

MORPHOLOGICAL TRUNCATION VERSUS HYPOCORISM IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE: TWO DIFFERENT WORD-FORMATION PROCESSES?

TRUNCAMENTO MORFOLÓGICO VERSUS HIPOCORIZAÇÃO NO PORTUGUÊS BRASILEIRO: DOIS PROCESSOS DE FORMAÇÃO DE PALAVRAS DIFERENTES?

César Elidio Marangoni Junior (USP)

cesar.marangoni@usp.br

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8228-3678>

ABSTRACT: *This paper investigates two word-formation operations: hypocorism and morphological truncation. To do this, there is a review of the morphophonological literature about this topic with focus on the differences and similarities between them; the conclusion is that these operations have a highly varied behavior which complicates the possibility of postulating a general formation pattern. Moreover, empirically, the comparison between data from two corpora shows that: a) hypocoristics and truncated forms are different from each other in terms of the possible values for syllabic structure, anchoring pattern and presence of an additional truncation suffix; b) hypocoristics and truncated forms resemble each other by the fact that their formal behavior cannot be determined by any characteristic of their source-words. To finish, this article outlines an initial unified analysis for them based on the phonologically-enriched version of the Distributed Morphology model (Haugen, 2011) which considers that truncation is a possible exponent for an evaluative morpheme already present in the syntactic structure which conveys the appreciative reading. Syllabic information, anchoring information and information regarding the presence of an additional suffix are codified on the Vocabulary Items either in the exponents themselves or in diacritics marked in the exponent.*

KEYWORDS: *morphological truncation; hypocorism; evaluative morphology; morphology-phonology interface; word formation.*

RESUMO: *Este artigo investiga duas operações de formação de palavras: hipocorização e truncamento morfológico. Para isso, realiza-se uma revisão da literatura morfofonológica, focando-se nas diferenças e semelhanças entre elas, e se chega à conclusão de que tais operações possuem um comportamento bastante variado, dificultando a postulação de um padrão geral de formação. Além disso, empiricamente, a comparação entre dados de dois corpora diferentes revela que: a) hipocorísticos e formas truncadas diferem entre si em termos*

dos valores possíveis para estrutura silábica, padrão de ancoragem e presença de um sufixo de truncamento adicional; b) hipocorísticos e formas truncadas se assemelham pelo fato de seu aspecto formal não ser determinado por nenhuma característica da sua forma plena correspondente. Por fim, esboça-se uma proposta inicial de análise unificada para elas no cerne da versão fonologicamente enriquecida da Morfologia Distribuída (Haugen, 2011) baseada na assunção de que o truncamento é um expoente possível para um morfema avaliativo presente na estrutura sintática e que veicula uma leitura apreciativa. As informações silábicas, de ancoragem e de presença de um sufixo adicional estão codificadas nos Itens de Vocabulário, seja nos expoentes em si, seja como um diacrítico marcado no expoente.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *truncamento morfológico; hipocorização; morfologia avaliativa; interface morfologia-fonologia; formação de palavras.*

1 Introduction

In this paper, we compare data from two word-formation processes in Brazilian Portuguese (BP), morphological truncation and hypocorism, in order to answer to the following question: are they different word-formation processes? Broadly speaking, the morphophonological literature treats them either as different word-formation processes (Gonçalves, 2004) or as the same word-formation process (Alber & Arndt-Lappe, 2012). In this scenario, we aim to contribute to this discussion by highlighting the differences and similarities between them as observed in two different corpora and by proposing a unified theoretical analysis according to which they are possible exponents for an evaluative morpheme whose differences are derived via Vocabulary Insertion.

The term “hypocorism” is used here to refer to the word-formation process through which an anthroponym is shortened in order to convey an affective meaning; the term “hypocoristic” is used to refer to the result of this process – see (1a) for some examples from BP and English. On the other hand, the term “morphological truncation” is used to refer to the word-formation process through which a base (which is not an anthroponym) is shortened in order to convey an appreciative meaning; the term “truncated form” is used here to refer to the result of this process – see (1b) for some examples from BP and English. We use the term “truncation” to refer to the phonological loss common to both processes.

