



**UNLOCKING EVALUATIVE MORPHOLOGY**  
Conceptual and methodological challenges

**BOOK OF  
ABSTRACTS**

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin  
March 14-15, 2024

# Unlocking evaluative morphology: Conceptual and methodological challenges

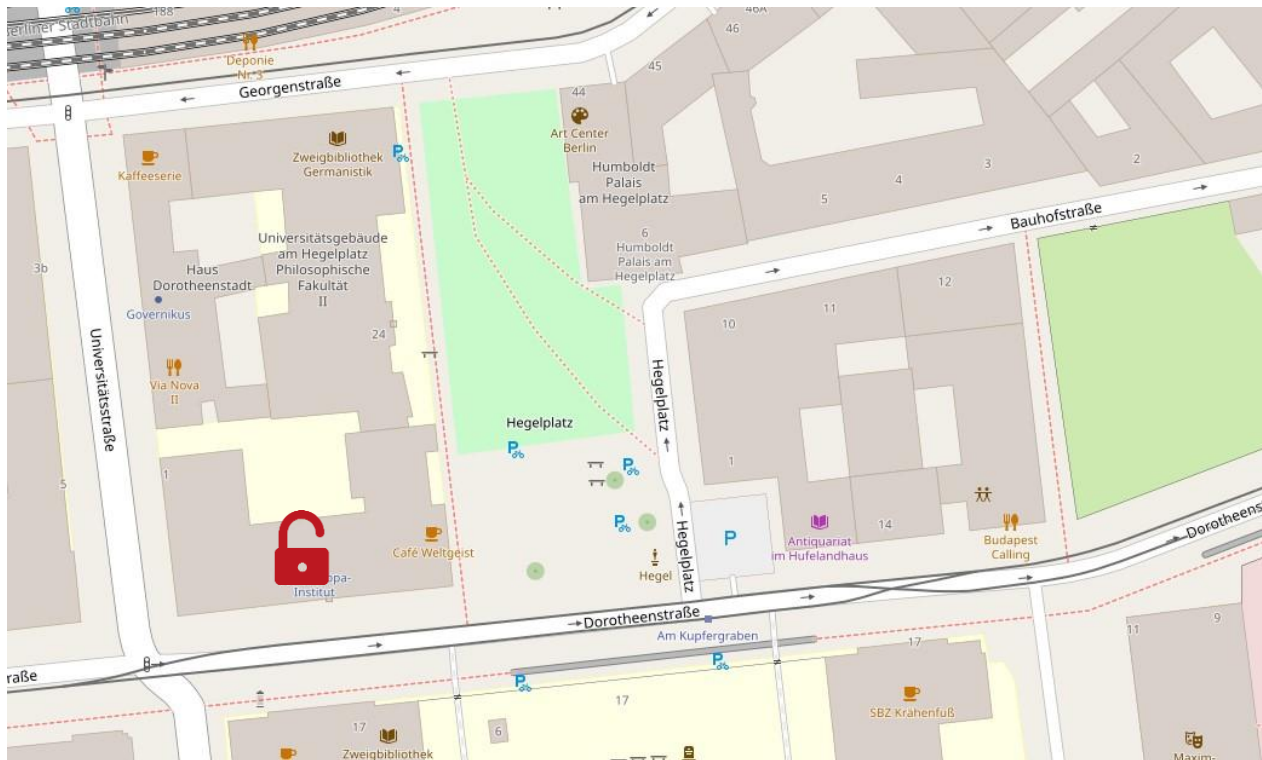
Hybrid workshop at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, March 14-15, 2024,  
with a pre-workshop tutorial on March 13

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## Workshop programme

### Venue:

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Dorotheenstrasse 24, 10117 Berlin



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## Pre-workshop Tutorial (March 13th)

### Visualizing morphological data

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Data science and digital humanities methods have become ever more important for linguists. Especially in the domain of (evaluative) morphology, data visualization allows for understanding and communicating complex relationships between variables of interest, which is why a good knowledge and understanding of visualization methods is a valuable asset for researchers in this domain. In this workshop, we will discuss best-practice standards for data visualization and explore how we can use the free open-source software R (R Core Team 2023) to create visually appealing plots. In particular, we will focus on the popular package *ggplot2* (Wickham 2016), which implements a “grammar of graphics” and allows for highly flexible visualization options from simple scatterplots to complex plot arrays and even dynamic motion plots.

The tutorial is divided in two parts: In the first, more theoretically-oriented part, we will discuss basics of visual science communication, as well as some Do’s and Don’ts of data visualization. In the second, more practical part, we will apply these principles for visualizing a number of examples from the domain of (evaluative) morphology. Using *ggplot*, we will create different plot types, and we will get to know a number of data-wrangling strategies that are helpful for getting data in good shape, which is an important prerequisite for efficient visualization. There will be several hands-on tasks illustrating the logic of *ggplots* as well as potential pitfalls. Time permitting, we will also take a look at interactive visualizations and motion plots.

Materials for the workshop will be made available at <https://empirical-linguistics.github.io/dataviz-evalmo/>.

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**ORAL  
PRESENTATIONS**

## Invited talk

### Evaluative judgements in morphemes, words, and contexts

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**Keywords:** morphology, lexicon, pragmatics, depreciation, extravagance

Evaluative morphology is a large, somewhat unwieldy domain of research into various kinds of morphological processes – derivation, compounding, reduplication, word manufacturing, etc. – that allow the language user to express some kind of ‘positive’ or ‘negative’ judgement. This judgement may concern an object’s size or quantity, its quality or worth, the intensity with which it exhibits a property or performs an action, or its coming close to or deviating from some standard or prototype, among other related and overlapping functions (Grandi & Körtvélyessy 2015, Masini, Norde & Van Goethem 2023). In this talk, I argue that in approaching this area, it may be useful to distinguish three levels at which an evaluative judgement can play out. Focusing on negative judgements of quality, I show how these can be (i) marked directly by the morphological process, (ii) conveyed by the fully formed word, or (iii) inferred from the morphological procedure as it is used in the discourse context.

The first level is that of the semantic value contributed by a particular morphological element, be it an affix, an affixoid, a non-head in a compound, or a combining form, irrespective of the rest of the word. Thus, the Dutch prefix *wan-* is used, with limited productivity, with nouns and a couple of verbs and adjectives to denote an object (or action, property) that is bad, wrong or deficient (e.g. (1a)) (Booij 2022a; Wouden 2015). It directly produces, at least with nouns, a pejorative effect. Another example is Dutch *flut-*, which expresses that the base is of low quality (e.g. (1b)). A negative lexical value of contempt or derision is also expressed by elements such as *Franken-*, *Mc-*, *schm-* and *-aster* in English (e.g. (1c-f)); for word-final pejorative formatives, see Sánchez Fajardo (2022).

- (1) a. *wanbeheer* ‘mismanagement’, *wanbetaler* lit. bad-payer, ‘defaulter’, *wanklank* lit. bad-sound, ‘dissonant’, *wansmaak* ‘poor taste’; *wantrouwen* ‘show insufficient or lack of trust, i.e., distrust’, *wanhopig* ‘having insufficient or lack of hope, i.e., desperate’
- b. *flutartikel* ‘worthless, trivial, shallow article’, *flutfilm* ‘low-quality, disappointing film’, *flutonderzoek* ‘research that lacks in depth or sophistication’
- c. *Frankencrop*, *Frankenfood*, *Frankenmeat*; not necessarily pejorative: *Frankencamera*, *Frankencar*, *Frankenwatch*, *Frankenword*
- d. *McChurch*, *McJob*, *McMansion*
- e. *Why read when you can look at the pictures... read schmead!* (enTenTen21)
- f. *criticaster*, *grammaticaster*, *philosophaster*, *poetaster*

A second level concerns the favourable/unfavourable meaning of words in the morphological unit’s range or output. This can be illustrated with Dutch *aarts-* (cp. English *arch-*, French *archi*), an intensifying (and therefore somehow ‘positive’) prefix that appears with bases expressing a negatively evaluated property (e.g. (2a)) (Booij 2022b; Hendriks et al. 2017: 399, fn. 8). This negative evaluation ‘rubs off’ on the prefix. A less extreme example is the French suffix *-iste*, which despite its usually neutral semantics (‘(someone) related to’) and numerous counterexamples notwithstanding – *linguiste* hopefully being one! – can be found in a group of nouns or adjectives that are negatively connoted

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(e.g. (2b)) We shouldn't overlook such more hidden evaluative aspects, which become visible only when we examine large enough collections of fully formed exemplars.

- (2) a. *aartsdom* 'very stupid', *aartsdonker* 'very dark', *aartslelijk* 'very ugly', *aartsmoeilijk* 'very difficult', *??aartsgoed* 'very good', *??aartsmooi* 'very beautiful'  
b. *catastrophiste* '(someone) announcing a catastrophe, usually without sufficient ground, *court-termiste* 'short-termist', *elëctoraliste* '(politician) preoccupied with gaining votes', *moraliste* 'moralistic (person)', *propagandiste* 'propagandist'

A third level involves evaluation in discourse. Clipping, for instance, often suggests the speaker's or writer's familiarity with the person/entity referred to (Plag 2003: 121). If that familiarity is unwarranted, as when a writer cannot reasonably be expected to be on speaking terms with a person, then the reader may infer that the writer is being ironic, deliberately suggesting lack of respect or even contempt for that person (e.g. (3)). Further examples involving extravagant morphology (Eitelmann and Haumann 2022) are discussed.

- (3) [At the end of a paragraph about scientist Thomas Midgley, who played a key role in the development of both chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), which contribute to ozone layer depletion, and leaded gasoline, known for its harmful effects on human health and the environment.]  
*Thanks for that, Midge.* (Cracked.com, 31 July 2023)

The question, ultimately, is whether these three levels can be connected. My talk goes some way towards exploring this question.

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***Merci Jens and Villen-Spahn.***  
**The evaluative semantics of personal name  
compounds in German**

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**Keywords:** *personal name compounds, evaluative semantics, personal names*

This paper investigates evaluative meanings underlying the word formation pattern referred to as personal name compounds (PN compounds) in German. Consider the following example from Twitter:

- (1) *Wer ubernimmt die Verantwortung fur das Versagen? Mit BILD bzw. Herrn Reichelt stimme ich selten uberein, ABER sein Kommentar ist wirklich gut. Die fette Frau im Kanzleramt und der unfähige **Villen-Spahn** sollten das lesen und dann zurucktreten!* (Twitter)  
'Who takes responsibility for the failure? With BILD or Mr. Reichelt I rarely agree, BUT his comment is really good. The fat woman in the Chancellery and the incompetent **villa-Spahn** should read this and then resign!'

