

ЛЕКСИКОГРАФІЧНІ ДЖЕРЕЛА

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A RESEARCH OUTLINE FOR A LINGUISTIC TYPOLOGY OF EXPRESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

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1. **Objectives.** The main goal of the proposed research is to develop a linguistic typology of expressive constructions, an area of linguistics that is currently understudied [6; 9; 13; 19]. Expressive constructions indicate the speaker's attitudes and emotions towards the content of speech [9;10]. For example, in (1), the Japanese expressive *o-ninat* indicates that the speaker views Sam positively; while in (2), the English expressive *bastard* indicates that the speaker views Sam negatively.

(1) Japanese: *Sam-ga* *o-warai-ninat-ta.*
Sam-NOM.SG *HONOUR-laugh-HONOUR-PAST*
'*Sam laughed (honorific: the speaker views Sam with respect)*' [10, p. 238]

(2) English: *That **bastard** Sam was late for work yesterday.* [9, p. 165]

What makes expressive constructions particularly interesting is the fact that their meaning ('function') is similar across languages, but their syntactic structure ('form') differs significantly from one language to the next. This suggests that there is no 1:1 correlation between form and function of expressive constructions, which has important implications for the syntax–semantic mapping of categorization. Modern approaches to categorization assume vague *functional criteria* to identify the category of expressive constructions, but these approaches lack precise *formal criteria*. My goal is to develop and refine such formal criteria. In the proposed research, I will identify and analyze all possible formal types of expressive constructions across languages.

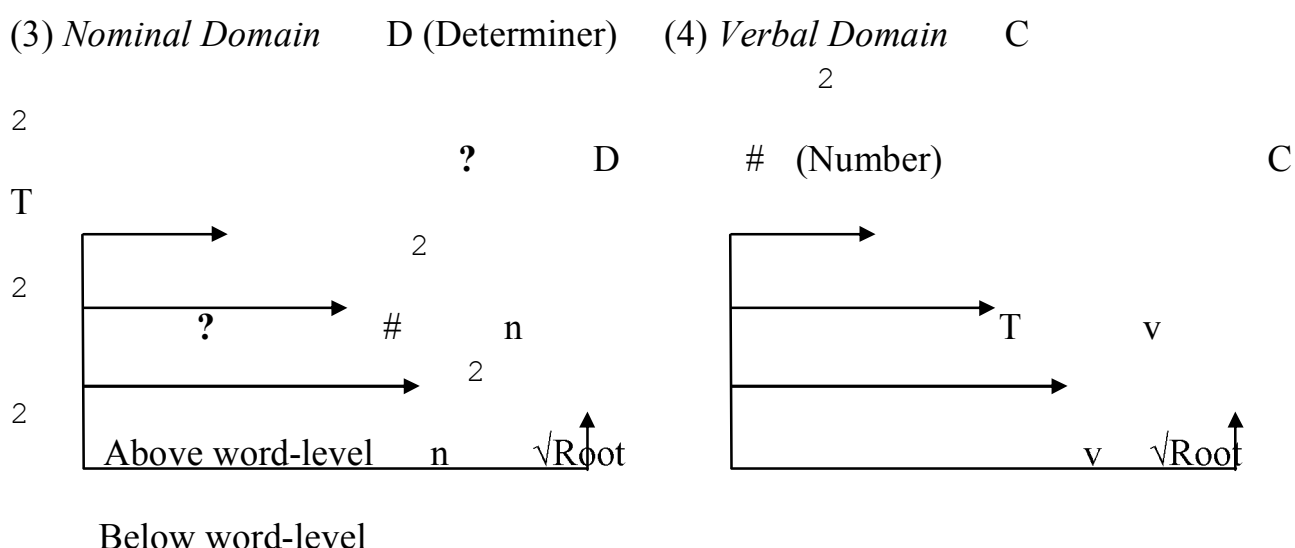
2. **Relation to previous work.** This work expands and develops from my Ph.D. thesis, *Form and Function of Expressive Morphology: A Case Study of Russian* [15]. In my thesis, I conducted a detailed investigation of 30 single expressive suffixes in Russian. I argued that although the suffixes under investigation comprise a homogeneous class in terms of their function (they all indicate the speaker's attitudes and emotions), they are heterogeneous in terms of their syntactic form. I showed that Russian expressive suffixes belong to at least three different syntactic classes, which differ in the place and manner of attachment (table 1).

