of their use there is only anecdotal evidence, often restricted to single oral sources.

Evaluative marker	Illustrative example
-al-	<i>kaķēns</i> ‘kitten’ > <i>kaķalēns</i> ‘kitten.DIM’ <i>birzs</i> ‘grove’ > <i>birztala</i> (also <i>birztaļa</i>) ‘grove.EXP’ ¹⁹² <i>šļūkāt</i> ‘to shuffle’ > <i>šļūkalēt</i> ‘to shuffle.REP.ATT’
-aļ-	<i>staigāt</i> ‘to walk, to ramble’ > <i>staigaļāt</i> ‘to walk.PEJ’ <i>cirpt</i> ‘to cut, to shear’ > <i>cirpaļāt</i> ‘to cut.REP.PEJ’ <i>draudzene</i> ‘girlfriend’ > <i>draugaļa</i> ‘girlfriend.PEJ, lover.PEJ’
arhi-	<i>slikta</i> ‘bad’ > <i>arhislikta</i> ‘extremely bad’ (Liepa 2010, 58)
-at-	<i>čupa</i> ‘heap, pile’ > <i>čupata</i> ‘heap.DIM’

¹⁹¹ Ernstone has even pointed out to the unorthodox but attested use of this suffix in combination with another Latvian suffix: *kafuškiņa* [*kaf-usk-īn-ā*] (Ernstone 1999, 128).

¹⁹² An available definition considers *birztala* as a synonym of *birzs*, but stylistically marked by conveying a poetic nuance (*poētiska stilistikā nokrāsa*) (Tezaurs.lv 2021e).

-av-	<i>līt</i> ‘to rain’ > <i>lijavāt</i> ‘to rain continuously’
-āk-	<i>bērns</i> ‘child’ > <i>bērņāks</i> ‘child.DIM’ <i>suns</i> ‘dog’ > <i>suņāks</i> ‘dog.DIM’
-āt-	<i>kuce</i> ‘bitch’ > <i>kučāte</i> ‘bitch.DIM’
-ausk- ¹⁹³	<i>Kārlis</i> ‘Charles’ > <i>Kārlauska</i> ‘Charles.PEJ’
-až-	<i>rāpot</i> ‘to crawl’ > <i>rāpažāt</i> ‘to crawl.REP’
-ēn-	<i>baļķis</i> ‘beam’ > <i>baļķēns</i> ‘beam.DIM’
(-ān-)	<i>meita</i> ‘young girl’ > <i>meitāns</i> ‘young girl.APP’
(-ēl-)	<i>vista</i> ‘hen’ > <i>vistēle</i> ‘hen.APP, hen.PEJ’
(-eņ-) ¹⁹⁴	<i>strups</i> ‘short, stubby’ > <i>strupeņš</i> ‘stubby.ATT, stubby.PEJ’
-eņk-	<i>meiksts</i> [miksts] ‘soft’ > <i>meisteņki</i> ‘soft.ATT’
-et-	<i>kule</i> ‘bag, pouch’ > <i>kulefīte</i> ‘pouch.DIM’ ¹⁹⁵
-ēk-	<i>bērns</i> ‘boy’ > <i>bērņēks</i> ‘boy.APP’
-g-	<i>zils</i> ‘blue’ > <i>zilgs</i> ‘bluish’
-ik-	<i>Anna</i> ‘Anna’ > <i>Annika</i> ‘Annie’
-iķ-	<i>Anna</i> > <i>Anniķis</i>
-in-	<i>trauks</i> ‘dish’ > <i>trāucinis</i> ¹⁹⁶
(-īn-)	<i>sirds</i> ‘heart’ > <i>sirsnīna</i> ‘heart.APP’ <i>tivs</i> ‘near’ > <i>tuvīns</i> ‘quite near’
-iņk-	<i>ātri</i> ‘fast’ > <i>ātriņki</i> ‘fast.EXP, fast.INT’
-īn-	<i>tivs</i> ‘close’ > <i>tuvīns</i> ‘quite close, closish’
-ka ¹⁹⁷	<i>teļš</i> ‘calf’ > <i>teļka</i> ‘calf.DIM’ <i>skuķis</i> ‘girl’ > <i>skutka</i> ‘girl.DIM’

¹⁹³ According to Rūķe-Draviņa, this suffix is employed only with proper names, usually conveying a strong pejorative connotation (1959, 309).

¹⁹⁴ Rūķe-Draviņa characterizes this suffix as an allomorph of *-iņ-*, used mainly in subdialects of Latvia’s eastern region (1959, 206–210). Also the morphs *-īn-* and *-iņk-* in this table have been previously discussed as allomorphs of *-iņ-*.

¹⁹⁵ Rūķe-Draviņa indicates that this suffix is found, almost exclusively, in combination with other evaluative suffixes (i.e., *kule* > *kul-et-īt-e*, *birzs* ‘small birch grove’ > *birz-et-iņ-a*) (1959, 242), with the exception of certain hypocoristic forms: e.g., *Anna* > *Annete*.

¹⁹⁶ In Mühlenbachs and Endzelīns (1932, 22)

¹⁹⁷ While the morph *-ka* does not seem to be productive in modern Latvian, it can be found in some Latvian borrowings from Russian *fotogrāfija* ‘photograph’ > *foto* (rus *фото*) ‘photograph.EXP’ (Bušs and Ernstone 2006, 159).

-niek-	<i>Milda</i> ‘Milda’ > <i>Mildenieks</i> ‘Milda.APP’
(-nīc-)	<i>kule</i> ‘sack, pouch’ > <i>kulenīca</i> ‘small sack, pouch’
-uļ-	<i>līt</i> ‘to rain’ > <i>lietuļot</i> ‘to rain lightly’
-ut-	<i>alus</i> ‘beer’ > <i>alutis</i> ‘beer.APP’ ¹⁹⁸
uz-	<i>gaidīt</i> ‘to wait’ > <i>uzgaidīt</i> ‘to wait a little’ ¹⁹⁹
-už-	<i>Anna</i> > <i>Annūža</i> ‘Anna.APP’ <i>māte</i> ‘mother’ > <i>mātuža</i> ‘mother.APP, mother.PEJ’

Table 10. Latvian evaluative markers of limited productivity

As in the case of Spanish morphs with very limited productivity or geographical distribution, these Latvian morphs will not be discussed any further in the study, as its descriptive focus remains on available resources rather than on historical or etymological aspects.

It is understood that some of the morphological units included as evaluative markers in each of the previous catalogues could be the object of further discussion in that which attains their pertinence or relevance. A different theoretical approach might well be able to present arguments for or against the inclusion of some of the units in said catalogues. In any case, the main aim of the catalogues is to present a variety of affixes (or affixoids) as interrelated elements which, together, can be considered as a distinct type, i.e., evaluative markers. Beyond their morphological differences, all units are related to each other in terms of their function.

3.3 A contrastive typology of evaluative forms in Spanish and Latvian

In this section, the 15 morphological processes which have been attested as EVAL-forming in different languages (as described in 2.5.1), are discussed in relation to Spanish and Latvian. Since neither subtraction, transfixation, paradigm conversion or cliticization have been shown to be productive EVAL-forming processes in Spanish or Latvian, they will not be further discussed.

3.3.1 Compounding

¹⁹⁸ Rūķe-Draviņa 1959, 243.

¹⁹⁹ Staltmane indicates that this prefix is not very productive as an evaluative marker (1958, 42).

As far as it has been possible to ascertain, EM research of Spanish does not contain mention of compounding as an EVAL-forming process. There can be attested certain compounds in which evaluativity is already encoded in the signifier and their use simply reflects a lexical choice on the part of the speaker:

(1a) *pata*_N ‘leg’ + *largo*_A ‘long’ > *patilargo* ‘long-legged’

(1b) *agua* ‘water’ + *fiesta* ‘party’ > *aguafiestas* ‘party pooper’

However, this type of constructions contains two components whose individual literal or metaphorical meanings interact towards the semantic definition of the compound. However, none of them can be singled out as an evaluative marker, and the resulting unit is not interchangeable with any of the components without altering the meaning of the utterance. In view of this, it can be concluded that compounding is not an available EVAL-forming process in Spanish.

In Latvian, various types of compounds have also been identified, according to the nature of their components (MLLVG 1959, 197–199, Kalme and Smiltņiece 2001, 49–53). For a variety of reasons, most types of Latvian compounds cannot be considered as evaluative forms, even in cases when they convey subjective evaluativity. For example, compounds like *debeszils* ‘sky-blue’ (‘blue like the sky’), or *aveņsārts* ‘raspberry-red’ (‘red like raspberries’) (Kalnaca and Lokmane 2021e, 72) include a term of comparison, and therefore cannot be considered as evaluative forms. Similarly, ADJ + N compounds containing adjectives like *mazs* ‘little, small’ or *labs* ‘good’ often convey evaluation, but this is to be found encoded in stable and lexicalized meanings:

(2a) *mazs* ‘little’ + *turīgs* ‘wealthy’ > *mazturīgs* ‘poor, low-income’

(2b) *mazs* ‘little’ + *izglītots* ‘well-educated’ > *mazizglītots* ‘semi-literate, undereducated’

(2c) *labs* ‘good’ + *ticīgs* ‘trusting person’ > *labticīgs* ‘trustful, credulous’

Five different stems of adjectival origin have been discussed by Bušs (1986, 74–77) as stems involved in the construction of compounds: *pus-*, *maz-*, *liel-*, *sīk-* and *diž-*. However, it can be argued that, in cases where the addition of the stems in question do not involve a shift in the referent of the base, these act rather as evaluative prefixoids, much in the same manner as it has been discussed for morphemes of Greco-Latin origin (e.g., *mega-*, *hyper-*, *archi-*, *pseudo-*, etc.). Thus, compounds containing the stem *pus-* (‘half’) are not considered EVALs when the semantic aspect of said stem joins that of a

second component to originate a new and distinct lexical unit: *pusstunda* [*pus-* ‘half’ + *stunda* ‘hour’] ‘half an hour, half-hour’, *puskails* [half + *kails* ‘naked’] half-naked. Bušs also discusses some instances in which *pus-* has a more distinctive evaluative function, and its original meaning (‘half’) can be interpreted in a metaphorical sense, as ‘not entirely’, ‘not very’ or ‘less than’ or ‘almost’. In such cases, it can be argued that *pus-* operates as an attenuative morph, and that an intervening grammaticalization process allows for its analysis as a prefixoid instead of as a separate stem: e.g., *pusentuziastisks* ‘not very enthusiastic’, *pusstulbs* ‘stupid.ATT’, *pusbēda* ‘slight sadness, sadness.ATT’ (ibid., 76).

In a similar manner, the stems *sīk-* ‘small’ and *diž-* ‘big, great’ can also be found in compounds characterized by a pronounced subjective evaluative nuance: e.g., *sīkdarbs* ‘minor work’, *sīkradība* ‘small creature’, *dižmelotājs* [sic] ‘big blabbermouth’ (ibid., 75). However, as indicated by Bušs, attested instances are mostly nonce-words, and therefore the productivity of these morphs as EVAL-forming can only be considered anecdotal. Illustrative examples presented by Bušs containing the stems *liel-* ‘big’ un *maz-* ‘small’ are all regular compounds containing little to no amount of subjective evaluation, but merely a designation related to size or amount (ibid., 74). According to these considerations, only the prefixoid *pus-* will be considered as productive and examined in 3.3.2, along with other prefixed EVALs.

In that which concerns Latvian EVAL-forming compounding, the case of ‘reduplicative compounds’ (Veisbergs 1999, 87) must be examined separately. Such compounds are defined as units “containing words of the same root, [in which] the first component has the role of an intensifier” (MLLVG 1959, 303): e.g., *sensens* ‘ancient.INT’. The rationale for the consideration of these lexemes as compounds lies in that their origin can be traced to various types of ‘free reduplication’ syntactic constructions which have, over time, also acquired the structure and properties of a regular compound. Thus, considering their origin, MLLVG (1959, 303–304) and Nītiņa (2013, 406) describe these compounds as stemming from constructions involving:

- (a) two repeated adjectives, both in agreement in terms of gender, case and number: *kluss kluss* ‘silent silent’ > *klusskluss* ‘silent.INT’;
- (b) two repeated adjectives, the first adjective being in the genitive case and the second one marked with the definite ending (*-ais*): *sūru sūrais* ‘acid acid’ > *sūrsūrais* ‘acid.INT’;

(c) an adjective preceded by the adverb obtained from the same stem as the adjective: *krietni krietns* ‘honestly honest’ > ***krietnkrietns*** ‘honest.INT’;

(d) an adjective preceded by the adverb obtained from the same stem as the adjective, the adverbial form ending with the fossilized desinence *-um*: *baltum balts* ‘lit. whitely white’ > *baltumbalts* ‘white.INT’.

Additionally, ‘reduplicative compounds’ may also find their original motivation in a construction in which an adjective appears repeated but separated by the particle *jo*, in the set structure ‘ADJ *jo* ADJ’:

(3) *Viņam mugurā bija vecs jo vecs mēteli.*

‘≈ He had a **really old** [old.INT] coat on.’

In all these structures, repetition of the adjectival stem indicates an intensification of the quality expressed by the repeated adjective. The corresponding compounds have not replaced the structures above described but co-exist with them: *zils* ‘blue’ > ***zilzils*** ‘blue.INT’, *tāls* ‘far’ > *tāltāls* ‘far.INT’, *garš* ‘long’ > *gargarš* ‘long.INT’. However, compounds of the type examined in this section have been described as “not very productive” (MLLVG 1959, 303*).

While reduplicative compounds are commonly discussed as adjectives, adverbial compounds of a similar type can also be found: ***vēlvēlu*** ‘late.INT’, ***tāltālu*** ‘far. INT’, ***lēnlēni*** ‘slowly.INT’, ***caurcaurēm*** ‘completely.INT’, ***pārpārēm*** ‘abundantly.INT’:

(4) *Brīvība uzdīgst gausi, aug lēnlēni kā ozols.* (Dombrovska Larsena, 1992c)

‘≈ Freedom sprouts slowly, it grows **slowly**.INT like an oak tree.’

Another type of evaluative compounds is described in MLLVG as ‘tautological compounds’, composed of two synonymous or near-synonymous adjectives. Also in these cases, evaluativity takes regularly the form of intensification: *sens* ‘ancient’ + *vecs* ‘old’ > *senvecs* ‘old.INT’, *sarkans* ‘red’ + *sārts* ‘pink, rosy’ > *sarkansārts* ‘red.INT’ *daiļš* ‘beautiful’ + *skaists* ‘beautiful, pretty’ > *daiļskaists* ‘beautiful.INT’ (MLLVG 1959, 304). As in the case of reduplicative compounds, tautological compounds are quite rare, and the manner of their formation is considered unproductive (ibid.). In the case of both, reduplicative and tautological compounds, the first stem could arguably be posited as an evaluative marker of sorts since, within the compound, it is “a linguistic element specifically devoted to expressing this shift [evaluativity]” (Grandi and Körtvélyessy 2015, 13). As it will be discussed in subchapter 3.6, this type of compounding is compatible

with other EVAL-forming processes: *mazs* ‘small’ > *mazmazs* ‘small.INT’ > *mazmaziņš* ‘small.INT.DIM’.

3.3.2 Affixation

EVAL-formation by affixal means involves an established (although evolving) and language-specific set of evaluative affixes, i.e., affixal morphemes which carry out an explicit evaluative function. EVAL-formation in both languages is here examined from the viewpoint of the various affixal processes involved, following the categories established by Beck (2017) and described in detail in subchapter 2.5.1²⁰⁰. In carrying out this task from an inclusive viewpoint, this section aims to show that although the individual resulting evaluative forms may differ in their semantic features and pragmatic functions, they are aligned and interconnected by their morphological characteristics. As mentioned previously, morphs that have been defined as *semi-affixes* or *affixoids* are also considered as affixal evaluative markers when they convey an explicit evaluative meaning. These units have not been discussed in Latvian in specific regard to evaluative morphology, but in Spanish they have been the object of a dedicated monograph by Rodríguez Ponce (2002). The arguments put forth in said study, as well as in other notable studies on affixation – such as Plag (2018, 86) or Bauer (2014_e) – serve to warrant their inclusion as affixes or, at least, as affix-like elements. According to this approach, the morph *mega-*, for example, is considered as a compounding element in the derivative ‘megabyte’, but as an evaluative prefix in ‘megatired’.

Prefixation

In both Spanish and Latvian, EVAL-forming prefixes can be found attached to bases belonging to all main word classes, although they attest to diverse degrees of productivity, being those of neoclassical origin among the most productive. However, in such cases, evaluative forms containing more than one prefix are somewhat uncommon.

Various authors have described in sufficient detail the role of prefixes as derivative morphemes in Spanish (Almela Pérez 2003, Varela Ortega 2005, NGLÉ 2010), but only some relatively recent studies have examined specifically their capacity to convey subjective evaluation: Seco (1980), Martín García (1998), Varela Ortega and Martín García (1999), Rodríguez Ponce (1999 and 2002), and Serrano Dolader (2015). However,

²⁰⁰ Transfixation is not a productive morphological resource neither in Latvian nor Spanish, and therefore is not further examined in this work.

all these authors discuss prefixation as a derivation process, without adopting an EM-specific perspective, and therefore not considering aspects like lexicalization, word-category preservation, and other aspects relevant to evaluative forms. While prefixed evaluative forms in Spanish are usually adjectives and nouns, verbs and adverbs are not infrequent, as discussed in Rodríguez Ponce (2002) or Pharies (2009): *re-* (*rebarato*, *releche*), *recontra-* (*recontralarga*, *recontrajurar*), *rete-* (*retebien*, *retesabroso*), *requete-* (*requetepronto*, *requetemirar*), *archi-* (*archifamoso*), *super-* (*superconfundida*), *mega-* (*megadivertido*), *sub-* (*subdelincuente*).

The derivational and compositional properties of prefixes in Latvian have been amply researched, although there exist some discrepancies in terms of their description and classification, as evidenced in reviewing Laua (1981), Freimane (1993), Paegle (2003), Soida (2009), Vulāne (2013), Veisbergs (2013), and Navickaitė-Klišauskienė (2016). Various prefixes introduce a clear evaluative aspect, expressing an assessment or opinion related to features such as intensity, quality, taste, shape or form: e.g., *ie-* (*iesāļš* ‘a little salty’), *pa-* (*paaugsts* ‘relatively high’), *pār-* (*pārlaimīgs* ‘overjoyed’), *pus-* (*puscilvēks* ‘lit. half-man, ≈ contemptible person’).

Several morphs of problematic characterization are granted separate scrutiny in this study. These are morphs of Greco-Latin origin (e.g., *archi-*, *super-*, *ultra-*, *mega-*, *mini-*, *micro-*, *hyper-*, *extra-*, *semi-*, etc.) whose terminological designation varies considerably according to different studies, authors, and linguistic traditions. However, whether described as *prefixes*, *prefixoids*, *pseudo-prefixes*, *pseudo-stems* or *compounding elements* (among other designations), their evaluative role –aside from other positional or merely descriptive roles– has been amply attested in EM research, as discussed by Fradin and Montermini (2009), Amiot and Stosic (2014), or Bagasheva (2015). Although Mutz describes these morphs as “ameliorative prefixes” (2015, 153), Lefer and Grabar have shown that they can cover a wide semantic spectrum in terms of measurativity and appreciativity (2015, 189–190). Given their etymological origin, they are available to both Spanish and Latvian, which employ them in a similar fashion.

These morphs have received relatively little attention in studies of Latvian word-formation, as they are not discussed in main reference works such as MLLVG (1959), Kalme un Smiltiece (1999), Soida (2009) or Kalnača and Lokmane (2021_e), and only mentioned in passing in Prauliņš (2012, 74). They are, however, discussed in some detail in Bušs (1986, 76–77), as non-Latvian stems found in compounds. Veisbergs has characterized these type of morphs as ‘semi-suffixes’ or ‘pseudo-stems’ and has also

discussed them as constituents of Latvian compounds (1999, 95). On her part, Vulāne has described units containing these morphs as ‘hybrid compounds’ (*hibrīdsalikteņi*), given the different etymological origin of each constituent of the compound (2013, 253). Although these same morphs have received some more attention in Spanish word-formation research, the terminological challenges posed by these morphs are a frequent element of dissension among academics. The latest Spanish grammar (NGLE 2011) establishes that it is justified to analyse these morphs²⁰¹ as prefixes in some instances and as compound-forming roots in others, given that it is precisely morphs of this kind that do not allow for a neat demarcation between composition and prefixation (NGLE 2011, 1098*). In this dissertation, the role of morphs of Greek and Latin origin which carry out an explicitly evaluative function will be considered as prefixal, and the morphemes themselves as EVAL-forming prefixoids.

Keeping in mind the established distinction between derivational and evaluative morphology, it can be observed that a number of these morphs may carry out these two distinct roles, according to their interaction with the base and the context at large. Consequently, the morph *super-* can be analysed as a derivational element in the term ‘superindex’, but evaluative in the informal adjective ‘supertired’. Moreover, even the interaction between base and prefixoid may result in two units with different semantic descriptions, only differentiable in base to the linguistic context in which they appear. Thus, ‘superexcited’ can be both a physics term²⁰² or an informal EVAL indicating a surplus of excitement. As it is often the case with EVALs, the tenor of the co-text is key for an apt semantic interpretation.

In general terms, prefixoids such as *anti-*, *infra-*, *multi-*, *neo-*, or *super-* even when used evaluatively (e.g., ‘*infrahuman*’), result in derivatives which modify the base in such a manner that its interchangeability with the base ceases to be possible, a feature which has been established as a type-defining condition for EVALs. In such instances, the prefixoid usually describes an objective feature and the referent of the base changes into a different one, with a well-established and well-delimited semantic description: e.g., *fascist* > *antifascist*, *red* > *infrared*, *liberal* > *neoliberal*, *to size* > *to supersize*. Prefixoids associated to size (e.g., *micro-*, *mini-*, *macro-*, *tera-*, *giga-*, etc.) also result mostly in well-

²⁰¹ They have been examined under a variety of terms: *falsos prefijos* ‘fake prefixes’, *cuasiprefijos* ‘near prefixes’, *prefijoides* ‘prefixoids’ or *prefijos improprios* ‘improper prefixes’ (NGLE 2011, 1099).

²⁰² “In those states of molecules for which $E > I$, ionization is not inevitable. (...) An excited state with $E > I$ will be called a “superexcited” state” (Platzman 2962, 420).

defined terms, even in cases in which some degree of evaluativity may be apparent: e.g., micromanage, macrosale, megacorporation. These prefixoids may occasionally appear in evaluative forms, but such cases are rare and perhaps are better considered as anecdotal nonce words: e.g., giga-stupid²⁰³. According to attested uses in reviewed available academic research²⁰⁴, EVAL-forming prefixoids appear quite consistently attached to adjectives, conveying a general sense of intensity and even excess. Most frequent EVAL-forming prefixoids conveying this semantic nuance appear to be arch(i)-, extra-, hiper-, mega-, super-, and ultra-. On its part, the prefixoid pseudo-, also found to be very productive, regularly conveys pejoration: e.g., pseudoscientific, pseudoreasons.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect in terms of prefixed evaluative forms in Latvian is the evaluative use of verbal prefixation. Staltmane points at this semantic feature in certain prefixed verbs, singling out the diminutive and attenuative sense of many deverbal verbs containing the prefix *pa-*, noting that this sense does not necessarily regard the length of the action (Staltmane 1958, 13 and 38). As argued in subchapter 1.6, evaluative forms need to be discussed aside from other constructions in which one same affix (or morphological process) may appear without an explicit evaluative function. For example, in (5a) the role of the prefix *pa-* is linked to perfective aspect, not to evaluation, while in (5b), the evaluative function of the prefix, markedly pragmatic, is the prevailing one²⁰⁵:

(5a) *Kad biju **paēdis** pusdienas, pie manis pienāca Austra.*

‘≈ When I had **finished eating** my lunch, Austra came up to me’.