The compound *Villen-Spahn* 'Villa-Spahn' refers to the former German minister of health, Jens Spahn who bought an expensive villa in Berlin. It comprises a personal name in the head position and a lexical unit *Villen* as a modifier. *Villen-Spahn* expresses a negative attitude toward the name bearer and highlights the contrast between his social role as a politician and the purchase of a very expensive villa. The contrast is verbalized by juxtaposing the modifier and the head. We argue that PN compounding in German conveys an evaluative function that cannot be captured by existing approaches to evaluation in compounding (cf. Meibauer 2013) because evaluation in PN compounds is related to extralinguistic knowledge about events in which name bearers were involved. We show that German PN compounds, apart from a referential, also bear a systematic evaluative function (cf. Grandi & Körtvelyessy 2015) that can be described as a deviation from the standard value according to the terminology of evaluative morphology (e.g., extralinguistic expectations about the social role of Jens Spahn as a politician). We hypothesize that the evaluation is reflected in a more positive or negative perception compared with the respective personal name. For instance, our findings (cf. Eichel et al. submitted) indicate that the valence values of PN compounds, computed on the basis of valence norms (cf. Köper & Schulte im Walde 2016), range between 3.95 (*Folter-Bush* 'Torture-Bush') and 5.89 (*Tore-Klose* 'Goal-Klose') with an average compound valence at 4.81 and an average modifier valence at 4.22. In this regard, *Willkommens-Merkel* 'Welcome-Merkel' is an interesting case of a mismatch between a highly positive valence value for the modifier (7.9) and a negative connotation of the compound.

To account for this novel type of evaluative semantics, we propose two complementary approaches. First, we combine evaluative morphology with the multidimensional model of formal

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semantics (Potts 2005) to test the hypothesis that modifiers, such as *Villen* ‘villa’ in *Villen-Spahn* are used to conventionally implicate a negative/positive event-based evaluation with respect to the categorical meaning conveyed by the name constituent. To this end, we draw on the corpus of some 400 PN compounds compiled from the German Digital Dictionary (DWDS), the German Reference Corpus, and Twitter and show how conventionally implicated evaluative meanings arise on the scale of semantic values underlying event-based evaluation in PN compounding. The values are derived from the contrast between the default value conveyed by the name and the event conveyed by the modifier.

In the second step, we present a computational method to model the evaluative semantics of PN compounds from our dataset. Our statistical analysis revealed that valence scores of the linguistic context differ significantly between PN compounds and their corresponding name constituents. Differences can be positive or negative, with the direction being co-determined by the discourse domain (e.g., politicians vs. athletes) and other contextual factors. Finally, we enrich our data with personal, domain-specific, and extra-linguistic information and perform a range of regression analyses revealing that factors including compound and modifier valence, domain, and political party membership influence the evaluation of a PN compound.

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## Cumulation of diminutive markers in Modern Greek: an eye on speakers' perspective

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**Keywords:** *affix ordering, closing suffixes, constraints, cumulation, diminutives*

Evaluative morphology is a hotly debated issue in linguistic theory and has been addressed from different perspectives, either mostly morpho-grammatical or morpho-semantic/pragmatic (e.g. Scalise 1994; Stump 1993; Dressler & Barbaresi 1994). The category of size and its importance for perception and cognition is thought of by many specialists as the major starting point of evaluation (Jurafsky 1996; Prieto 2005 contra Dressler & Barbaresi 1994), which expands encompassing all types of morphological formations that deviate from the default value either quantitatively or qualitatively. Moreover, in many languages evaluative markers carry over simultaneously both quantitative and qualitative readings, plus they can co-occur in the same morphological formation. Modern Greek has a rich inventory of evaluative markers and falls within this category as well. Even though several works have been published on the formal and/or the semantic properties of Modern Greek evaluative morphology (e.g. Efthymiou 2015, 2017, 2023, to appear; Melissaropoulou 2006, 2015; Melissaropoulou & Ralli 2008; Xydopoulos 2009), no detailed studies are available on the co-occurrence of evaluative markers. To this end, the aim of this paper is to investigate:

- a. the range of evaluatives that can co-occur forming multiple diminutives
- b. the possible constraints that govern evaluative affix ordering

To address these issues, we test empirically the acceptability of different types of cumulative evaluative formations with the use of a e-questionnaire whose participants aged from 19 to 24, are Greek native speakers and students following the classes of the 1<sup>st</sup> author. Five experimental conditions containing 16 items each and corresponding to different types of multiple diminutive formations, plus two control conditions (morphophonological and semantic) were tested on a Lickert scale. The statistical analysis (ANOVA) will reveal the differences between these groups of stimuli, all nominal evaluates, in acceptability terms. Our preliminary results show that multiple diminutives are quite acceptable in Modern Greek showing, however, specific ordering and adding different evaluative readings. More specifically:

- a. recursiveness of the same marker is not a productive evaluation strategy in Greek (1):

(1)     *'fusta*            *fu'st.itsa*            *\*fust.i'ts.itsa*  
          'skirt'            'little skirt'

- b. Specific diminutive suffixes are susceptible to further diminution, e.g. *-ul(is)/-a/-i* (2), while others behave as closing suffixes, blocking further suffixation, e.g. the suffixes *-aki* and *-itsa*:

(2)     *'varka*            *vark.u'la*            *vark.u'l.itsa*            *vark.u'l.aki*  
          'boat'            'small/beloved boat'    'very small/beloved boat'    'very small/beloved boat'  
          (but not *\*vark.i'ts.aki* *\*vark.a'k.uli*)

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- c. Suffixal evaluative formations can be further affixed with the addition of prefix-like markers, e.g. *psilo-* (3), which usually add attitudinal or pragmatic meaning in Greek:

(3)	<i>epita</i> 'yi 'bank check'	<i>epita</i> 'γ.ula 'little bank check'	<i>psilo.epita</i> 'γ.ula 'just a little bank check'
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Our working hypothesis to be tested more thoroughly is whether the closing status of specific markers is accounted for a. in terms of their greater productivity and lack of severe selectional restrictions (Manova & Winternitz 2011) b. in terms of the vaster range of evaluative readings the latter may realize compared to the non-closing suffixes and c. or in terms of both and possibly other lexical or register restrictions as well.

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## KNIVE-knives: Lexical Cloning and Inflection

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**Keywords:** *Contrastive Focus Reduplication, Identical Constituent Compounding, inflection, English near-regular plurals*

Lexical Cloning (LC) is a phenomenon in colloquial speech wherein an element is repeated with contrastive stress (marked with SMALL CAPITALS) to convey a prototypical reading. The phenomenon is wide-spread and flexible occurring with a range of different parts of speech as well as will other elements both above and below the word-level as shown in (1), (Ghameshi et al. 2004).

- (1) a. I'll make the tuna-salad and you make the SALAD-salad.  
 b. Do you LIKE-like him?  
 c. Is he FRENCH-French?  
 d. Oh, we're not LIVING TOGETHER-living together.  
 e. They're not FAN-fans

This phenomenon has received analyses as reduplication (Ghameshi et al. 2004, Contrastive Focus Reduplication) and as compounding (Hohenhaus 2004, Identical Constituent Compounding) and indeed displays hallmarks of each. However, one important feature of LC which has gone under-analysed is the role of inflection and object pronouns. These elements are sometimes copied across and sometimes are not - the rules governing when this occurs are as of yet unclear. Specifically, I have noticed an interesting feature of LC with “near-regular” plural such as *knives*; with such plurals it is possible to copy the (weakly) supplet root without the inflection giving forms such as KNIVE-knives. This apparent freedom and variation raises the question of how to best formalise this structure and whether these different forms convey result from subtly different semantics.

To better examine this and other related phenomena, I have designed an experiment which looks to explore various scenarios with the goal of revealing the nature of the rules governing LC inflection. The experiment consists of a simple acceptability judgement; participants are presented with a sentence containing a LC form, which may or may not include inflection, and asked to rate its acceptability. Over the course of the experiment participants see a variety of forms, including those with a short inflectional suffix (e.g. FAN-fans), a longer suffix (CRASH-crashes), suppletion (MAN-men) and near-regular forms. This last type is presented in one of three forms; KNIFE-knives, KNIVE-knives or KNIVES-knives.

(2)

Inflection type	Inflection copying	Mean	Standard deviation
Short suffix	Suffix copied	10.0	6.64
	Suffix not copied	7.57	6.08
Long suffix	Suffix copied	10.5	6.44
	Suffix not copied	8.15	5.85
Suppletion	Suppletion copied	7.72	6.24
	Suppletion not copied	13.2	6.15
Near-regular	Suffix copied; suppletion copied	11.1	6.36
	Suffix copied; suppletion not copied	11.3	6.21
	Suffix not copied; suppletion not copied	9.46	6.33