Table 1

Russian expressive suffixes

Manner of attachment	Place of attachment	
	Below word-level	Above word-level
Change in properties of the base ('head')	Russian affectionate and vulgar suffixes	Russian affectionate and vulgar suffixes
No change in properties of the base ('modifier')	?	Russian diminutive and augmentative suffixes

If this system is correct, we expect a fourth class—which is not attested in Russian (note the empty cell in Table 1)—to be attested across languages. This type is attested in a language not related to Russian, namely in an endangered Canadian First Nations language, Halkomelem Salish. The expressive constructions in Russian and Halkomelem have the same function, but they differ in syntactic form. Thus, the following empirical question arises: What syntactic classes of expressive constructions are attested across languages? I propose that the answer to this question depends on the *domain* in which expressives are investigated. I investigated expressives in the *low nominal domain* (attaching either below or above the word-level; see Table 1). However, we expect that expressives can also be found in the *higher nominal domain*, attaching to Number and Determiner (assuming a hierarchy of phrases, as indicated in (3)). For example, in Tongan (Polynesian), expressive constructions do not need to attach to nouns; instead, they can attach to determiners: *si'i hōsi* 'this (expressive determiner) horse.' With this respect, we can pose another research question: Are expressive constructions also found in the *verbal domain*, as illustrated in (4)? This is an interesting research question because there is no cognitive reason as to why speakers should evaluate only nominal elements.



3. **Methodology.** Data collection will initially consist of consulting previous research and analyzing existing texts and field-notes. If the relevant data are unavailable, they will be collected by conducting linguistic fieldwork. This will be done through the collection of native speakers' judgments, which is a standard method in linguistic research. This method involves asking native speakers to judge

constructed sentences for their well-formedness. The sessions will be transcribed and tape-recorded. The collected data will be first checked with the speakers, and then entered into a computer database, which will be created especially for this project. Each participant will receive a copy of their own data if they wish to receive it. The field-notes and the database will be accessible to other researchers, as well as to educational institutions interested in the data.

4. **Theoretical approach.** The proposed research will be conducted within the *Principles and Parameters* (P&P) framework, which adopts the Universal Base hypothesis [3; 4] The P&P framework contrasts with descriptivist frameworks that just focus on a particular language of investigation. The descriptivist frameworks view categorization in terms of *inflection* vs. *derivation*, which has been proven problematic with respect to the behaviour of expressive constructions [5; 7; 12; 17, among others). It has been shown that such constructions behave neither as inflection nor as derivation, and thus, their category cannot be determined. In contrast, the P&P framework regards inflection and derivation not as primitives, but as derived notions, and thus, it can better account for the category of expressives.

5. Timeline.

Stage I: An analysis of German expressives.

German expressives, in particular the diminutive suffixes *-chen*, *-lein* (Standard German), and *-erl* (Colloquial Austrian), are relevant for this investigation because of their unique distributional properties. Unlike Russian diminutive suffixes, German suffixes can change the gender of the base. They always form nouns of neuter gender, no matter what the gender of the base. For example, the noun *Baum* ‘tree’ is masculine (4a), but when the diminutive suffixes *-chen* and *-erl* are added, in (4b) and (4c) respectively, neuter nouns are formed. In (5a), the noun *Flasche* ‘bottle’ is feminine, but the diminutive suffixes again form neuter nouns (5b, 5c).

(4) masc → neuter

a.	<i>der</i>	<i>Baum</i>	b.	<i>das</i>	<i>Bäum-chen</i>	c.	<i>das</i>	<i>Baum-erl</i>
	DET.MASC	tree		DET.NEUT	tree-DIM		DET.NEUT	tree-DIM
	‘tree’			‘little tree’			‘little tree’	

(5) fem → neuter

a.	<i>die</i>	<i>Flasche</i>	b.	<i>das</i>	<i>Fläsch-chen</i>	c.	<i>das</i>	<i>Flasch-erl</i>
	DET.FEM	bottle		DET.NEUT	bottle-DIM		DET.NEUT	bottle-DIM
	‘bottle’			‘little bottle’			‘little bottle’	

Another interesting distributional property of German diminutives is that, unlike diminutives in Russian, they can function as classifiers (they can turn mass nouns into count nouns). For example, *Wein* ‘wine’ is a mass noun (6a), but the addition of the diminutive suffixes *-chen* and *-erl*, in (6b) and (6c) respectively, forms count nouns.

(6) mass noun → count noun

a.	<i>viel</i>	<i>Wein</i>	b.	<i>viele</i>	<i>Wein-chen</i>	c.	<i>viele</i>	<i>Wein-erl</i>
	much	wine		many.PL	wine-DIM		many.PL	wine-DIM
	‘much wine (mass)’			‘many portions of wine (count)’			‘many portions of wine (count)’	

A third distributional property of German diminutives that is distinct from diminutives in Russian is that they can only attach to nouns and are ungrammatical with adjectives and verbs. This is shown in (7)–(8).

(7)	a.	<i>les-en</i>	b.	* <i>les-chen</i>	c.	* <i>les-erl</i>
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read-INF
'to read'

read-DIM
'to read (diminutive)'

read-DIM
'to read (diminutive)'

- (8) a. *schön*
beautiful
'beautiful'
- b. **schön-chen*
beautiful-DIM
'beautiful (diminutive)'
- c. **schön-erl*
beautiful-DIM
'beautiful (diminutive)'

With this respect, the following questions arise: (i) How can we account for the distributional properties of German diminutives?, and (ii) What makes them distinct from diminutives in other languages such as Russian?