(5b) *Bet mana sieva – **padrukna**, viņai šis kāpiens diezgan **pakutināja** nervus.*

‘≈ But my wife, **rather thickset**, felt quite **stressed.ATT** about this climb.’

In (5b), the attenuative aspects of the prefix *pa-* serve to soften the use of a potentially unpleasant adjective in the use of *padrukna* (< *drukna* ‘thickset, stocky’). The use of the same suffix in *pakutināja* can also be interpreted as eminently pragmatic, since, semantically, the expression *kutināt nervi* ‘to frighten, to stress out’ is reinforced by the adverb *diezgan* ‘quite, fairly’. Staltmane also mentions the verbal prefixes *aiz-*, *ap-*, *ie-*, *pie-*, and *uz-* as capable of conveying a diminutive sense, which also appears closely interrelated to other aspectual features (Staltmane 1958, 41–44):

²⁰³ “It’s a level beyond Einstein’s definition of stupidity, a modern giga-stupid” (Williams 2014e).

²⁰⁴ See, for example, Štekauer and Lieber (2005, 388–397), NGLÉ (2011, 1096–1208), Schneider (2013, 17), Pakuła-Borowiec (2013) or Depuydt (2009e).

²⁰⁵ Both examples have been excerpted from LVK2018, 2021e.

(6a) *Bišķi **apsildīšu** rokas. Ieberzētās slimās vietas drusku **aprimis** uz brītiņu.*
(Staltmane 1958, 241)

‘≈ I’ll **warm up** my hands **a little**. The rubbed diseased areas will **be relieved** for a while.’

(6b) *Māra norauj lielu kļavas lapu un **pieslēpj** pusnesegtās pilnās krūtis.* (Staltmane 1958, 242)

‘≈ Mara pulls off a large maple leaf and **hides.ATT** her full breasts, half-uncovered’.

Descriptions of Aktionsart in Latvian often contain explicit reference to ‘diminutive verbs’ (*deminutīvie verbi*, MLLVG 1959, 565), as well as to the attenuating sense of the prefix *pa-* (Mathiassen 1997, 161): *jokot* ‘to joke’ > *pajokot* ‘to joke a bit’, *gulēt* ‘to sleep’ > *pagulēt* ‘to sleep a little (sometimes insufficiently)’. Horiguchi also makes a strong case for the consideration of certain *pa-* verbs as part of the diminutive paradigm, noting however that “a strict distinction of grammatical and lexical aspect in Latvian is problematic” and that “diminutivity and perfectivity share the feature of the speaker’s evaluation of a given object or action designated” (Horiguchi 2014, 235–242). Soida has remarked that a high degree of subjective evaluation on the part of the speaker is most noticeable in verbs which characterize an action as overly or improperly accomplished, usually containing the prefix *pār-* (Soida 2009, 256–259), but their meanings are lexicalized and can rarely be considered as evaluative forms: *pārbarot* ‘overfeed’, *pārklusīties* ‘to mishear’, *pārcept* ‘to overcook’. Following Freimane (1993), who has stressed the eminently expressive use of the affixes *no-*, *pie-*, *sa-*, and *uz-* in deverbal verbs (Freimane 1993, 189–191), Horiguchi has also pointed out the “augmentative semantics” (2014, 255) of certain prefixed deverbals:

(7a) *No rīta sals vēl **piekož** tīri ziemīgi.* (Freimane 2013, 189)

‘≈ In the morning, the frost still **bites.INT** quite wintry.’

(7c) *Katra sirdij mīla, un katrai jāsniedz, lai **sadzeras**, **sasūcas** saules staru, cik tīkas.*
(Staltmane 1958, 242)

‘≈ Each heart has love, and each one must be allowed **to drink up.INT** the sunshine, **to soak it up.INT** as much as it pleases.’

A relevant aspect to illustrate again is that, aside from standardized readings, the exact meaning of individual evaluative forms is very much context-dependent, and therefore a correct interpretation can only be obtained on a case-per-case basis. Thus, in both of the following examples, the prefixes *sa-* and *pa-* convey very similar semantic features:

(8a) *Bet tā, ka esmu laba sieva un ļauju vīram savā atvaļinājumā **pagulēt**, tad bērnu uz dārziņu vedu es.* (LVK2018, 2021)

‘≈ But since I am a good wife and allow my husband to **sleep plenty** when he’s on holiday, then it’s me that takes the kids to kindergarten.’

(8b) *Bieži es pa slimnīcām neesmu gulējusi, bet toreiz **sagulēju gan**.* (LVK2018, 2021)

‘≈ I often was not able to sleep in the hospital, but that time I really **slept plenty**.’

As is the case with other EVALs, the exact sense of some of these prefixed deverbals can only be interpreted ascertained within a specific context and co-text. Thus, while in (6a) the prefixed verb (*strādāt* ‘to work’ > *pastrādāt*) implies effort and involvement, in (6b) the same verb implies a lack of it. Furthermore, a strictly pragmatic use of the same morph can be observed in the use of *slaucīt* ‘to sweep’ > *paslaucīt*. In such instance, the use of the prefix *pa-* conveys self-effacement and minimizes the imposition that the action would have on an involved party²⁰⁶.

(9a) *Šogad ir vislabāk – varēšu daudz **pastrādāt** un sapelnīt direktoram daudz naudas.* (Horiguchi 2015, 255)

‘≈ This year is the best: I will be able to **work a lot** and earn plenty of money for the director.’

(9b) *Ka viņas nevarēs, piemēram, vietējā skolā vai kur citur **pastrādāt** vienu dienu vai divas, kādu vakaru aiziet **paslaucīt** grīdas, aiziet **pastrādāt** pie kāda uzņēmēja.* (LVK2018, 2021_e)

‘≈ That she won’t be able, for example, to **work a bit** at the school or some other place, one or two days, to go some evening and **sweep** the floor or **do a little work** in some company.’

The complexity and range of subjective nuance introduced by Latvian deverbal prefixes is not matched by Spanish ones. In the case of Spanish, instances are limited to the use of the prefixes *re-*, *rete-*, *requete-* and *recontra-*, whose use is particularly frequent in México, Chile and the Rioplatense dialect of Argentina and Uruguay. All these four suffixes, quite similar semantically among themselves, usually introduce a sense of intensification or repetition. In the latter case, the obtained deverbals cannot be considered as EVALs, but rather as verbs conveying a stable and objective semantic feature, i.e., the repetition of an action: *leer* ‘to read’ > *releer* ‘to reread’, *pensar* ‘to think’ > *repensar* ‘to

²⁰⁶ The utterance takes place in the larger context of a discussion about part-time work, and the speaker wants to convey that the right to work of the person in question should prevail over an employer’s tax-related concerns.

rethink, to think it over’. By contrast, subjective evaluation is obvious in cases where the above-mentioned affixes convey intensification or excess: *pagar* ‘to pay’ > *repagar* ‘≈ to pay dearly or too much’. In yet other instances, the addition of the *re-* prefix results in an entirely new lexical unit: *pagar* ‘to pay’ > *repagar* ‘to pay back’. All these three possibilities are here illustrated:

(10a) *Es un contradiós pagar una obra costosísima y repagar por demolerla.* (CORDE, 2021_e)

‘≈ It’s nonsense to pay for a very expensive construction, and then **pay again** to have it demolished.’

(10b) *En el 2002 hizo muchas inversiones y ahora tiene que repagarlas.* (CREA, 2021_e)

‘≈ He made many investments in 2002, and now he must pay back for them.’

(10c) *Sear[s] es caro y vas a repagar las cosas.* (Velocidadmaxima.com 2021_e)

‘≈ Sears is expensive and you will **pay.INT** for things.’

Although *rete-* and *requete-* are defined as prefixes (NGRE 2010, 185) – as well as *recontra-* (ibid., 245) –, it is not unusual for them to appear separated from the bases they should be attached to, almost acting as adverbs, as shown in (11a). While this feature, which has also been attested for their interaction with adjectives, adverbs, and nouns, is not considered acceptable from an orthographic point of view (Fundéu 2021_e), it remains common in written media:

(11a) *Pero a mí me pagan este mueble, eso sí que sí. Me lo pagan y requete pagan.* (CREA 2021_e)

‘≈ But they will pay for this piece of furniture, of course they will. They will pay and **pay.INT** for it.’

(11b) *Barrilaco está rete alejado.* (CORDE 2021_e)

‘≈ Barrilaco is **way far** [**far.INT**].’

(11c) *Es recontra difícil encontrar un hombre que sea buen esposo.* (CREA 2021_e)

‘≈ It is **difficult.INT** to find a man that is also a good husband.’

Suffixation

In both Spanish and Latvian, suffixation is the prototypical morphological process for evaluative forms, both in terms of their construction and semantic makeup. Consequently, given that said prototypical forms have received sufficient coverage elsewhere, this section of the study examines certain suffixed evaluative forms which have received less attention up to this point.

In relation to Spanish, suffixed evaluative forms have been abundantly studied (see 3.1.1), with a significant consensus on the suffixes involved and on their semantic characterization along the lines of diminution and augmentation, as well as the notions of melioration, pejoration, and attenuation. In view of studies which establish parallels between verbal aspect and subjective evaluation, certain deverbal verbs can also be discussed as evaluative forms, as suggested by Rifón Sánchez (1998) or Tovená (2011). Regarding deverbal EVAL-formation, Rifón Sánchez lists the following as productive evaluative morphemes: *-ot-*, *-et-*, *-aj-*, *-ej-*, *-orr-*, *-it-*, *-ac-*, *-ic-*, *-uc-*, *-uj-*, *-ill-*, *-ull-*, *-urr-*, *-uch-*, *-use-*, *-az-*, and *-uñ-* (1998, 216). Varela Ortega, on her part, lists a total of 36 suffixes (1993, 269). As observed by Fábregas, a remarkable feature of these morphs is their morphological identity (or close similitude) to those traditionally studied as evaluative suffixes (2017, 140). The application of these suffixes to verbs routinely triggers a change in the verbal theme vowel, which becomes *-a-* or *-ea-*: *cantar* ‘to sing’ > *cant-urr-ear*, *correr* ‘to run’ > *corr-et-ear*, *gemir* ‘to whimper’ > *gim-ot-ear*, *dormir* ‘to sleep’ > *dorm-it-ar*, *cortar* ‘to cut’ > *cort-ich-ear*.

As argued in a previous study (Martín Calvo 2019b), the semantic features of these deverbal evaluative forms reflect more the attitude of the speaker towards the action, than the objective performance of said action. While the meanings of these forms are easily interpreted in context, they are often difficult to gloss or describe. For example, while *dormitar* can be described as ‘to doze, to sleep lightly on and off, to be half-asleep’ (DLE 2021_e), it is almost exclusively used to refer to sleeping done during daytime, not at night-time. Thus, describing the frequency and quality of the action only accounts for a fraction of its connotative meaning.

For Latvian, although most research has focused almost solely on the set of suffixes traditionally considered as diminutives, several additional suffixes can be here discussed. Some authors have indicated the use of eight suffixes (*-an-*, *ād-*, *-g-*, *-en-*, *-ēj-*, *-isk-*, *-īn-*, *-īg-*) for the obtention of deadjectival adjectives whose semantic content, although not homogeneous, often indicate mitigation, attenuation or diminution of the intensity of the characteristic indicated (Soida 2009, 115–124; Kalme and Smiltiece 2001, 123–124). The definition of the semantic features conveyed by these suffixes may be completed in terms of approximation and resemblance, which could be expressed by means of analytic constructions such as ‘sort of’, ‘rather’, ‘slightly’, or ‘a bit’: *balts* ‘white’ > *baltgans* ‘whitish’, *rūgts* ‘bitter’ > *rūgtens* ‘bitterish’, *silts* ‘warm’ > *siltans* ‘quite warm, lukewarm’, *apaļs* ‘round’ > *apaļisks*, *apaļīgs* ‘roundish’, *tāls* > *tālīns* ‘quite far’ (Soida

2009, 115–120). Arguably, the use of the suffix in these examples is eminently evaluative, as they mostly refer to non-measurable properties (bitterness, whiteness, roundness, farness or other) and simply indicates subjective evaluation on the part of the speaker.

As indicated for the Spanish deverbal evaluative forms discussed above, Latvian evaluative verbs obtained by suffixation are similar in terms of semantic features conveyed. Although the action expressed by resulting verbs can be sometimes described as iterative or frequentative, often the key semantic aspects at play are manner or intent, which are more directly connected to the subjective perception of the speaker. This aspect is particularly easy to observe in Latvian, where iteration is usually expressed by a specific set of deverbal suffixes, i.e., *-a-*, *-ī-*, *-inā-* (Kalnača and Lokmane 2021_e, 282). Subsequently, so-called ‘extended suffixes’ (*-alē-*, *-aļā-*, *-elē-*, *-uļē-*, *-uļo-*, *-uļā-*, *-avā-*, *-avo-*, *-enē-*) tend to compound iterativity with more subjective aspects of the action, such as intensity, completion, aim, appropriateness, etc.: e.g., *krākt* ‘to snore’ > *krākāt* ‘to snore.ITE’ > *krākuļot*, *krākalēt* ‘to snore.ATT/EXP’. As it will be discussed in detail in 3.4.4, the available suffixes for deverbal EVAL-formation bear a striking resemblance to those traditionally considered as ‘diminutives’: e.g., *-el-* (*spriest* ‘to judge, to reason’ > *spriedelēt* ‘to pontificate, to expatiate’), *-al-* (*tekāt* ‘to move quickly with small steps’ > *tekalēt* ‘to repeatedly move quickly with small steps’), *-aļ-* (*rāpties* / *rāpt* ‘to crawl’ > *rāpot* ‘to crawl’ > *rāpaļot*, *rāpaļāt* ‘to crawl up and down (aimlessly)’).

Infixation and interfixation

Interfixes (or intermorphs) are defined as semantically empty linking morphs found between the two elements of a compound and also as morphs with no grammatical function, merely serving as a link between a stem and a derivational or inflectional suffix (Beck 2017, 338 and 352). Given their lack of semantic content, interfixes cannot be considered as productive EVAL-forming affixes, although they may be found in evaluative forms, as required by language-specific morphological and phonological rules: e.g., SPA *nuevo* ‘new’ > *nuev-ec-ít-o*. Infixes, on the other hand, are morphemes inserted inside a base, i.e. they “must actually interrupt another morph, not merely occur between two morphs” (Bauer 2003, 29). Furthermore, as noted by Beck, “in order to qualify as an infix, an affix must meet two specific criteria: (1) it must be discrete – that is, it must meet the criteria for being an affix with an identifiable segmental signifier or set of segmental signifiers that can be analysed as allomorphs of a morpheme; and (2) it must interrupt the linear contiguity of a root or of another affix” (Beck 2017, 332).

A number of authors (Spitzer 1921, Jaeggli 1980, Méndez Dosuna and Pensado Ruiz 1993, Bermúdez Otero 2006, Gibson 2010, Štekauer 2015a) have argued that infixation is at play in a number of Spanish evaluative forms: *callando* > *callandico*, *arriba* > *arribota*, *Víctor* > *Victítor*, *Carlos* > *Carlillos*, *azúcar* > *azuquítar*, *lejos* > *lejísimos*. However, from an alternative perspective, these cases merely reflect certain irregularities in the location of the involved evaluative suffixes. Researchers almost unanimously consider the formation of the evaluative forms here presented as exceptional but justifiable morphological behaviour on the part of otherwise common evaluative affixes (Lázaro Mora 1999, Martín Camacho 2001, Varela Ortega 2005, NGLE 2010). The above indicated irregularities appear due to identifiable factors, as they are usually obtained from two distinct types of lexical bases (Martín Camacho 2001, 335–339):

- bases with uncommon phonetic patterns (e.g., *Víctor*, *Carlos*, *nácar*, *azúcar*);
- bases not marked by gender and number, as is the case of gerundives (*andando* ‘walking’ > *andandillo*) and monomorphemic adverbs whose last syllables resemble inflectional endings (*dentro* ‘inside’ > *dentrito*, *lejos* ‘far’ > *lejillos*, *lejísimos*).

It must be pointed out that the base does not always dictate a specific position for the evaluative affix. This can be seen in cases where one same base adopts alternative positions for one same evaluative affix, as shown in (12a) and (12b). Likewise, a base may allow an internal position for some evaluative affixes (12c), but not for others, as shown in (12d).

(12a) *César* > *Ces-ít-ar*, *Cesar-it-o*

(12b) *azúcar* ‘sugar’ > *azuqu-ít-ar*, *azucar-c-ít-a*²⁰⁷

(12c) *azúcar* ‘sugar’ > *azuqu-ít-ar*, *azuqu-ill-ar*

(12c) *azúcar* ‘sugar’ > *azucar-ón* (instead of **azuc-on-ar*)²⁰⁸

To sum up, the position adopted in this dissertation is that Spanish cannot be said to have dedicated evaluative infixes, while admitting that certain suffixes may appear in an internal position when in combination with certain lexical bases, that is, said suffixes can “behave infixally” (Bermúdez Otero 2006, 19).

In Latvian, the terms *infix* and *interfix* present sometimes diverging, sometimes

²⁰⁷ In this case, *-c-* is an optional interfix. For a more detailed discussion, see Alvar López (1972, 31).

²⁰⁸ The word *azucarillo* ‘sugar cube’ is not taken into consideration as it is a lexicalized form in which the derivative morph has no evaluative role.

overlapping characterizations in studies such as Vulāne (1997 and 2013), Kalme and Smiltņiece (2001), Paegle (2003), Soida (2009), and Veisbergs (2013). For example, Veisbergs considers interfixes as “a subtype of infix [...], a linking element between the components of compounds” (e.g., *darb-i-nieks*, *turb-o-sūknis*) (Veisbergs 2013, 101). However, Kalme and Smiltņiece refer to them as a type of suffix with a role in both word formation (e.g., *luks-o-fors*, *pien-o-tava*) and inflection (e.g., *dzēst* > *dzēs-ī-šu*) (2001, 24 and 43). Conversely, Veisbergs defines infixes as morphemic “insertions without functional motivation except to help weld the stem and ending together” (Veisbergs 2013, 101), a definition that is very similar to that proposed by Vulāne for interfixes, as morphs without a proper role in derivation or inflection, aside from assisting in the union of two other morphs (Vulāne 1997, 286*). Moreover, some of the examples contained used by Veisbergs to illustrate infixation (*mīl-est-ība*, *kut-el-īgs*, *og-ul-ājs*) are also found in Soida (2009) as illustrative of interfixation. In the most recent Latvian grammar, Kalnača and Lokmane state that “infixes are not viewed as independent morphemes in modern Latvian” (2021_e, 43), while interfixes are defined as affixes employed to avoid “stem reduction and vowel or consonant fusion at the junction of morphemes” (ibid., 47). However, none of the above-mentioned studies evidences any connection between the presence of these morphs and subjective evaluation. In view of this, it can be concluded that there is no sufficient evidence to consider neither infixation nor interfixation as productive EVAL-forming processes in Spanish or Latvian.

Co-fixation

Beck proposes the umbrella term *co-fixation*, to encompass circumfixation, co-prefixation, and co-suffixation (2017, 337). Given the working definitions in 2.5.1.1, it has been ascertained that co-prefixation and co-suffixation are rare in both Spanish and Latvian and have not been attested as EVAL-forming processes. The term *co-fixation* (*konfiksācija*) is defined in Latvian as the joint use of a derivational prefix and a suffix (Vulāne 2013, 201). However, the examples provided to illustrate co-fixation do not reflect that the involved affixes work as a set, as one single signifier. Instead, the added affixes attest to a derivational process where each additional element conveys distinguishable semantic content: e.g., *veids* ‘shape’ > *bezveida* ‘shapeless’ > *bezveidība* ‘shapelessness’ or *galva* ‘head’ > *galvīgs* ‘self-assured’ > *pārgalvīgs* ‘reckless, overconfident’, *ledus* ‘ice’ > *ledot* ‘to turn into ice’ > *apledot* ‘to be covered with ice’ (Vulāne 2013, 201). Words constructed in this manner cannot be characterized as

representative of co-fixation according to Beck's description, given that the affixes are independent semantically and morphologically.

Circumfixation is a productive derivational process in Spanish, but it has not been attested as an EVAL-forming process²⁰⁹. The case of circumfixation in Latvian requires a more detailed examination. In current grammars, the term *cirkumfiksācija* (*circumfixation*) describes “affixes made up of two separate parts enclosing the root without affecting its integrity”: e.g., *galds* ‘table’ > *pagalde* ‘space under a table’ (Kalnača and Lokmane 2021e, 62). Circumfixation is a rather productive means of word-derivation in Latvian, and some of the resulting lexical units may be considered as evaluative, since they do convey a certain amount of subjective evaluation when matched to their corresponding root lexemes. For example, Staltmane stresses the joint indication of aspect and expressive and/or subjective nuance in the case of some circumfixed deverbals signifying “highest level of expression” (*augstākajā izpausmes pakāpē*). Productive circumfixes in this case are obtained by combination of the prefixes *aiz-*, *at-*, *pār-*, *sa-*, *no-*, *pie-*, and *iz-*, with the reflexive verbal suffix *-ties* (Staltmane 1958, 44–45; Kalnača 2015, 260)²¹⁰: e.g., *svilpt* ‘to whistle’ > *svilpot* ‘to whistle repeatedly’ > *izsvilpoties* ‘≈ to whistle a lot for a long time’. The fact that the derivative *svilpot* expresses repetition supports the assumption that the verb *izsvilpoties* conveys additional semantic and expressive features besides mere repetition. Kalnača posits augmentative meanings for certain circumfixed verbs, by virtue of the semantic characterizations “actions performed to a great extent (BIG > VERY MUCH)” and “excessive actions (BIG > EXCESSIVE)” (Kalnača 2015, 260). Her study indicates that the sense BIG > EXCESSIVE is normally expressed by means of the verbal circumfix *pār-V-ties*: *ēst* ‘to eat’ > *pārēsties* ‘to overeat’, *gaidīt* ‘to wait’ > *pārgaidīties* ‘to wait too long’, *vārīt* ‘to cook’ > *pārvārīties* ‘to overcook’. After the examination of a sufficient number of examples, it has been observed that these deverbals derivatives often convey a negative or pejorative sense. However, although subjective evaluation and expressive nuances are present in the

²⁰⁹ While adjectives like *anaranjado* ‘orangeish, turned orange’ or *agrisado* ‘greyish, turned grey’ may seem as attenuative circumfixed forms of the bases *naranja* ‘orange’ and *gris* ‘grey’ respectively, they are perhaps better analysed morphologically as deadjectival adjectives obtained by means of the circumfix *a-ADJ-ado*. Similar terms referring to other colours and obtained by means of a circumfix in which a past participle ending (*-ado*, *-ido*) is involved usually express the transition to said colour, rather than attenuation or approximation: *negro* ‘black’ > *ennegrecido* ‘blackened’, *rojo* ‘red’ > *enrojecido* ‘reddened’, *morado* ‘turned purple’ > *amorado* ‘turned purple’.