(1) Hypocoristics versus truncated forms

a. Hypocoristics

BP: Juliana > Ju, Rafael > Rafa, José > Zé, Edneia > Néia;

English: Matthew > Mat, Patricia > Trish; Robert > Rob.

b. Truncated forms

BP: belê (beleza), vestiba (vestibular), neura (neurose), biju (bijuteria);

English: uni (university), bro (brother), jams (pyjamas).

In addition, this discussion is closely related to another question: are morphological truncation and hypocorism phonological morphological or morphophonological? There are different studies which defend one of these options according to the nature of the trigger for these processes. For our purposes, we classify them in two major groups: a) morphophonological approaches, which considers the processes to be both morphological (involving a specific morpheme) and phonological (involving a specific phonological process) (Gonçalves, 2004; Alber & Arndt-Lappe, 2012; Martini, 2010); and b) morphological approaches, which argue that truncation can be derived only by making reference to structural information; therefore, its phonological makeup is epiphenomenal (Scher, 2016; 2018). The differences between these two approaches are discussed in the next section.

In our present proposal, hypocorism and morphological truncation are morphophonological since they involve a specific morphological information (an evaluative morpheme) whose exponent is a specific phonological template which is licensed by morphophonological constraints (anchoring) and prosodic constraints (creating well-formed monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic structures in BP) as well as markedness constraints (specially for hypocorism) – see Marangoni Junior (2022) for a morphophonological analysis for hypocoristics, which is extended to morphological truncation in the current article. We argue that hypocorism and morphological truncation, which have been considered to be non-concatenative word-formation processes in BP, can be reanalyzed as morphosyntactically concatenative, but phonologically non-concatenative. Thus, our proposal follows Bye & Svenonius (2012) and Kastner & Tucker (2020) in considering the phonological loss involved in these two word-formation processes to be an epiphenomenon of how phonology interprets a concatenative morphosyntactic structure. The theoretical proposal is developed in the fourth section of this paper.

In sum, our goal in this paper is twofold. First, there is an empirical goal which is to contribute to the relevant discussion by developing new data analysis and comparing the results with previous studies. Moreover, there is a theoretical goal which is to bring a new theoretical proposal for morphological truncation and hypocorism based on the phonologically enriched version of the Distributed Morphology framework (henceforth, DM) (Halle & Marantz, 1993;

Haugen, 2011), arguing for a new view of these operations in the realm of this specific grammar architecture. Specifically, we aim to formulate answers to the following questions:

- a) What are the differences and the similarities between hypocoristics and truncated forms in terms of syllabic structure, anchoring pattern and presence of an additional truncation suffix?
- b) Is it possible to predict the syllabic structure, the anchoring pattern and the presence of an additional suffix based on any relevant information from the source-words?
- c) Do morphological truncation and hypocorism involve a specific morpheme? If they do, how is this morpheme related to a specific meaning and a specific form?
- d) How are the syllabic structure, the anchoring pattern and the presence of an additional suffix encoded in the grammar?

This paper is organized as follows. In section 2, we highlight how the differences and similarities between truncated forms and hypocorism have been discussed in the literature. In section 3, we show how we analyzed our data and our results and compare our results with previous studies. In section 4, we sketch our initial proposal for these word-formation operations which defends that they are cases of evaluative morphology which involve an evaluative morpheme already present in the syntax that is mapped to a specific evaluative meaning in Logical Form (LF) and Encyclopedia and to a template in the Vocabulary Insertion operation in the Phonetic Form (PF) branch of the grammar; the template is later filled with segments from the root or from the noun according to prosodic and anchoring constraints coindexed to truncation. In section 5, we make some final comments on this paper. To finish, we bring the references we consulted while writing this paper.