# Unlocking evaluative morphology: Conceptual and methodological challenges

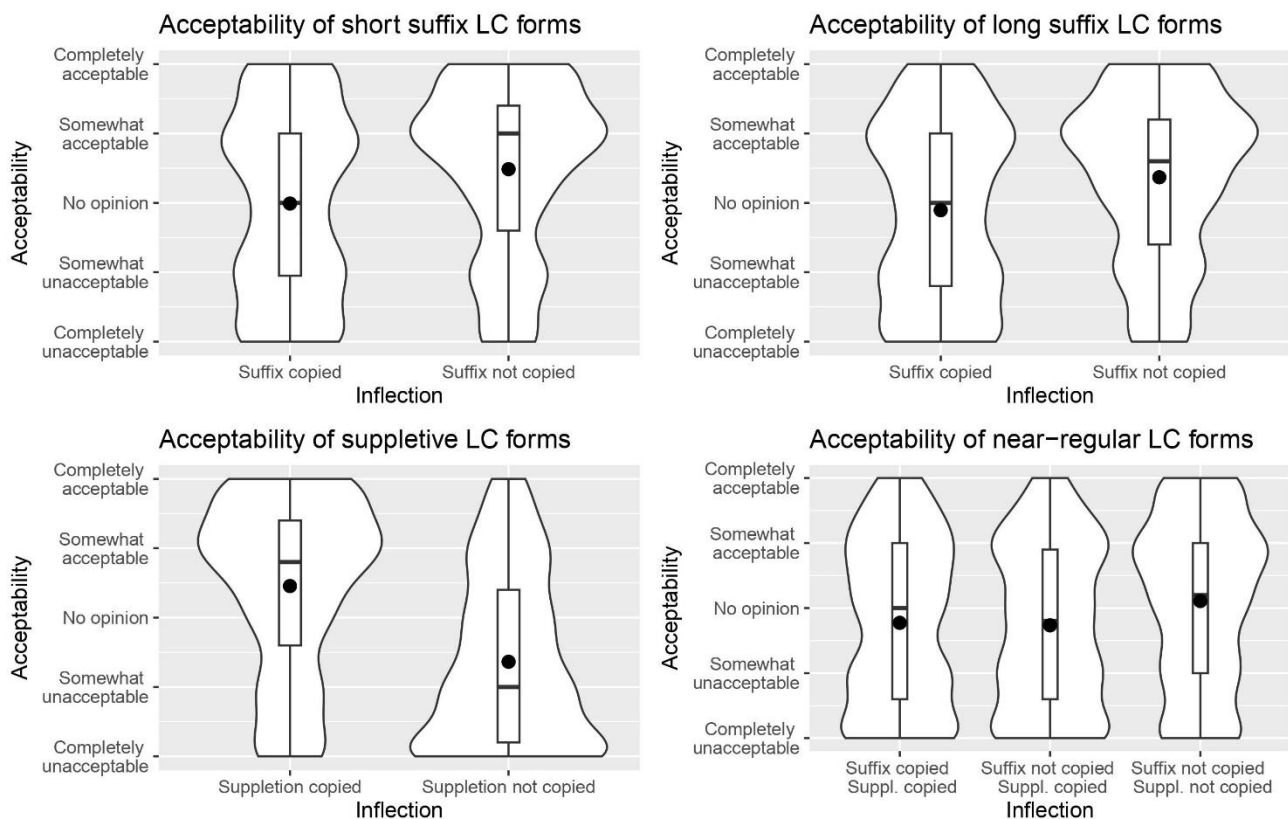
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The results show a variety of interesting findings (2). Both the short and long suffixes show similar preferences toward not copying the inflection (with means of 10.0 and 10.5 for including inflection against 7.57 and 8.15 for excluding inflection respectively) while there is a strong preference towards including suppletion (with a mean of 7.72 for inclusion against 13.2 for exclusion). However, when we turn to look at the near-regular case we see that both forms which included the suppletion are similarly disfavoured with means of 11.1 and 11.3 while the form with no inflection at all is slightly favoured with a mean of 9.46.

Though the exact significance of these results requires further analysis- for example, it is unclear if the somewhat bimodal distribution of the results is due to the presence of distinct groups within the population- they nonetheless point towards some intriguing conclusions. The preference towards copying suppletion points towards an analysis as reduplication, but the fact that this preference is not present in the near-regular case favours a compounding analysis. The full picture can only come with further examination, which looks to establish how individual participant's preferences vary and the implementation of a secondary experiment which will directly contrast items against one another.

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## Temporal, aspectual, and modal evaluation of reference

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This paper aims to examine the evaluation of nominal reference in relation to time and reality, exploring temporal, aspectual and modal marking on nouns in Italian based on written corpus data. Although the marking of temporal, aspectual and modal (TAM) features on nouns has been widely discussed in the typological literature (Nordlinger and Sadler 1998, Lecarme 2012, Bertinetto 2020), its relevance for the domain of evaluative semantics has not received much attention.

Evaluative semantics has indeed been traditionally connected to the dimensions of size, intensity, and approximation (cf. Dressler and Barbaresi 1994; Rainer 2015; Masini and Micheli 2020). We will argue that speakers frequently evaluate reference also along the temporal, aspectual and modal dimensions, assessing the validity and certainty of referential predication against the moment of speech. We specifically analyse the following strategies acting within the noun phrase level:

- i. noun prefixation (e.g. *ex-fumatore*, ‘ex-smoker’ in (1));
- ii. ad hoc compounding involving TAM adverbs (e.g. *i mai-fumatori*, ‘the never-smokers’ in (1); *un forse-lavoro*, ‘a perhaps-job’ in (4); *la nostra un-tempo-amicizia*, ‘our once-friendship’ in (2));
- iii. constructions involving TAM adverbs (cf. discontinuous temporal reduplication *padre-non-più-padre*, ‘father-no-longer-father’ in (5) and *uomini non più uomini*, ‘men no longer men’ in (6)).

Speakers devise these strategies to identify a specific referent in terms of a certain property (the one lexicalized by N) that is relevant in the discourse context, but it has to be modulated along TAM dimensions in order to be applicable. Reference validity is thus evaluated on the basis of its collocation in time (past/present/future), its duration (continuous/ended/incipient), and its certainty (factual/certain/potential/impossible). Crucially, evaluating reference against the TAM dimensions may lead to an evaluation in terms of prototypicality and approximation, as can be observed for *gli appena trentenni* (‘the newly-thirty-year-olds’ in (3)), which is opposed to *i trentenni a tutti gli effetti* (‘the full-fledged thirty-year-olds’). Similarly in example (5) *padre-non-più-padre* (‘father-no-longer-father’) is paraphrased as *padre in altro modo* (‘father in a different way’), indicating some deviation from the prototype (cf. Masini and Donato 2023).

In this paper we provide a qualitative and quantitative analysis of these strategies, in order to account for their functions, frequencies and distributions. Based on itTenTen20 (Jakubiček et al. 2013), WikiCoNLL and ItWac (Baroni et al. 2009) and La Repubblica Corpus (Baroni et al. 2004), we extracted and analyzed all the occurrences of ADV+N characterized by hyphenation, which we considered as an orthographic marker of processes (i)-(iii). However, being the use of hyphenation highly variable, especially in cases (ii) and (iii), we semi-automatically extracted all the co-occurrences of ADV and N, with a syntactic relation holding between the two. We then focused on those being in the scope of a determiner, analyzing them in context and coding the TAM features of the adverb, the TAM meanings of the strategy and the additional prototypicality/approximation functions.



The results of this study show that temporal, aspectual, and modal modulation of nominal reference can be highly relevant for evaluative semantics and evaluative morphology in particular, with different TAM markers developing approximation and non-prototypicality functions at various degrees (e.g. *appena*, ‘just/newly’, *forse*, ‘perhaps’, or the *discontinuous* temporal reduplication in (5)).

### Examples

- (1) [...] *piccole soddisfazioni da ex-fumatore che i mai-fumatori neanche si sognano.*  
‘[...] small satisfactions for an ex-smoker that never-smokers can’t even dream of.’ (itTenTen20)
- (2) [...] *rompere il ghiaccio della nostra un-tempo-amicizia [...]*  
‘[...] breaking the ice of our once-friendship [...].’ (itTenTen20)
- (3) [...] *gli appena-trentenni si trasformano in trentenni a tutti gli effetti.*  
‘[...] the newly-thirty-year-olds develop into full-fledged thirty-year-olds.’ (itTenTen20)
- (4) *Si è creato quel magico non-equilibrio per cui è arrivato un forse-lavoro pagato poco e poco appagante ma che dovrebbe essere stabile.*  
‘That magical non-balance has been created where a perhaps-job has come up, a low paid and unsatisfying job, but that should be stable.’ (itTenTen20)
- (5) [...] *lui il padre-non-più-padre, ma padre in altro modo, cioè ci siamo capiti.*  
‘[...] he, the father-not-father-anymore, but father in a different way, that is, you know what I mean.’ (itTenTen20)
- (6) [...] *gli uomini non più uomini, spettri spaventosi che, disperatamente, incredibilmente, cercano ancora di camminare e si trascinano.*  
‘[...] men no longer men, terrifying specters who, desperately, unbelievably, still try to walk and drag themselves along.’ (itTenTen20)
- (7) [...] *così chiamato, secondo gli allora ministri degli esteri [...]*  
‘[...] so called, according to the then ministers [...].’ (WikiCoNLL)
- (8) [...] *Giovanni Sanseverino, già conte di Marsico e barone [...]*  
‘[...] Giovanni Sanseverino, formerly Count of Marsico and Baron [...].’ (WikiCoNLL)

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## Unlocking evaluative morphology: Conceptual and methodological challenges

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## The division of labour between morphology and syntax. A case study of a constructional idiom in Spanish

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**Keywords:** morphology, syntax, division of labour, creativity, constructional idiom

This contribution addresses the intersection of Phraseology and Morphology, from the postulates of usage-based Construction Grammar. Starting from the notion of constructional idiom, understood as “a constructional schema in which one slot is lexically filled, and at least one slot is open” (Booij 2015: 191), our study focuses on the construction [*a* N<sub>[suffix of blow]</sub> *limpio*], which licenses instances such as *a puñetazo limpio* (lit. ‘a clean punch’), *a balazo limpio* (lit. ‘a clean shot’), *a patada limpia* (lit. ‘a clean kick’), or *a empujón limpio* (lit. ‘a clean push’) (see López Meirama 2016). Under the constructionist assumption that constructions are complex entities that can be analyzed into component parts, the construction under study has the peculiarity that one of its constituents is, in turn, the morphological construction [N<sub>[suffix of blow]</sub>], with very marked semantic and pragmatics characteristics – a fact that grants its constructional status in its own right.

Due to the high token frequency detected in corpus searches (esTenTen18, Sketch Engine), we observe a high productivity of the constructional idiom, although the different suffixes under analysis, *-azo* (example 1), *-ada* (example 2), and *-ón* (example 3) (see Monge 1972), exhibit unequal prototypicality. Therefore, one of the objectives of this work will be to determine which suffix is the most productive one within the constructional idiom based on the type frequency of lexical items in the [N<sub>[suffix of blow]</sub>] slot, as well as its number of hapax legomena (Baayen 2009).