²¹⁰ In certain cases, the reflexive verbal ending is not required for the expression of high intensity in the action: *Sāls ir lēta manta. Bet vai tu tālab kādreiz putru būtu sasālījusi?* ‘Salt is cheap. But would you ever **oversalt** your porridge because of that?’ (Staltmane 1958, 45).

circumfixed deverbals here discussed, their consideration as evaluative forms is somewhat problematic, as their meanings are sometimes lexicalized and their use is not always optional. This constraint, described among other type-defining criteria in subchapter 1.8.1, is fulfilled in (13a), but not in (13b), where the replacement of the circumfixed verb for its base results in a grammatical but illogical sentence (in the absence of any additional content)²¹¹:

(13a) *Opis pārgaidījies būs, nabags.*

‘≈ Poor Grandpa will **have been waiting** too long.’

(13a’) *Opis gaidījis būs, nabags.*

‘≈ Poor Grandpa will **have been waiting**.’

(13b) *Jāievēro mērenība dzīves stilā, nedrīkst pārēsties...*

‘≈ Moderation in one’s lifestyle must be observed: no **overeating**...’

(13b’) * *Jāievēro mērenība dzīves stilā, nedrīkst ēst...*

* ‘≈ Moderation in one’s lifestyle must be observed: no **eating**...’

In view of the examples here discussed, circumfixation will be considered as a productive EVAL-forming process in Latvian. Perhaps a more dedicated analysis would be required to examine how the semantics of the base affect the possibility of the circumfixed form to be interchangeable or not with its base.

3.3.3. Reduplication

From a morphological perspective, the presence of reduplication in Spanish is limited to the obtention of certain lexical units which always have “independent semantic and categorial specifications” (Roca and Avel.lina Suñer 1998, 44), different from those of the base (if there is one). As discussed in Roca and Avel.lina Suñer (1998) and Urbaniak (2020), reduplication in Spanish is mainly a lexical strategy, not a morphological one. Consequently, it cannot be considered as productive in the obtention of evaluative forms.

References to reduplication contained in various Latvian reference works²¹², discuss it mainly as a means of word-formation (e.g., *zig-zag*, *vāvere*), or a stylistic resource involving the repetition of a lexical unit within a sentence:

(14) *Un arī jūra kādreiz **klusā, klusā**.* (Belševica in Nītiņa 2013, 809)

²¹¹ Both sentences have been extracted from the Latvian corpus LVK2018 (2021c)

²¹² See, for example, Endzelīns (1959, 264–266), MLLVG (1959, 303), VPSV (2007, 322), LVG (2013, 304, 406 and 809), and Nītiņa (2014, 197–201).

‘≈ And also the sea, **quiet** at times, **quiet**.’

The available definition for ‘reduplication’ (*reduplikācija*), as the “partial or complete repetition of a part of a word” (VPSV 2007, 322) allows for its application to a variety of instances, most of them involving syntactic constructions containing mere lexical repetition, as seen in the previous example. However, given that the focus of the present study is on morphological transformations upon a base, only instances in which these two elements are involved are relevant. In this regard, no such formation pattern has been described for Latvian. Lexical units that apparently resemble such formations are the ‘reduplicative compounds’ discussed in 3.3.1: *lieglieds* ‘very gentle, gentle.INT’ (MLLVG 1959, 301). However, as pointed out previously, the syntactic origin of these units marks them as compounds: e.g., *liegi*_{ADV} ‘gently’ + *liegs*_A ‘gentle’ > *lieglieds* ‘gentle.INT’.

According to the literature review, no evidence has been found that confirms morphological reduplication (by itself) as a means of evaluative formation in Spanish or Latvian.

3.3.4. Rectional conversion

Gender shifts have been attested in both Spanish and Latvian in relation to EVAL-formation. However, the consideration of this morphological process as a productive one in either language is not a given. In the case of Spanish, gender shift has not been discussed previously as an EVAL-formation process, but rather as an incidental adjustment triggered by the interplay between certain bases and a limited number of evaluative markers, notably *-ón-* (NGLE 2010, 164). The gender shift is almost invariably from feminine to masculine, and apparently only with nominal bases denoting objects or abstract notions, but never live beings: e.g., *película*_{FEM} > *peliculón*_{MASC}, *memoria*_{FEM} > *memorión*_{MASC}, *voz*_{FEM} > *vozárrón*_{MASC}.

A few Spanish evaluative markers are capable of turning both masculine and feminine bases into gender-invariant EVALs for which grammatical gender is not marked inflectionally. Such case is routinely observed with the application of the evaluative markers *-aina*, *-ata*, *-amen*, *-aca*, *-eras*, *-is* and *-oide*. As discussed in Cantera Ortiz de Urbina (2012, 110) and Ulašín (2006, 58), the bases most prone to adopt these evaluative markers are deadjectival nouns: e.g., *rojo*_{MASC} / *roja*_{FEM} ‘red (communist)’ > *rojeras*_{FEM/MASC}, *soso*_{MASC} / *sosa*_{MASC} ‘dullard’ > *sosaina*_{FEM/MASC}, *negro*_{MASC} / *negra*_{FEM} ‘black

person' > *negrata*_{FEM/MASC}. In any case, the gender shift observed in the above-discussed instances is evidently an after-effect of the suffixation process, and not a standalone EVAL-forming process. Consequently, this process is not considered to be productive in Spanish.

Instances of shifts in grammatical gender in EVAL-formation have also been attested for Latvian, as described in MLLVG (1959, 113), Freimane (1993, 156), and Urbanovica (2014). The discussions contained in these studies are addressed as irregular or unorthodox suffixation choices in EVAL-formation, while the gender shift that these may involve (although not consistently) is not deemed a relevant aspect. Cases in which a gender shift appears by itself as a conveyor of subjective evaluation are restricted to a very few bases, namely, various designations for someone of the feminine gender: *sievietes*_{FEM} 'women' > *sievieši*_{MASC}, *skuķe*_{FEM} 'girl, lass' > *skuķis*_{MASC}, or *meitenes*_{FEM} 'girls' > *meitieši*_{MASC} (Lepika 1959, 380; Kalnača 2014, 85–86). While the gender shift can be employed to express pejoration (25a), it can also be found simply as an indicator of expressivity (ibid., 86), as in (25b)²¹³:

(15a) LAV *Kur tas redzēts – sievieši ar ieročiem?*

‘≈ Where have we seen this – **women**.PEJ with weapons?’

(15b) LAV *Dzīvo viens pats, cepuri kuldams, no smukiem sieviešiem neatkaudamies.*

‘≈ He lives alone, wearing a hat, and not fighting off pretty **women**.EXP.’

This gender shift may appear in combination with EVAL-forming affixal processes. In such instances, the direction of the shift seems to happen exclusively from feminine to masculine grammatical gender, and the shift does not convey any specific semantic aspect which can be considered as distinct from that of the accompanying evaluative markers: LAV *mamma*_{FEM} 'mom' > *mammucis*_{MASC} 'mommy'. Thus, more than a widely applicable morphological rule, it can be argued that the Latvian gender shift by itself is limited to a very narrow set of instances and can hardly be considered as a productive means of EVAL-formation.

3.3.5. Calculation of the formation processes value (E_{FP}) for Spanish and Latvian

The description of the various types of evaluative forms attested for Latvian and Spanish carried out in the previous sections allows for several relevant insights. Firstly, it shows

²¹³ The source for both examples is LKV2018 (2021c).

that Spanish and Latvian present quite similar resources in that which concerns EVAL-formation, with the exception of Latvian deverbal circumfixation and reduplicative compounding. Secondly, as defended throughout the study, rather than as a conglomerate of separate and exclusive groups, it is suggested that the EM systems in both Spanish and Latvian are better understood and characterized as spectra wherein evaluative markers are polyvalent from a semantic perspective. Thirdly, it has been ascertained that, in the case of deverbal verbs, lexical aspect and evaluativity are strongly interconnected. Deverbal verbs with an iterative, frequentative or pluractional meaning often express not only repetition, but also features such as involvement, intensity or perceived intention (as well as pragmatic hedges). The approach in this study evidences the morphological connections between different evaluative forms, as well as the combinatory character of the formation processes. The examination carried out in this chapter also posits the consideration of certain lexical units as evaluative forms, as is the case of some Latvian deverbal, deadverbial and deadjectival. Although labelling the examined circumfixed deverbals as EVALs may require confirmation from further research, there seems to be enough evidence to affirm that the field of evaluative morphology in Latvian is not restricted to the use of diminutives. It is suggested that, in future EM research, these forms are considered as part of a system which also comprises traditional diminutives, in order to provide a fuller picture of morphological evaluativity in Latvian. As a closing portion of this chapter, Table 11 shows the various EVAL-forming processes attested for each of the languages examined:

Formation process	Spanish	Latvian
Compounding	NO	YES
Prefixation	YES	YES
Suffixation	YES	YES
Infixation	NO	NO
Transfixation	NO	NO
Circumfixation	NO	YES
Reduplication (full-left)	NO	NO
Reduplication (full-right)	NO	NO
Reduplication (partial-left)	NO	NO
Reduplication (partial-right)	NO	NO
Reduplication (partial-interior)	NO	NO

Substraction	NO	NO
Rectional conversion	NO	NO
Paradigm conversion	NO	NO
Clitization	NO	NO

Table 11. EVAL-forming processes attested for Spanish and Latvian

The information contained in Table 11 allows for the calculation of the EVAL-formation processes value (E_{FP}), according to the formula described in subchapter 2.6.1. The results are shown below, in Table 12, where it can be observed that the value is slightly higher for Latvian.

	Formation processes	Attested processes	E_{FP}
Latvian	14	4	0.29
Spanish	14	2	0.14

Table 12. E_{FP} values for Spanish and Latvian

3.4. Distribution of evaluative forms across word classes in Spanish and Latvian

As indicated in chapter 2.6.2, the distribution of evaluative forms among word classes is proposed by Körtvélyessy (2015a) as one of the defining values employed to calculate a language's overall EM saturation. In the examination of the use of evaluative forms from a language-specific viewpoint, surveying and contrasting their frequency and productivity across word classes is a necessary step in order to determine the general productivity and word class saturation value (E_{WC}) in a given language. To this end, this chapter undertakes a contrastive examination of the distribution of evaluative forms across word classes in Spanish and Latvian. Its aim is to establish whether evaluative forms can be attested for each of the four major word classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs), as well as in other minor ones (pronouns, determiners, numerals, interjections, etc.)²¹⁴.

In Spanish, many evaluative markers display remarkable productivity, and authors like Prieto (2005, 18) and Zacarías-Ponce de León (2008, 228) have confidently posited that these morphs attach to nearly all types of words without restrictions. Iannotti has argued that relative adjectives, ordinal numbers, and nouns referring to characteristics and qualities, as well as to physical or emotional states, reject the use of evaluative suffixes

²¹⁴ An earlier version of this chapter can be found in Martín Calvo 2022.

due to semantic and phonetic reasons (Iannotti 2016, 139). However, evaluative such as *primero* ‘first’ > *primerito*, *ternura* ‘tenderness’ > *ternurita*, or *sueño* ‘sleepiness’ > *sueñecillo* disprove the extent of such affirmation. In the case of Latvian, it must be considered that, as mentioned throughout this study, studies that address its evaluative morphology from a systemic perspective are lacking. However, existing research on diminutives and other morphs considered as evaluative in this study suggest that they can be attached to a majority of lexical bases. In this section, evaluativity in Latvian is considered from a broad perspective, and an effort is made to establish semantic and morphological connections between the various available evaluative markers.

Of particular significance to this section is the question of how to more aptly divide and describe word classes, and whether these can be construed as universals –a topic without an established consensus among researchers²¹⁵. However, grammarians of both Spanish and Latvian agree in general terms on the characterization and subdivision of the lexicon into a fixed number of distinct word classes. In Spanish, the most up-to-date classification establishes 9 word classes (according to function) and 7 transversal categories (according to semantics) (NGLE 2010). In Latvian, some theoretical reservations notwithstanding, 10 categories or word types (*vārdšķiras*) are recognized in contemporary studies, such as Pokrotiece 2002, Paegle 2003, Nītiņa 2013, and Kalnača and Lokmane 2021e. Aiming to present a comprehensive and inclusive view on the topic at hand, this study examines and illustrates the occurrence of evaluative markers with base words belonging to the following 15 word classes and sub-classes: nouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs (comprising personal forms and participles), pronouns (personal and possessive), numerals, prepositions, conjunctions, interjections, particles and determiners (comprising articles, demonstratives and quantifiers).

3.4.1. Denominal evaluative forms

Constructions involving a base noun and one or more evaluative markers compose the largest and most recognizable group of evaluative forms in both Latvian and Spanish. Also, as pointed by Bauer, this fact “is guaranteed by the terminology of ‘diminutive’ and ‘augmentative’ which implies that one of the uses of the morphological process involved is to mark a difference of size, and this almost inevitably means that it applies first and

²¹⁵ The issue has already been addressed in subchapter 2.5.2, and further discussion can be found in Baker (2003, 3–11).

foremost to nouns” (Bauer 1997, 539). Apropos of Spanish, several authors (Lázaro Mora 1976, Zacarías-Ponce de León 2008, Varela Ortega 2005, 47–48) have pointed out that evaluative markers are generally found attached to concrete nouns, rather than to abstract ones, but this is more a tendency than a rule in view of the many available instances of the latter. However, it seems unlikely that this phenomenon is only due to semantic reasons as proposed by Zacarías-Ponce de León (2008, 229). Two objections can be raised against his argument. Firstly, were this the case, the impossibility would likely affect semantic equivalents cross-linguistically, which is not always the case. Secondly, and from an intralinguistic perspective, a better explanation would be required to elucidate why abstract nouns such as *gravedad* ‘gravity’, *competencia* ‘competence’ do not readily accept an evaluative marker, while other abstract nouns commonly do so: e.g., *suerte* ‘luck’ > *suertecita*, *miedo* ‘fear’ > *miedazo*, *mentira* ‘lie’ > *mentirijilla*.

Lázaro Mora has also discussed the relative rarity of certain constructions and proposed alleged incompatibilities between nouns and diminutive affixes (Lázaro Mora 1976, 45). But his study is wanting in a number of ways. Firstly, the study’s aims are exceedingly vague, as it examines nouns which “under normal conditions” do not admit diminutive suffixation, but it remains unclear what said ‘normal conditions’ might be. Secondly, the study does not consider Latin American varieties of Spanish, and therefore the author’s arguments only apply to the language usage of a very limited segment of the total speakers, a limitation which has a detrimental effect on the applicability of his conclusions. Lastly, it is hardly acceptable for the use of certain evaluative forms to be described as “violence against grammar” (ibid., 50). Rather, it can be argued that the existence of rare and unexpected forms reflects instead the very opposite, a sign of the vitality and malleability of the language, as well as the expressivity and inventiveness of its speakers.

The following corpus examples attest to the existence of denominal EVALs for base nouns and diminutive affixes declared as incompatibles by Lázaro Mora – (1a) and (1b) –, as well as the compatibility between ‘augmentative’ and ‘diminutive’ affixes within a single EVAL (1c):

(1a) ...*esa mañana de **miercolito**, Margot le preguntó cuando él fue a desayunar.* (NOW_e)

‘≈ That **Wednesday**.EXP morning, Margot asked about when he went for breakfast.’

(1b) *Tené que sembrale y recogele el **cacaíto** al blanco.* (CREA_e)

‘≈ Having to plant and harvest the **cacao**.PEJ for the white man.’

(1c) *Y a veces (...) te dejan un carteloncito.* (NOW_e)

‘≈ And sometimes (...) they leave you a **large notice.DIM.EXP.**’

Although the Spanish evaluative marker *-ísimo-*, indicating an absolute superlative, is of adjectival origin, it is possible to find it in denominal EVALs, as well as in deadverbial ones:

(2a) *¡Los médicos son amiguísimos de las palabras complicadas!* (CREA_e)

‘≈ Doctors are **extremely fond [friends.INT]** of complicated words!’

(2b) *Aún se recuerdan sus duelos con el campeónísimo Eddy Merckx.* (CREA_e)

‘≈ His rivalry with the **champion.INT** Eddy Merckx is still remembered.’

Eguren (2015, 72) argues that this suffix may only be added to “(sub)categories that can be graduated”. However, attested EVALs such as *debajísimo* ‘very much below’ (Escobar Valenzuela et al. 2016, 17), *muertísimo* ‘very dead’ (Alatríste 1985, 108) or *ultimísimo* ‘the very last’ (Edwards 1987, 173) refute Eguren’s assertion.

In Latvian, Rūķe-Draviņa has indicated that the use of diminutive suffixes with various types of nouns is almost unlimited, including both concrete and abstract nouns, although each of these groups differs in terms of productivity (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959, 15). Kalnača has noted that the evaluative markers *-ul-*, *-ēn-*, and *-uk-* do not usually appear in conjunction with inanimate objects (Kalnača 2015, 254), but said pairings are not infrequent either. The following examples contain evaluative forms which take as base words abstract nouns (e.g., *griba* ‘will’, *sapnis* ‘dream’, *spēle* ‘game’, *balle* ‘ball, dance’), as well as inanimate objects (e.g., *televizors* ‘television’, *bilde* ‘picture’):

(3a) *Zināma vēlēšanās cīnīties jums, rietumniekiem, jau ir, tāda – gribiņa. Ne griba. Un tā pati izčākst sapnīšos un plāpās.* (Eglītis 1998, 303)

‘≈ You Westerners sort of have a certain meager **will.DIM** to fight. But not a proper will. And it fizzes out into **dreams.ATT** and chatter.’

(3b) *Pēc baļļuka viņš pavadīja mani uz mājām.* (LVK2018 2021_e)

‘≈ After the **ball.EXP**, he walked me home.’

(3c) *Ieslēdz teļļuku – tur sapucēti, sakrāsoti zaķi un kundziņi ziņās gvelž.* (LVK2018 2021_e)

‘≈ Turn on the **telly** – there are dolled-up hotties and gents, all dressed up, chattering on the news.’

(3d) *Protams ir sabildēti arī bilžuki, kuri tuvāko dienu laikā parādīsies galerijā.* (LVTK2007 2021_e)

‘≈ Of course, there are also pictures.APP, which will appear in the gallery in the next few days.’

The main restriction to the use of evaluative markers in Latvian nouns is related to the nominal declension system, although many markers tend to appear in combination with nouns belonging to more than one of the six possible cases (Mathiassen 1997, 54; Kalme and Smiltņiece 2001, 69–70). In reference to the two most productive Latvian evaluative markers, *-īt-* usually appears with nouns pertaining to the 2nd and 5th declension, while *-iņ-* is usually attached to nouns of the 1st, 3rd, 4th, and 6th declensions. Nonetheless, the incidence of irregular diminutive forms (*neregulārus deminutīvu atvasinājumus*) which contravene these rules is rather high: e.g., *kaste* ‘box’ > *kastiņa*, *plāksne* ‘slab’ > *plāksniņa*, *zvaigzne* ‘star’ > *zvaigzniņa* (MLLVG 1959, 113).

Moreover, in some instances, the use of the irregular form has become more widely used than the corresponding regular form: *mamma* ‘mom’ > *mammīte* / *mammiņa*, *dāma* ‘lady’ > *dāmīte* / *dāmiņa*, *zupa* ‘soup’ > *zupīte* / *zupiņa*, *tante* ‘aunt’ > *tantiņa* / *tantiņa* (Urbanovica 2014, 153–155). In addition, Urbanovica has also shown that one same root lexeme can take different evaluative markers, e.g., *dziesma* ‘song’ > *dziesmiņa*, *dziesmīte*, *dziesmele*; or *izkaptis* ‘scythe’ > *izkaptiņš*, *izkaptītis* (ibid., 150). Table 13 illustrates various sorts of attested denominal evaluative forms in Spanish and Latvian according to the type of their base:

Noun type	Spanish	Latvian
Animate	<i>hijo</i> ‘son’ > <i>hijito</i>	<i>dēls</i> ‘son’ > <i>dēlēns</i>
Inanimate	<i>pedra</i> ‘stone’ > <i>pedrica</i>	<i>akmens</i> ‘stone’ > <i>akmentiņš</i>
Abstract	<i>vida</i> ‘life’ > <i>vidorra</i>	<i>dzīvība</i> ‘life’ > <i>dzīvibiņa</i>
Proper	<i>Carmen</i> > <i>Carmencita</i>	<i>Jancis</i> ‘John’ > <i>Jančuks</i>
Action	<i>gemido</i> ‘moan’ > <i>gemidito</i>	<i>smilkstiens</i> ‘whimper’ > <i>smilkstieniņš</i>
Collective	<i>docena</i> ‘dozen’ > <i>docenita</i>	<i>ducis</i> ‘dozen’ > <i>ducītis</i>
Mass	<i>bosque</i> ‘forest’ > <i>bosquecillo</i>	<i>mežs</i> ‘forest’ > <i>mežiņš</i>

Table 13. Denominal evaluative forms in Spanish and Latvian

3.4.2. Deadjectival evaluative forms

The article *Adjectival diminutives in Latvian* (Rūķe-Draviņa 1953) is the earliest significant study explicitly dedicated to a detailed examination of Latvian deadjectival EVALs, although it only examines the case of ‘diminutive’ suffixes. From a contrastive perspective, Rūķe-Draviņa affirms that adjectival diminutives are not as popular in Latvian as they are in the Slavic or Romance languages (ibid., 452). Concerning available

evaluative markers, the study indicates that their number “is considerably smaller than that of suffixes forming substantival diminutives” (ibid., 456). By Rūķe-Draviņa’s account (and not taking into consideration certain dialectal allomorphs), only the marker *-iņ-* is productive with base adjectives, although the morpheme *-īt-* may also be found as a concurring suffix, always preceding the former: e.g., *plāns* ‘thin’ > *plānītīņš* or *mazs* ‘small’ > *mazītīņš*. Rūķe-Draviņa applies the term *superdiminutives* to these forms, attaching to them a semantic nuance described as “intensification of quality” (ibid., 460)²¹⁶. Kalnača has argued that “the diminutives of adjectives are generally unrelated to the GOOD/BAD distinction” (Kalnača 2015, 253), accurately reflecting that the consideration of evaluative forms from an exclusively semantic point of view is an approach that excludes their relevant pragmatic functions, as exemplified by (4a) and (4b). Moreover, in instances such as (4c) and (4d), the pragmatic functions of the evaluative marker are clearly at the forefront, as the use of the adverbs *stipri* ‘very, strongly’ and *pavisam* ‘completely, thoroughly’ in the cotext leaves no possibility for a denotational or even connotational diminutive sense.

(4a) *Bērnām jāsaprot, ka viņš nav slimiņš un vārgs, bet tāds pats kā visi.* (Alberte 2005)

‘≈ The child must understand that he is not **sickly** and weak, but the same as everyone else.’

(4b) *Izlienot no telts pavērās šāds, absolūti burvelīgs, skats.* (LVTK2007 2021_e)

‘≈ When I stepped out of the tent, I saw this absolutely **magical**.EXP view.’

(4c) *Mans puisītis ir stipri slimiņš.* (Rūķe-Draviņa 1953, 453)

‘≈ My little boy.APP is really **ill**.APP.’

