



BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

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under its basic semantic meaning “smallness”, the suffix *-k* denotes the following function: $\lambda P\lambda x. P(x) \ \& \ \text{SIZE}(x) < d_c$, where d_c represents the contextually specified expectation value, and appears immediately above CIP, plausibly in SizeP (De Belder et al. 2014). Hence the order *goroš-in-k-a*, not **goroš-k-in-a*.

The relation between *-k* and singulativity arises in the following way. The SIZE function applies to individuals with clearly defined boundaries (stable atoms or their sums), cf. Fortin (2011) on the [+b(ounded)] restriction. Therefore, when *-k* combines with a mass-denoting stem, the latter undergoes coercion to a count meaning (unless *-k* is interpreted differently, e.g. as an emotive). The resulting stem semantics constitutes an appropriate input for the diminutive. The mass-to-count operator may be overtly realized as *-in* (*goroš-in-k-a*) or be covert (*bumaž-k-a*). Additional semantic uses of *-k* are derived via metaphorical extension: a low position on a size scale is substituted by a low position on a scale with a different dimension, e.g. value/importance (hence *bumažka* in the sense ‘unimportant paper/document’). Some derivatives (e.g. *snežinka* ‘snowflake’) bear a non-compositional suffix *-ink* (**snežina* does not occur) resulting from a re-analysis of *-in-k* (Musatov 2015). *-ink* is a mass-to-count operator that imposes division into small natural units.

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Prosodic factors in the selection of Bulgarian diminutive suffixes in the perspective of Headmost accent theory

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Keywords: Bulgarian diminutive suffixes, prosody, word stress, Optimality theory, head dominance

The accentual characteristics of the diminutive suffixes (DIMSUFF) in Bulgarian language (BL) are considered in the framework of *Headmost Accent theory* of Revitiadou (1999) within the Optimality theory. It is assumed that most morphemes in lexical accent systems are accentually prespecified and represented in the mental lexicon with accentual features (Steriade, Yanovich 2015, Zora, et al. 2019).

They can be unmarked and marked. When two competitive accent features are encountered in the word, the conflict is resolved on the basis of the morphological head dominance (HeadFaith). The account of the prosodic characteristics is consistent with some aspects of the natural morphology - the search for motivation of morphological preferences in other components of linguistics such as phonology (Dressler 2005).

The aim of the study was to trace the accentual properties of the Bulgarian DIMSUFF in connection to the word structure. Among the sources of the study was the *Reverse dictionary of BL* (2011), and studies on Bulgarian diminutives (Krastev 1976, Manova 2018, 2011, Radeva 2007). The analysis reveals a tendency towards unmarked accentuation of DIMSUFF. In this respect, they resemble the inflectional suffixes in Bulgarian and other Slavic languages (Simonović, Arsenijević 2017). Their accentual behavior depends on the structure and prosodic characteristics of the bases:

A. In underived words the accentuation of the most DIMSUFF depends on the root: if the root is accented, the DIMSUFF is not (1), and if the root is unaccented - the DIMSUFF bears the word stress (2):

(1) Accented root - unaccented DIMSUFF/INFLSUFF

Gender	DIMSUFF	SG/ SGDEF	DIM ₁ , DIM ₂	Gloss
M	-ec	<i>hljab</i> (SG)	<i>hlébec</i>	‘bread’
		<i>hljàbăt</i> (SGDEF)		‘the bread’
F	-ica/-ička	<i>síla</i>	<i>sílica sílička</i>	‘power’
N	-ce	<i>žító</i>	<i>žítce</i>	‘wheat’

(2) Unaccented root - accented DIMSUFF/INFLSUFF

M	-ec	<i>dăžd</i> (SG)	<i>dăždéc</i>	‘rain’
		<i>dăždăt</i> (SGDEF)		‘the rain’
F	-ica/-ička	<i>glavá</i>	<i>glavíca glavíčka</i>	‘head’
N	-ce	<i>kriló</i>	<i>kriléc</i>	‘wing’

The behavior of the unmarked DIMSUFF attached to one-syllable stems is described by the constraint faithfulness to the stem stress - MatchStemStress (Steriade and Janovic 2015: 261). The stress profiles of the inflected forms function as a collective base in the evaluation of candidates for the derivative – a phenomenon called *inflection dependence*.