2 Previous studies

There are several analyses for both morphological truncation (Gonçalves, 2004; Vilela, Godoy & Cristófaró Silva, 2006; Scher, 2018; Heineck, 2023) and hypocorism (Gonçalves, 2004; Lima, Silva & Gonçalves, 2009) in BP; some of them do an explicit comparison between them (Gonçalves, 2004; Martini, 2010). For the purposes of this paper, we focus on how these studies approach the difference between morphological truncation and hypocorism; to do this, we comment on some differences observed in works as Gonçalves (2004) and Martini (2010) in order to evaluate their empirical coverage and their theoretical explanatory power, showing possible counterexamples if they exist.

According to these authors, there is an essential difference between hypocorism and

morphological truncation regarding the type of base which licenses each one of them; for the first one, only anthroponyms license its occurrence, while for the second one the relevant bases are those which are mainly of a nominal nature but which do not correspond to anthroponyms of the language. The problem for this difference is that it depends on the existence of a different formal behavior related to the two operations in consideration, that is, if the fact that the base is an anthroponym is directly related to selecting a specific type of truncation. In addition, if anthroponyms are of a nominal nature, some morphological theories cannot in principle make a difference between roots which are anthroponym and roots which are not anthroponyms; this is the case for the model adopted here (DM) which considers both type of bases as created from merging a root (either corresponding to an anthroponym or not) to a nominalizer.

Another point relevant for this discussion is the kind of meaning conveyed by each operation. Gonçalves (2004) defends that hypocorism conveys an affective meaning while morphological truncation conveys a pejorative meaning. However, as Vilela, Godoy & Cristófaró Silva (2006) and Martini (2010) show, morphological truncation does not convey only a pejorative meaning; morphological truncation can be related to different uses: pejorative, jocular, familiar or affective. Hypocoristics convey specially an affective meaning which shows that these operations overlap in terms of meaning. Our proposal defends that both operations are related to an appreciative reading, which conveys the subjective interpretation of the speaker in relation to an event, a person or a thing (Grandi & Körtvélyessy, 2015); therefore, they are possible values for an evaluative morpheme which is considered as the matching of an evaluative meaning and a specific exponent for realizing that meaning – see (2).

(2) Morphological truncation and hypocorism as evaluative morphology (adapted from Marangoni Junior, 2021c)

- a. EVAL_{MEANING}: diminution, augmentation, *pejoration*, *melioration*¹;
- b. EVAL_{FORM}: affixation, reduplication, blending², *morphological truncation*, *hypocorism* etc.

In addition, Gonçalves (2004) argues that hypocoristics are the minimal derivations of BP, since they are created to conform to a minimal word template. Arndt-Lappe (2008)

¹ Based on Wierzbicka (1989) and Grandi & Körtvélyessy (2015), we assume that these four values are the only values possible for the EVAL meaning; all other values (such as jocularity, affection and familiarity) are obtained by how these four values relate to the discursive context itself.

² For an analysis of blending as a case of evaluative morphology, see Marangoni Junior (2020; 2021a; 2021b) and Scher & Marangoni Junior (2020).

discusses the proposal that truncation must correspond to the minimal prosodic word, which is a metrical foot, and concludes that this proposal undermines the cases of monosyllabic truncated forms. Following Arndt-Lappe (2008) and Martini (2010), we argue that hypocoristics in general correspond to a minimal word in BP but this is not categorical since there are some examples of monosyllabic hypocoristics – Juliana > Ju, Luiz > Lu, Fernando > Fer – and trisyllabic ones – Lidiani > Lidoca, Samuel > Samuca, Manoel > Maneco.