- (1) *Acabó y, como era habitual, se largó dando un portazo: ¡cómo le gustaban los portazos! Ahora que pienso en él me viene, instintivamente, ¡POUM!, ¡POUM! ¡PATAPOUM! (hala, a portazo limpio).* (1393453467)  
‘He finished, and as usual, he stormed out, slamming the door: he sure loved slamming doors! Now that I think of him, I can’t help but go, “BAM! BAM! CRASH!” (there you go, **slamming doors repeatedly**).’
- (2) *De hecho, la inolvidable pelea a patada limpia entre la hermana de Beyoncé y su cuñado en el ascensor tras la gala del MET, se debió a la estrecha relación entre el rapero y Rihanna, con la que se rumoreó que tuvo un affaire.* (855732321)  
‘In fact, the unforgettable **dirty** brawl between Beyoncé’s sister and her brother-in-law in the elevator after the MET Gala was due to the close relationship between the rapper and Raihanna, with whom it was rumored he had an affair.’
- (3) *Algunas escenas son muy poderosas en su intenso dramatismo, véase la del padre acometiendo el desafío de llenar el lavaplatos en tiempo récord con toda la vajilla sucia, o la que comparten madre e hija, en que acaban a bofetón limpio.* (2969594120)  
‘Some scenes are very powerful in their intense drama, such as the one where the father takes on the challenge of loading the dishwasher in record time with all the dirty dishes, or the one between mother and daughter, ending up **in a full-blown slap fest**.’

Another objective of the work is, starting from the 3437 occurrences licensed by the [*a* N<sub>[suffix of blow]</sub> *limpio*] construction, to inductively determine their possible meanings. Examples above highlight a division of labour between morphology and syntax: the impact (examples 2 and 3) or impact/sound (example 1) meaning is expressed by the morphological constructions, while the iterative meaning is

expressed by the constructional idiom in which the former is embedded. Finally, we want to account for the creative potential of the morphological construction [*a* N<sub>[suffix of blow]</sub> *limpio*], which allows to emphasize the fine line that exists between lexicalized units (e.g., *patada* ‘kick’, *cachetada* ‘slap’) and the creative ones (e.g., *huelgazo*, *trumpada*, *mordiscón*) within the lexicon-grammar continuum advocated by the postulates of Construction Grammar (Ivorra Ordines & Mellado Blanco 2021; Mellado Blanco & Ivorra Ordines 2023).

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## Same source, different outcomes The superlative suffixes *-issime* vs. *-(i)ssimo* in contemporary French

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**Keywords:** *corpus-based morphology, derivational rivalry, French, intensification, superlatives*

The goal of this talk is to analyze the behaviour of a newly emergent suffix in French, *-(i)ssimo*, and to compare it with the similar, and most common, suffix *-issime*. Apart from their formal similarity, these two suffixes share their origin (both are from Italian) and their general meaning, that can be roughly characterized as ‘superlative’. However, they also display several differences, in particular concerning their syntactic and phonological properties. The observation of these differences allows to shed light not only on the individual properties of the derivational processes involved, but also on the mechanisms according to which morphological schemes having a common origin emerge and structure themselves distinctly in the language.

The first words in *-(i)ssimo* are attested in the 1960s, whereas *-issime* was introduced in French starting in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Globally, its properties are closer to those of a canonical suffix, both in the selection of its bases and in the construction of its derivatives. More in depth, we observe the following differences in behaviour between the two suffixes (data from Plénat 2002; Bengtsson 2019 and the database used for this study):

- *-issime* mostly attaches to adjectives and marginally to nouns with no category change; *-(i)ssimo* may take bases of any category, including verbs, and mostly forms label nouns used as names for companies, products, etc., (1);
- *-issime* selects learned allomorphs and/or triggers phonological reductions of its bases, namely concerning the suffix *-ique* and sibilants; *-(i)ssimo* triggers a greater number and variety of phonological reductions of its bases, (2);
- unlike *-issime*, *-(i)ssimo* may display an initial vowel different from /i/, (3).

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (1) <i>rarissime</i> (← <i>rare</i> ‘rare’)                     | <i>incroyablissimo</i> (← <i>incroyable</i> ‘incredible’)         |
| <i>généralissime</i> (← <i>général</i> ‘general <sub>N</sub> ’) | <i>Parfumissimo</i> (← <i>parfum</i> ‘perfume’)                   |
|   | <i>Repassimo</i> (← <i>repasser</i> ‘iron <sub>V</sub> ’)         |
| (2) <i>vérisissime</i> (← <i>vrai</i> ‘true’)                   | <i>Acquissimo</i> (← <i>acquisition</i> ‘purchase <sub>N</sub> ’) |
| <i>catholissime</i> (← <i>catholique</i> ‘catholic’)            | <i>Optissimo</i> (← <i>opticien</i> ‘optician’)                   |
| <i>bourgeoissime</i> (← <i>bourgeois</i> ‘bourgeois’)           | <i>successimo</i> (← <i>succès</i> ‘success’)                     |
| (3) <i>Bébéssimo</i> (← <i>bébé</i> ‘baby’)                     | <i>Revenussimo</i> (← <i>revenu</i> ‘income’)                     |
| <i>Pizzassimo</i> (← <i>pizza</i> )                             | <i>Vélossimo</i> (← <i>vélo</i> ‘bicycle’)                        |

The analysis proposed is based on a database of 373 forms in *-issime* and 294 forms in *-(i)ssimo* extracted from corpora and searches on other sources (mainly social network posts and Internet). Quantitative results confirm the observations above and suggest that substantial differences exist between the two suffixes in question. As a canonical suffix, *-issime* imposes categorial and semantic constraints on its bases, that must be adjectives (nouns) susceptible of receiving a superlative connotation. On the other hand, these constraints are less rigid for *-(i)ssimo*, that mainly selects its

bases on formal grounds, namely privileging those that can be reduced and are formally compatible with a derivative ending in /isimo/ or /Vsimo/.

Second, derivatives in *-issime* are subject to base-faithfulness constraints, according to which the base must be maximally identifiable in the derived form, also a property of canonical affixation, whereas this constraint is loosened with *-(i)ssimo*, as the examples in (2) or others, such as *Doctissimo* (← *docteur* ‘doctor’) or *Tassimo* (← *tasse* ‘cup’) show.

Finally, the allomorphy of the exponent displayed by *-(i)ssimo*, but not by *-issime*, suggests that the former is also better viewed as a set of hierarchized constraints on the form of derivatives of the form /isimo/ > /Vsimo/, where the V slot takes the default form /i/ if the segmental properties of the base does not trigger the emergence of a different vowel.

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## Evaluative constructions in Swedish with a verbal base

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Evaluative morphology, defined as the “expression of evaluation by means of morphology” (Körtvélyessy 2015:22), typically has diminutive and augmentative as core categories (Bauer 1997). According to Grandi (2009), two criteria define an evaluative construction: semantically, it assigns a value to the concept of the base, different from its ‘standard’, neutral value; and formally, it contains an explicit evaluative marker. These two criteria apply to several word-formation patterns in Swedish (e.g., *jätte-A*, see Norde & Van Goethem 2014, or *N/A/V-is*, see Rosenberg 2023). Still, Swedish is often said to lack morphological means to express diminutives and augmentatives (e.g., Grandi 2011). Likewise, in Štekauer et al. (2012) Swedish is not found among languages with evaluative morphology, although it is mentioned that *stor-* and *små-* have a prefix-like evaluative function in some words (2012:269).

The present study revolves around constructional idioms (Booij 2010) in Swedish corpus-data that involve four native adjectives classified as either affixoids or compound constituents, namely *halv-* ‘half’, *hel-* ‘whole’, *små-* ‘small’, and *stor-* ‘big’, in combination with a present participle ending in *-ande* (with *-ende* as a less common variant). The data show that these constructions often express an evaluative meaning (1a-d):

- (1) a. *halvfrustrerande*  
‘half-frustrating’
- b. *helunderhållande*  
    whole-entertaining  
    ‘wholly entertaining’
- c. *småmumlande*  
    small-murmuring  
    ‘murmuring a little’
- d. *storslösande*  
    big-squandering  
    ‘squandering a lot’

Thorell (1984) classifies *halv-*, *små-*, and *stor-* as adjectival compound constituents and *hel-* as an augmentative prefix, and he also lists some Greek and Latin prefixes, expressing similar meanings, such as *semi-*, *micro-*, and *mega*. In our data, the two types are sometimes combined (2a-c):

- (2) a. *semi-små-leende*  
    ‘semi-small-smiling’
- b. *megastorsäljande*  
    ‘mega-big-selling’
- c. *mini-halvleende*  
    ‘mini-half-smiling’

## Unlocking evaluative morphology: Conceptual and methodological challenges

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Present participles in *-ande*, classified as verbs and/or adjectives, exist in principle for all Swedish verbs (cf. Telemann et al. 1999). Obviously, they can occur in phrasal constructions with the four native adjectives in an adverbial function, as attested in our data (3a-b):

- (3) a. *lite*                      *halvt*                      *frustrerande*                      *att*   *bara*                      *vänta*  
little                      half-AGR.N/ADV                      frustrate.PTCP.PRS                      to                      only                      wait.INF  
'a little half frustrating to just wait'
- b. *helt*                      *underhållande*                      *i*                      *alla*   *fall*  
whole-AGR.N/ADV                      entertain.PTCP.PRS                      in                      all                      case[PL]  
'wholly entertaining any way'

Based on corpus-data from three different text genres (fiction, news, and social media, available at [www.spraakbanken.se](http://www.spraakbanken.se)), as presented in Table 1, we aim to explore the evaluative meaning expressed by the constructional idioms with native adjectives (e.g., *halv-* can be assumed to express approximation, see Masini et al. 2023). We will also investigate how they pair to constructions involving non-native prefixes with similar meanings (the latter being less frequent or non-attested). Moreover, we intend to investigate whether phrases with similar lexical items (but used as adverbial and present participles) express similar semantics as the constructional idioms or whether they have different distributional patterns (cf. Aronoff 2019 on competition). Overall, this study hopes to shed light on competition between morphological and syntactic means for conveying different evaluative values.

Table 1. Evaluative constructions with fixed slots combined with *V-ande* in fiction, news, and social media corpora (n = type).