B. The stress of the two-syllable stems is preserved in most of the cases after adding DIMSUFF - *če* and *-e*: *găláb* ‘pigeon’, *gălábče* DIM, but when a vowel is eliminated from the stem, the stress shifts to the next syllable: *petël* ‘cock’, *petlè* DIM in accordance to the *Secondary mobility principle* (Kiparsky 2010).

C. Some DIMSUFF (-*če*, -*čica*, -*ica*, -*ka*, -*ce*, -*e*) can be added to derived polysyllable bases without changing the stem stress: *priyàtelče* ‘friend’ DIM, *uprazhnènjce* ‘a little exercise’, *cigulàrčica* ‘small violinist’. When -*čica* is added after -*ost*, it receives the word stress like the definitive article -*ta*: *rádost* ‘joy’, *radosttá* ‘the joy’ *radostčica* ‘little joy’ because of the prosodic structure of the morphemes (-*ta*, -*čica*) – syllables with onset. The DIMSUFF -*k(a)* joins the post-accented derivational suffix -*in(à)* in the same slot without influencing the ultimate stress *toplínkà* ‘nice warmth’.

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Diminutives: Templatic morphology in an agglutinating language

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Keywords: diminutives, Hungarian, templatic morphology, vowel harmony, phonotactics

Most morphology in Hungarian is agglutinative. Diminutive (DIM) formation may be *agglutinative* or *templatic*, where the result satisfies a disyllabic template involving a fixed set of endings. These endings contain a vowel, so the stem is truncated if longer than one syllable, (1–6). In most cases it is the end of the stem that is omitted, (1–5); rarely truncation occurs at the beginning (too), (6). (Unglossed examples are given names.)

- (1) templates with **i**: **piroʃka~pir-i/pir-tʃi**, **paradiʃom~par-i** ‘tomato’, **ʃa:ra~ʃa:r-i**, **izgalmaʃ~izg-i** ‘exciting’, **unalmaʃ~un-tʃi** ‘boring’, **boʃʃa:nat~boʃʃ-i** ‘(I’m) sorry’, **mutaʒd~mut-i** ‘show it!’, **dokumentum~dok-ʃi** ‘document’, **nadra:g~na-tsi** ‘trousers’, **ju:l~ju-si** ‘rabbit’
- (2) templates with **a**: **ilona~i-tsa/il-a/il-ka**, **gustuʃoʃ~gust-a** ‘delicious’, **tsɛruza~tsɛr-ka** ‘pencil’, **borba:la~bor-tʃa/bor-a**
- (3) templates with **u**: **bala:ʒ~bal-u**, **fizete:ʃ~fiz-u** ‘salary’, **kuca~kuc-uf** ‘dog’, **pɛlɛnka~pɛl-uf** ‘diaper’, **nata:lia~nat-uf**
- (4) templates with **o**: **fɛrɛnts~fɛr-o:/fɛr-ko/fɛ-tso:**, **teʃfon~teʃ-o:**, ‘phone’, **bitsikli~bits-o:** ‘bicycle’, **fɛsɟtʃe:g~fɛs-ko** ‘tension’
- (5) templates with **ɛ**: **kole:gium~kol-es** ‘dormitory’, **boʃʃa:nat~boʃʃ-es** ‘(I’m) sorry’, **puʒdi:jaʃ~puʒ-geɾ** ‘pensioner’, **kalauz~kal-ɛɾ** ‘contoller’
- (6) initial truncation: **tsɛtsi:lia~tsil-i**, **petronella~nell-i**, **bernadett~dett-i**, **fɛrdina:nd~na:ndi**