This question is closely related to how stress is assigned to these operations: does hypocorism in BP create only moraic trochees or disyllabic trochees? By looking at data, we can see that monosyllabic hypocoristics can be either monomoraic (Juliana > Ju, Luciana > Lu, José > Zé) or bimoraic (Fernando > Fer, Francine > Fran, Cristiane > Cris); disyllabic hypocoristics can be either bimoraic (Manuela > Manu, Larissa > Lari, Elizebeth > Beth) or trimoraic (Edneia > Neia, Camila > Camis, Gabriel > Biel); and trisyllabic hypocoristics can only be trisyllabic (Samuca, Maneco, Lidoca). Therefore, we follow Martini (2010) in considering that hypocoristics do not conform uniformly to moraic trochees and that considering hypocorism to be evidence for concluding that the moraic trochee is the basic foot of BP is risky (in opposition to the claim made by Gonçalves (2004).

Another important aspect related to hypocorism is the tendency to simplify marked syllabic structures; as we can see in André > Dé, Alexandre > Xande and Francisca > Chica, the first two simplify a complex onset to create a simple onset (/dr/ > /d/) and the last one eliminates the segment that occupies the coda of the second syllable (/s/ > Ø). However, this is not categorical, since there are some hypocoristics which preserve the marked structure of their syllables: Adriana > Adri, Dri, Fernando > Fer, Fê, Cristina > Cris, *Ci. In these examples, there is no phonological reason for not simplifying the marked structures, since there are other hypocoristics in the language which show the relevant kind of phonological structure: Diana > Di³, Cibeles > Ci. We do not discuss this aspect in detail in this paper, but we agree that markedness structures can only be simplified in hypocoristics, although this is not categorical.

Regarding the presence of an additional truncation suffix, although not fully productive for hypocorism, it appears in some examples; and these suffixes are the same that are present in some truncated forms. For disyllabic hypocoristics, for example, the -s suffix appears in some cases: Gabriel > Gabs, Camila > Camis; for trisyllabic hypocoristics, the suffixes -oc, -uc, and -ec can be licensed for certain anthroponyms – Samuel > Samuca, Manoel > Maneco.

In relation to the anchoring pattern, for our theoretical purposes, we admit that there are

³ For example, there is no influence of palatalization in this case, which means that Di for Adriana would be a possible structure, but is dispreferred in relation to Dri, which has a complex onset.

only two possible values for anchoring: left-anchoring, which involves preserving the initial portion of the base, and right-anchoring, which involves preserving the final portion of the base. The decision of substituting stress-anchoring for right-anchoring is made because of two reasons: firstly, it enables us to deal only with non-derived information, which is directly related to how our proposal works; secondly, we consider that there is an overlap between right-anchoring and stress-anchoring in BP due to the fact that the stress pattern of the language is mainly related to the penultimate and, in some cases, to the last syllable of the word.

The last characteristic is related to the theoretical tools used by Gonçalves (2004) to analyze how hypocoristics and truncated forms are selected according to their bases. In terms of Prosodic Morphology (McCarthy & Prince, 1996), there is a difference between positive circumscription (the elements selected from the base are maintained in the final output), which is the one Gonçalves (2004) proposes for hypocorism, and negative circumscription (the elements selected from the base are deleted from the output), which is the one he proposes for truncated forms. We do not discuss in detail this proposal but we argue, in the same vein as Martini (2010), that circumscription mechanisms are pattern-specific in the sense that they depend on a specific final output structure (for example, a trisyllabic truncated form) or on a specific type of source-word and therefore they lose in terms of explanatory power since we need to postulate different procedures for different output forms.

Regarding the morphological approaches to truncation, Scher (2016, 2018), based on the DM framework, proposes that the truncation patterns in (3) can be derived directly from the root and thus they correspond to a concatenative word-formation process.

(3) Truncated forms derived directly from the root (Scher, 2016; 2018)

- a. Without an overt additional suffix: neur-ose ‘neurosis’ > neur-a; jap(o)-nêš ‘Japanese’ > jap-a, perif-eri-a ‘suburb’ > perif-a;
- b. With an additional suffix: pad-aria ‘bakery’ > pad-oc-a; feij(o)-ad-a ‘Brazilian dish made with beans’ > feij-uc-a, berm-ud-a ‘shorts’ > berm-a-s.

