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Affective Suffixes in Spanish: evidence
for morphological generalizations*

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0. Introduction

This paper presents direct evidence for the need of four distinct morphological vocalic classes or declensions and one morphological consonantal class or plurality, in the Grammar of Spanish. It also provides indirect evidence for the postulation of three morphological associations as a whole between gender and declension and number and plurality in that language. Both claims are based on the behavior of a large set of Affective Suffixes (henceforth "AS" (see (4)) which recursively modify Nouns, Adjectives and Adverbs. Evidence is taken from Gonzalez Ollé 1962 for medieval Castilian, Gooch 1967 for modern Spanish, Nañez Fernández 1973 for IX-XXth century peninsular Spanish and Alberto Rivas (personal communication) for modern Argentine.

Certain facts about plurals and stress in Spanish (treated by Harris 1969, 1978, Saltarelli 1970) are discussed under a morphological perspective.

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1.0 The insertion hypothesis

Consider the three following sets of pairs (1a), (1b) and (1c).

	<u>BASE</u>	<u>DIMINUT</u>		<u>BASE</u>	<u>DIMINUT</u>		
1a.	n̄ño	niñ <u>ito</u>	'boy'	b.	pap <u>el</u>	papel <u>ito</u>	'paper'
	niña	niñ <u>ita</u>	'girl'		paisá <u>je</u>	paisaj <u>ito</u>	'landscape'
	lu <u>égo</u>	luegu <u>ito</u>	'later'		conv <u>o</u> y	convoy <u>ito</u>	'convoy'
	ah <u>ó</u> ra	ahor <u>ita</u>	'now'		sof <u>á</u>	sofac <u>ito</u>	'sofa'
		<u>BASE</u>	<u>DIMINUT</u>				
		m <u>á</u> pa	map <u>ita</u>	'map'			
		m <u>á</u> no	man <u>ita</u>	'had'			

Clearly, a rule of -it- insertion on the left of the vowels o or a would not explain (1b) since such vowels are not in the base. Neither (1c) would be explained since the vowel of the diminutive form is not the vowel of the base. Therefore, the insertion hypothesis is descriptively weak since it only explains (1a).

2.0 The spelling hypothesis

In (1) the Insertion hypothesis was missing a generalization: the gender (henceforth "G") and number (henceforth "N") of Nouns and Adjectives is preserved in its suffixed counterpart since both the base and its suffixed form allow the same set of syntactic modifiers; (cf. 2a.a' and 2b.b'). Adverbs are not inflected for G or N.

2a.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \boxed{N:-P} \\ \boxed{G:-F} \\ \boxed{G:+F} \\ \boxed{N:-P} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} e1 \\ *1a \\ -F \end{array}$	h <u>ó</u> mbre	'the man'	b.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \boxed{N:-P} \\ \boxed{G:+F} \\ \boxed{G:-F} \\ \boxed{N:-P} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} la \\ *e1 \\ +F \end{array}$	muj <u>é</u> r	'the woman'
a'	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} e1 \\ *1a \end{array} \right\}$	hombrec <u>ito</u>	DIMINUT.	b'	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} la \\ *e1 \end{array} \right\}$	mujerc <u>ita</u>	DIMINUT.

It would be fairly simple to state a rule insuring that if the base (Noun, Adjective or Adverb) contains G and N, its suffixed form also contains the same features. A later spelling rule would add an o or an a to the derived form according to whether G is NONFEMININE (-F, OF) or FEMININE (+F) respectively, and an s if N is PLURAL (+P). Unstressed final vowels and s would be deleted from the base. This treatment would have the advantage of reflecting a generalization about Spanish noticed some time ago by grammarians (RAC p. 177-8). Most of the words that have gender i) if they end in a, they are Feminine; ii) if in o they are masculine; iii) if they have plural they end in s. However the spelling hypothesis leaves unexplained the three sets of examples in (3).

	<u>DIMINUT</u>		<u>DIMINUT</u>
3.a.	el niño, <u>niñín</u> 'boy'	b.	la f ó to, <u>fotíto</u> 'photo'
G:	-F -F	G:	+F +F
	ah ó ra, ah ó rita 'now'		
G:	OF OF		
	el d í a, <u>diíta</u> 'day'		
G:	-F -F		
			<u>DIMINUT</u>
	c.	paráguas, <u>paragüitas</u> 'umbrella'	
	N:	-P -P	
		apénas, <u>apenítas</u> 'hardly'	
	N:	OP OP	

In (3a) NONFEMININE suffixed forms end in a or do not end in vowels at all, in (3b) FEMININE suffixed forms end in o, and in (3c) NONPLURAL suffixed forms end in s. Clearly, the spelling hypothesis is also inadequate.