(4d) *Tu jau esi pavisam slapiņš.* (Rūķe-Draviņa 1953, 453)

‘≈ You’re already completely **wet**.APP.’

Examining the different semantic features of deadjectival EVALs, it is apparent that the presence of the evaluative marker does not always reduce the quality expressed by the motivating lexeme, but, on the contrary, often intensifies and stresses it (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959, 459). Adjectives related to the senses (mainly of taste, hearing, and vision) may take an evaluative marker to express attenuation or intensification. Such is the case with the prefixes *pa-* and *ie-*, or the suffix *-en-*: e.g., *skaļš* ‘loud’ > *paskaļš*; *salds* ‘sweet’ >

²¹⁶ Forms containing more than one evaluative marker are discussed in some detail in subchapter 3.6, dedicated to the recursivity feature of evaluative markers.

pasalds, iesalds, saldēns, iesaldēns, pasaldēns; skābs ‘sour’ > *ieskābs, skābens, ieskābens*. Various adjectives related to colour or hue take the *-g-*, *-an-* and/or *-īg-* suffixes to convey attenuation: *zils* ‘blue’ > *zilgs* > *zilgans* > *zilganīgs* > *iezilganīgs*. Although the denotative sense of these suffixes is to convey attenuation or approximation (5a), a clear connotational sense, more explicitly evaluative, can often be seen at play, as exemplified in (5b) and (5c):

(5a) *Tur zaļgana puskrēsla gluži kā pie mīļotantes.* (LVK2018 2021_e)

‘≈ There, a **greenish** early dusk, just like at the dear aunt’s place.’

(5b) *Lapiņas iedzeltenas, platas. Mīkstums balts vai bālgani dzeltenīgs.* (LVK2018 2021_e)

‘≈ The [mushroom] gills, **yellowish** and wide. The soft part, white or a **whity yellowish**.’

(5c) *Blakusistabā sāka skanēt paskaļa mūzika, un nu viņi varēja sarunāties.* (LVK2018 2021_e)

‘≈ Music began to sound **quite loud** in the adjacent room, and finally they could talk.’

Deadjectival EVALs are quite common in Spanish, although their frequency is somewhat lower than denominal ones. Search results show that certain evaluative markers (e.g., *-aco*, *-astr-*, *-arr-*, *-orr(i)o*, *-uqui*) are rarely found in combination with adjectival bases, while others (e.g., *-os-*, *-aina*) seem to apply exclusively to adjectives: e.g., modern ‘modern’ > *modernoso*, *elegante* ‘elegant’ > *elegantosa*, *tonto* ‘silly’ > *tontaina*, *soso* ‘dull’ > *sosaina*. A characteristic shared by Spanish and Latvian is the possibility of attaching evaluative markers to adjectives already suffixed by the dedicated morphemes expressing the comparative and superlative degrees. In Latvian, the evaluative marker always precedes the comparative or superlative morphemes: e.g., *liels* ‘big’ > *lielāks* ‘bigger’ or *lielinš* ‘big.DIM’ > *lielināks* (6a) or *mazs* ‘small’ > *mazāks* ‘smaller’ > *vismazākais* ‘the smallest’ > *vismazinākais* (6b). Such affixal combination is less frequent in Spanish, as the comparative grade is obtained by means of an analytic construction (i.e., *verde* ‘green’ > *más verde* ‘greener (lit. more green)’). However, in two irregular comparative forms, the use of an evaluative marker is rather common: *bueno* ‘good’ > *mejor* ‘better’ > *mejorcillo*, *mejorcito*, *mejorcete*; *malo* ‘bad’ > *peor* ‘worse’ > *peorcita*, *peorcilla*. The Spanish morpheme indicating absolute superlative, *-ísim-*, finds its main application in deadjectival EVALs, although it can also be found in conjunction with adverbs and nouns. EVALs containing the morph *-ísim-* express an extraordinary degree of the quality indicated by the base adjective, as in (6c), but do not establish any

relationship of direct or implied comparison to any another element, as is the case of common superlatives:

(6a) LAV *Lai paaug **lieliņāks**. Vēl laika diezgan mācīties ģēģerēt.* (Ērglis 1991_e)

‘≈ Let him get a bit **older**.APP. There is enough time to learn how to hunt.’

(6b) LAV *Nu ja būtu vismaz kaut kāds iemesls, nu kaut **vismaziņākais**.*

‘≈ If there was at least some reason, at least **the very slightest**.’

(6c) SPA ‘*Justino*’ es una comedia **negrísima**, entre la carcajada y el horror. (CREA_e)

‘≈ *Justino* is a **really black** comedy, between laughter and horror.’

From a contrastive perspective, and even taking into consideration Latvian evaluative markers not characterized as diminutives, the frequency of deadjectival EVALs as well as the number of involved markers appears to be higher in Spanish, although a more focused study would be required to establish this aspect accurately.

3.4.3. Deadverbial evaluative forms

Latvian deadverbial EVALs are even less frequent than deadjectival ones and show a marked tendency to appear with a restricted number of bases, although these forms cannot be considered as lexicalized, regardless of whether the process involved is that of suffixation or reduplicative compounding: e.g., *klusām* ‘silently’ > *klusīņām*, *klusītēm*; *lēnām* ‘slowly, gently’ > *lēnlēnām*, *lēnītēm*; *drusku* ‘slightly, a little (bit)’ > *druscīn*, *druscītīn*. Evaluative markers traditionally characterized as diminutives, when found in combination with adverbial bases often convey ‘intensification of quality’ (Rūķe-Draviņa 1953, 460) from the semantic point of view, while often performing a hedging function from a pragmatic perspective:

(7a) *Varēja redzēt tos cieši kopā – lēnām, **lēnītēm** kustoties mūzikas ritmā.*

(LVK2018_e)

‘≈ One could see them very close together, moving slowly, **very slowly**, to the rhythm of the music.’

(7b) *Istabiņā viņi abi klusēja, vienīgi **klusīņām** atskanēja runča (...) teiktie svētījuma vārdi.* (LVK2018_e)

‘≈ They were both silent in the room – only the blessings spoken **very softly** by the cat could be heard.’

In Spanish, evaluative affixes can be found with most types of adverbs, particularly those

referring to time (*ahoritica*, *renunquita*, *lueguito*, *antecito*), place (*lejillos*, *cerquita*, *arribota*), manner (*rebien*, *despacito*, *requetelentísimo*), and quantity (*nadita*, *muchillo*, *bastantico*, *pocazo*).

(8a) *No se ve nada, **nadita**, en el momento preciso.* (CREA 2021_e)

‘≈ Nothing, **absolutely nothing** can be seen in that exact moment.’

(8b) *De metáforas deportivas sabían mucho, pero de fútbol **pocazo**.* (NOW 2021_e)

‘≈ They knew a lot about metaphors, but **very, very little** about football.’

(8c) *¿Subimos a ese monte? -¿A cuál? ¿Allá **arribota**?* (Sánchez Ferlosio 1961, 225)

‘≈ Shall we go up that hill? – Which one? **All the way up** there?’

(8d) *Lo has hecho bien y **rebien**.* (CORDE_e)

‘≈ You have done it well, **very well**.’

(8e) *Estamos para disfrutar y para pasarlo bien y **requetebién**.* (CREA_e)

‘≈ We are here to enjoy ourselves and have a good time, a **really good** time.’

Against arguments put forth by Prieto (Prieto 2005_e, 35), the use of the Spanish evaluative marker *-ísimo* is indeed possible with pure adverbs (i.e., not of deadjectival origin), as shown in (9a) to (9c):

(9a) *Los programas que no acaban nunca, **nunquísima**.* (CREA_e)

‘≈ The programs that never end, that **never ever** [never.INT] end.’

(9b) *Una sesión compacta y violenta de **apenísimas** ocho horas.* (NOW_e)

‘≈ A compact and violent session **barely**.INT eight-hours long.’

(9c) *Newman tenía que rodar muy temprano y se marchó **prontísimo**.* (CREA_e)

‘≈ Newman had to shoot very early and left **very early** [early.INT].’

Prieto argues that adverbs containing the morpheme *-mente* (equivalent to the English *-ly*) do not accept the evaluative marker *-ísimo*, and that this suffix “attaches to whatever may be used as an adjective” (ibid.). That is, these EVALs are constrained to follow a construction pattern that takes adjectives as base words: e.g., *lento*_{ADJ} ‘slow’ > *lentísimo*_{ADJ} ‘slow.INT’ > *lentísimamente*_{ADV} ‘slowly.INT’.

Against Prieto’s argument, the optionality condition described for evaluative forms (Martín Calvo 2019a, 142–143) indicates that in these cases the EVAL-forming process must take the adverb as its base word. Said condition establishes that the use or non-use of a given evaluative form does not affect the propositional content of the message. As

seen in (10) and (10'), the evaluative form *lentísimamente* takes the adverb *lentamente* as its base. Replacing the evaluative form for its corresponding adjectival form (*lento*) renders the message ungrammatical (10*):

(10) *Despertó mientras le mirábamos: abrió los ojos **lentísimamente**.* (CREA 2021_e)

‘≈ He woke up while we looked at him: he opened his eyes **very, very slowly**.’

(10') *Despertó mientras le mirábamos: abrió los ojos lentamente.*

‘≈ He woke up while we looked at him: he opened his eyes slowly.’

(10*) **Despertó mientras le mirábamos: abrió los ojos lento.*

‘≈ * He woke up while we looked at him: he opened his eyes slow.’

The recursive and combinatory character of evaluative markers has also been attested for deadverbial evaluative forms in both Spanish and Latvian, as more than one marker may attach to a base, allowing for various degrees of expressivity. In the following examples, the various evaluative markers have been separated by hyphens:

(11a) *Pasó cerqu-**it-it**-a de donde están los árboles y el cableado.* (NOW 2021_e)

‘≈ It passed **very, very close** [**close.INT.INT**] to where the trees and the wires are.’

(11b) *¡Págame ahor-**it-ic**-a mismo todo lo que me debes!* (NOW2021_e)

‘≈ Pay me **right now** [**now.INT.INT**] all that you owe me!’

(11c) *Smiltis bruka uz galvas, bet lēn-**īt-iņ**-ām, lēn-**īt-iņ**-ām, pamaz-**īt-iņ**-ām, pamaz-**īt-iņ**-ām es tomēr uzvilkos.* (LVK2018 2021_e)

‘≈ The sand was falling on my head, but **very slowly, very slowly** and **little.INT by little.INT**, I pulled myself up.’

In (11c), the use of the EVALs is reinforced by the use of two evaluative markers in each instance, the repetition of the EVALs themselves, as well as the use of two adverbial bases that are near synonyms: *lēnām* ‘slowly’, and *pamazām* ‘little by little’.

It is important to remark that the addition of evaluative markers to adverbs challenges the very grammatical notion of the adverb, which is partly defined as not subject to morphological changes (NGLE 2010, 575; Alarcos Llorach 1995, 128; MLVVG 1959, 691*). The morphological structure of deadverbial evaluative forms evidences a necessary reconsideration of the adverb defined as an invariant unit not subject to variation. Not only do Spanish adverbs accept evaluative affixes, but their addition may trigger other morphological and phonological changes (here underlined): *detrás* ‘behind’ > *detrasito*, *acá* ‘here’ > *acacito*, *lejos* ‘far’ > *relejotes*. This aspect is of particular

significance when aiming to establish evaluative forms not as common derivatives, but rather as word forms.

3.4.4. Deverbal evaluative forms

Deverbal EVALs have attracted a considerable amount of research in recent decades (particularly regarding Romance, Germanic, and Slavic languages) as an element which had been frequently neglected in previous EM research. Contemporary studies have established a well-founded rapport between verbal aspect and subjective evaluation, particularly in the areas of pejoration and attenuation. Evaluative deverbal forms are common to a significant number of Indo-European languages, as reflected in studies of French (Hasselrot 1957, Dubois 1962, Stosic and Dejan 2014), Latvian (Staltmane 1958, Soida 2009, Horiguchi 2015), Spanish (Pena 1993, Rifón Sánchez 1998), Italian (Tovena 2011), German (Weidhaas and Schmid 2015), Croatian (Katunar 2013), Hungarian (Németh and Sörös, 2018), and others.

In Spanish, there exist various suffixes that may supplement certain verbs with expressive nuances including iteration, impropriety, inelegance, non-seriousness, etc. (NGLE 2010, 157). In a dedicated study, Pena suggests a three-group classification of said affixes, comprising a total of 13 units, characterized as either augmentatives (-ot-), diminutives (-et-, -it-), or pejoratives (-ic-, -uc-, -aj-, -uj-, -ull-, -arr-, -err-, -orr-, -urr-, -urri-) (Pena 1993, 269). Rifón Sánchez lists 18 *evaluative morphemes* which can be found attached to verbal roots (-ot-, -et-, -aj-, -ej-, -orr-, -it-, -ac-, -ic-, -uc-, -uj-, -ill-, -ull-, -urr-, -uch-, -usc-, -az-, and -uñ-), all of which are morphologically constrained to appear in combination with the verbal theme vowels -a- or -ea- (1998, 216). As argued and illustrated in detail by Rifón Sánchez, most of these suffixes can express iteration, intensification, attenuation and/or pejoration. These semantic features can be more accurately interpreted by examining the meaning and connotations of the base verb, as well as the overall context where the evaluative form appears. Therefore, Rifón Sánchez argues that it is misleading to maintain the labels *diminutive*, *augmentative* or *pejorative* for individual affixes (ibid., 222).

From a morphological viewpoint, a remarkable feature of the morphemes above mentioned is their formal similitude to those traditionally regarded as evaluative suffixes, as shown eloquently by Pena (1993, 269) and Fábregas (2017, 140). Fábregas observes that the existence of such extensive correlation between this set of morphemes and traditional evaluative suffixes surely owes to more than mere phonological coincidence

(ibid.). Moreover, certain correspondences pointed out by Fábregas as lacking can, in fact, also be attested, as is the case with the suffixes *-on/-ón-* (e.g., *fisgar* ‘to pry into’ > *fisgonear*) and *-asc-* (e.g., *rama* ‘branch’ > *ramasco* or *rubio* ‘blond’ > *rubiasco*)²¹⁷.

Lastly, in addition to the markers applicable to verbal bases proposed by Pena, Rifón Sánchez and Fábregas, this study suggests three additional ones (*-il-*, *-in-* and *-on-*), as illustrated in Table 14, and recognizes the possibility of extending the present list given the availability of new data. All deverbals contained in Table 13 have been attested in the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (DRAE 2021_e). Although some of them are certainly infrequent or, contrariwise, have become more frequent than their bases (losing therefore their evaluative charge vis-à-vis their bases), their formation is based on the addition of affixes which can be described as essentially evaluative. The inclusion of these verbs²¹⁸ in Table 14 aims to reinforce the observed parallelism concerning the use of identical suffixes in deverbal units and non-deverbal EVALs:

Suffix	Deverbal derivatives or deverbal EVALs	Non-deverbal EVALs
<i>-ac-</i>	<i>machar</i> ‘to crush’ > <i>machacar</i> (<i>machucar</i>) ‘≈’	<i>tipo</i> ‘guy’ > <i>tipaco</i> / <i>tiparraco</i> ‘guy.AUG/PEJ’
<i>-aj-</i>	<i>pintar</i> ‘to paint’ > <i>pintarrajea</i> ‘to paint.PEJ’	<i>trapo</i> ‘rag’ > <i>trapajo</i> ‘rag.PEJ’
<i>-arr-</i>	<i>achuchar</i> ‘to push, to hurry’ > <i>achucharrar</i> ‘≈’ ²¹⁹	<i>chisme</i> ‘thing, junk’ > <i>chismarro</i> ‘thing, junk.PEJ’
<i>-az-</i> (<i>-ac-</i>)	<i>aguar(se)</i> ‘to become flooded’ > <i>aguazar(se)</i> ‘≈’ <i>aporrear</i> ‘to bang’ > <i>aporracear</i> ‘to bang.INT’	<i>mano</i> ‘hand’ > <i>manaza</i> ‘hand.AUG.PEJ’
<i>-ej-</i>	<i>voltear</i> ‘to turn over’ > <i>voltejea</i> ‘≈’	<i>animal</i> ‘animal’ > <i>animalejo</i> ‘animal.PEJ’
<i>-err-</i> ²²⁰	<i>chupar</i> ‘to suck’ > <i>chupetea</i> ‘to suck.REP.ATT’ > <i>chuperretear</i> ‘to suck.PEJ.REP’	<i>pequeño</i> ‘small’ > <i>pequerrón</i> ‘small.PEJ.AUG’
<i>-et-</i>	<i>correr</i> ‘to run’ > <i>corretear</i> ‘correr.REP/ATT’	<i>perro</i> ‘dog’ > <i>perrete</i> ‘dog.APP’
<i>-ic-</i> (<i>-iqu-</i>)	<i>llorar</i> ‘to cry’ > <i>lloriquea</i> ‘to cry.ATT/PEJ’	<i>bastante</i> ‘enough’ > <i>bastantico</i> ‘enough.ATT’
<i>-in-</i> (<i>-ín-</i>)	<i>engurrumir</i> ‘to cause to shrink’ > <i>engurruminar</i> ‘≈’	<i>colores</i> ‘colours’ > <i>colorines</i> ‘colours.APP’

²¹⁷ Regarding verbal infixation with the morph *-asc-*, Fábregas proposes *churrascar* (< *churrar* ‘to toast’) (ibid.).

²¹⁸ In cases where the meaning of the deverbal lexical unit is synonym with that of the base, this is marked via the symbol ‘≈’.

²¹⁹ Form employed in Honduras and Mexico (RAE 2021_e).

²²⁰ As discussed in detail by Iribarren Argaiz, the suffix *-err-* is quite rare in contemporary Spanish. When involved in EVAL-formation, it usually precedes another evaluative marker, introducing mostly a pejorative nuance (238–241).

-it-	<i>dormir</i> ‘to sleep’ > <i>dormitar</i> ‘to doze, to sleep.ATT’	<i>pato</i> ‘duck’ > <i>patito</i> ‘duck.DIM/APP, duckling’
-on- (-ón-)	<i>figsar</i> ‘to snoop’ > <i>figsonear</i> ‘to snoop.PEJ’	<i>casa</i> ‘house’ > <i>casona</i> ‘house.AUG/APP’
-ong-	<i>alindar</i> ‘to spruce up’ > <i>alindongar</i>	<i>fácil</i> ‘easy’ > <i>facilongo</i> ‘easy.INT/PEJ’
-orr-	<i>chincar</i> ‘to bother’ > <i>chinchorrear</i> ‘to bother.INT’	<i>tinto</i> ‘red wine’ > <i>tintorro</i> ‘red wine.PEJ/APP’
-ot-	<i>gemir</i> ‘to whine’ > <i>gimotear</i> ‘to whine.ATT’	<i>arriba</i> ‘up’ > <i>arribota</i> ‘up.INT/EXP’
-uc- (-uqu-)	<i>besar</i> ‘to kiss’ > <i>besuquear</i> ‘to kiss.REP/PEJ/ATT’	<i>casa</i> ‘house’ > <i>casuca</i> ‘house.APP/DIM’
-uj-	<i>apretar</i> ‘to hold tight’ > <i>apretujar</i> ‘to hold tight.INT/REP’	<i>blando</i> ‘soft’ > <i>blandujo</i> ‘soft.PEJ’
-ull-	<i>mascar</i> ‘to chew’ > <i>mascullar</i> ‘to chew.PEJ’ ²²¹	<i>grande</i> ‘big’ > <i>grandullón</i> ‘big.AUG/PEJ’
-urr-	<i>cantar</i> ‘to sing’ > <i>canturrear</i> ‘to sing.ATT’	<i>blando</i> ‘soft’ > <i>blandurrio</i> ‘soft.PEJ’
-usc- (-usqu-)	<i>andar</i> ‘to walk’ > <i>andusquear</i> ‘to walk.PEJ/ATT’	<i>pardo</i> ‘dun, dull’ > <i>pardusco</i> ‘dun.ATT/PEJ’

Table 14. Correspondence between deverbal and non-deverbal evaluative markers in Spanish

Some evaluative markers found in deverbal EVALs are relatively infrequent as an EVAL’s only marker in other word classes (e.g., *chisme* ‘thingamajig, gadget’ > *chismarro*, or *ojos* ‘eyes’ > *ojirris*), but are often found in a recursive role, preceding a more productive marker: e.g., *muchacho* ‘lad’ > *muchach-irr-it-o*, *dulce* ‘sweet’ > *dulzar-arr-ón*, *gusto* ‘pleasure’ > *gust-irr-in-in*. However, these markers (-irr-, -arr-) cannot be considered as infixes since they are not a morpho-phonological requirement and, in turn, reinforce semantically the evaluative charge of the resulting evaluative form. Similarly, they cannot be considered as examples of co-suffixation, since each evaluative suffix is semantically and morphologically independent from each other. Thus, from *dulce* ‘sweet’ it is possible to obtain both *dulzarro* ‘sweet.PEJ’ and *dulzón* ‘sweet.INT, sweet.PEJ’, as well as *dulzarrón* ‘sweet.PEJ.INT’.

Semantically, and in accordance with a distinguishing feature of evaluative forms, the exact interpretation of each deverbal EVAL can only be established on a case-per-case basis, as the same suffix may denote diverse senses in terms of perceived manner, frequency, intensity, etc. Varela Ortega argues that although some of these deverbal verbs present an evaluative component, they mainly reflect an iterative or frequentative aspect.

²²¹ The verb *mascullar* is more frequently used with the meaning ‘to mutter, to mumble’.

However, her illustrative examples indicate otherwise (Varela Ortega 2005, 52). Deverbal EVALs may express indeed the specific manner in which an action is performed (intensification, attenuation, intention and so on), but also, and foremost, they express the speaker's evaluation of said manner in terms of skill, likeability, relevance, etc. A brief discussion of a couple of examples may be helpful in clarifying these two aspects. The verb *toquetear* (from *tocar* 'to touch'), while denoting an iterative aspect, mainly conveys a negative perception of the action on the part of the speaker. This verb is often found in contexts where the agent is mishandling goods (notably groceries or appliances) or touching someone in an inappropriate, unwelcome, or inept manner. In this latter instance, it translates as 'to grope', 'to fiddle with' or 'to mishandle'. Likewise, the verb *canturrear* (from *cantar* 'to sing') often conveys that the agent performs the action in a careless or casual manner ('to hum'), lightly ('to sing softly', 'to croon') or perhaps lacking in skill. From a sociolinguistic perspective, it is relevant to establish that deverbal EVALs are usually marked by a 'non-serious' semantic dimension, and their use is tacitly regulated by the speaking community. While the verb *lloriquear* (from *llorar* 'to cry, to weep') can be glossed as 'to cry softly (perhaps intermittently)' or 'to grizzle', it would hardly ever be used to describe the action of attendants at a solemn event marking a sad occasion (e.g., a funeral or a memorial), unless a marked and intended pejorative intention is at play.