In this sense, her proposal is based on reanalysis: certain source-words are interpreted by the speaker as complex words formed by a root (for example, $\sqrt{\text{NEUR}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{PAD}}$) and a nominal suffix (for example, -ose and -aria); this is done based on the fact that other words of BP show similar suffixes to those presented in (3): vir-ose ‘disease caused by a virus’, tubercul-ose ‘tuberculosis’ and café(t)-eria ‘cafeteria’, churrasc-aria ‘place where barbecue is sold’, respectively. In the syntactic component, to form a truncated form from these source-words,

there is merging of an evaluative morpheme (EVAL) to an already categorized root; in the morphological component, there is merging of a dissociated node of thematic vowel to this structure (TH), whose final exponent is select by the evaluative morpheme itself, since it is inherently valued for Class II (exponent -a). The relevance of the evaluative morpheme, in this proposal, is twofold: it conveys the appreciative meaning related to the truncated form and it also triggers an impoverishment rule in the Morphological Structure which deletes the nominal feature of the nominalizer, preventing it to be realized by an overt exponent of the language.

This morphological proposal cannot account for hypocorism since the -a suffix is not obligatory for this operation and since most hypocoristics cannot be reanalyzed as morphologically complex in a first instance⁴.

There is a general question for both the morphophonological approach (Gonçalves, 2004; Martini, 2010) and the morphological approach (Scher, 2016; 2018) which is its pattern-specificity, as the main characteristics proposed by each one of them can only be observed only in certain cases. For the morphophonological approach, there is the problem of taking some formal tendencies to be categorical, which are not proved right empirically. For the morphological approach, there is the problem of systematically ignoring the phonological tendencies active in determining the final output for both operations. Moreover, there are two additional problems for Scher's (2016; 2018) proposal in specific: a) there is a question of semantic scope, since to form *padoca* and *feijuca* for example directly from the root plus an evaluative morpheme we ignore the fact that they actually are evaluative readings of *padaria* and *feijoada*, respectively, and they cannot be related to other meanings associated to the same root as *pão* 'bread' and *feijão* 'beans', for example; b) there is a question of non-categorical theme vowel marking, since if all truncated forms involve the presence of an evaluative morpheme in their structure which is inherently valued for Class II we cannot account for the fact that certain truncated forms do not show -a as its theme marker (*bijuteria* 'imitation jewelry' > *biju*, *promoção* 'sale' > *promô*). In the next section, we bring our own data analysis and highlight which aspects of their behavior are relevant for our proposal.

⁴ To add some complications for this conclusion, examples such as Gabriel > Gabs, Gabriela > Gabi, Rafael > Rafa, Rafaela > Rafa, Manuel > Mano, Manuela > Manu, Daniel > Dan(i), Daniela > Dani could be considered as complex since the sequence -el(a) is systematically deleted in hypocorism; and examples such as Juliana > Ju, Luciana > Lu, Fabiana > Fabi, Tatiana > Tati, Cristiana > Cris, Mariana > Mari, Adriana > (A)Dri, Giovana > Gi(o), Luciano > Lu show cases in which a sequence -(C)iana is systematically deleted in hypocorism although this deletion can include the consonant in question or leave it unchanged. However, examples such as Priscila > Pri, Bárbara > Babi and Eduardo > Edu cannot be analyzed as morphologically complex in a transparent way. We leave this discussion for future works.

3 Data analysis

In this section, we describe our *corpora* and show the results we obtained in our data analysis. In addition, we compare our results with the proposals discussed in the last section in order to show how they differ. Our truncated forms *corpus* consists of 120 truncated forms selected either from previous studies (Gonçalves, 2004; Scher, 2018; Heineck, 2023) or collected by ourselves specially in social media contexts – most of the data was collected from X (ex-Twitter). Our hypocoristics *corpus* consists of 130 possible hypocoristics for 100 different anthroponyms (50 masculine and 50 feminine) which were selected according to a census done by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) which reported the most common anthroponyms in Brazil from 1930 until today.