3.0. Capturing generalizations:

3.1. AS are morphologically independent modifier words. If we look at the set of AS in (4) we notice i) that not all a endings have an o ending counterpart (see the rectangular boxes) ii) but that all members in each left column are well formed endings in the suffixed form of a NONFEMININE word like el hombre 'man' and also that all members in each right column are the well formed endings in the suffixed form of a FEMININE word like la mujer 'woman' and finally that no member in each left column can occur with 'woman' or members in each right column with 'man'.

4.	<u>Diminutives</u>	<u>Augmentatives</u>	<u>Pejoratives</u>
	-íto, -íta	-ázo, -áza	-éjo, -éja
	-íco, -íca	-ón, -óna	-uélo, -uéla
	-ílo, -ílla		-éte, -éta
	-ín, -ína		

This suggests that AS are classified in different genders, like the determiner is in Spanish. We also notice in (4) that the set of possible vocalic endings: a, o, e, _, is also found in basic Nouns, Adjectives and Adverbs.

5.	AS	-ít <u>a</u>	-ít <u>o</u>	-ét <u>e</u>	-ón <u>_</u>
	ADJ	budíst <u>a</u>	rój <u>o</u>	vérd <u>e</u>	marrón <u>_</u>
	ADV	ahór <u>a</u>	luég <u>o</u>	frént <u>e</u>	detrás <u>_</u>
	N	níñ <u>a</u>	níñ <u>o</u>	hómbr <u>e</u>	mujér <u>_</u>

Thus if we treat AS like morphologically independent words, the absence of vocalic endings in suffixed forms like niñín in (3a) is accounted for in the same way as we account for nonvocalic endings in the other morphologically independent forms in (5), by associating a value of Gender to the nonvocalic endings.

Moreover, because of AS's G and N agreement dependency we capture the generalization that AS behave in the morphology like modifiers in the syntax in that in order to be well formed meaningful expressions they have to be combined with other independent words with which they may agree in Gender and Number. In categorical terms, the combinatory dependency for Adjectives is CN/CN and for AS X/X where X=Noun, Adjective and Adverb.

3.2. The inheritance principle: evidence for morphological associations and classes of endings.

A survey to the relationship between the G or N of each left side word in (3) (except niño) and its ending indicates that they violate the following three morphological generalizations:

6. a. Words containing Gender and ending in a (1st Declension) are interpreted as FEMININE.
- b. Words containing Gender and ending in o (2nd Declension) are interpreted as NONFEMININE.
- c. Words containing Number and ending in s (1st Plurality) are interpreted as PLURAL.

If we assume that just in those three cases of violation AS inherit the endings of their bases, we can account successfully for both the nonviolation cases (imposition by the suffix of its ending: (1), (2a'b') and niñín in (3a)) and the violation cases (inheritance by the suffix of the endings of the base: (3) except niñín)¹. This treatment provides direct evidence for the existence of the 1st (a) and 2nd (o) Declensions and the 1st Plurality (s) since they are objects of morphological operations. It also provides indirect evidence for the postulation of three morphological associations since when those associations are not found in the base, AS behave differently.

3.3. The attachment requirements: evidence for the 3rd and 4th Declensions:

Only (7a) below requires c or ec between the base and the AS.

		DIMINUT			DIMINUT		
7a	el húle	hulec <u>í</u> to	'plastic'	b	el pálo	pal <u>í</u> to	'stick'
		*hule <u>e</u> ito				*pal <u>o</u> ito	
	la cól	col <u>e</u> c <u>í</u> ta	'cabbage'		la cóla	col <u>i</u> ta	'tail'
		*col <u>e</u> íta				*col <u>a</u> íta	

Clearly the extra sounds in (7a) and their absence or the absence of the 1st and 2nd Declension in the Diminutive forms of (7b) are not conditions required by constraints on syllable combinations in Spanish since combinations of eí, oí or aí are possible.

deleted under certain conditions at the end of a word (Harris 1969).

11a	n̄ño	n̄ños	b	tr̄aje	tr̄ajes	c	c̄ol	c̄oles
	boy	PLUR		dress	PLUR		cabbage	PLUR

The epenthesis hypothesis does not explain (12) since the insertion of e does not solve here a word final cluster case.