	Fiction 24,551,703 tokens	News 842,862,085 tokens	Social media 11,663,985,133 tokens
<i>halv-V-ande</i>	30	50	520
<i>semi-V-ande</i>	-	1	132
<i>hel-V-ande</i>	1	10	166
<i>omni-V-ande</i>	-	-	4
<i>pan-V-ande</i>	-	-	-
<i>små-V-ande</i>	35	129	681
<i>mikro-/micro-V-ande</i>	-	5	54
<i>mini-V-ande</i>	-	5	71
<i>stor-V-ande</i>	10	74	220
<i>mega-V-ande</i>	-	8	124
<i>makro-V-ande</i>	-	-	-

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## From *spearhead* to *crackhead*: Unraveling the morphosemantic development of *-head* through a network of constructions

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**Keywords:** *-head*, construction morphology, suffixoid, pejorative meaning, constructicon

The morpheme *-head* is involved in the expression of locative and evaluative senses: (a) the end/top of a specified thing (e.g. *spearhead*), (b) an attitude of contempt towards a person (e.g. *airhead*), or (c) an addict of a given substance (e.g. *crackhead*) (OED3). These meanings are the product of metonymy, whereby the body part ‘head’ is used to describe either the upper position of an object or the mindset (or behavior) of an individual. Thus, two schemata emerge from these entries:

(i)  $\langle [[X_i]_n -head]_n \leftrightarrow [\text{top/upper part of SEM}_i] \rangle$

(ii)  $\langle [[X_i]_n -head]_n \leftrightarrow [\text{one who is negatively characterized by relating to SEM}_i] \rangle$

While (i) resembles an endocentric form of compounding, where *-head* denotes a type of locative (henceforth *-head<sub>loc</sub>*), (ii) represents a morpheme that conveys the seme [HUMAN] (henceforth *-head<sub>hum</sub>*) (Bauer 2022; Sánchez Fajardo 2022; Mattiello 2023). Unlike its locative counterpart, *-head<sub>hum</sub>* elicits a more restricted meaning, which resembles the fuzzy status of ‘suffixoids’ (see, e.g., Prčić 2005; Booij 2009; Kastovsky 2009; Bauer et al. 2013; Mattiello 2018; Amiot & Dugas 2020), and which is generally linked to the evaluative construction of ‘contempt’ (Grandi & Körtvelyessy 2015: 9-10).

Following a construction morphology (CxM) approach (Booij 2009, 2010, 2015, 2019) and a usage-based approach (Desagulier & Monneret 2023), the objective of this study is twofold: (a) to explore the parameters of productivity (CxPr) and inheritance (CxIn) through a network of *-head* schemata, or constructicon (Diessel 2023); and (b) to examine their morphosemantic evolution from *-head<sub>loc</sub>* to *-head<sub>hum</sub>*, and, within the human schema, the various paradigms corresponding to the different meanings of the suffixoid. The dataset of the construction  $[[X_i]_n -head]_n$  (N=620) was extracted from descriptive dictionaries (OED; MWD11; GDS; ODS), and from corpora (COCA; BNC). The data analysis is divided into two stages: (1) modeling of a network of *-head<sub>loc</sub>* and *-head<sub>hum</sub>* schemata, as well as computing their CxPr and CxIn indexes to make predictions on the emergence of new meanings beyond schematization (Hoffmann 2023); and (2) examining the morphosemantic development of the schemata through their shades of meaning in context.

Findings are expected to show that *-head<sub>loc</sub>* schemata are frequent, but are unable to generate new types of constructions. *-head<sub>hum</sub>* constructions, on the other hand, are more productive and elicit various argumentative frames that originate from both the semantics of the base and the secreted meaning of *-head<sub>hum</sub>*. This implies that meanings go from offensive (*bonehead*, *fathead*) to critical (*cokehead*, *thickhead*), from jocular/derisive (*Potterhead*) to even humorous (*egghead*). Also, the base to which *-head* is added may be different, whereby vulgar or offensive bases activate negative evaluation (e.g. *dickhead*, *shithead*). Sometimes negative evaluation emerges from the metaphorical meaning of the overall word (as in *airhead* meaning that there is nothing but *air* in one’s *head*). While this research is still ongoing, there have been some findings that point to a correlation between CxPr/CxIn and semantic secretion in the case of *-head<sub>hum</sub>*, in which the semes [HUMAN] and [PEJORATIVE] constitute the most relevant semantic features being inherited by low-order schemata.

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## Approximation and Intensification in Edoid

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Studies of evaluative morphology in recent years show a distinctive character. They have sharpened our understanding of meanings associated with diminution, intensification, and approximation (Napoli and Ravetto 2017, Masini et al. 2023). Yet, they have relied extensively on derivational morphemes as they interact with nominal or adjectival categories. There has been little sustained study of verb categories (Ebner 2022) and their association with evaluative semantics, especially outside Standard Average European. To begin shrinking this gap we present data from sub-Saharan West Africa and the Edoid group of southern Nigeria. Our database emanates from transcription and translation of Emai oral tradition texts, as well as elicitation related to dictionary and grammar construction. Endangered, Emai is SVO, showing lexical and grammatical tone and minimal inflection on nouns and verbs.

For this paper our primary concern is the grammatical realization of meanings reflective of approximation and intensification. The forms at work occur in preverbal position, where they are mutually exclusive. A secondary concern is diminution and its grammatical expression.

In its temporal domain Emai exhibits grammatical forms that, relative to the occurrence of a verb event, approximate its initiation or disproximate its termination. Forms *yà* ‘nearly start’ and *mò* ‘nearly finish,’ respectively, direct attention to distinct ingressive (IG) and egressive (EG) phases for an event, as in *ègè yà gbé òlí ákhè á* [Ege:PRX PST:IG break:PFV ART pot ITV] ‘Ege has nearly/almost started breaking the pot’ and *òlí ùbèlè mósò vóón* [ART gourd:PRX PST:EG be.full:PFV] ‘The gourd is nearly/almost full’. Of note with egressive is that its verb must convey temporal boundedness inherently; if not, a boundary particle such as *lé* ‘already’ is required: *àlèkè mósò é òlí émàè lé* [Aleke:PRX PST:EG eat:PFV ART food already] ‘Aleke has nearly completed/finished eating the food already.’ No grammatical form exclusively expresses ‘nearly, almost’ for the temporal domain.

Among its preverbs Emai also shows evaluative terms that pertain to intensification. Emai displays grammatical forms that, relative to a scalar value of quantity inherent in the meaning of a verb, articulate an upscale or downscale trend. Forms *zemi* ‘very, a lot’ and *zèzè* ‘barely, a bit,’ respectively, characterize a trend toward either a maximum (MAX) or minimum (MIN) value for intransitive subjects and transitive direct objects. Scalar values assigned intransitive subjects contrast for *àlèkè zémì dá* [Aleke:PRX PST:MAX be.tall:PFV] ‘Aleke is very tall’ vs. *àlèkè zézè dá* [Aleke:PRX PST:MIN be.tall:PFV] ‘Aleke is barely tall’ as do values for transitive objects in *égé òlímì é òlí émàè* [Ege.DST PST:MAX eat:PFV ART food] ‘Ege ate a lot of the food’ vs. *égé òlímì é vbí òlí émàè* [Ege.DST PST:MIN eat:PFV LOC ART food] ‘Ege ate a bit of the food.’ Emai shows no other grammatical form equivalent to ‘very much, a lot’ or ‘barely/a bit.’

We conclude by noting that Emai preverbs do not express diminution or augmentation. Instead, such evaluative categories are expressed within a word by a classifier-like grammatical element that precedes its noun and follows a prefix. Within word forms, diminution is signaled by *-vbì-* in *ú-vbí-éwè* ‘small goat’ and augmentation by *-dù-*, where the prefix can be singular (*ú-dù-émà* ‘big yam’) or plural (*í-dù-émà* ‘big yams’). These evaluatives thus show non-preverb coding distinct from approximation and intensification. Despite their formal differences, evaluatives as a semantic class are expressed uniformly by dependent forms, whether within a clause or word.

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## *Like* – a morphological evaluative loan marker in German?

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**Keywords:** approximation, similarity, confix, foreign word-formation

The paper deals with a new word-formation pattern in German: the formation of adjectives with the borrowed head constituent *like*, as in *kirchenlike* ‘church-like’, *mensch-like* ‘human-like’, *Zürich-like*, *eisenbahnlike* ‘railway-like’. To our knowledge, this pattern has not yet been described in the literature. Also, present-day corpora of standard German contain only few examples. However, a search in the internet-based GermanWeb 2020/deTenTen20 corpus (Jakubíček et al. 2013) yields approx. 5,600 types/15,700 tokens of adjectival *like*-formations, which indicates that the *like*-construction is emerging as a productive word-formation pattern in German, although still restricted to certain registers. Of the data collected, 1.500 hapaxes have been manually annotated for 16 formal and semantic categories. For *like*-formations with English bases it cannot always be clearly decided whether they are borrowed as a whole or are formed in German. However, 58% of the forms have a German base, which clearly indicates the productivity of the pattern in German. Since *like* is a borrowed unit that cannot be used freely in German, it must be classified as a confix.

Is *like* an evaluative marker? Given the meaning of the English lexeme *like*, German *like*-formations are similitive items and they can be paraphrased, just as in English, as ‘in the shape of X, in the style of X, resembling X’ (Bauer et al. 2013: 311). However, the question arises whether similarity should be classified as evaluative or, more precisely, approximative, i.e. where to draw the line between evaluative and canonical word-formation, the latter aiming at creating labels for concepts (cf. Hüning & Schlücker 2023). Masini & Micheli (2020: 385), for instance, assume a “fluid, continuum-like” [sic!] relationship between categorising and approximating, suggesting that these two cognitive and linguistic processes “are more closely intertwined than usually thought.”

An approximative meaning has been assumed for the English *like*-construction (Bauer et al. 2013: 313) and the Italian *simil*-construction (Masini & Micheli 2020). However, the German pattern differs from these in two respects: According to Bauer et al. (2013), approximation in English applies to formations with adjectival bases (e.g. *dull-like*). Adjectival bases, however, are practically absent in German. The Italian unit *simil*, on the other hand, is a prefix and therefore does not change the word class of the base, unlike *like* in German, which always forms adjectives. Meaning groups such as FAKE and IMITATION (e.g. *similpelle* ‘imitation leather’, Masini & Micheli 2020: 383) are therefore excluded for the German *like*-constructions. At the same time, however, many of the German *like*-formations can be classified under VAGUENESS (‘Y refers to an entity whose nature is uncertain but somewhat associated to X, possibly as a peripheral member of the category X’), another semantic subgroup of the *simil*-construction (cf. Masini & Micheli 2020: 384).