The significance of the evaluative aspect in deverbal EVALs is emphasized by the fact that their base word often implies repetition or iteration (e.g., *chispear* 'to sparkle, to drizzle', *bailar* 'to dance', *charlar* 'to chat', *clavar* 'to nail'). Therefore, the addition of the evaluative marker brings to the forefront the element of subjective evaluation. This aspect is even more prominent in the frequent case of base verbs already containing the prefix *re-*, which establishes the repetitiveness of the action. Consequently, the role of the additional suffix is more accurately described as evaluative: e.g., *volar* 'to fly' > *revolar* 'to fly around, to flutter' > *revolotear* '≈ to flutter aimlessly, to fly around in a disorderly manner'. While the usage of deverbal EVALs reveals a remarkable semantic versatility, a largely pejorative or humorously derisive dimension is the most frequently represented: e.g., *gemir* 'to whine, to whimper' > *gimotear*, *mascar* 'to chew' > *mascujar*, *andar* 'to walk' > *andorrear*, *pisar* 'to step on' > *pisotear*, *pintar* 'to paint' > *pintarrajear*.

The morphosemantic characteristics described for Spanish deverbal EVALs also apply to some Latvian deverbal verbs. Concerning deverbal derivation, it has already been pointed out the attested expressive and evaluative use of prefixes such as *no-*, *pie-*, *sa-*,

uz- and, particularly, *pa-*, as illustrated in (12a) to (12d)²²². Although various authors have previously examined the Aktionsart aspects attached to certain deverbal prefixes (e.g., Endzelin 1922, Staltmane 1958, Freimane 1993, Mathiassen 1997, Soida 2009, Deksnē 2021), a clear relationship has not been established between these forms and the Latvian EM system at large:

(12a) *Mums gribot negribot bija jālūdz kundze **uzgaidīt**.* (Staltmane 1958, 42)

‘≈ Whether we wanted or not, we had to ask the lady to wait.ATT.’

(12b) *Tāds, ka gribas visu **uzplēst**, **saplēst** un **salauzt**. Sevi **saplēst** driskās.* (Vinogradova 2020_e)

‘≈ Such that one wishes to rip up everything, **to tear.INT** and **break.INT** it all apart. To **tear.INT** oneself to smithereens.’

(12c) *Rute nervozi **pabungo** ar pirkstu kauliņiem pa galdu.* (Vinogradova 2020_e)

‘≈ Rute **taps.ATT** nervously on the table with her knuckles.’

(12d) *Ja ir kāds aizvainojums, rūgtums, es **paklausos**, **paraudu** kaut kur kaktiņā un – visi ejam tālāk.* (Naumanis 2010_e)²²³

‘≈ If there is some resentment, some bitterness, I **listen.ATT** and I **cry.ATT** in some corner, and we all move on.’

Various suffixes have long been an important focus of study in respect to deverbal suffixation as a means to convey aspectual and evaluative meanings. An early mention of these suffixes is found in Bielenstein (1863a): “Diminutive verbs, which express that the action or the event takes place to a lesser degree or in briefer instances (frequentative meaning) [...] are always constructed by the insertion of the diminution syllables *-al-*, *-al-* [-aļ-], *-el-*, *-ul-*, *-ul-* [-uļ-], *-ar-*, *-er-*, *-ur-*, *-in-*, *-en-*, before the word class marker” (Bielenstein 1863a, 229*). Examples by Bielenstein include *jádelét* [jādelēt²²⁴] (< *ját*), *ráustelét* [raustelēt] (< *ráut*), *krápalát* [krāpaļāt] (< *krápt*), *kaukurát* [kaukurāt] (< *káukt*), *spígulūt* [spiguļot] (< *spídét*) (ibid.).

Endzelīns (1922 and 1951) also discusses in some detail certain verbs semantically related to those examined by Bielenstein. However, from a morphological viewpoint, Endzelīns discusses these verbs as containing the suffixes *-rēt* [-rēt] and [-lēt], and

²²² A more focused study would be required to examine the way perfectivity and evaluativity are often conflated in these Latvian morphs.

²²³ The example is taken from Horiguchi (2015, 256).

²²⁴ The words between square brackets indicate the corresponding forms according to contemporary orthographical conventions in Latvian.

consisting mainly of denominal verbal derivatives, e.g., *buldurēt* ‘to babble’ (< *bulduris* ‘babblers’), *ēdelēt* ‘to eat voraciously (often)’ (< *ēdelis* ‘hearty eater, big heater’), *šmurgulēt* ‘to stain, to smudge’ (< *šmurgulis* ‘sloven, dirty person’). In his discussion, some of these denominal derivatives are characterized as conveying a “more or less diminutive meaning”, e.g., *urbulēt*, *kaukurēt*, *krecelēt*, *kāpelēt*, *bēgalēt* or *staigalēt* (Endzelīns 1951, 806*). Considering the lack of a motivating noun for some of the verbs containing these suffixes, Endzelīns posited two alternative options: either the motivating noun had not survived, or another verb could be proposed as the motivating word. Such could be the case, for example, of *gāzelēt* (< *gāzt*) or *bezdelēt* (< *bezdēt*) (Endzelin 1922, 622). The author somewhat revised this position later, favouring a deverbal origin of verbs with the above-mentioned suffixes, in which case they would usually appear attached to the iterative forms of primary verbs: e.g., *jādelēt* < *jādīt* < *jāt*, *grūstelēt* < *grūstīt* < *grūst*, or *raustelēt* < *raustīt* < *raut* (Endzelīns 1951, 809–810*). However, when addressing the semantic characterization of such *-rēt* and *-lēt* verbs, Endzelīns only describes their meaning in relation to nominal motivating words: a frequentative meaning for verbs derived from agent nouns in general and a diminutive meaning for those derived from nouns with the suffixes *-ulis* and *-ule* (ibid., 807*). In this regard, Endzelīns does not establish a clear semantic connection between a base verb (e.g., *grūst*), its iterative or frequentative derivative (e.g., *grūstīt*) and a further suffixed form (e.g., *grūstelēt*)²²⁵.

A significant step forward concerning the type of verbs discussed in this section is found in MLLVG (1959). From a morphological perspective, this work describes the affixes *-alā-*, *-aļā-*, *-alē-*, *-elē-*, and *-uļo-* as ‘extended suffixes’ (*paplašinātīe piedēkļi*) of the verbalizing suffixes *-ā-*, *-inā-*, *-ē-*, *-ī-*, and *-o-* (1959, 332). The implication in such characterization is that these extended suffixes point to an addition or extension, not only morphological, but also semantic. Indeed, from a semantic viewpoint, most derivative verbs (though not all) containing these extended affixes are characterized as denoting actions defined by iterativity with a special nuance (*ar īpašu nokrāsu*), as well as lack of aim (particularly in motion verbs), limited intensity, and lack of completion (ibid., 342–343*). In the same year, Rūķe-Draviņa, in consonance with the focus of her study (i.e. semantic-pragmatic diminution expressed by means of suffixation), only discusses instances in which certain verbal forms appear in combination with suffixes previously

²²⁵ In a joint study with Kārlis Mülenbach, the authors briefly indicate that the suffixes *-elē-*, *-alē-*, *-aļā-*, *-uļo-* are employed in the derivation of verbs which indicate ‘diminution’ (*sajēguma mazinājumu*), e.g., *skraidelēt*, *rāpalēt*, *staigalēt*, *spīguļot* (Endzelīns and Mülenbach 1927, 27*).

characterized as diminutives: *čučēt* ‘to sleep’ > *čučīnāt*²²⁶, *iet* ‘to go’ > *ietīnāt*, *turēt* ‘to hold’ > *turiņāt* (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959, 27). Unfortunately, no reference is made in her study to the possible diminutive or otherwise evaluative senses of verbs containing the suffixes proposed by Bielenstein (1863a) and further discussed in MLLVG (1959). These are however, discussed by Soida who examines a set of nine deverbal morphs, described in her work as ‘extended derivational ultimas from iterative verbs²²⁷’: *-alēt*, *-aļāt*, *-avāt*, *-avot*, *-elēt*, *-enēt*, *-ulēt*, *-ūļāt*, *-uļot* (2009, 196)²²⁸. Deverbal verbs containing these extended suffixes are characterized as a) usually having a predictable meaning, b) conveying an iterative aspect or causativity, and c) often carrying a pejorative nuance: e.g., *staigāt* > *staigalāt*, *gulēt* > *gulstavāt*, *braukt* > *braukalēt*, *rakstīt* > *rakstelēt*, *ripot* > *ripuļot* (Soida 2009, 192–196*). More recently, Vulāne has limited her discussion to the suffixes *-alē-*, *-aļā-*, *-elē-*, *-uļo-*, which are described as found exclusively in deverbal derivatives, expressing iteration or causativity (Vulāne 2013, 286–287*). In a more recent work, Kalnača and Lokmane expand this semantic characterization, affirming that the “suffixes *-alē-*, *-aļā-*, *-elē-*, *-uļo-* are monosemous and always express iterativity (usually, with chaotic actions and actions having no goal or endpoint)” (Kalnača and Lokmane 2021e, 302).

The consideration of the above mentioned deverbal suffixes as compound or extended suffixes allows for a re-examination of the morphological characterization of their components. Significantly, when removing from each of these ultimas the common suffix indicating infinitive (*-t*) and their respective verbal suffixes (or theme vowels) (*-ā-*, *-ē-*, *-ī-* and *-o-*), all but one of the seven resulting morphs (*-al-*, *-aļ-*, *-av-*, *-el-*, *-en-*, *-ul-*, and *-uļ-*) are identical to previously attested ‘diminutive’ suffixes or, more accurately, as EVAL-forming suffixes (see Table 15 below). The exception is the morph *-av-*, a derivational suffix of limited productivity in contemporary Latvian (Vulāne 2013, 222) which has not been characterized as specifically evaluative in available research²²⁹. The number of verbs containing this suffix is rather limited in number and, while iterativity is apparent in the semantic descriptions of said verbs, the nuance accompanying iterativity

²²⁶ Mühlenbachs and Endzelīns (1925, 418) differentiate clearly between *čučināt* ‘to put to sleep’ and *čučīnāt* as a diminutive form of *čučēt* ‘to sleep’. While the forms described by Rūķe-Draviņa may be dialectal, they are clearly identified as diminutives.

²²⁷ Soida’s exact formulation is “*paplašinātās iteratīvo verbu atvasinātājas izskaņas*” (Soida 2009, 197).

²²⁸ As discussed in section 3.1.2, Soida considers that these morphs (e.g., *-alēt*) are composed of a verbal suffix (*-ēt*), a linking consonant (*-l-*), and a preceding vowel (*-a-*).

²²⁹ See Endzelīns (1951, 288–289), Endzelīns (1971, 95), or Kalnača and Lokmane (2021e, 130).

does not appear to be consistent: *guļavāt* / *guļavot* ‘to sleep long or often’, *lijavāt* ‘to rain very lightly’, *tikavāt* ‘to observe repeatedly’, *skaišļavāt* ‘to be or become angry often’.

The morphological division suggested in this study for these extended suffixes follows the suggestion proposed by Bielenstein (1963a, 229*) and, it is believed, implicitly supported by Soida (2009, 196). According to said division, the components of a deverbal verb such as *pabraukalēt* (from *braukt* ‘to drive’ > *braukāt* ‘to drive about or back and forth’ > *braukalēt* ‘≈ to drive about.PEJ (usually aimlessly)’²³⁰ > *pabraukalēt*) would be analysed as shown below:

(13)	<i>pa-</i>	<i>brauk-</i>	<i>-al-</i>	<i>-ē-</i>	<i>-t</i>
	evaluative marker	root	evaluative marker	theme vowel	verbal marker

As discussed earlier in the study regarding the construction of such posited deverbal EVALs, it is common for the base to first adopt a verbal suffix which expresses a general sense of iteration (and also, sometimes, attenuation): *braukt* > *braukāt*. Subsequently, it is arguably upon that base that the evaluative marker is introduced, usually triggering a vowel-theme shift: *braukāt* > *braukalēt*. From a semantic perspective, it can be argued that verbs constructed in such manner not only express a blend of iterativity and pejoration (Soida 2009, 197) and chaotic, aimless or endless actions (Kalnača and Lokmane 2021e, 302), but also attenuation: *snigt* ‘to snow’ > [*sniegot*²³¹] > *snieģelēt* and *snieģelēt* ‘to snow briefly, sometimes’, as well as *sniegaļāt* and *snidzināt* ‘to snow (very) lightly’ (Tezaurs.lv 2022e).

Supporting evidence for this proposition is the undeniable similitude or near identity between evaluative markers found in deverbal and non-deverbal EVALs, as attested in many Indo-European languages (Fábregas 2017, Katunar 2013, De Belder et al. 2014) and already illustrated in detail for Spanish in Table 9. Moreover, Grestenberger and Kallulli have indicated the existence of similar patterns in languages belonging to various genealogical affiliations, such as Modern Hebrew (Afroasiatic), Halkomelem (Salishian), Northern Cree or Passamaquoddy (Algonquian) (Grestenberger & Kallulli 2019, 1). Consequently, also for Latvian, the morphological parallelism illustrated in Table 15 intends to argue for the consideration of these morphs mainly as transmitters of subjective

²³⁰ “*Braukalēt: Nievājoša ekspresīvā nokrāsa. Braukāt (parasti bez nopietna iemesla)*” (Tezaurs 2022e)

²³¹ LVS defines *sniegot* as a synonym of *snigt*, without any additional semantic nuances (2002, 400). It is posited here as a hypothetical in-between derivative.

evaluation, aside from other possible aspectual content:

Evaluative marker	Deverbal EVALs	Non-deverbal EVALs ²³²
<i>-al-</i>	<i>braukāt > brauk-al-ē-t</i>	<i>nakts</i> ‘night’ > <i>naktaliņa</i> ²³³ <i>žurka</i> ‘rat’ > <i>žurkalēns</i> ²³⁴
<i>-aļ-</i>	<i>cīrpt > cīrp-aļ-ā-t</i>	<i>māma</i> ‘mom’ > <i>māmaļa</i>
<i>-el-</i>	<i>rakstīt > rakst-el-ē-t</i> <i>skribīt > skrib-el-ē-t</i>	<i>skudras</i> ‘ants’ > <i>skudreles</i> <i>drāna</i> ‘cloth’ > <i>drānele</i>
<i>-en-</i>	<i>bīzot > biz-en-ē-t</i>	<i>auksts</i> ‘cold’ > <i>aukstens</i>
<i>-ul-</i>	<i>urbt > urbīt > urb-ul-ē-t</i> <i>spīd-ē-t > spīg-ul-ū-t</i> ²³⁵	<i>tētis</i> ‘father’ > <i>tētulis</i> <i>Aija > Aijulis</i>
<i>-uļ-</i>	<i>snaust > snaud-uļ-o-t</i>	<i>māma</i> ‘mom’ > <i>māmuļa</i>

Table 15. Correspondence between deverbal and non-deverbal evaluative markers in Latvian

Although some of the deverbal morphs included in Table 15 may be described as limited in terms of productivity or even currently unproductive (for example *-al-*, *-aļ-*, or *-ul-*)²³⁶, their existence, properties, and prior characterization as ‘diminutives’ supports their morphosemantic consideration as conveyors of evaluation. Therefore, although synchronically these morphs may admittedly be of limited relevance, from a diachronic perspective their prior presence in the language’s derivational and evaluative patterns warrants their reliable inclusion in the comprehensive structure discussed in this section.

In view of the construction pattern for deverbal EVALs presented in Table 16 (see below), it is possible to pose the question of whether the construction of these affixed verbs is based on the attachment of a compound or extended suffix, as proposed in MLLVG (1959) and Soida (2009), or whether the introduction of an evaluative suffix triggers a theme vowel change, as it has been shown to be the case in many other languages. This approach would perhaps be of help in clarifying the reasons why, in

²³² Latvian non-deverbal EVALs are taken from Rūķe-Draviņa (1959) and all four volumes of Mühlenbachs and Endzelīns’ *Latviešu valodas vārdnīca / Lettisch-deutsches Wörterbuch* (1925–1932). All lexical units excerpted from both sources are specifically described as ‘diminutives’ of a motivating word in their original context. Exact bibliographical references are only offered in the case of unusual and/or outdated lexical units.

²³³ In Mühlenbachs and Endzelīns (1927, 690).

²³⁴ In Rūķe-Draviņa (1959, 276) as well as Mühlenbachs and Endzelīns (1932, 834).

²³⁵ In Bielenstein (1863a, 229).

²³⁶ “Ganz unproduktiv im heutigen Lettisch sind auch die Suffixe *-ala* und *-ata*. Sie finden sich nur in isolierten Formen wie *mamaļa* ‘Mütterchen’ (...) Zuweilen erscheint dieses Suffix in Verbindungen mit einem anderen Diminutivsuffix: *naktaliņa*, Dim. zu *nakts* ‘Nacht’ (LD 34081), *žurkalēns* ‘junge Ratte’ in Prauliena (ME s.v.)” (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959, 276)

Latvian, most of these deverbals undergo a change in their theme vowel (e.g., *klaigāt* > *klaigalēt*, or *kodīt* > *kodelēt*), or why some of them adopt a theme vowel where the base had none (e.g., *dzert* > *dzerstīt*^(?) > *dzerstuļot*, or *ēst* > *ēdelēt*)²³⁷.

Evaluative marker	Verbal base	Pluractional verb	Deverbal EVAL
-al-	<i>braukt</i>	<i>brauk-ā-t</i>	<i>brauk-al-ē-t</i>
	<i>kliegt</i>	<i>klaig-ā-t</i>	<i>klaig-al-ē-t</i>
-aļ-	<i>staigāt</i>	---	<i>staig-aļ-ā-t</i>
	<i>braukt</i>	<i>brauk-ā-t</i>	<i>brauk-aļ-ā-t</i>
-av-	<i>gulēt</i>	<i>gulšņ-ā-t</i>	<i>gulšņ-av-ā-t</i>
		<i>gulsn-ē-t</i>	<i>gul-av-o-t</i>
			<i>gulst-av-ā-t</i>
-el-	<i>kost</i>	<i>kod-ī-t</i>	<i>kod-el-ē-t</i>
	<i>drebēt</i>	---	<i>dreb-el-ē-t</i>
	<i>ēst</i>	---	<i>ēd-el-ē-t</i>
	<i>bāzt</i>	<i>bāz-ī-t</i>	<i>bāz-el-ē-t</i>
	<i>lidot</i>	---	<i>lid-el-ē-t</i>
-in-	<i>stumt</i>	<i>stumd-ī-t</i>	<i>stumd-in-ā-t</i>
-ul-	<i>urbt</i>	<i>urb-ī-t</i>	<i>urb-ul-ē-t</i>
-uļ-	<i>dzert</i>	---	<i>dzerst-uļ-o-t</i>
	<i>drebēt</i>	---	<i>dreb-uļ-o-t</i>

Table 16. Derivational pattern for deverbal verbal EVALs in Latvian

Nonetheless, it cannot be ruled out that some of the entries in the rightmost column, particularly those for which a pluractional deverbal is not readily available, may be of denominal origin, as posited by Endzelīns: e.g., *urbt* ‘to drill’ > *urbulis* ‘awl, drill bit’ > *urbulēt* ‘to drill slowly and without intensity’ (1951, 806).

From a semantic point of view, the prevailing (though not exclusive) interpretative feature for most examples found in the Latvian corpus LVK2018 is repetition and expressivity, reinforced by the conveyance of emotional investment towards an object, often by means of additional evaluative forms, as underlined in (14b):

(14a) *Aleksandra nopūšas, nožagojas, atkal pagriež ķermeņa augšdaļu un atsaķ*

²³⁷ The existence of verbs like *kult* ‘to thrash’, *celt* ‘to build’, *malt* ‘to grind’, or *kalt* ‘to forge’ seems to disprove an operational phonological constraint regarding the formal requirement of a theme vowel in verbs containing some of those morphs.

krākuļot. (Egle 2019, 63)

‘≈ Alexandra sighs, hiccups, turns again her torso and starts **snoring.ATT**.’

(14b) *Piepilsēta **snauduloja** kā aizsapņojusies — brūnās, pelēkās un dzeltenīgās mājiņas čurnēja mierā un klusumā*. (LVK2018 2021_e)

‘≈ The suburb **kept drowsing** as if daydreaming: the brown, grey and yellowish little houses murmured in the peace and quiet.’

The analysis of evaluative markers found in present and past participles deserves separate consideration. Rūķe-Draviņa has indicated that the use of diminutives with present or past participles (*divdabji*) in Latvian is altogether unusual, and her study does not contain any attested uses. The various searches carried out for this study have not been productive either in this area. In the case of Spanish, Alarcos Llorach labels both types of participles as *non-personal verbal forms* and characterizes them as performing adverbial and adjectival roles respectively (Alarcos Llorach 1995, 143). Accordingly, these forms can adopt the evaluative markers available to those word classes. Evaluative present participles (*gerundios*) most commonly adopt the morphs *-it-*, *-ill* and *-ic-*, and are usually found in an adverbial role, in appositional clauses where they complement the action described by the predicate’s main verb, as seen in (15a) to (15c):

(15a) *Que vengo de Cádiz. (...) **Volandico** por los aires*. (CREA 2021_e)

‘≈ That I come from Cadiz. (...) **Flying.EXP** through the air.’

(15b) *Va **saltandillo** y recogiendo algunas hojas...* (CREA 2021_e)

‘≈ He goes around **jumping.ATT** and picking up some leaves.’

(15c) *Mal **sosegadilla** debes tener la punta de la barriga*. (De Rojas 1931 [1499], 95)²³⁸

‘≈ Not quite at **ease.EXP/APP** must you have your belly’s end.’

As for past participles (*participios*), they are usually found in an adjectival role, being *-it-*, *-ill-*, *-ísim-* and *re-* the most frequent affixes employed, as illustrated in (16a) to (16c)²³⁹:

(16a) *Muy **repintada** y frescachona, ella nos interrumpió*. (CREA 2021_e)

²³⁸ In Peter Bush’s 2009 translation, the excerpted sentence reads as: “I bet the thing at the bottom of your belly is stiff and twitching.” (De Rojas 2009_e). Mabee’s translation is much less explicit: “Tell me, is all quiet beneath?” (Mabee 1908 [1631], 34).

²³⁹ The EVALs in these examples can also be approximately glossed as: *repintada* ‘made up.INT’, *benditísimo* ‘blessed.INT’, *calladito* ‘quiet.EXP/INT’.

‘≈ **Wearing plenty of make-up**, very cheekily, she interrupted us.’

(16b) *Fue este **benditísimo** prelado muy amigo de la virtud.* (CORDE 2021_e)

‘≈ This **most blessed** of prelates was very keen on virtue.’

(16c) *Yo voy a estar **calladito** hasta que termine.* (CREA 2021_e)

‘≈ I will be **very quiet** until it is over.’

Martín García has erroneously affirmed that only participles which have lost their verbal properties and function as adjectives admit diminutive suffixation (Martín García 2016, 42*). Similarly, Bosque (1999) is of the opinion that past participles found in verbal constructions systematically reject diminutivisation (1999, 301*), although the same author refers to a counterexample found in De Bruyne (2011 [1993]). However, what De Bruyne presents as a *Kuriosum*, an oddity or rare instance (see (17b)), is in fact a not uncommon occurrence in popular texts such as folk songs, children’s songs or proverbs. All the following examples attest to the currency of evaluative forms involving a past participle in a verbal role. Semantically, the markers found in these constructions mainly express affection or appreciation (APP) towards the interlocutor, or intensification (INT) in the case of (17a):

(17a) *Ha engordado el ministro, el pueblo peruano ha adelgazadísimo.* (Bryce Echenique 2001, 271)

‘≈ The minister has got fat, the Peruvian people **have really and truly lost** weight.’