12	sof̄a	sof̄aes	zul̄ú	zul̄úes	rub̄í	rub̄íes
	sofa	PLUR	zul̄ú	PLUR		PLUR

The underlying hypothesis presents a problem for explaining, on phonological grounds, the epenthesis of e in (12). There is no explanation in principle why $\begin{bmatrix} +cor \\ -ant \end{bmatrix} \begin{matrix} 1 \\ 0 \end{matrix}$ (Harris 1969 p. 177) should trigger

that deletion in some cases and not in others (13), or why $\begin{bmatrix} +cor \\ -ant \end{bmatrix} \begin{matrix} 1 \\ 0 \end{matrix}$ has to be grouped with stressed vowels to explain both (12) and (13) when they do not constitute a natural phonological class.

13	m̄al	m̄ales	h̄úle	h̄úles
	bién	biénes	p̄éine	p̄éines
	carc̄aj	carc̄ajes	gar̄aje	gar̄ajes
	buéy	buéyes	muélle	muéllés

Neither do the hypotheses explain ~~these~~ dialects in which s is deleted at the end of words (most of native Spanish speakers in the world). The epenthesis hypothesis would have to order the rule before s deletion, and the apocope hypothesis would have to specify that the deletion only occurs in singular but not in plural.

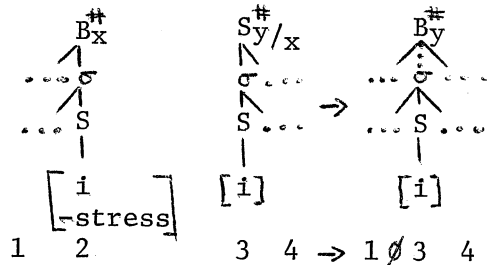
If we compare the left side environment where e deletion or e epenthesis would have to apply and the environment where c attachment occurs in (10ii) we see that in both cases the bases where e or c is attached end in non phonological natural classes: $\begin{bmatrix} +cor \\ -ant \end{bmatrix} \begin{matrix} 1 \\ 0 \end{matrix}$ and stressed vowel, corresponding to a subset of the 4th D. We might deduce from this observation that the occurrence of e may very well be an attachment requirement of the plurality spelling in 4th Declension words (see Appendix: spelling operations).

5.0. Stress

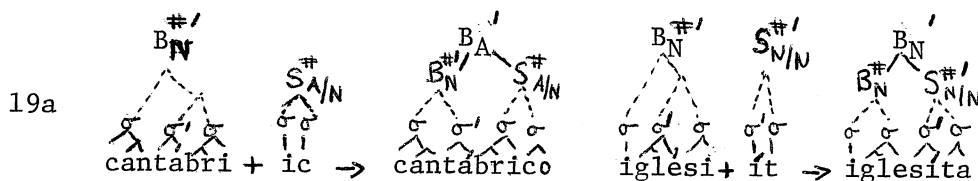
5.1. As a general fact of Spanish the stress of every compound morphological word falls on the right suffix iff the suffix has stress of its own. Thus in (14a'b') we have two different output categories N and A with identical bases.

If stress is given in the lexicon we could account for (17) by using the following generalization

18 tentative



Note that if there is a consonant or a permissible syllable initial cluster to the left of the unstressed i, they can become part of the syllable of the suffix,



We can assume that (18) is independently necessary since the same high deletion between prefixes and their bases or between words does not occur obligatorily, while in (17a) it does occur obligatorily.

- 20 a anti-íntimo antíntimo (only very fast speech) 'anti intimate'
 b Pili híja Pílíja " " " " 'Pili daughter'

5.3. Finally if stress is given in the lexicon and not after the morphological operations have applied we can account for the differences in plurality spelling and affective suffixation that for instance ropa has, vs sofá, solely by means of their differences in stress.

Summarizing, we have given three arguments for suggesting that stress assignment should be given in the lexicon and not at the output of morphological rules. It has been also suggested that restrictions on syllable reduction can be imposed in a natural way at the time the compositional operations of the morphology apply.