The paper discusses possible approximative meanings of German *like*-formations and, on this basis, aims to contribute to the fundamental question of the relationship between the naming/categorising function of word-formation on the one hand and the evaluative function on the other.

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## Morphological and syntactic adjective intensification in L2 Italian and German in a multilingual context

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Adjective intensification is the use of any linguistic device that scales a quality, by establishing different degrees of that given quality (Bolinger 1972). The grading of a quality adds expressive richness to one's message; as such, intensifiers can be identified as markers of subjectivity (Athanasidou 2007), and intensification itself as a phenomenon at the interface between lexicon, grammar, pragmatics and discourse.

The mechanisms involved in its acquisition and use in second languages are highly relevant in the field of Second Language Acquisition: the increase in the "volume" of a message involves a specific ability to express subjectivity and evaluation, which learners are required to acquire in their second language learning process.

We will present a comparative study in which we analyzed the use of the intensified adjective construction  $[[X]_{\text{int}} [Y]_{\text{ADJ}}]_{\text{AP}}$  'very Y' by young learners of Italian and German from the multilingual region of South Tyrol (Italy). Italian and German share a wide range of intensifying constructions, relying both on morphological (e.g., the superlative prefix construction *strapieno*, *superschön*) and syntactic resources (e.g., the prototypical adverb + adjective construction *molto bello*, *sehr schön*). However, Italian and German also rely on language-specific means, such as the Italian superlative suffix *-issimo* (*bellissimo*) and the German compound intensifying construction (*spiegelglatt*).

We adopted a Diasystematic Construction Grammar (DCxG) approach (Höder et al. 2021), a usage-based approach to language contact situations, which allowed us to distinguish idio- from diaconstructions of Italian and German: all constructions used in a multilingual community, whether language-specific (idioconstructions) or unspecified for language use (diaconstructions) are stored in the *constructicon* of the community members. In such a context, learning an additional language implies a continuous reorganization of the individual constructicon.

Based on this approach, we partially replicated previous research from a different multilingual area (Van Goethem & Hendriks 2021) and investigated the ways in which morphological intensifying constructions relate to syntactic intensifying constructions. Using mixed-effect models, we analyzed the use of the intensified adjective construction in the Italian and German sub-corpora of the Kolipsi Corpus Family (Glaznieks et al. forthcoming), a collection of learner corpora of L2 German and Italian. The corpus consists of written essays (around 576,000 tokens) produced by ca. 1,600 students from Italian and German South Tyrolean upper secondary schools.

Our research questions were: Are there any differences in the relationship between morphological and syntactic intensification used by L2 Italian and L2 German young learners from the multilingual Italian region of South Tyrol? How do constructions on different levels reorganize during the acquisitional process?

Preliminary results show that if learners of L2 Italian are considered, the dominant German environment is a significant predictor of their preference for intensifying adverb constructions (Spina et al., under review). However, the morphological *-issimo* construction is still used by L2 Italian learners, especially with high frequency adjectives, and compete with the syntactic one despite being an idioconstruction specified for Italian. Conversely, learners of L2 German seem to prefer intensifying

adverb constructions regardless of their L1 or linguistic environment, at the expense of the compound intensifying construction, which is used only occasionally.

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## Evaluatives in ɛdo: conceptual and methodological challenges

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This paper describes evaluation in ɛdo, a Niger Congo language indigenous to Nigeria. Evaluation is conceived here as an interpretation of the semantic primitives SMALL, BIG, GOOD and BAD. Previous studies on this language (Omoruyi 1986 & Imasuen 2010) discuss the use of *òvbi* “child” as an expression of SMALL. However, researchers are yet to explore the range of evaluative values in the language, the morphological strategies for expressing evaluation, as well as the relationship between expressions and the values they encode.

To address these concerns, we collected data from field notes, audio-visual materials and a textual corpus comprising research articles and reference books. For data analysis, the study adopted the unified radial model of evaluative morphology (Kortyvelyessy 2015). Preliminary results show formal expressions for three evaluative values: diminution (DIM = small), augmentation (AUG = big) and intensification (INT = more of an attribute). These values are marked morphologically using three processes: affixation (1), compounding (2) and reduplication (3).

- |     |    |   |                             |                                     |
|-----|----|---|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (1) | a. | <i>ikù</i><br>DIM<br>'Wood chips'             | <i>èrhàn</i><br>wood        |                                     |
|     | b. | <i>òkpé</i><br>AUG<br>'Torrential rain'       | <i>àmè</i><br>water         |                                     |
| (2) | a. | <i>òvbi</i><br>child<br>'Penknife'            | <i>ábé</i><br>knife         |                                     |
|     | b. | <i>ikpè</i><br>seed<br>'Hailstone'            | <i>èsiá</i><br>hail         |                                     |
| (3) | a. | <i>ò</i><br>3SG<br>'It is beautiful'.         | <i>mòsé</i><br>be.beautiful |                                     |
|     | b. | <i>ò</i><br>3SG<br>'It looks very beautiful'. | <i>yé</i><br>seem           | <i>mòsémòsé</i><br>INT.be.beautiful |

Examples (1) and (2) illustrate the diminutive and augmentative values, while (3) shows intensification. The data suggests evaluative morphemes can express more than one value. For example, the augmentative which denotes magnitude in (1) connotes quality when used in reference to humans as shown in (4). Besides expressions which result from specific processes, we found others which lack overt marking as in (5). Also, there are some which contain markers; but as shown in (6), the bases to which the markers attach are non-existent words in the language.

- |     |    |  |                       |
|-----|----|--|-----------------------|
| (4) | a. | <i>òkpé</i><br>AUG<br>'Eminent person' | <i>òmwá</i><br>person |
|-----|----|--|-----------------------|

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b.	ò	zé	òkpé	òwè	dèé
	3SG	choose	AUG	feet	approach
	'He/she is approaching with confident strides'.				
(5)	ègilé		ákikò		
	'Snail'		'Baby snail'		
(6)	òvbi		álèkè		
	child				
	'Young woman'				

Examples like (5) and (6) pose the conceptual challenge of defining what qualifies as formal expressions of evaluation. This problem has been attributed to the prototype effect (Schneider 2013). Prototypical evaluative constructions consist of the evaluated base, which is an existing word and a marker that expresses at least one of the four semantic primitives (Kortyvelyessy 2015). Lexicalized diminutives do not satisfy this formal condition.

Nevertheless, the paper treats expressions like *ákikò* and *òvbiálèkè* as examples of evaluative morphology. This resonates with the view that evaluation is a linguistic category with different levels of membership: there are prototypical members that meet the formal condition and marginal members with clear traces of similar semantic function (Appah & Amfo 2011 and Grandi 2009).

Another issue in Edo evaluative morphology is the many-to-one correspondence between markers and primitives; SMALL, for example, has six markers: *à*, *ìkpè*, *ìkù*, *òlùkù*, *òsònmwè* and *òvbi*. Some of these morphemes occur with the same base; so, there is an overlap in their distribution. Following suggestions in the literature, the paper will differentiate rival markers using their features (Yuka 2020) and distributional preferences (Masini et al. 2023). It will also consider competition between (i) prototypical and lexicalized expressions and (ii) semantically equivalent morphological expressions and periphrastic constructions.

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**POSTER  
PRESENTATIONS**

## The role of the Russian *nedo-* approximative prefix in nonce nouns formation

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**Keywords:** *approximative prefixes, nonce nouns, Russian language, evaluative morphology*

The Russian compound prefix *nedo-* (literally 'not.till') can be added to both verbal and nominal bases to create verbs and process nouns, imbuing them with an actional meaning of 'frustrated completion' or 'lack of result', e.g. *nedosolit'* 'to undersalt', *nedorazumenie* 'misunderstanding' (s. Isačenko 1960, Svenonius 2004, Kuteva et al. 2019, Janda et al. 2013, Kagan 2011, 2015, Plungjan 2001).

Alongside this primary "aspectual/actional" meaning, the prefix has developed an evaluative semantics related to its approximating function, in fact it can be used in occasional formations (nonce nouns and verbs) to convey an idea of inadequacy, deficiency, mocking imitation, or falling short of a certain standard, that can be glossed as "below the norm", "not enough"; as in (1):

- (1) *Daže znamenitaja meždunarodnaja [...] avtotrassa Kiev - Odessa ne proderžalas' bez profilaktiki i desjatka let, i teper' na ee vosstanovlenie trebujutsja značitel'nye sredstva, kotorych po faktu chvataet tol'ko na.. jamočnyj remont. Interesno, čto v srede professionalov-dorožnikov est' daže special'nyj termin, iduščij vsled srazu za terminom "nedofinansirovanie". Vy ne poverite, no èto - "nedoremont"! Dal'se možno fantazirovat' po svoemu usmotreniju, naprimer; "nedodoroga", "nedospecialist", "nedoasfal't" i tak dalee.* [Timestamped Russian]

'Even the famous international Kiev-Odessa highway [...] hasn't gone without maintenance for a decade, and now substantial funds are required for its restoration, which, in fact, are only sufficient for patching up potholes. Interestingly, within the road construction professionals' community, there is even a special term that follows immediately after the term "NEDO-funding". You won't believe it, but it's called "NEDO-repair"! From here, you can continue to imagine as you wish, for example, "NEDO-road", "NEDO-specialist", "NEDO-asphalt", and so on.'

The example illustrates the process of semantic bleaching undergone by the prefix, which turns from an actional marker (when attached to process nouns, as in *nedofinansirovanie* 'underfunding', *nedoremont* 'underrepair') into an approximation marker (in combination with object nouns and animates, as in *nedoroga* 'not\_a\_real\_road', *nedospecialist* 'less\_than\_a\_specialist').

It's worthy notice that the evaluative uses of *nedo-* are always associated with the development of pragmatic intersubjective functions. This is because the prefix signals that the nominal referent or the action it modifies does not fully meet the expectations of the interlocutors.