(17b) *Que te he tomaído el cariño / cuando menos lo pensé.* (De Bruyne 2011, 556)

‘≈ I **have grown fond**.APP of you / when I least expected it.’

(17c) *Yo le he echadito mi brazo por encima / la he miradito como a mi Hermana.* (Tomaflamenco 2021_e)

‘≈ I’ve **put**.APP my arm on her shoulder / and **looked**.APP at her like at my sister.’

(17d) *Arre borriquito / que a Nájera vas / si no has comidito / allí comerás.* (Fernández Díez 2002, 98)

‘≈ Gee up, dear donkey / on your way to Nájera / if you **haven’t eaten**.APP yet / you will eat there.’

In this last example, the use of the evaluative marker is obviously partly motivated by the needed rhyme of the first and third verse of the stanza. However, such requirement could not be fulfilled if the available base could not accept the attachment of the marker. But the past participle form does readily accept the evaluative marker and allows the author

to convey an additional element of affection towards the interlocutor, a donkey in this case.

3.4.5. Evaluative forms in other word classes

As pointed out in previous research, the use of evaluative affixes in bases not pertaining to major word classes is rarer, both in terms of overall frequency and number of evaluative markers involved (Hasselrot 1957, 271; Štekauer 2015a, 48). However, in both Spanish and Latvian, instances of such evaluative forms are attested, not only in spoken contexts but also in written texts where expressivity plays a significant role. In Spanish, evaluative markers may appear attached to personal and possessive pronouns, as well as to possessive adjectives, as seen in (18a) to (18c). Such possibility has not, however, been attested in the case of monosyllabic bases (e.g., *tú, yo, él, me, se, nos*). The semantic nuances introduced by the evaluative markers are mainly expressivity and appreciation, and the use of these EVALs can be argued to have an eminently pragmatic function, establishing familiarity and comfort vis-à-vis the interlocutor. Such function is difficult to render appropriately in translation:

(18a) *¡Ayy comadrita! Aquí, entre **nosotritas** nomás, hablando con cuidadito, bien bajito, bien en secreto.* (De Camacho 2007, 134)

‘≈ Ay, dearest friend! Here, just between **us.APP**, speaking very carefully, very quietly, very secretly.’

(18b) *Buscando repegarse al hombro de los viajeros / ¡**conniguito** más!* (Gonzales 1998, 70)

‘≈ Seeking to rest again on the shoulders of travellers, / on **me.EXP** even more!’

(18c) *La libertad **suya suyita**, no la de su familia.* (Aiffil 2016_e)

‘≈ His freedom, and **his own only** [**his.EXA**], not that of his family.’

(18d) *Por vida **suyita**, Feliciano Bujanda, no me piense en la Rubiera.* (NOW 2021_e)

‘≈ I beg **you.EXP/APP**, Feliciano Bujanda, quit thinking of the Rubiera.’²⁴⁰

While Latvian corpora (LVK2018 and LVTK2007) do not contain relevant data concerning the use of evaluative markers in conjunction with pronouns, some examples attest to their existence, however infrequent, with bases such as the definite pronoun *cits*

²⁴⁰ The base for the EVAL in (18d) is the 3rd person singular possessive adjective *suya* > *suyita*, as used in the expression *por vida suya*, ‘I beg you’.

‘other’ (19a), or the possessive *mans* ‘mine’ (19b):

(19a) *Citu gad’ tu būsī jau **citiņa**: / Nebūsī vairs tik maziņa.* (Rainis 1928, 22)

‘≈ Another year you will be **another.DIM**: / you won’t ever be so small.DIM.’

(19b) *Vai, **manīta** sūra diena / Vaidēt vaid māmulīņa!* (Dainuskapis.lv 2021_e)²⁴¹

‘≈ Oh, **my.DIM** bitter day / moans and groans dear mom.DIM/APP!’

The instances in the two above examples have been found in lyrical compositions, and therefore the use of the evaluative marker, aside from its semantic function, may have been prompted by meter and rhyme requirements of the compositions in which they appear.

An unfiltered internet search has also delivered some curious results in this specific aspect, as illustrated by the nonce words built on the bases *mums* ‘us’ (20a) or *Jums* ‘you (formal)’ (20b):

(20a) ***Mumsīņiem** tiešiņi pietucinājās vēl pārītis aģentiņu.* (Kurbijkurne.lv_e)

(20b) *Atbildu **Jumsīņš** abiem, pirmajā 2 bildēs ir jā, efekti, it kā lai izceltu.* (Playhard.lv_e)

On the basis of such insufficient evidence, it is not possible to consider that Latvian evaluative markers are truly productive with pronouns as bases.

The word class of numerals comprises four main subtypes: cardinals (e.g., one), ordinals (e.g., first), fractional (e.g., one fourth), and multiplicative (e.g., triple). Although relatively infrequent, some evaluative forms have been attested with a numeral as a base in Spanish, as shown in (21a) and (21b). Opposing a previous claim by Iannotti (2016, 139), examples (21c) and (21d) show that ordinal numbers are also able to adopt an evaluative marker. In conjunction with the morpheme *-ísim-*, the resulting evaluative form conveys intensity: e.g., *primero* ‘first’ > *primerísimo* ‘very first’ (21d). As evidenced by search results, it seems that *-it-* and *-ill-* are the markers predominantly involved in the formation of evaluative forms with a numeral as a base.

(21a) *Tendrá sus treinta y **cinquito**, y de ahí no rebajo medio mes.* (CORDE 2021_e)

‘≈ He must be around thirty **five.INT**, and not a day less.’

(21b) *En la oposición habían conseguido un **cinquillo** raspadete.* (NOW 2021_e)

²⁴¹ Rūķe-Draviņa has collected a slightly different variant of this verse: “*Vai, manīte sūra diena*” (1959, 343).

≈ The opposition party had managed to barely get a **five.DIM/PEJ**.²⁴²

(21c) *Lo primerito que debe hacer, es meterle ganas a tu rancho.* (NOW 2021_e)

≈ The **very first thing** you must do is to work with passion in your ranch.'

(21d) *No era el primerísimo partido de España, sino el segundísimo.* (NOW 2021_e)

≈ It was not the **very first** political party in Spain, it was the **very second**.'

According to the study's corpora and internet searches, the use of evaluative markers with numerals is more infrequent in Latvian than in Spanish, considering that lexicalized forms (e.g., *trīnītis* 'triplet' or 'three roubles note', *piecītis* 'five euro note', *pirmītis* 'car model *Zhiguli*' or 'first grade pupil') are not considered as evaluative forms. Nonetheless, their presence has been attested in various publications:

(22a) *Gājputni ir putniņi, kas padzīvo vienīnā vietiņā, otrā, tur kur siltāk, tur, kur labāk.* (Vestnesis.lv 2003_e)

≈ Migratory birds are birds that live in **one.DIM** place, in another, where it's warmer, where it's better.'

(22b) *Rītvakar viesos aktieris Andris Bulis; radio Pieci trīsīņš: Magnus Eriņš, Kaspars Mauriņš, Toms Grēviņš.* (Facebook 2021_e)²⁴³

≈ Tomorrow evening our guests will be actor andris Bulis and the Radio Five **trio.DIM** [lit. **three.EXP**]: Magnus Eriņš, Kaspars Mauriņš, and Toms Grēviņš.'

Although the word class of interjections in Spanish is relatively limited in number of composing units, many of them are susceptible to taking an evaluative marker, particularly in the case of greetings: e.g., *holita*, *hasta luego*, *adiosito*, *chaíto*, *ojalita*. The case is similar in Latvian, where interjections (*interjekcijas* or *izsauksmes vārdi*) often contain an evaluative marker when used as informal greetings: e.g., *sveikiņi!*, *paldiesīņš*, *labrītīņš*, *uz redzīti!* Aside from these, lexical units from a variety of word classes may also appear with an evaluative marker when functioning as interjections. Such is the case in both Spanish (e.g., *¡ojo!* 'watch out!' > *¡ojito!*, or *¡cuidado!* 'careful!' > *¡cuidadín!*) and Latvian (e.g., *nabags!* 'poor one!' > *nabadziņš!*, or *ak dievs!* 'oh, god!' > *ak dieviņš!*).

²⁴² A 'five' refers to the minimum numerical score required for a passing grade in the Spanish education system.

²⁴³ While the use of the morpheme *-iņ-* in (22b) may indicate affection, it is most likely used as an expressive and playful resource, given that the surnames of all three individuals mentioned in the utterance contain said morph: *Eriņš*, *Mauriņš*, *Grēviņš*.

The word class of determiners is comprised of three different types of units, namely articles, demonstratives, and quantifiers. Spanish articles have not been shown to be susceptible to evaluative affixation, as opposed to demonstratives and quantifiers (Hasselrot 1957, 271; Ollé 1962, 207; Alarcos Llorach 1995, 88–89). Examples (23a) and (23b) illustrate the rather common use of evaluative markers with Spanish demonstratives. Spanish quantifiers are also commonly found as the object of evaluative affixation, as shown by (23c) to (23f). In respect to determiners, Latvian does not have articles as a word class and efforts to find instances of demonstratives containing an evaluative marker have not been successful²⁴⁴:

(23a) *Y de **estito** que sobró, saca el gobierno otra parte.* (CREA 2021_e)

‘≈ And of **this tiny bit** [lit. **this.DIM**] that was left over, the government takes another portion.’

(23b) *Así es –confirmó el tipo–. **Aquellito** me vuelve loco.* (NOW 2021_e)

‘≈ That’s how it is –confirmed the man–. I am crazy about **that.APP**.’

(23c) *Es evidente que Enrique Ochoa no les hace ni **tantita** gracia.* (NOW 2021_e)

‘≈ It is clear that they do not like Enrique Ochoa in the **slightest.INT**.’

(23d) *Sentir que algo, **alguito** del poder le tocaba a uno.* (CREA 2021_e)

‘≈ To feel that a little, a **tiny little bit** of power was accorded to one.’

(23e) *12 kilos me parece **demasiadísimo** para lo que es este jugador* (NOW 2021_e)

‘≈ 12 kilos [millions of euros] seems to me **way, way too much** for this player.’

(23f) *Aquí les cuesta trabajo entrar hasta a las patrullas, así que **requetemucho** menos entra un dirigente con su carro.* (NOW 2021_e)

‘≈ Even police patrol cars have a hard time entering here, so **much less.INT** will a politician enter with his car.’

The use of evaluative markers with quantifiers is rather common in Latvian. However, these units are characterized and classified as adverbs of quantity (*mēra apstākļa vārds*, Miķelsone 1959, 694):

(24a) *Es te **vienreizīt** gribēju apskatīties mov filmiņas un uzliku quicktime.* (LVTK 2021_e)

‘≈ I **once.DIM/EXP** wanted to watch mov films.DIM here and I installed quicktime.’

(24b) *Tagad vīdēja tikai zirnekļu tīkli un **mazdrusciņ** tumšāks tapešu raksts.* (LVK2018)

²⁴⁴ A rare and anecdotal instance has been found in an online text, in which virtually every word of the utterance is fitted with a ‘diminutive’ suffix: “(..) *akiņā tādiņš šmucīgiņš sievieš meitietiņš, esiņa padomādomiņa ka tā Dyna vīrišķietītiņš.*” (Tauta.lv 2019_e). The source is no longer available.

2021_e)

‘≈ Only spider webs and a **slightly.ATT** darker wallpaper pattern could now be seen.’

(24c) *Bet šis **mazlietiņ** slimnieku var novest līdz infarktām!* (LVK2018 2021_e)

‘≈ But that **little bit.ATT** can cause a heart attack to the patient!’

(24d) *Aizgājām gulēt, bet miegs nenāca. [Kuģi] **Druscītiņ** šūpoja.* (LVK2018 2021_e)

‘≈ We went to bed, but sleep wouldn’t come. [The ship] rocked a **little bit.ATT**.’

(24e) *Viņos ir kaut kas **nedaudziņ** krievisks, tikai bez akcenta.* (Indiānis Skotijā 2011_e)

‘≈ There is in them a **little something.ATT** of Russian, but without an accent.’

Some lexical units, while nearly identical from a semantic and functional point of view, are labelled differently in Spanish and Latvian grammars. For example, ‘maybe’ (LAV *varbūt*, SPA *quizás*) and ‘then / therefore’ (LAV *tātad*, SPA *entonces*) are considered as particles in Latvian, but as adverbs in Spanish. In fact, Spanish does not have a word class that can be considered as equivalent to the Latvian one of particles (*partikulas*), defined as invariable units, non-essential from a semantic perspective, but whose function is to convey the speaker’s emotional and evaluative stance in relation to the message (Nitiņa 2013, 669). Accordingly, the attested use of evaluative markers in combination with Latvian particles have an eminently expressive and pragmatic intention, skirting or entirely bypassing quantitative and qualitative semantic aspects:

(25a) *Var jau misēties bezviltus vīram, / **varbūtiņ** trāpījies nepareizs jumts.* (Rungasts 2003_e)

‘≈ An honest man can also do wrong, / **maybe.EXP** he chanced upon the wrong roof.’

(25b) *Ta **varbūtiņ** lai ierosina likumprojektu par referendumu atcelšanu?* (Diena.lv 2011_e)

‘≈ Then **maybe.EXP** a draft law to abolish referendums should be proposed?’

(25c) ***Tātadiņ** Svētos Rakstus arī lasām?* (LVK2018 2021_e)

‘≈ **Then.EXP** we should also read the Holy Scriptures?’

(25d) *Cik **tadiņ**? – Es teiktu, ka ar trim mārčiņām desmit šiliņiem būtu pārbagāti samaksāts.* (Dickens 1956_e)

‘‘What’ll you give?’ – ‘I should say, three pound ten was plenty.’ (Dickens 1970 [1837], 62)²⁴⁵

(25e) *Bet katram sava situācija jāskatās individuāli, protamiņš.* (Manadiskusija.lv_e)

‘≈ But each one must consider one’s own situation individually, of **course**.EXP.’

Neither the consultation of studies on Latvian and Spanish evaluative morphology nor the various searches carried out in preparation for this study have made it possible to prove the common use of evaluative markers in combination with conjunctions or prepositions. Nonetheless, the possibility of such instances is not and cannot be ruled out categorically. Indeed, some examples prove to be exceptions to the rule, as seen in (26), which contains an evaluative form of the Spanish conjunction *aunque* ‘although’:

(26) *Aunquecito, debo decir, la humasera, que tapaba en sofocación el poco cielo que teníamos, era lo que nosotros comprendíamos cierto.* (Escobar 2008_e)

‘≈ **Although**.EXP, I must say, the smoke covering up the little bit of sky we had, was all that we knew for certain.’

Such instances demonstrate that the plasticity of the language and the inventiveness of its speakers do not allow for absolute affirmations regarding the boundaries and restrictions applicable to evaluative affixation. In any case, constructions as that found in (26) are usually attested only as nonce words, and such anecdotal evidence does not allow for further generalization.

3.4.6. Calculation of the word class value (E_{wc}) for Spanish and Latvian

The results of the research carried out to examine the presence or absence of certain word classes as available bases for evaluative forms in both Spanish and Latvian are summarized in this last section. As previously mentioned, slight variations in the characterization and contents of the various word classes considered for each language account for some mismatching conditions and additional difficulties for their contrastive analysis. Table 17 reflects the attested use of evaluative forms in a word class (‘YES’) and the lack of obtained linguistic evidence to attest said use (‘NO’), as well as the lack of a word class as such in a language (‘—’). An asterisk superscript (‘—*’) indicates the existence of anecdotal evidence (e.g., nonce words) which has been deemed insufficient to assert that evaluative affixation in a word class is currently productive in the language described.

²⁴⁵ A literal retrotranslation of the Latvian translation would be ‘≈ ‘How much **then**.ATT? I would say that with three pounds and ten shillings he would be abundantly paid’.

Word class	Spanish	Latvian
Nouns	YES	YES
Adjectives	YES	YES
Adverbs	YES	YES
Verbs		
Personal forms	YES	YES
Participles	YES	NO
Pronouns		
Personal pronouns	YES	YES
Possessive pronouns	YES	NO *
Numerals	YES	YES
Prepositions	NO	NO
Conjunctions	NO *	NO
Interjections	YES	YES
Particles	—	YES
Determiners		
Articles	NO	—
Demonstratives	YES	NO *
Quantifiers	YES	—

Table 17. Attested presence of evaluative forms in Latvian and Spanish word classes

Regardless of frequency and number of evaluative markers involved for bases from each category, it can be established that the application of said markers to bases belonging to different word classes is relatively similar in Spanish and Latvian. While evaluative forms can be found in both languages in most word classes, evaluative markers in conjunction with possessive pronouns, demonstratives, and participles have only been attested for Spanish. According to the data obtained for this study, word class values (E_{wc}) can be calculated for Spanish and Latvian. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the calculation of each language's E_{wc} value will be carried out according to the recognized word classes in each language's grammatical description, given that the concept and description of the notion *word class* is not universal, and that word class division is not cross-linguistically uniform. The results of the calculation are presented in Table 18:

	Word classes	Attested	E_{wc}
Latvian	13	8	0.61

Spanish	14	11	0.79
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Table 18. E_{wc} values for Spanish and Latvian

In Spanish, out of a total of 14 word classes and sub-classes, lexical units from 11 of them (79%) are susceptible to EVAL-forming processes. In Latvian, out of 13 word classes and sub-classes, only units from 8 of them (61%) can be said to readily accept evaluative markers. The quotient expressed by the E_{wc} value accurately quantifies the potential of EM productivity within these languages' EM system concerning word classes. Although further research may provide additional data supporting the presence of evaluative markers in additional word classes, the obtained values can be argued to be considerably accurate, as calculations have taken into account most possible instances of evaluative forms, and not only those occurring in the major word classes, as it was the case in Körtvélyessy (2015a, 227).

Several additional conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of gathered linguistic data. Firstly, all Spanish and Latvian evaluative forms are constructed by means of a limited set of language-specific evaluative markers. The most productive markers from each language are also the ones found in most word classes. Consequently, markers which are limited in productivity tend to mostly take nouns and adjectives as base words, but seldom units from other word classes. Secondly, it has been shown that, in both Spanish and Latvian, the morphemes comprised in the set of evaluative affixes found in deverbal EVALs can also be found as available to other word classes. Nonetheless, the use of evaluative suffixes in deverbal EVALs is somewhat particular in that it almost routinely triggers a morpho-phonological adaptation in the base word. Said adaptation consists of a predictable change in the verbal theme, usually in the form of an added or changed theme vowel. Examined examples of Latvian deverbal EVALs suggest that the described transformational pattern is rather consistent, but further and more focused research would be required to fully establish this point. Lastly, and by virtue of the number of results obtained in the searches from various sources (corpora, periodicals, online content, etc.), it can be affirmed that both Spanish and Latvian comply with the frequency hierarchy for evaluative forms proposed in previous studies (notably in Ettinger 1974a and Nieuwenhuis 1985)²⁴⁶. Thus, denominal nouns are the most frequent type of evaluative

²⁴⁶ A quantitative study by Aleza-Izquierdo (2016) confirms that, for the Spanish variety of Santo Domingo, denominal bases for diminutives =are twice as common as deadjectival ones, and almost ten times as common as deadverbial ones (2016, 15).

forms, followed by deadjectival, deadverbial and deverbal ones.

3.5. Interpretative features in Spanish and Latvian evaluative forms

A total of 10 fundamental interpretative features for evaluative forms have been described in subchapter 2.5.3 and collected in Table 5. Said features have been attested in EM research as semanto-pragmatic information that evaluative markers are able to convey in different languages. In this subchapter, each feature is examined and illustrated, whenever possible, for the case of Latvian and Spanish. The aim of this review is to establish whether each semantic feature can be conveyed by means of the evaluative markers available to each language. According to obtained results, it will be possible to calculate the saturation values for interpretative features (E_{IF}) corresponding to Spanish and Latvian. Given that the focus of the present dissertation is on morphological aspects, and that comments about the semanto-pragmatic features of Latvian and Spanish evaluative forms can be found in previous sections, the present subchapter will limit itself to brief illustrations of each interpretative feature (when attested), while acknowledging that a more focused study would serve to examine more in detail some of the aspects merely touched upon in this section. Unless otherwise noted, all examples have been excerpted from available on-line corpora: CREA, CORDE and NOW for Spanish, and LVK2018 and LVTK2007 and Tīmeklis 2020 for Latvian. Although some of the selected examples contain more than one evaluative form, only the relevant feature is addressed in the suggested translation.

Appreciation

LAV *Ejot pa ielām, šad tad jauki nosmaržo pēc **kaņepītes**.* (Hofmanis 2009_e)

‘≈ Walking in the street, one felt the nice smell of **pot.APP** here and there.’

SPA *Siempre nos juntamos y una vez hicimos un **asadito** en su casa de Unquillo.* (Pignol 2019_e)

‘≈ We always get together and once we had a **nice cookout** in his house in Unquillo.’

Pejoration

LAV *Latvija pašreiz ir tik liberāla, ka katrs skribents var **skribelēt**, ko vien grib.* (Saeima 2021_e)

‘≈ Latvia is now so liberal, that any hack can **scribble** [**write.PEJ**] whatever they want.’

*Piem. kas pieturās **pīpuļo** un viņiem neinteresē vai tev traucē vai nē.*

‘≈ For example, those who **smoke.PEJ** at the stops, not caring whether they bother you or not.’

SPA *Tu padre fue un rojeras.* (CREA 2021_e)

‘≈ You father was a **commie**.’

Diminution

LAV *Toties gar Austrumu robežu kapsētiņas nosējušās kā odziņas.* (Kaņepe, 2015_e)

‘≈ But along the eastern border, **small cemeteries** have popped up like berries.’

SPA *Dos veces había subido por la montañita y dos veces había bajado.* (Morenilla 2019_e)

‘≈ Twice he had gone up the **little mountain**, and twice had he come down.’

Augmentation

LAV Not attested in the reviewed materials.

SPA *El perrazo del guardián desgarró mi chaqueta.* (CREA 2021_e)

‘≈ The guardian’s **huge dog** ripped my jacket.’

Rūķe-Draviņa has posited an augmentative meaning for diminutive suffixes (1959: 157), but her examples are more illustrative of an ironic, sarcastic or satirical use, where the diminutive sense creates a perceptual contrast with the objectively large (or larger than usual) size of the object to which it refers. This use can be related to various pragmatic functions (softening, empathy, derision or other), but can be better understood as an ironic use, as the author herself indicates: “The link between diminutive and amplifying meaning seems to lie in the irony or contempt.” (ibid., 216*). As mentioned previously, Kalnača (2015) has argued that augmentation can only be considered as part of the Latvian EM system with “grave reservations” (2015, 216). Körtvélyessy (2015a) has argued otherwise, but her contention is not supported by any specific example and seems based on the (to some extent imprecise) input of a single informant:

Latvian uses suffixation for diminutivisation, which can express two cognitive categories, notably, Quantity of Substance and Quantity of Quality. An intriguing feature of Latvian [*sic*] is that augmentatives are formally identical to diminutives. The actual meaning, either diminutive or augmentative, follows from the context (Navickaitė-Klišauskienė, pers. com.). (Körtvélyessy 2015, 117)

This dissertation disagrees with the characterization shared by Navickaitė-Klišauskienė and Körtvélyessy, who propose “*cilvēks* ‘man’ > *pārcilvēks* ‘AUG-man, superhuman’” (ibid.) as an example of a Latvian augmentative. On the one hand, it can be noted that *pārcilvēks* is mostly used as a lexicalized term in Nietzschean philosophy and, in such

instances, it can not be considered as an evaluative form. On the other hand, *pārcilvēks* does not truly denote size, or *quantity of substance* (as expressed by Körtvélyessy). Instead, it may be said to express *quantity of quality* as it indicates that certain (positive) characteristics associated with the denotata of the base are embodied to a very high degree: ‘a great man, a prodigious man’. However, also in this interpretation the word *pārcilvēks* can be considered as a lexicalized derivative, since only certain semantic traits of the base have been selected to be reproduced. It must be noted that the negative characteristics associated with *man* are not conveyed in *superman*. In keeping with Nietzschean terminology, the term *superman* (*Übermensch*) is not equivalent to ‘all too human’ (*Allzumenschliches*).