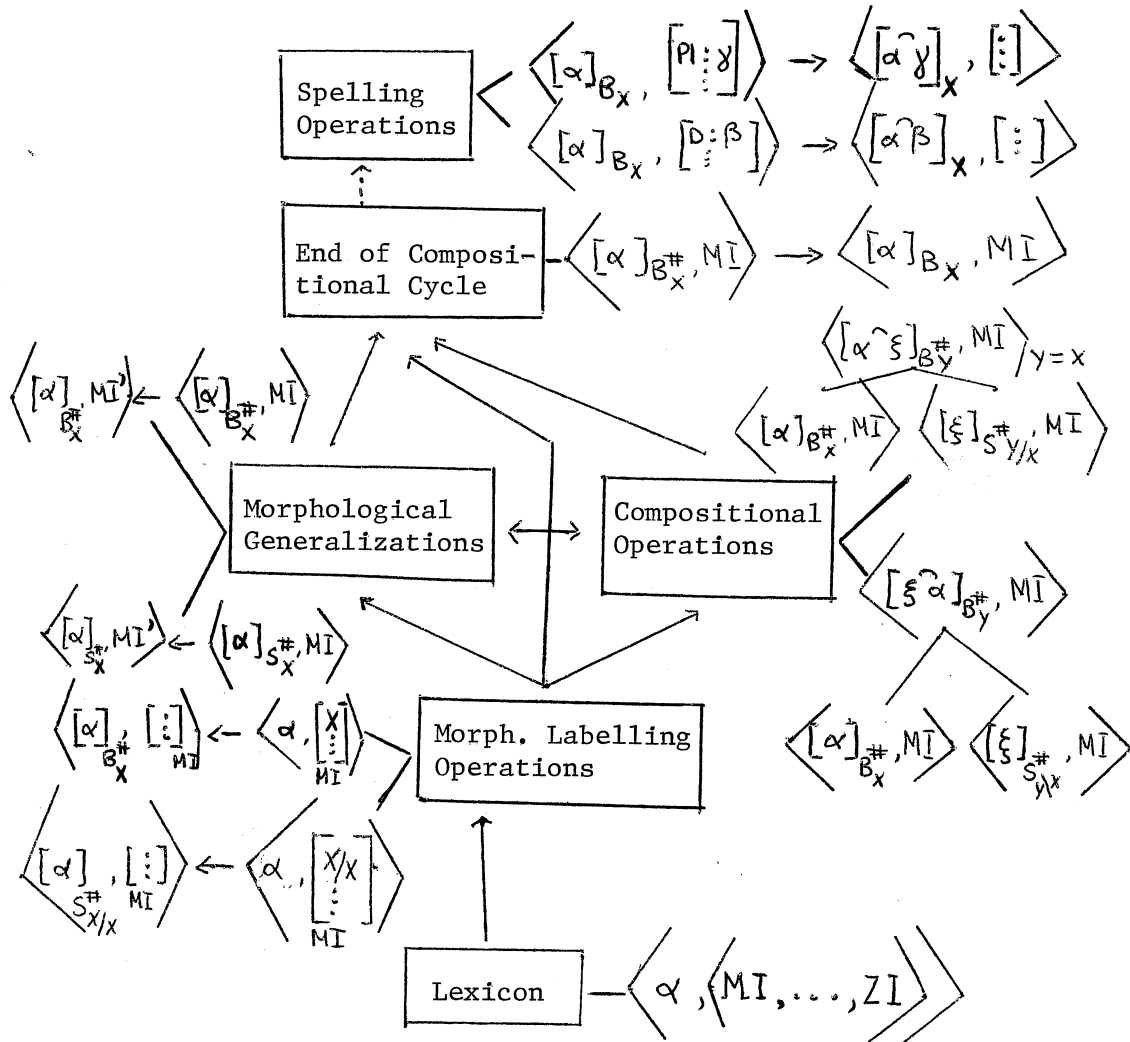
APPENDIX: FRAGMENT³

- i) Lexicon. Is probably a pair whose first member is a string of phonemic matrices or segments and whose second member is an n-tuple sequence of independent sets of linguistic information.

In the fragment for purposes of simplicity we have been operating with only one set of linguistic information, assuming that the other linguistic information is present throughout the derivation.

- ii) Morphological labelling operations; They label the first pair according to whether the string is a basic category or base, or a dependent category or functor. They mark the labelling # to indicate, here, that the string belongs to morphological category (i.e. they cannot form phrases.)
- iii) Morphological Generalizations. They associate Gender to Decl. and Number to Plurality capturing the generalizations that Nouns, Adjectives, Adverbs and AS have with respect to those morphological features.
- iv) Compositional operations. They form a base, or complete meaningful expression, out of another base or complete meaningful expression and a functor, or incomplete meaningful expression. There are also subfunctions of attachment or inheritance of Decl. and Plurality associated with the compositional main function.
- v) End of compositional cycle. It erases the morphological category marking iff the string is a base.
- vi) Spelling operations. They attach the phonemes of D and Pl in MI to the base. The plurality spelling has associated to it a subfunction.