Through a usage-based hybrid approach, combining corpus-based and corpus-driven methods, the study aims to explore the particular evaluative meanings that the *nedo-* prefix acquires in the domain of approximation and the classes of base nouns (abstracts, animates, objects, etc.) it can modify, all while considering its original actional function.

Additionally, the study aims to investigate how the *nedo-* prefix competes with other lexical approximating and intensifying strategies (e.g. TYPE- nouns, general extenders, or other evaluative



prefixes and prefixoids, such as, for instance, *psevdo-* ‘pseudo-’) and how these elements interact in the process of meaning construction, as in (2):

(2) *iz-za vlijanija sovremennykh zakonov segodnja zdes' [v Turcii] vse složnee poprobovat' chorošij tureckij kal'jan v ego istinnom vide. V osnovnom vstrečaetsja čto-to vrobe nedolaunž-barov i psevdovostočnyh besedok, bol'se pochožih na kuril'nju opiuma načala XX veka* [Timestamped Russian]

‘Due to the influence of modern laws, it is increasingly difficult to try a good Turkish hookah in its true form here [in Turkey] today. Mostly there is a kind of NEDO-lounge bars and pseudo-eastern gazebos, more like an opium smoker of the early twentieth century.’

Finally, an attempt will also be made to combine qualitative findings with quantitative data (e.g. the frequency of occasionalisms) to evaluate the role of diaphasic and diamesic components in the formation of nonce nouns and verbs. It is indeed expected that the use of this derivational means is more frequent in speech and in contexts characterized by little textual planning, such as CMC, in which the process of meaning construction is more dependent on the co(n)text.

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## Between similarity and approximation: the case of Russian *-podobnyj*

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**Keywords:** *approximation, similarity, Russian*

This paper aims to contribute to the study of evaluative and, more specifically, approximation morphology by investigating the Russian morphological construction with the adjectival string *-podobnyj* ‘similar’.

The phenomenon of meaning approximation has been widely investigated in linguistic branches such as pragmatics and discourse studies where it is treated as closely related with vagueness, indeterminacy, mitigation, and other nuances of meaning construction (Bazzanella, 2011; Caffi, 2007; Jucker et al., 2003; Prince et al., 1982; Voghera & Collu, 2017). However, the analysis of the expression of approximation by morphological means has started to receive attention only recently as a subfield of evaluative morphology (Masini et al., 2023) with studies on, for example, affixes, affixoids, and reduplication in various languages (Cappelle et al., 2023; Masini & Di Donato, 2023; Masini & Micheli, 2020; Oltra-Massuet, 2017; Van Goethem et al., 2023).

From this perspective, affixoids that originate from the lexical domain of similarity and that are consequently exploited to convey approximation (and other nuances such as fakeness, imitation, resemblance, vagueness, etc.) have already been identified and studied for languages like English (*-like*, see Hüning & Schlücker, 2023) or Italian (*simil-*, see Masini & Micheli, 2020). However, to my knowledge, such investigations are still lacking within the literature on Slavic languages. For this reason, I aim to investigate the approximation function of the Russian construction with *-podobnyj* ‘similar’.

The schema under scrutiny consists of the adjective *podobnyj* ‘similar, such’ attached to a noun to yield an adjective. Adopting the theoretical framework of Construction Grammar (Goldberg, 1995, 2006) and Construction Morphology (Booij, 2010), I analyze such a schema as a semi-specified construction with two slots where *-podobnyj* is lexically specified and the other slot (the noun it attaches to) is a variable. As shown in examples (1) and (2), the noun *angel-* ‘angel’ and the proper name *gorbačev-* ‘Gorbačev’ are attached to the basis *-podobnyj* ‘similar’ to convey an approximating and evaluative meaning.

- (1) *U vas **angelopodobnyj** chirurg v poliklinike.*  
You have an *angel-like* surgeon in the clinic. [ruTenTen17]
- (2) *Ni odnoj priličnoj strany ne ostalos’, krome Kuby da Belorussii..., da i tam*  
Not a single decent country left, except for Cuba and Belarus..., yeah and even there  
*Fidel’ pomret, vylezet gad kakoj-nibud’ **gorbačevopodobnyj**, porušit vse.*  
Fidel will die, some *Gorbačev-like* bastard will come out, destroy everything. [ruTenTen17]

In this contribution, I aim to conduct a corpus-based study to discuss the formal, semantic, and usage properties of the Russian construction with *-podobnyj*. Relying on data from the Russian National Corpus (henceforth, RNC) and the ruTenTen17 web corpus, I will investigate the restrictions required by the variable slot and the function(s) associated with the construction. In particular, I will address the following research questions:

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- a. What kind of nouns can fill the variable slot of the construction?
- b. What kind of evaluative/approximative meaning is conveyed by the construction? How is it linked with the literal similarity meaning of *-podobnyj*?
- c. What is the relationship between the meaning conveyed by the construction and the noun filling the variable slot?

The methodology will include the annotation of data from the RNC and ruTenTen17 for variables that can account for the formal and semantic properties of the construction. First, a list of types will be analyzed to single out the formal properties of the construction and the type of nouns that can occur in the variable slot. Then, a random subset of tokens per each type will be extracted and annotated for further variables to investigate the function carried out by the construction in each context. The analysis will be mainly qualitative but particular attention will be paid to frequencies of occurrence and how the data are distributed in the dataset according to the considered variables.

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## Quite *-hkO* – a corpus analysis of the Finnish derivational suffix *-hkO*

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**Keywords:** corpus-based study, derivation, evaluative morphology, Finnish

This study discusses the derivational suffix *-hkO*<sup>1</sup> in Finnish, based on data drawn from the Finnish Web 2014 (fiTenTen14) corpus at Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al. 2014).

According to VISK, the online version of *Iso Suomen Kielioppi* (the ‘Great Finnish Grammar’), the suffix *-hkO* forms adjectival moderative derivations (“*moderatiivijohdoksia*”), i.e. adjectives that show a degree modification of the semantic content of the derivational base – more precisely, degree diminution (VISK §294). However, other evaluative (and in particular, approximative) values, such as e.g. disproximation and prototypicality, may also factor in the semantic and pragmatic interpretation (for a non-exhaustive overview of values considered approximative, cf. Masini et al. 2023).

Example (1) shows the use of *pienehkö* ‘quite small’ (< *pieni* ‘small’), referring to a town that is – at least in the speaker’s/writer’s opinion – not considered to be a prototypical example of a small town, but can nevertheless be categorised as such.

- (1) *Asun pienehköllä paikkakunnalla, jossa väesto ikääntyy koko ajan.* [fiTenTen14]  
‘I live in **quite a small** town, where the population gets older all the time.’

*-hkO*-derivations thus present a synthetic way of expressing evaluative concepts that may, however, also be expressed analytically, using adverbs such as e.g. *varsin*, *aika* or *melko*, all of which can be translated as ‘quite’ or ‘pretty’ in English (see example (2)).

- (2) *Luxemburg on varsin pieni maa [...].* [fiTenTen14]  
‘Luxemburg is **quite a small** country [...].’

Interestingly, combinations of a free adverbial degree modifier together with a *-hkO*-derivation can be found in the corpus (see example (3), where both the adverb *varsin* and the derivational suffix *-hkO* are used simultaneously).

- (3) *Kooltaan pizza on varsin pienehkö, mikä osaltaan selittyy ehkä hinnalla.* [fiTenTen14]  
‘Sizewise the pizza is **quite small**, which can perhaps in part be explained by the prize.’

Using a randomised sample of 500 relevant hits of adjectives using the *-hkO*-suffix, drawn from the fiTenTen14 corpus at Sketchengine (Kilgarriff et al. 2014), I address the following questions:

- How productive is the *-hkO*-construction in terms of Type Token Ratio and Potential Productivity (Baayen 2004)?
- Which adjectives (or adjective groups) are attracted to the *-hkO*-construction?
- Can the evaluativeness of the *-hkO*-construction be regularly reinforced by the use of free adverbial degree modifiers?

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<sup>1</sup> The upper case letter is used to represent the two allomorphic variants *-hko* and *-hkö*, the distribution of which is governed by Finnish vowel harmony.

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## Competition in a paradigm of Italian intensifying prefixes: annotation scheme and preliminary findings

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**Keywords:** *affix rivalry, annotation, evaluative morphology, intensification, Italian*

One of the key components of the multifaceted concept of evaluative semantics is intensification. Intensification can be defined as a semantic-functional operation expressed through different formal strategies, with the primary aim of modifying the referential strength of a lexical item. In alignment with Quirk et al. (1985), this study defines intensifiers as “linguistic devices that boost the meaning of a property upwards from an assumed norm”.

Despite a substantial body of literature on affixal intensification in Italian (*inter alia* Dressler & Merlini Barbaresi (1994); Napoli & Reynolds (1995); Grandi (2002); Cacchiani (2011); Calpestrati (2017), Grandi (2017)), little attention has been devoted to the phenomenon of competition within the realm of intensifying affixes. In this context, competition is understood as a relationship among two or more affixes vying to express (almost) identical lexico-conceptual meaning within a subdomain of intensification (Huyghe & Varvara 2023).

The present study, situated at the intersection between lexical semantics and construction morphology, investigates competition among six Italian intensifying prefixes, viz. *arci-*, *extra-*, *iper-*, *stra-*, *super-* and *ultra-*. These prefixes share a similar functional conceptual content and their meaning and uses are closely related. In many contexts, they appear interchangeable without any difference in the proposition’s truth value. Consequently, discerning subtle semantic (and pragmatic) distinctions between them becomes a challenging task.

Considering that the semantic characteristics of a lexical item are manifested through the suitable connections it forms with both existing and potential contexts (Cruse 1986), we believe that one of the best-suited approaches to analysing subtle semantic differences between intensifying prefixes is to observe their collocational behaviour. Albeit we assume that the analysed prefixes map onto similar content domains, we anticipate distinct collocation patterns, i.e. “habitat niche differentiation”: each of these synonymous competitor prefixes is expected to occupy a unique distributional niche (Desagulier 2014; Aronoff 2019).