In the recently published *Latvian grammar* (2021_e), Kalnača and Lokmane only mention once the term *augmentation*, while the term *augmentative* does not appear in the study. Moreover, although the authors argue that “prefixal adjective formation in Latvian is basically either attenuative or augmentative” (2021, 169), the examples which could be considered as evaluative forms indicate rather a sense of excess (EXC) or intensification (INT). These semantic features can be glossed via the adjective *over*, the adverbs *really* and *very* or the locution *more than*, but not with adjectives indicating large size, such as *big* or *great*:

- (1a) *pilns* ‘full’ > *pārpilns* ‘very full, overfull’, but ‘*big full’ or ‘*great full’
 (1b) *laimīgs* ‘happy’ > *pārlaimīgs* ‘very happy, overjoyed’, but ‘*big happy’

According to these observations, it is considered that evidence is inconclusive as it is not possible to affirm that the semantic feature augmentation is available to Latvian evaluative markers.

Excess

LAV *Biju mazliet pārgaidījies, gribējās jau braukt.* (Mīkstā 2018_e)

‘≈ I had **waited** for a little **too long**, I wanted to ride already.’

SPA *La persona crítica juzga espontáneamente, en cualquier momento y sin importarle las circunstancias.* (CREA 2021_e)

‘≈ An **overly judgmental** person judges spontaneously, at any time and regardless of the circumstances.’

Esta sopa está requetosalada. (Müller Delgado 2004, 22)

‘≈ This soup is **too salty**’

Intensification

LAV *Es vienmēr esmu bijis tavš **visvistuvākais** cilvēks.* (LVTK2018 2021_e)

‘≈ I have always been your **very closest** person.’

SPA *Jugando mal se puede ganar en el fútbol, y está **requetecomprobado**.* (NOW 2021_e)

‘≈ It’s been **totally proven** that one can win at football even playing badly.’

Attenuation/Approximation

LAV *Tā ir tumša, **pasalda**, pēc izskata nemaz nevarat šķirt no liellopa gaļas.*
(Tīmeklis2007 2021_e)

‘≈ It is dark, **sweetish**, and by its looks it cannot be told apart from beef.’

SPA *Tienen un color **blanquecino** al principio que se torna anaranjado.* (CREA 2021_e)

‘≈ They have a **whitish** color at first that then turns to an orange hue.’

Exactness

LAV Not attested in the reviewed materials.

SPA *Les guste o no, amigos lectores, **ahoritica** dependemos de la fortuna.*

‘≈ Whether we like it or not, dear readers, **right now** we depend on luck.’

While the evaluative form *ahora* ‘now’ > *ahoritica* [*ahor-it-ic-a*] ‘right now’ is widely used in certain varieties of Hispanoamerica, Malaver (2017) has shown that the meaning conveyed by this form (whether interpreted as intensification or exactness) is almost lexicalized. However, there are other instances in which the evaluative marker can be interpreted as expressing a limitative sense and exactness:

(2) *Seis años son larguísimos, sobre todo si tenés en cuenta que yo pude zafar, **apenitas** pero pude.* (NGLE 2010, 165)

‘≈ Six years is a very long time, especially if you consider that I was able to get out of it, **just barely** (barely.EXA), but I was able to.’

Based on this evidence, it will be considered that Spanish does have the morphological means to convey exactness in evaluative forms, although the scarcity of illustrative examples points to it being a rare semantic feature, and one that is only conveyed with a limited number of bases, usually adverbs.

Expressivity

LAV *Otis atkal noplauka no matene.* (Tīmeklis2007 2021_e)

‘≈ Otis bunked maths.EXP again.’

SPA *Las mujeres se dan de bofetadas por **currelar** en el chino.* (CREA 2021_e)

‘≈ The women fight each other to **moil and toil** at the Chinese.’

Repetition

LAV *Sēž uz piegružotā lieveņa, skatās, kā bērni **kāpelē** pa viņa mašīnu, un velk dūmu.*
(LVK2018 2021_e)

‘≈ [He] sits on the cluttered porch, watches the children **climbing up and down** his car, and has a smoke.’

SPA *He mirado y **remirado** los mapas y fotocopias que me mostraba.* (CREA 2021_e)

‘≈ I have examined and **re-examined** the maps and photocopies that he showed me.’

As illustrated in these examples, it is apparent that available evaluative markers of both languages can convey almost the totality of interpretative semantic features established for evaluative forms in this study.

As discussed in 2.5.3, the aim in establishing these features is to avoid excessively detailed and unwieldy classifications, while understanding that the semantic senses expressed by a specific evaluative form can be exceptionally nuanced. Table 19 reflects attested interpretative features for Spanish and Latvian.

Interpretative feature	Spanish	Latvian
Appreciation (APP)	YES	YES
Pejoration (PEJ)	YES	YES
Diminution (DIM)	YES	YES
Augmentation (AUG)	YES	NO
Intensification (INT)	YES	YES
Attenuation (ATT) / Approximation (APR)	YES	YES
Excess (EXC)	YES	YES
Exactness (EXA)	YES ²	NO
Expressivity (EXP)	YES	YES
Repetition (REP)	YES	YES

Table 19. Attested interpretative features in Spanish and Latvian

According to the data contained in Table 19, Table 20 specifies the numerical indicators employed for the calculation of the corresponding E_{IF} values:

| Interpretative | Attested | E_{wc}

	features		
Latvian	10	8	0.8
Spanish	10	10	1

Table 20. E_{IF} values for Spanish and Latvian

Given the results attested for both languages in available descriptions and researched materials, the respective E_{IF} values are rather similar for both languages. However, it must be noted that the slight numerical difference does not properly represent the very significant absence (particularly from a contrastive perspective) of the feature ‘augmentation’ (AUG) in Latvian.

3.6. Recursivity resources in Spanish and Latvian

A noteworthy feature of both Spanish and Latvian evaluative forms is the possibility of stringing multiple evaluative markers in the recursive application of available formation processes. This is a rather common feature cross-linguistically, given the non-exclusive character of evaluative markers. As previously discussed in available EM descriptions and discussed in some detail in subchapter 2.5.4 of this study, a particular characteristic of evaluative markers is that they do not necessarily block their morphological process (as in the case of recursive suffixation) or other evaluative processes (as in cases where compounding and affixation concur). It must be stressed that most evaluative markers found in the forms discussed in this section are not stable discontinuous morphs, but mere combinations of available evaluative markers. The manner and order in which these appear combined depends greatly on the interplay between the base and the evaluative markers involved.

In some combinations, no hierarchy or required construction order is apparent, as two intermediate evaluative forms may coexist, as in examples (1a) and (1b). However, the form containing the reapplication of the morphological rule requires an established order for the evaluative markers, as shown in the very last form. Forms marked with an asterisk in these examples are non-existing:

(1a) SPA *moza* ‘young girl’ > *moz-uel-a*, *moz-it-a* > *moz-uel-it-a* (**moz-it-uel-a*)

(1b) LAV *tētis* ‘father’ > *tēt-uk-s*, *tēt-īt-is* > *tēt-uc-īt-is* (**tēt-īt-uc-s*)

In other evaluative forms, the reapplication of the formation rule must follow certain

established patterns, as in (2a) and (2b). Indeed, in (2a), the intermediate form *fiesta* > **fiestete* does not have actual currency (beyond rare instances of forced rhymes and loose wordplay). The same occurs in (2b) where the hypothetical out-of-sequence forms **balt-g-s* or **balt-g-īg-s* are not part of the lexicon²⁴⁷:

(2a) SPA *fiesta* ‘party’ > *fiest-ón* > *fiest-on-c-et-e*

(2b) LAV *balts* ‘white’ > *balt-an-s* > *balt-g-an-s* > *balt-g-an-īg-s*

However, as pointed out above, the combinatorial possibilities of evaluative markers depend significantly on the individual bases involved in each case. Thus, the order of the recursive application marked as a requirement for (2b), can be altered if the base changes, as seen in (3):

(3) LAV *zaļš* ‘green’ > *zaļ-g-s* > *zaļ-g-an-s* > *zaļ-g-an-īg-s*

An interesting feature discussed by Kalme un Smiltņiece in relation to Latvian adjectives is that “it seems that there is no criteria to establish the derivation order in adjectives which contain two affixes indicating attenuation” (Kalme and Smiltņiece 2001, 120*):

(4a) *rūgts* ‘bitter’ > *parūgts* > *parūgtens* ‘slightly bitterish’

rūgts ‘bitter’ > *rūgtens* > *parūgtens* ‘slightly bitterish’

(4b) *brūns* ‘brown’ > *brūngans* > *iebrūngans* ‘slightly brownish’

brūns ‘brown’ > *iebrūns* > *iebrūngans* ‘slightly brownish’

In the evaluative forms of the previous examples, the semantic aspects linked to each evaluative marker appear combined and often reinforce each other, either by expressing different semantic aspects or reiterating the same one. It is not unusual for evaluative forms to contain evaluative markers which, apparently, express contradicting semantic features, as in (5):

(5) SPA *viaje* ‘travel’ > *superviajecito*

The combination of evaluative markers in (5) can at first appear paradoxical, as the prefix *super-* expresses augmentation and or intensification while the suffix *-it-* usually expresses diminution. However, beyond this narrow reading, a more context-based

²⁴⁷ Some anecdotal evidence has been found of the form *baltīgs* in the Latvian corpus Timeklis 2020 (2021c), but its use is unorthodox and not attested in reliable sources, as remarked by Roze (2005, 133).

approach reveals that both affixes express positive emotional involvement (real or feigned) towards the object on the part of the speaker²⁴⁸.

The remainder of this section is dedicated to examining whether all three types of recursion as well as their various combinations described for evaluative markers in 2.5.4 can be attested in Latvian and Spanish evaluative forms. The three types in question have been labelled as *repetition* (consecutive use of one same evaluative marker), *recurrence* (consecutive or simultaneous use of two or more evaluative markers stemming from one same EVAL-formation process) and *concurrence* (consecutive or simultaneous use of two or more evaluative markers obtained from different EVAL-formation processes). Except where indicated, examples have been attested in the same on-line corpora previously mentioned, CREA, CORDE and NOW for Spanish, and LVK2018, LVTK2007 and Tīmeklis 2020 for Latvian:

Repetition

LAV Not attested in the reviewed materials²⁴⁹.

SPA *pura* ‘pure, sheer’ > *puritita* [*pur-it-it-a*]

Recurrence

LAV *Eva* > *Evucītis* [*Ev-uc-īt-is*]

SPA *feo* ‘ugly’ > *feuchillo* [*fe-uch-ill-o*]

Concurrence

LAV *dzeltens* ‘yellow’ > *iedzeltenīgs* [*ie-dzelten-īg-s*]

SPA *impuesto* ‘tax’ > *recontraimpuestazo* [*recontra-impuest-az-o*]

Repetition and recurrence

LAV Not attested in the reviewed materials.

SPA *corto* ‘short’ > *cortiquitico* [*cort-iqu-it-ic-o*] (Rainer 1993, 520)²⁵⁰

²⁴⁸ Available examples in context are: “...*dicharachero, gracioso, bravuconcillo y presumido*” (Romero y Murube 2007, 23) or “*Adara y Noe hablan un poquito sobre Montse, que está tristoncilla hoy.*” (NOW 2021.)

²⁴⁹ Rūķe-Draviņa discusses the formation of EVALs with repeated evaluative markers, but more as a hypothetical construction than as an attested one: “Proceeding along the same lines, we may introduce a third component: an adjective of the same root with several diminutive suffixes, e.g., *mazs mazinš mazītītīnš* (base + diminutive + diminutive with three suffixes) ‘very very small’ or *klusu klusiņām klusītītīņām* ‘very very silently’” (1953, 460–461).

²⁵⁰ The morph *-iqu-* is an allomorph of the morph *-ic-* and, therefore, both are considered as the same evaluative marker.

Repetition and concurrence

LAV Not attested in the reviewed materials.

SPA *chico* ‘small’ > *rechiquitito* [*re-chiqu-it-it-o*]

Recurrence and concurrence

LAV *maza* ‘small’ > *mazmazītiņa* [*maz-maz-īt-iņ-a*]

SPA *gorda* ‘fat, plump’ > *regordetilla* [*re-gord-et-ill-a*]

Repetition, recurrence, and concurrence

LAV Not attested in the reviewed materials.

SPA Not attested in the reviewed materials.

The recursive possibilities indicated in the examples above do not necessarily attain all evaluative markers in a language. Likewise, not all combinations of markers here indicated can be applied to all bases. In fact, at least in that which concerns Spanish and Latvian, certain morphological restrictions readily appear upon closer inspection. In Latvian, for example, the sub-set of affixes not usually examined as pertaining to the group of ‘diminutive suffixes’ (for example *pa-*, *ie-*, *uz-*, *sa-*, *-g-*, *-an-*, *-en-*, etc.) can appear in a variety of combinations²⁵¹, but the repetition of one same affix has not been attested.

In relation to Spanish, Fábregas (2017) has remarked on the possibility of recurrent suffixation (6a) and concurrent affixation (6b) in certain deverbal verbs among which some evaluative forms can be found (2017, 146). Said deverbal evaluative forms usually contain two or more suffixes and undergo a change in the verbal theme vowel)²⁵². Verbs like these usually express iterative and frequentative aspects inextricably linked to some degree of subjective evaluation. Verbs with a similar structure are also found in Latvian, as illustrated in (6c). However, despite the obvious morphological plasticity of these examples, no instances of repetition of one same evaluative marker have been attested for either language²⁵³:

(6a) SPA *pintar* ‘to paint’ > *pint-orr-ear* > *pint-arr-aj-ear*

²⁵¹ Thus, from *zaļš* ‘green’ it can be obtained *zal-g-s* > *zaļ-g-an-s* > *zaļ-g-an-īg-s* > *ie-zaļ-g-an-īg-s* (Kalnača and Lokmane 2021e, 74). Although the translations proposed by Kalnača and Lokmane for these forms “greenish – slightly greenish – with just a hint of greenishness” (ibid.), it is arguable whether each of these forms necessarily reflects a measurable decrease in intensity.

²⁵² Affixal combinations in deverbal verbs are rather stable, but further examination would be required to positively characterize them as fixed sets, i.e., as co-suffixes.

²⁵³ Such constraint has also been observed by Grandi (2008) in relation to Italian.

(6b) SPA *chupar* ‘to suck’ > *chup-et-ear* > *chup-err-et-ear* > *re-chup-err-et-ear*

(6c) LAV *snaust* > *pa-snaust* / *snaud-uļ-ot* > *pa-snaud-uļ-ot*

Table 21 sums up the attested types of recursion encountered for the present study for Spanish and Latvian. The indicator ‘NO’ only expresses that the combination in question has not been attested, but further research might alter the present conclusions:

Type of recursion	Latvian	Spanish
Repetition	NO	YES
Recurrence	YES	YES
Concurrence	YES	YES
Repetition + recurrence	NO	YES
Repetition + concurrence	NO	YES
Recurrence + concurrence	YES	YES
Repetition + recurrence + concurrence	NO	NO

Table 21. Attested types of EM recursion in Spanish and Latvian

The information in Table 21 will allow the calculation of the saturation value for recursivity resources (E_{RR}), as shown below in Table 22. It must be noted that, in principle, and certain language-specific morphophonological restrictions notwithstanding, the flexibility of the language and creativity of the speakers would most likely allow all possible recursive combinations, even if only for nonce words. For example, four consecutive evaluative suffixes can be found in the Spanish word *chiqu-irr-iqu-it-in* (as found in a well-known Christmas carol), and up to six affixes are reported in the Lithuanian form “*puodelaitukèlytèlis* [*puod-el-ait-uk-èl-yt-èl-is*] ‘tiny little pot’” (Urbutis 1965, as cited in Woodhouse 2017, 829). Taking this into consideration, the E_{RR} values shown in Table 22 merely indicate the types of recursion which are common and well-established in each language:

	Types of recursion	Attested	E_{wc}
Latvian	7	3	0.43
Spanish	7	6	0.86

Table 22. E_{RR} values for Spanish and Latvian

While these numerical values serves more as a general reference than as an exact descriptor of the recursive EVAL-forming possibilities of a language, they clearly show that the combinatorial possibilities afforded by different types of recursion will result in a wealth of forms, along with nuanced semantic content.

3.7. Contrastive analysis of EM resources in Spanish and Latvian

The discussion contained in previous sections of this chapter have allowed the application to the Latvian and Spanish languages of the analytical framework for the description of evaluative morphology resources in languages presented in chapter 2. While allowing for the fact that the framework has its own acknowledged limitations and that possibly more accurate incarnations of it may be developed in further research, it is believed that, in its present form, the framework is a valuable tool to describe and quantify the EM productivity and resources of languages. The set of EM values obtained for Spanish and Latvian, here reproduced in Table 23, will serve as the basis for a set of contrastive observations concerning the EM systems of these languages:

	Latvian	Spanish
E_{FP}	0.29	0.14
E_{WC}	0.61	0.79
E_{IF}	0.8	1
E_{RR}	0.43	0.86
E_{EM}	26	58

Table 23. Summary of EM saturation values for Spanish and Latvian

While the approach to the numerical quantification of resources differs considerably between the proposed framework and that of Körtvélyessy (2015a), the results in her work must be taken into consideration as they provide a point of comparison. Table 24 shows Körtvélyessy's EM saturation values for Spanish and Latvian:

	EM satur.	DIM satur.	AUG satur.
Latvian	3.00	2.00	1.00
Spanish	6.00	3.33	2.67

Table 24. EM saturation values for Spanish and Latvian as proposed by Körtvélyessy (2015a, 105–106).

The numerical indicators contained in Table 24 suggest that EM resources are twice as productive or available in Spanish than in Latvian, at least in relation to the posited categories of diminutives and augmentatives. These numerical values are not similar to those obtained in the present study, but divergences may be due to differences in both the scope and approach of each study. However, as noted in subchapter 2.6, Körtvélyessy's EM saturation values for a number of languages do not seem to be consistent with existing EM descriptions of said languages. The values obtained in the present study suggest that EM resources in Spanish and Latvian are rather similar, except in terms of available evaluative markers, at least from a purely descriptive viewpoint. That is, said suggestion is based on numerical indicators provided by the analytic framework, which does not account for frequency of use, neither of individual markers nor of evaluative forms in general. Several more specific observations can be made in view of the available data:

1. The number of EVAL-formation processes is quite similar in Spanish and Latvian, with a 0.29 and 0.14 E_{FP} value respectively. The values are quite low as the chosen approach has been to take into consideration all productive EVAL-forming processes described in EM literature, regardless of whether they are actually available as a morphological process to the language being analysed. Spanish seems to rely exclusively on canonical affixation, while Latvian also resources to circumfixation and reduplicative compounding. However, EVALs obtained by means of the latter process are relatively infrequent in Latvian and, consequently, the obtained E_{FP} values perhaps overrepresent actual productivity. The thorough literature review carried out in this dissertation has shown that suffixation and prefixation are decidedly the most productive processes in both languages.

2. The E_{wc} value (0.61 for Latvian and 0.79 for Spanish) is rather high for both languages, suggesting a wide availability of bases from different word classes for EVAL-forming processes. Both languages are quite productive with bases from all four major word classes, as well as from several other ones, although uses with possessive pronouns, demonstratives, and quantifiers have been attested for Spanish but not for Latvian (aside from nonce words). In this aspect, both Latvian and Spanish follow the trend described for availability of bases in EM descriptions cross-linguistically. An effort has been made in this study to show not only that deverbal formations belong semantically and morphologically to the EM paradigm, but also that a majority of affixal resources employed in Latvian and Spanish are similar or identical to those currently described under the categorial labels 'diminutive', 'augmentative', 'attenuative', etc.

3. The value that quantifies the capacity of evaluative markers to convey different semantic features (E_{IF}) is very high for both languages: 0.8 for Latvian and 1 for Spanish. The features that have not been properly attested for Latvian are *augmentation* (AUG) and *exactness* (EXA). In fact, the latter has only rarely been identified in Spanish evaluative forms. The ample variety of semantic features illustrated for Latvian indicates that EM research in this language could find fertile ground outside the traditional field of ‘diminutives’. Moreover, perhaps said ‘diminutives’ would be better interpreted and understood when examined in the larger context of EM. The E_{IF} value, however, does not sufficiently address the frequency with which features appear in each language. Such aspect may be very relevant when examining the stylistics and expressive resources of a language, both as an end in itself and as a means to analyse aspects related to translation or language-teaching. It can be conjectured that dedicated research that would address the frequency of the various semantic features in evaluative forms found in available corpora would better reflect the extent to which a given language is productive in expressing certain features. For example, while feature *augmentation* (AUG) is absent in Latvian, it is however widely available to denominal and deadjectival bases in Spanish. Given the demonstrated overall higher frequency of denominal and evaluative forms cross-linguistically, it can be inferred that a definite imbalance is at play in this respect.

4. The E_{RR} value (0.43 for Latvian and 0.86 for Spanish) suggests that Spanish is considerably more productive in this respect. As established in the analysis, only a reduced number from all available evaluative markers can repeat within a given evaluative form. In the case of Spanish, said markers are also the most productive overall in the language: *-it-* and *-in-*. In the case of Latvian, it has not been possible to attest repeated application of one same affix as a productive EVAL-forming resource. Recurrence has been observed to be more productive than mere repetition in both languages, affording the compounding of semantic features in one same EVAL. Both languages are also similarly productive in terms of concurrence, presenting a wealth of EVALs containing markers stemming from diverse morphological processes (usually prefixation and suffixation).

5. It is perhaps in that which concerns the value for available evaluative markers in each language (E_{EM}) that the most significant differences are found between Spanish and Latvian. Catalogues of evaluative markers can vary considerably depending on the parameters established for their compilation in relation to allomorphy, regional variants, markers exclusive to certain dialects, diachronic aspects, etc. The approach in the present

study has been based in maximal representativity, but without being exhaustive in that which concerns regional-only uses, as it has been considered that markers in the catalogues should be recognizable to an average native speaker. However, the geographical extension of Spanish as well as total number of speakers may account for its undeniable richness in terms of EVAL-forming affixal resources. It is perhaps this proliferation of markers and the fact that many of them have well-established standardized semantic readings associated with them that makes Spanish EM appear to be so diverse. As a broad characterization concerning the relation between evaluative markers and conveyed semantic features, it can be said that Spanish makes use of a significantly large number of evaluative markers, a total of 58, many of which are highly productive. By contrast, available markers in Latvian, appear to be fewer in number (26 according to the proposed catalogue) and their productivity is more divided between highly productive (*-iņ*, *-īt-*, *-el-*, *pa-*, *sa-V-ties*) and infrequent ones.