APPENDIX: MORPHOLOGICAL COMPONENT FOR THE FRAGMENT (G. Bellido 78)

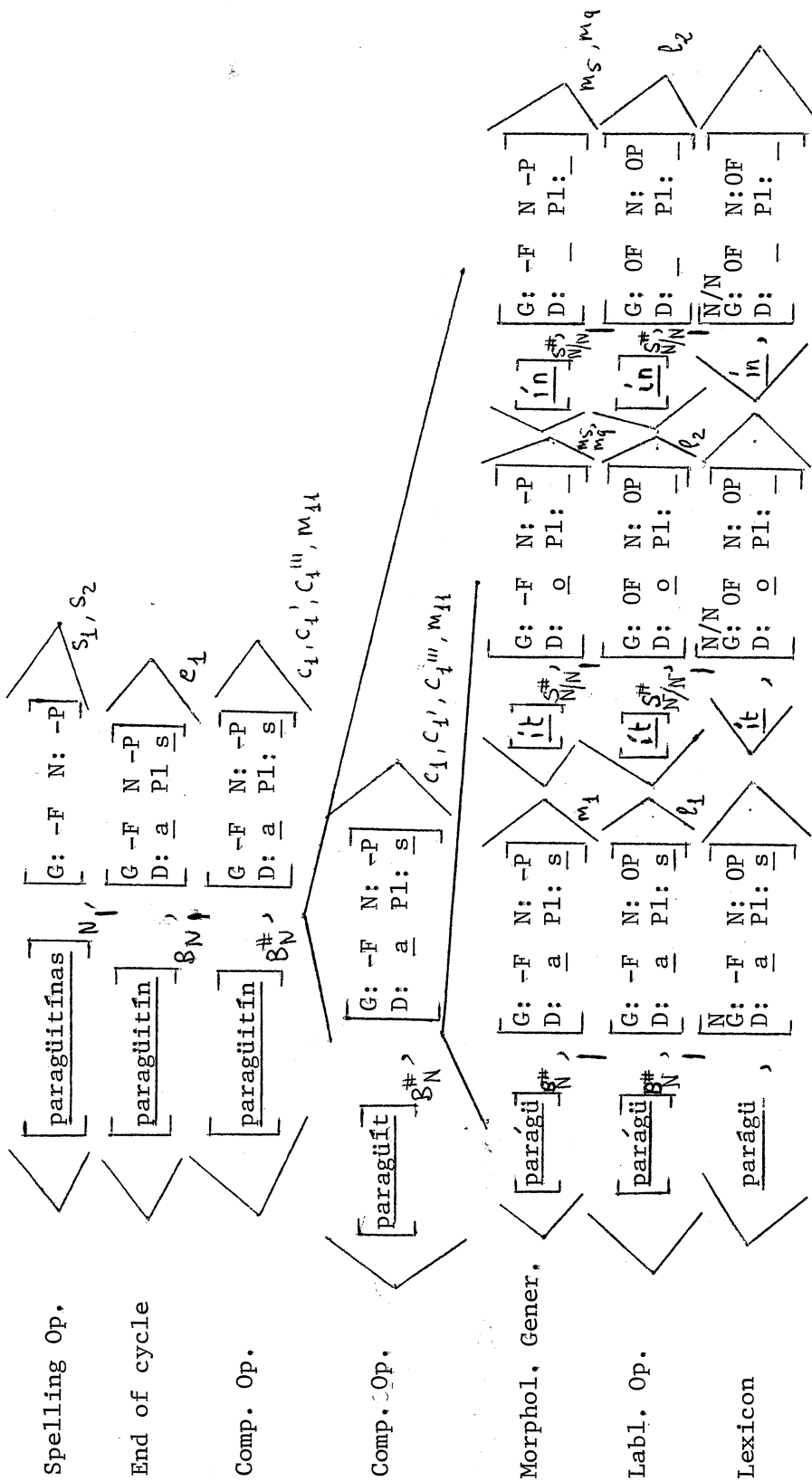


ξ, α =String of Spanish phonemes with probably stressed features.

MI=Morphological Information

X=	N, A, Av	:	X/X = N/N, A/A, Av/Av
D:	β , where	$\beta =$	o, a, e, -
G:	δ , where	$\delta =$	oF, -F, +F
PL:	γ , where	$\gamma =$	s, -
N:	ζ , where	$\zeta =$	oP, -P, +P
			...

APPENDIX: EXAMPLE OF DERIVATION



Footnotes

1. Not all dialects and idiolects have the same words in the set of violation cases;

		<u>imposition</u>	<u>inheritance</u>
i)	la máno	maníta	maníto
	+F	+F	+F
ii)	el mápa	mapíto	mapíta
	-F	-F	-F
		Dialect A	Dialect B

2. Hutchison 1974 argues for a sandhi rule in Spanish which is supported by the statistical study of Navarro Tomás (1968) where cv is 58.45% compared to ccv 3.31%.
3. In G. Bellido 1978 there is an explicit spelling and discussion of the lexicon and the operations needed in (ii-vi),

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