Stage II: An analysis of Halkomelem expressives.

Unlike German and Russian that use expressive suffixes, Halkomelem uses expressive prefixes to indicate the speaker's attitudes and emotions. Halkomelem expressive prefixes are relevant for this investigation because of their unusual distributional properties. For example, they can attach not only to nouns, but also to adjectives and verbs (9)–(10); compare this with German, where this is ungrammatical (7)–(8). Moreover, unlike the German diminutives in (6), Halkomelem expressive prefixes can never act as classifiers.

- (9) *Halkomelem* a. *lhi:m* b. *lhi-lhi:m* (10) a. *p'eq'* b. *p'í-p'eq*
pick DIM-pick white DIM-white
'to pick' 'to pick a little bit' 'white' 'a little bit white'

Stage III: An analysis of Tongan expressives.

Tongan expressives are relevant for this investigation, because unlike German, Russian, and Halkomelem expressives, they seem to target the determiner domain. In Tongan, there are two sets of determiners: ordinary and emotional. Emotional determiners (indefinite *si'a* 'a' and definite *si'i* 'the') are of interest for this investigation because they can express the speaker's emotions, such as affection, sympathy, or pity (11)–(12).

- (11) *Tongan* *Kuo lavea si'a tamasi'i?*
PERF be.hurt INDEF.EMOT.DET child
'Has a child been hurt? (with sympathy)'
- (12) *'Oku hela 'a si'i hōsí.*
PRES tired PREP DEFIN.EMOT.DET horse
'The (poor) horse is tired (with pity)'

Stage IV: An analysis of Welsh and Southern Barasano expressives.

Expressives in Welsh and Southern Barasano are interesting with respect to their plural morphology. Unlike expressives in all the languages discussed above, Welsh and Southern Barasano expressives attach outside the plural morphology (13); compare this, for example, with Russian expressives that attach inside the plural morphology (14).

- (13) *Southern Barasano* a. *cot□* b. *cot□-ri* c. *cot□-ri-aka*
pot.SG pot-PL pot-PL-DIM
'pot' 'pots' 'small pots'
- (14) *Russian* a. *kot'ól* b. *kotl-í* c. *kot'el-óč'k-i*
pot.SG pot-PL pot-DIM-PL
'pot' 'pots' 'small pots'

Stage V: An analysis of Brazilian Portuguese expressives.

Unlike the languages discussed above, Brazilian Portuguese expressives seem to behave exactly like coordinate compounds. The expressive /zi'/ 'small/cute' behaves like the second conjunct in a coordinate compound because it always agrees with the first conjunct in gender and number (15).

- (15) *Brazilian Portuguese*
- | | | | | | |
|----|----------------------|------------------|----|-----------------------|-------------------|
| a. | <i>amig-a</i> | zi'-a | b. | <i>amig-o</i> | zi'-o |
| | <i>friend-FEM</i> | <i>small-FEM</i> | | <i>friend-MASC</i> | <i>small-MASC</i> |
| | 'small friend (FEM)' | | | 'small friend (MASC)' | |

Stage VI: An analysis of Italian and Spanish expressives.

Italian and Spanish expressives are relevant for this investigation in terms of their stacking properties. Unlike expressives in all the languages above (except for some expressive suffixes in Russian), Italian and Spanish expressives allow for repetition of the same morpheme, which has the effect of strengthening the emotions (16).

- (16) *Italian*
- | | | | |
|----|---------------------|----|------------------------------|
| a. | <i>guf-in-o</i> | b. | <i>guf-in-o-in-o</i> |
| | <i>owl-DIM-MASC</i> | | <i>owl-DIM-MASC-DIM-MASC</i> |
| | 'little owl' | | 'very little owl' |

Stage VII: An analysis of evidentials in Quechua, Cherokee, Turkish, Cree, Lillooet, and Tariana.

Under some views, evidentials are considered closely related to expressives as markers of epistemology (see Willett 1988 for a literature review). Like expressives, they indicate the speaker's attitudes and emotions; but unlike expressives, they indicate the speaker's attitudes toward her/his knowledge of a situation, and not toward the referent of speech. The question of whether evidentials and expressives are part of the same system will be investigated in this project. This question will be approached in two ways: by investigating (i) whether evidentials and expressives can co-occur in the same sets of data, and (ii) whether the same morphemes can act as either evidentials or expressives in different sets of data.

6. **Impact.** In the proposed research, I will develop formal criteria to identify the category of expressive constructions. Although many descriptive works have been entirely devoted to expressives [1; 9; 10; 13; 14; 16; 18], such formal criteria do not currently exist. It has been assumed in the literature that identity in form follows directly from identity in function. The proposed research will challenge this assumption. As such, this work has the potential to trigger a whole new direction of research on categorization. The development of formal criteria will ultimately be of use for all languages.

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АСПЕКТИ ВИВЧЕННЯ СЕМАНТИКИ ВВІЧЛИВОСТІ У СУЧАСНІЙ ЛІНГВІСТИЦІ

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