In order to investigate this competition, a corpus-based study is conducted. The research is based on data from the corpus of contemporary written Italian CORIS (Rossini Favretti et al. 2002) and is limited to the contexts where the prefixes attach to adjectival constituents<sup>1</sup>. A random sample of 500 occurrences of [PREF + [Y]<sub>ADJ</sub>]<sub>ADJ</sub> constructions for each prefix has been extracted. Recognizing the uncertainty surrounding the factors influencing the choice of a specific prefix, occurrences are being annotated based on their orthographic, morphological, syntactic, and semantic properties. Particular attention is being paid to the semantic characteristics of both the base word and the derivate.

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<sup>1</sup> According to Iacobini (2004), the category of adjectives stands as the sole syntactic category with which all the analysed prefixes engage in productive combinations.

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After annotation (still ongoing) is completed, in line with Van Goethem & Norde (2020), statistical modelling will be employed to examine the productivity of each prefix and its most distinctive collexemes, as well as to assess if and how different predictors (variables) correlate with the selection of a particular prefix.

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## Evaluative (half-)prefixes in Italian: the expression of approximation through morphemes of half quantity

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**Keywords:** *approximation, prefixes, prefixoids, quantity, Italian*

In recent years, the expression of approximation through morphological means has raised interest in the field of evaluative morphology (cf. Masini et al. 2023). In particular, several studies have addressed this topic by investigating the behavior of prefixes and prefixoids (Masini & Micheli 2020; Van Goethem & Norde 2020; Cappelle et al. 2023). Among them, we find prefixes of degree and quantity that show the possibility of expressing approximation, such as the Italian *semi-*. *Semi-*, whose approximating meaning is an extension of the original meaning of ‘half’, is productive in contemporary Italian in the formation of nouns and adjectives (1) (Iacobini 2004a; Micheli 2023).

(1)	<i>La</i>	<i>giornata</i>	<i>più</i>	<i>calda</i> [...]	<i>quasi</i>	<i>con</i>
	ART.DEF.F.SG	day.SG	more	hot.F.SG	almost	with
	<i>un</i>	<i>clima</i>	<b><i>semi-</i></b>	<b><i>estivo</i></b>		
	ART.INDF.M.SG	climate.SG	half	summery. M.SG		

‘The hottest day [...], almost with a **near-summery** climate.’ (from Masini & Micheli 2020: 394)

However, *semi-* is not the only morphological strategy expressing “halfness” semantics in Italian: in the literature, the use of the neoclassical prefix *emi-* is well-known (e.g., *emiciclo* ‘hemicycle, semicircle’) (Iacobini 2004b), while the emergence of the prefix *mezzo-* ‘half’ has been recently noted (e.g., *mezzo-morto* ‘half-dead’).

In particular, it has been suggested that *mezzo-* can express the evaluative meanings of attenuation and depreciation (Masini & Micheli 2020). Thus, even though its status as prefix(oid) is not clear (since it can express approximation also as in its unbonded, lexical use (2), cf. Benigni 2023), it possibly occupies the same semantic space covered by *semi-*, even more closely than *emi-*.

(2)	<i>Questo</i>	<i>posto</i>	<i>pur</i>	<i>essendo</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>caffè</i> [...]
	DET	place.SG	even if	be.GER	ART.INDF.M.SG	café.SG
	<i>è</i>	<i>anche</i>	<i>un</i>	<b><i>mezzo</i></b>	<b><i>negozio</i></b>	
	be.PRS.3.SG	also	ART.INDF.M.SG	half.M.SG	shop.SG	

‘This place, while being a café [...], is also a **sort of shop**.’ (from Benigni 2023: 18)

While there are some descriptions for some of said constructions, no comparative study has been carried out to address the (possible) competition between morphological and lexical items that express “halfness” semantics. Our aim, thus, is twofold: firstly, we want to carry out an exploratory investigation to uncover which of the aforementioned strategies are used to convey a meaning of approximation, and how frequently and in which contexts they do so. Secondly, we want to assess if the competition between these strategies that show an (at least) partial semantic overlap results in a constructional division of labour.

To do so, we randomly extract 10.000 occurrences of *semi-*, *emi-* and *mezzo-* constructions, both bonded and debonded, from the written Italian CORIS corpus (Rossini Favretti et al. 2002). We will

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clean the dataset by excluding false positives (since, for instance, unbonded *mezzo* can also be a noun, meaning ‘medium, means’). Subsequently, we will code the resulting occurrences for: presence and type of evaluative meaning (levels: *Evaluative\_Approximation*, *Evaluative\_Other*, *Halfness*, *Lexicalized*); lemma and category of the base/modified word; orthographic form (levels: *Bonded*, *Hyphenated*, *Unbonded*). We will use statistical modelling to check for possible interactions between said factors as well as to assess if some of them influence the choice between the different strategies. Finally, we will compare the productivity of such constructions by measuring their type-token and hapax-token ratio (Baayen 1991).

We suppose *semi-* to be the strategy that expresses more frequently the meaning of approximation. However, we also expect it to be limited mainly to the approximation of nouns and adjectives, while we expect *mezzo-* to be used with verbs, at least in its unbonded form, thus covering a niche not occupied by *semi-* for the expression of approximation.

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## New perspectives on intensification: a corpus-based study of compounds with *turbo-* in Italian, French and Spanish

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In the field of evaluative morphology (Grandi & Körtvélessy 2015), intensification represents “a form of gradation that strengthens or diminishes certain semantic features of a word” (De Vleeschauwer 2012: 13), whose value can be summarised as ‘very x’.

Starting from Bolinger’s (1972) seminal work, there has been an increasing number of studies devoted to the expression of intensification in Romance languages (among others: Romero 2001; Izert 2002; Rainer 1983a; 2015; Napoli & Ravetto 2017), many of which have focused on the morphological strategies adopted in usage, such as prefixation (see for Italian Grandi & Iacobini 2008; Montermini 2008; Napoli 2017; for French Amiot 2004; Janot 2004), suffixation in *-issim(o)* (Rainer 1983b; Dressler & Barbaresi 1994; Napoli 2013) and reduplication (Wierzbicka 1986; Bonacchi 2017). On the other hand, composition does not seem to be used to convey evaluative meanings.

However, as recently shown by Verdelli (2023), in Italian and French it is possible to encounter compounds formed by *turbo-*, a combining form of native origin obtained by shortening from the word *turbina* ‘turbine’ (cfr. Iacobini 2015). *Turbo* is traditionally used in scientific terminology in order to convey a lexical meaning related to the *turbine* base (e.g. it. *turbocompressione* ‘turbocompression’); in addition, it can also be used nowadays in the economic-political domain and common language for pragmatic purposes to convey a meaning equal to ‘very x’; and ‘x at maximum speed’; (e.g., It. *turbocolazione* ‘a fast breakfast’; Fr. *turboproduttivisme* ‘a high level of productivity’).

Starting from Verdelli’s preliminary work, the aim of this study is to provide an extensive account of the intensification values conveyed by *turbo-*, using more updated data and extending the analysis to another Romance language not yet investigated, i.e., Spanish. Data will be extracted from corpora (i.e., itTenTen20 for Italian, frTenTen20 for French, and spTenTen18 for Spanish, respectively) by using the Sketch Engine tool, and then manually checked, in order to eliminate any false positives. Each selected compound will be analysed on a morphological level and classified on a semantic level according to the domain it belongs to. Based on the great productivity shown in Verdelli (2023), it is reasonable to expect that *turbo-* will be used in new domains or have an increasing number of occurrences. In line with what was observed for Italian and French, Spanish can also potentially be a language in which *turbo-* takes on an intensifying value.

These results would confirm that *turbo-* compounding can be considered an emerging morphological strategy employed by speakers to convey intensifying meanings in competition with other word-formation mechanisms (such as prefixation with *super-* or *hyper-*).

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## Morphological Development in a Bimodal Bilingual Hearing Child of Deaf Parents: An Experimental Study

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**Keywords:** Morphological development, evaluative morphology, bimodal bilingual hearing child, Hong Kong sign language (HKSL), Cantonese, Mandarin and English

According to Arcodia (2015), most of the oldest (syllabic) derivational affixes of Chinese seem to have been evaluative in nature. For example, the prefix  $\beta\alpha\eta$ -a- has been used at least since the fifth century CE as a marker of endearment, and may be added to single-syllable personal names and kinship terms.

- (1) a. 阿寶  
ā-bǎo  
end-Bao  
'Bao'  
b. 阿姨  
ā-yí  
end-maternal.aunt  
'auntie'

(Source: Arcodia, 2015)

In Hong Kong Cantonese, the prefix  $\beta\alpha\eta$ -a- is normally prefixed to first names, kinship terms (for elder relatives) and surnames (Matthews and Yip 2011, 429).

- (2) a. 阿陳  
a-Chán  
end-Chan  
'Mr Chan'  
b. 阿黃  
a-Wóng  
end-Wong  
'Mr Wong'

(Source: Arcodia, 2015)

On the other hand, Tang (2015) highlights that HKSL, as an agglutinative language, has a wealth of inflectional morphology. In contrast, languages like Cantonese or Mandarin Chinese are considered analytic, with minimal inflectional morphological indicators like tense and agreement. The majority of HKSL signs consist of numerous affixes linked to a root, which can also independently function as a bound morpheme.

This study investigated the morphological development in a 11-year-old bimodal bilingual hearing child of deaf parents. The aim of this experimental study is to enhance our understanding on the formal expressions and values of evaluative morphology across different languages. The child has

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been exposed to Hong Kong Sign Language (HKSL) from her deaf parents and acquired Cantonese from her caretakers (hearing grandparents) since birth. Even though the child is bimodal bilingual (Cantonese and HKSL), she started to learn English and Mandarin from formal schooling since she was 3 years old until now. In order to examine and compare the evaluative morphological features used by the child, her interactions (spontaneous and elicited speech) with her deaf father in HKSL, with her hearing grandfather in Cantonese, and with the researcher in English and Mandarin were recorded over 10 weeks (30 minutes per language weekly) and transcribed verbatim. The evaluative morphological functions and values of the four languages used by the bimodal bilingual child, including her morphological expression of evaluative semantics (Grandi & Körtvélyessy 2015), such as diminution, augmentativeness, intensification, approximation, privativity, similarity, depreciation, fakeness, and replication, were explored and analysed. The preliminary results of this experimental study indicated that there was competition between the child's two dominant languages HKSL and Cantonese and some morphological expressions of her Mandarin and Cantonese reinforced one another. It was also found that some evaluative values in the child's English could be expressed morphologically, and they were related to each other.

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