As for data analysis, we selected two types of *criteria*: a) those related to the truncated form or to the hypocoristic only; and b) those related to the base and the truncated form or the hypocoristic. The first type helped us to understand if there is any kind of predictability related to the output itself – for example, if there is a tendency for creating a specific syllabic and stress structure to which all outputs must conform to; the second type helped us to understand if there is any relation between some aspect of the base and the same aspect as it stands in the output. More specifically, we selected the following *criteria* for data analysis regarding the first type of criteria: a) number of syllables; b) anchoring pattern; c) existence of a phonologically realized suffix in addition to the truncation itself; d) kind of semantic-pragmatic meaning involved; e) maintenance of the gender and thematic values of the base. For the second type of *criteria*, we selected the following ones: a) number of syllables of the base *versus* number of syllables of the output; b) stress pattern of the base *versus* stress pattern of the output. For our purposes on this paper, we will focus on showing our results regarding the structural *criteria*.

Beginning with the number of syllables of the output, we obtained the following results: although the truncated forms and hypocoristics analyzed are mainly disyllabic, there is an essential difference between them: only truncated forms are productively trisyllabic (27 out of 120; *madrugada* > *madruga*) while monosyllabic hypocoristics (53 out of 130; *Luciana* > *Lu*) are more productive than monosyllabic truncated forms (6 out of 120; *amor* > *mô*). For hypocoristics, we could see that some anthroponyms are more prone to select the diminutive suffix *-inh* rather than to form a hypocoristic (16 out of 130; *Lara* > *Larinha*). As diminutives do not conform to the definition of hypocorism that we adopt here, which has to involve truncation, this strategy, although productive, is not discussed in this paper.

In terms of anchoring pattern, it is important to note that we only looked for two possible

values: left-anchoring and right-anchoring, disregarding stress-anchoring as a possible value. We obtained the following results: although the truncated forms and hypocoristics analyzed are mainly formed through left-anchoring, there is an essential difference between them: only hypocoristics show a considerable amount of right-anchoring (27 out of 130; Elizabeth > Beth), while truncated forms are marginally right-anchored (6 out of 120; Flamengo > Mengo).

For the presence of an additional truncation suffix, we observed that only 5 out of 130 hypocoristics show an additional suffix (Camila > Camis, Letícia > Lets, Gabriel > Gabs) while 44 out of 120 truncated forms show an additional suffix (-s: brincadeira > brincs; -a⁵: japonês > japa; -oc: padaria > padoca; -uc: feijoada > feijuca; -as: bermuda > bermas; -ec: travesti > traveco; -o: bisavô > biso; -e: coração > core); there are also some truncated forms which we considered as ambiguous in this regard since there is not a principled way to decide if the vowel -a or the sequence -as is an additional suffix or part of the source-word itself since this vowel/sequence is already part of the segmental content of the source-word (churrasco > churras, liquidação > liquida), which correspond to 17 out of 120 of the data.

According to Martini (2010) and Heineck (2023), hypocoristic and truncated form have to be shorter than their source-words, although this is not categorical. The authors highlight tendencies related to morphological truncation: disyllabic source-words create disyllabic truncated forms (função ‘function’ > funça), trisyllabic ones create disyllabic truncated forms (cerveja ‘beer’ > cerva) and polysyllabic ones create trisyllabic truncated forms (alternativo ‘alternative’ > alterna). We show the possible correlations in terms of number of syllables in Table 1, in which we can see that there is not a direct relation between the number of syllables of the source-words and its related hypocoristic or truncated form. To show this, if we consider truncated forms created from source-words which are four or five syllables long, we can see that they may form both disyllabic or trisyllabic truncated forms, with no expressive preference for one or another. In this respect, we agree with Martini (2010) and Heineck (2023) in assuming that truncated forms and hypocoristics have to be shorter than their source-words; however, we do not agree with them in assuming formal tendencies for the relation between source-words and output forms related to number of syllables.

⁵ Here, we considered -a as an additional affix, without making any assumptions about its status as a thematic vowel, as proposed for example by Scher (2016, 2018).