The results obtained for the Spanish and Latvian EM values do not reflect the a priori notion that Spanish may be much ‘richer’ in terms of EM resources than Latvian, as in most cases the numerical values obtained for each one of the productive indicators do not show drastic disparities (apart from the E_{EM} value). However, it must be emphasised again that said numerical values measure the availability and potential realization of certain linguistic features, and not their relevance or frequency in the actual use of the language. Consequently, it should not be underestimated how a minor statistical difference may in fact reflect a very substantial difference in the actual use of the language. Such is certainly the case of the common realization of the semantic feature AUG in Spanish vis-à-vis its absence in Latvian. Consequently, it is considered that the results obtained with the proposed framework could be interpreted in a more nuanced manner if assisted by some additional indicators related to the frequency with which different semantic features are portrayed in the language by means of EM.

Conclusions

The discussion contained in the previous three chapters of this dissertation has achieved its intended aim, that is, the development of an analytical framework for the description and quantification of the evaluative morphology resources of languages. The proposed framework relies on a total of five productivity indicators representing numerically five significant aspects of evaluative morphology: number of available evaluative markers, number of EVAL-forming processes, number of different available bases, number of conveyed semantic features and types of available recursivity resources. For each indicator, a scale has been set up according to indicators described in existing EM literature. The framework has been tested by means of a contrastive analysis of the EM resources available to the Spanish and Latvian languages. The ultimate objective of the proposed framework is to allow EM research to continue its development based on a set of well-defined lines of description and analysis.

The following conclusions have been reached after confirming the theses put forth at the beginning of the study:

1. The field of academic research addressing evaluative morphology is a relatively new one, even if the lexical units and procedures involved have long been the object of study. However, it is a field that only in the past few decades has begun to develop its own set of definitions, concepts, and analytical tools. In its current state, evaluative morphology research shows a clear tendency to be developed independently from the derivative and inflectional paradigms, given that the attested features of the morphological processes involved in EM cannot be subsumed under either of these paradigms. Consequently, it has been defended that evaluative morphology should be considered as a separate paradigm with its own set of rules and restrictions.
2. Evaluative morphology research whose object includes the lexical units examined in this study as ‘evaluative forms’ often discusses, along with these, other lexical units which, from both a semantic and a morphological perspective, can demonstrably be described as pertaining to different lexical groups. Lexical units commonly discussed along (and often interchangeably with) evaluative forms have been labelled as ‘evaluative derivatives’, as they are regular derivatives from a morphological perspective but convey a certain amount of subjective evaluation, encoded in their semantic makeup. By contrast, evaluative forms compose a distinct lexical type whose units are not analysable under the morphological paradigms

established for derivation or inflection. In this dissertation, evaluative forms have been defined as lexical units which comply with a set of type-defining conditions concerning both their morphological and semantic character.

3. Evaluative forms and evaluative derivatives have often been analysed jointly given that similar morphs (mainly affixes) are involved in their construction. However, it has been shown that said morphs can carry out different functions and that, consequently, a crucial aspect is to distinguish between the eminently derivative and eminently evaluative functions of these morphs. Morphs that are employed with an evaluative function (that is, according to the specific possibilities and constraints of evaluative morphology) have been labelled as 'evaluative markers'. Their presence (or, infrequently, their absence, as in the case of subtractive morphology) in the morphological makeup of a given lexical unit is an absolute requirement for said unit to be considered as an evaluative form, independently from other morphological processes involved.

4. Research of evaluative forms has, for the most part, tended to the division of evaluative markers (usually suffixes and affixes) into notional categories under the labels 'diminutive', 'augmentative', 'pejorative', 'honorific' and others. However, after examining the available conceptual frameworks for their description and analysis, they have been found wanting in accuracy and definition. It has been shown that evaluative markers, despite their etymological origin, can convey a significant range of semantic nuances. Consequently, it has been argued that a desemantization process undergone by a majority of evaluative markers has turned these morphs into highly supple units from a semantic perspective. Unsurprisingly, efforts to divide them into discrete categories fall short of their intended aim, since semantic projections from postulated core notions often overlap and/or appear conflated.

5. The alternative approach to the classification of EVALs and evaluative markers defended in this dissertation is their consideration as belonging to a non-discrete continuum. Given a specific utterance, evaluative markers can be interpreted according to specific semantic features which may partake of different aspects (pejoration, attenuation, diminution, repetition, etc.) according to their interaction with a base and a specific linguistic context. The fundamental interpretative features proposed in the study allow for the semantic analysis of EVALs without the constraint of standardized readings nor the requirement to posit narrow notional categories.

6. After a thorough review of EM research dedicated to a wide variety of languages, it has been ascertained that descriptive studies seldom follow a systematic approach to the description of the features and resources of a language's EM system. A recent proposal in this direction has been put forth by Körtvélyessy (2015a). Both her Model for Evaluative Word Formation and her approach to the quantification of an EM saturation value has served as the conceptual basis for the analytical framework developed in this dissertation. The framework here proposed aims to facilitate an objective and quantifiable description of the EM resources available in a language. In order to measure said resources, the framework describes five productivity indicators which address five significant aspects of evaluative morphology: the number of available evaluative markers (E_{EM}), the number of EVAL-forming processes (E_{FP}), the number of word classes which may serve as bases (E_{WC}), the number of semantic features which are possible to express (E_{IF}), and the various types of available recursivity resources in EVAL-formation (E_{RR}). For each productivity indicator, a scale has been set up according to relevant features attested in existing EM literature.

7. The viability of the framework has been tested on a pair of languages belonging to two different Indo-European branches, the Baltic branch for Latvian and the Romance branch for Spanish. For each language, a set of five numerical indicators has been calculated, and subsequently said indicators have served as the basis for a contrastive analysis of the EM resources of each language. The results obtained indicate, somewhat counterintuitively, that the Spanish and Latvian systems are considerably similar in terms of available resources. This conclusion suggests that perhaps other indicators related to frequency in the use of markers, or the occurrence of semantic features would be required to further ascertain similarities and divergences between languages.

8. As part of the descriptions posited by the framework, two separate catalogues of evaluative markers (one for each language) have been compiled. These catalogues are the most comprehensive existing to date for each language and are characterized for their inclusion of a maximum of available evaluative markers regardless of their morphological or semantic features. It is believed that descriptive EM studies in any given language would obtain significant insights into the semantic character of its evaluative markers when examined in a systemic context. Such approach is

preferable to the division of evaluative markers into incomplete groupings, isolated from each other according to standardized semantic readings.

9. Following the work carried out in this dissertation with the Spanish and Latvian languages, the descriptive and analytical framework here proposed would benefit from further testing with different languages from a variety of genealogical adscriptions to test its applicability and reliability, as well as to reveal its limitations. From the perspective of the description of individual languages, the detailed accounts proposed by the framework ensures that the examination is carried out in a thorough and organized manner. Quantitative data thus obtained can be contrasted to already existing descriptions to confirm, contradict or add nuance to the latter. From an interlinguistic perspective, the framework aims to ensure that subsequent descriptions reflect the application of one same analytical tool. In this manner, obtained quantitative data can be easily contrasted, as well as employed in studies of a typological nature.

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Appendix I. Cited or paraphrased excerpts from non-English sources

- Adolphi 1685, 15: “*Die Lettische Sprache beliebt für vielen andern sonderlich die Diminutiva, weil sie gar sehr pflēget zu lieblosen / auch sehr schimpflich zu verachten.*”
- Adolphi 1685, 18: “*Auß solchen Diminutivis, machen sie auch gar Subdiminutiva, da sie noch subtiler lieblosen wollen.*”
- Alonso 1961 [1935], 167: “*Es que el sufijo es afectivo, pero no dice él de por sí qué signo lleva ese afecto. La situación, las actitudes varias de los hablantes, las relaciones coloquiales, las condiciones rítmico-melódicas y el modo de ser llevado el tema, orientan en cada caso sobre la cualidad del afecto.*”
- Bello (1905 [1847], 272: “*El superlativo absoluto debe más bien considerarse como un mero aumentativo.*”
- Bielenstein 1963a, 229: “*Die Verba deminutiva, die ausdrücken, das die Handlung oder das Geschehen in geringerem Grade oder in geringeren Zwischenräumen (Frequentativbedeutung) stattfindet bilden sich meist Cl. IX., seltener Cl. VI., VII., (also immer nach Gruppe B) un immer wesentlich durch Einschlebung der Deminutionssylben -al-, -al- [-a|], -el-, -ul-, -ul- [-u|], -ar-, -er-, -ur-, -in-, -en-, vor den Classencharakter.*”
- Bielenstein 1863b, 412: “*Oft schwimmt hier und bei den folgenden Classen die Deminutivbedeutung und die Frequentativbedeutung in einander.*”
- Bosque 1999, 301: “*El que algunos participios posean diminutivos muestra claramente que se comportan como adjetivos. De hecho, los participios de los tiempos compuestos los rechazan sistemáticamente.*”
- Bradu 2004, 15: “*El ideal se formula junto con las acotaciones que lo limitan y lo relativizan.*”
- Brencis 1914, 138: “*Savādas ir ari mazākā mērā lietojamās un jāduomā nuo krieviem aizņēmtas gāluotnes: vīr. k. -uškis, -a, -v, siev. k. -uška, -as, -v, ar kurām atvasinātie vārdi pieņem pazeminājuma, nicinājuma nuokrāsu. Tā tas, piem., ar vārdiem: broluškis, maisuškis, sovanuškis, coūcuška, gutuška, muōtuška.*”
- Correas 1903 [1626], 196: “*Los en ito sinifican con amor i bien qerer. Los en izo no con tanta afizion. Los en uelo con desprezio. Los demás casi todos con desdén.*”
- Correas 1903 [1626], 196: “*Diminutivos son los Verbos qe sinifican diminución de sus prinzipales, como de beber, beberricar, beberriscar; de comer, comiscar; de besar, besicar, besucar; de oler, oliscar. Estos juntamente sinifican frecuencia.*”
- Endzelin 1922, 622: “*Was gāzelēju u. a. betrifft, wo ein Nomen daneben jetzt nicht vorliegt, so kann in einzelnen Fällen das zugrunde liegende Nomen nachher verloren gegangen sein; es kann aber z. B. gāzelēju auch direkt vom Verbum gāzt abgeleitet sein, nach dem man z. B. bezdelēju nicht mehr auf bezdelis, sondern aufs Verbum*

bezdét.”

Endzelīns 1951, 806: “Deminutīva rakstura nav no tiem *diedelēju* (blakus *diedelis* "ubags"), *ēdelēju* "bin gefraßig" (blakus *ēdelis*, sal. darītāju vārdus ar *-elis* 172. § a), *klenderēju* "schwarze umher" (: *klenderis* "Herumtreiber"; sal. arī *uō(k)šķerēju*: *uō(k)šķeris* 167. §), *smuŗgulēju* (: *smurgulis*, skat. 174. § un Leskīna Nom. 490). Bet vairāk vai mazāk deminutivu nozīmi gan rāda *urbulēju* (: *urbulis* 174. § a), *kaukurēju* BW 30029, 5 "heule (nicht stark) zu wiederholten Malen".”

Endzelīns 1951, 807: “Frekventātīvo nozīmi vārdiem ar *-rēt* un *-lēt* nosaka to atvasinājums no darītāju vārdiem; deminutīvo nozīmi - deminutīvais raksturs, kāds ir nomeniem ar *-elis* un *-ulis*.”

Endzelīns 1951, 809–810: “Tādos gadījumos ka *gāzelēju* u. c., kur blakus tagad nomēna nav, dažreiz šis nomēns var būt vēlāk zudis; bet, piem., *gāzelēju* var būt atvasināts arī tieši no verba *gāzt*, kad, piem., *spīdelēju*, neattiecināja vairs uz *spīdele*, bet uz verbu *spīdēt*. Ta varbūt tieši deverbātīvas jau ir formas ar *-delēju*, piem., *jādelēju* (blakus itērātīvajam *jādit* no *jāt*), *skraidelēju* (: *skrāidit* no *skriet*) un pēc šādiem paraugiem vēl (3. p.) *saldelē* "friert ein wenig dann und wann" (Bīlensteinam 1. c. I 412) un *puldelēju* "kūleņoju" RKr. XVI 39. Līdzīgi radušies varbūt arī *grustelēju* (: *grūstīt* no *grūst*), *raustelēju* (: *raūstīt* no *raūt*).”

Enzelīns and Mülenbach 1927, 27: “Ar piedēkļiem *-elē-*, *-alē-*, *-aļā-*, *-uļo-* atvasina darb. vārdus, kas apzīmē sajēguma mazinājumu; piem. kāpelēt, jādelēt, skraidelēt, gāzelēt, rāpalēt, staigaļāt, spīguļot, streipuļot.”

Hanssen 1913 [1910], 129–153: “*Los aumentativos pueden llegar á ser despreciativos y hasta diminutivos: ratón, carretón* [129]; *La terminación -ajo puede ser aumentativa y despreciativa...* [140]; *-acho es de uso frecuente... El significado es propiamente diminutivo; pero amenudo llega á ser aumentativo y casi siempre al mismo tiempo despreciativo* [153]; *-arro, -orro, -urro. Estas terminaciones son de procedencia ibérica (M.-L., Gr, 11,546). Pueden ser aumentativas, diminutivas y despreciativas* [153], etc.”

Kalme un Smiltnece 2001, 120: “Šķiet, nav kritēriju, kas nosaka vārddarināšanas ķēdi īpašības vārdiem, kuros ir divi pazīmes intensitāti samazinoši afiksi”.

Latorre 1975, 110: “*Más adelante veremos cómo no es posible distinguir los valores diminutivos de los despectivos atendiendo solamente a las formas sufijales. Por eso estudiaremos conjuntamente ambos valores*”.

Lenz 1920, 190: “*Creo que conviene aceptar también la denominación general 'apreciativo'*.”

Martín García 2016, 42: “*...en el caso de los participios, solo admiten el diminutivo aquellos que pierden sus propiedades verbales y funcionan como adjetivos*.”

MLLVG 1959, 83: “*Tā kā ar t. s. «subjektīvā vērtējuma» piedēkļiem atvasinātie vārdi īstenībā apzīmē to pašu jēdzienu, ko pamatvārds, un pauž tikai runātāja attieksmes*

- pret priekšmetu vai parādību, izsakot zināmu ekspresīvu vērtējumu, tad daļa valodnieku šos atvasinājumus uzskata nevis par atsevišķiem vārdiem, bet par formām un attiecīgos piedēkļus šais vārdos par formveidojošiem. Šai gramatikā atvasinājumi ar t. s. subjektīvā vērtējuma piedēkļiem tomēr apskatīti vārdu darināšanas daļā, ņemot vērā to, ka lielākajai šo piedēkļu daļai blakus formveidojošai nozīmei ir arī vārdveidojoša nozīme.”*
- MLLVG 1959, 303 “*Saliktajos adjektīvos, kuru sastāvā ir vienas un tās pašas saknes vārdi, pirmajam komponentam piemīt īpašības kāpinātāja, pastiprinātāja nozīme. Sie salikteņi ir ar ekspresīvu raksturu, tādēļ tie vairāk sastopami; daiļliteratūrā un sarunvalodā. Šā tilpa salikteņi nav visai produktīvi.”*
- MLLVG 1959, 309–310: “*Pirmajam komponentam pus- saliktajos adjektīvos daļēji ir izbālusī arī konkrētā nozīme un izveidojusies kopēja semantiskā funkcija: tam ir īpašības pamazinātāja, sašaurinātāja, pavājinātāja nozīme [...]. Šķiet, ka salikteņi ar pus- izteic lielāku īpašības pamazinājumu nekā atvasinājumi ar pa-. [...] pus- ir ieguvī vispārējas semantiskas funkcijas, proti, īpašības pamazinātāja, sašaurinātāja funkcijas.”*
- MLLVG 1959, 332: “*Ar paplašinātiem piedēkļiem -alē-, -alā-, -elē-, -ulē-, -uļuo- r. -ulo- atvasināti verbi gan tieši no pirmatnīgiem verbiem, gan blakus jau atvasinātiem verbiem, piem., **grūstelēt** no **grūst** blakus **grūsīt**, **skraidelēt** no **skriet** blakus **skraidīt**, **tekalēt** no **tecēt** blakus **tekāt**...”*
- MLLVG 1959, 333: “*Iteratīvie kustības verbi nozīmē arī bezmērķīgu darbību. Tādas darbības nozīmi verbam piešķir īpaši paplašināti piedēkļi -alā-, -alē-, -elē-, -uļuo- r. -uļo-, piem., **kāpalāt**, **tekalēt**, **kāpelēt**, **bēguļot**.”*
- MLLVG 1959, 343. “*Atvasinājumiem ar -alē-, -alā- u. c. lielākoties ir iteratīva nozīme ar īpašu nokrāsu, kas tos šķir no jau minētajiem darbības atkārtojuma izpausmes veidiem ar citiem piedēkļiem (piem., -ā-, -inā-). Atvasinājumi ar -ālē-, -alā- u. c. rāda, ka darbība ir arī ierobežota intensitātes vai pilnīguma ziņā, sal., piem., **rāpot**, **rāpaļāt**, **rāpuļot**, **braukāt** un **braukalēt**. Ar kustības verbiem šie piedēkļi pasvītrot arī zināmu darbības bezmērķīgumu. [...] Ir dažī izņēmumi, kad atvasinājumiem ar minētajiem piedēkļiem ir vispārīgas norises nozīme, kā, piem., **burbuļot** (blakus **burbulis**), **mutuļot** (**mutulis**), **virpuļot** (**virpulis**), **atspoguļot** (**spogulis**), **diedelēt** (**diedelis**) u. c.”*
- MLVVG 1959, 691: “*Apstākļa vārda kā vārdu šķiras galvenā morfoloģiskā īpatnība ir formas nemainīgums. [...] Tieši ar šo formu nemainīgumu apstākļa vārds atšķiras no citām patstāvīgo vārdu šķirām.”*
- NGLE 2011, 1098: “*La diferencia entre PREFIJO y BASE COMPOSITIVA (o ELEMENTO COMPOSITIVO) es insegura en un buen número de casos: auto-, hiper-, macro-, micro-, mono-, multi-, poli-, etc. De hecho, estas formas se consideran elementos compositivos en unos análisis y prefijos en otros. Ambas opciones están justificadas, ya que los límites entre composición y prefijación afectan precisamente a estas unidades.”*

- RAE 1872, 18 (a): “*Aunque los diminutivos proceden en general de los nombres, como se ve en los precedentes ejemplos, es de advertir que en nuestra lengua, y principalmente en el estilo familiar, suelen formarse de los adjetivos, de los participios, de los gerundios, y hasta de los adverbios.*”
- RAE 1872, 18 (b): “*Suélese formar en nuestra lengua, más ó menos arbitrariamente, otros derivados, que no son en rigor aumentativos ni diminutivos, aun cuando lo parezcan, y á los cuales, porque en ellos hay algo de mofa ó menosprecio, podemos llamar despreciativos: tales son casuca, poetastro, calducho.*”
- Reynoso Noverón 2003 (as cited in Malaver 2018, 12): “*Del mismo modo, la autora encontró que los valores no referenciales representan el 66% de los usos, es decir, que el 66% de los casos corresponden a usos subjetivos del diminutivo. La variedad con mayor frecuencia de usos no referenciales es la mexicana (72%) y la de menos, la madrileña, con el 49%.*”
- Rūķe-Draviņa 1959, 216: “*Das Bindeglied zwischen der diminuierenden und amplifizierenden Bedeutung scheint gerade in der Ironie, Geringschätzung zu liegen.*”
- Rūķe-Draviņa 1959, 156: “*Die Bedeutung liegt also nicht in der Form selbst, sondern wird in dem gegebenen Augenblick in sie hineingelegt, den konkreten Umständen angepasst.*”
- Rūķe-Draviņa 1959, 401: “*Für das lettische Sprachmaterial ist vorerst die Feststellung charakteristisch, das shier kein einziges Diminutivsuffix bekannt ist, das ausschliesslich für Verkleinerungsformen gilt. Dieselben Suffixe, die zur Diminuierung dienen, treten nämlich auch in Ableitungen anderen Inhalts auf.*”
- Salvá 1835, 56: “*La de frequentativos, cuando manifestamos con ellos una acción repetida, como beborrotear, besucar, temblequear. La de diminutivos, siempre que conservan el significado del primitivo, si bien con alguna disminución ó modificación: así corretear, juguetear y lloviznar significan algo menos que correr, jugar y llover; y pintorrear quiere decir pintar mal.*”
- Sanmartín Sáez 1999, 214: “*...enmarcada, no por criterios discretos, sino por parámetros graduales, desde el núcleo a la periferia, que permitan la intersección de categorías.*”
- Soida 2009, 196: “*Verbos kuru morfoloģiskajā sastāvā jau ir piedēklis un pati verba nozīme ietver ritmisku svārstību, -el- tikai pastiprina šo nozīmi un papildina to ar pejoratīvuma nianse. (...) [Š]ais verbos frekventatīvuma pazīme apvienota ar zināmu pejoratīvuma niansi, un to izteic skaņu savienojums -el- kopa ar izskaņu -ēt.*”
- Soida 2009, 196: “*Visas šīs izskaņas, kā redzams, veidojušas no verbu pamatizskaņām, tās papildina l, ļ, n vai v savienojums ar patskaniem.*”
- Spitzer 1921, 201: “*Die Suffixvariation eines Stammes gleicht der Variation eines musikalischen Themas, die Gleiches durch verschiedene Transposition ausdrückt.*”

- Spitzer 1921, 201–202: *“Der Spieltrieb ist eine Stimmung im Sprecher, die die Grundierung des Satzes, die Tonart, abgibt: die spielerisch angefügten Suffixe entsprechen ursprünglich keinem logischen Ausdrucksbedürfnis, sie haften nicht am einzelnen Wort, daher ich sie (...) „Satzdiminutiva“ genannt habe und heute vielleicht, weniger grammatisch, „impressionistische Diminutiva“ (im Gegensatz zu den Tatsächlichen „ausdrückenden“) nennen möchte.”*
- Urbanovica 2014, 152: *“Tomēr kopumā šāda tendence nav pārāk izplatīta, un ekscerpēto piemēru analīze liecina, ka neregulāri atvasinātajiem deminutīviem ir raksturīga tāda pati semantika un funkcijas kā regulārajiem atvasinājumiem.”*
- Vulāne 1997, 286: *“Tāpat interfikss ir morfēma, kurai nav savas patstāvīgas derivatīvas vai formveidošanas nozīmes un kuru izmanto citu morfēmu savienošanai.”*
- Vulāne 2013, 191: *“...daļai salikteņu sakņu vērojama tendence gramatizēties, kļūstot par prefiksoīdiem vai sufiksoīdiem.”*
- Vulāne 2013, 250: *“Attiecīgajām morfēmām vērojamas gramatizēšanās iezīmes, tās sāk līdzināties prefiksoīdam vai postfiksoīdam.”*
- Vulāne 2013, 286–287: *“...[piedekli] -alē-, -aļā-, -elē-, -uļo- – ir ierobežota derivatīvi funkcionālā sfēra – tos atvasina tikai no darbības vārdiem iteratīvās vai kauzatīvās nozīmes izteikšanai. [...] Ar piedekli -alē-, -aļā-, -elē-, -uļo- darinātos darbības vārdus motivē darbības vārdi (parasti pirmatnīgie).”*