Table 1 – Correlation between number of syllables

<i>Patterns</i>	<i>Hypocoristics</i>	<i>Truncated forms</i>
<i>{2 – 1}</i>	14/130 (10,8%) <i>Tor (Heitor), Bru (Bruna)</i>	3/120 (2,5%) <i>Glô (Globo), mô (amor)</i>
<i>{2 – 2}</i>	-	4/120 (3,3%) <i>Funça (função), china (chinês)</i>
<i>{3 – 1}</i>	29/130 (22,3%) <i>Rô (Rodrigo), Fê (Felipe)</i>	2/120 (1,7%) <i>Fla (Flamengo), prô (professor)</i>
<i>{3 – 2}</i>	36/130 (27,7%) <i>Lari (Larissa), Isa (Isabela)</i>	41/120 (34,2%) <i>Cunha (cunhado), belê (beleza)</i>
<i>{3 – 3}</i>	-	4/120 (3,3%) <i>Sapata (sapatão), portuga (português)</i>
<i>{4 – 1}</i>	13/130 (10%) <i>Lu (Luciana), Gi (Giovana)</i>	1/120 (0,8%) <i>Flu (Fluminense)</i>
<i>{4 – 2}</i>	21/130 (16,1%) <i>Tati (Tatiana), Fabi (Fabiana)</i>	29/120 (24,1%) <i>Preju (prejuízo), dirce (dissertação)</i>
<i>{4 – 3}</i>	-	14/120 (11,7%) <i>Cavanhas (cavanhaque)</i>
<i>{5 – 2}</i>	1/130 (0,8%) <i>Beth (Elizabeth)</i>	10/120 (8,3%) <i>Parmê (parmegiana)</i>
<i>{5 – 3}</i>	-	8/120 (6,7%) <i>Evangê (evangélico), catega (categoria)</i>
<i>{6 – 2}</i>	-	2/120 (1,7%) <i>Pinda (Pindamonhangaba)</i>
<i>{6 – 3}</i>	-	2/120 (1,7%) <i>Ibira (Ibirapuera), oportu (oportunidade)</i>

Source: formulated by the authors.

In terms of stress, we observed that 46 out of 120 truncated forms show a different stress pattern from their source-words (*bijuteria* > *biju*) and 68 out of 130 hypocoristics show a different stress pattern from their source-words (*Manuela* > *Manu*). This is an indication that truncation is insensitive to the stress pattern of the source-word; in our proposal, there is no stress-anchoring for truncation and the output forms are stressed as any other word of BP.

Based on these observations and on the literature review done in the last section, our proposal is that truncated forms and hypocoristic are too varied for expecting them to conform to a fixed and categorical template – this is the reason why most of the studies use classifications in order to analyze this type of data. As we have seen in this section, both operations have to deal with information related to syllabic structure, stress pattern and anchoring pattern; they are different from each other in terms of the values assumed for each of them. What unities them in some sense is the fact that we cannot predict the syllabic structure, the anchoring pattern and the stress pattern of the output forms based on any information from their source-words; therefore, we propose that these aspects are determined at the Vocabulary Insertion mechanism through different means; we develop this proposal in detail in the next section.

4 A tentative unified proposal for truncated forms and hypocoristics

Our theoretical proposal is based on a recent version of the Distributed Morphology framework (DM) which is developed by Haugen (2011) in his works on reduplication. The basic characteristics of DM are that there is no lexicon and that every linguistic object is constructed by the syntactic computation through the operations of Merge and Move; the structures are then sent to the interfaces at Spell-Out, in which they are interpreted. This is a very rough description of the framework, but, for reasons of space, we will focus on the specific version of the framework assumed here. Being a piece-based and phonologically compositional framework for word-formation, the traditional version of DM is not totally capable of predicting the formation of non-concatenative word-formation operations in general; for non-concatenative word-formation operations we understand cases of intercalation as happens for root-and-template morphology in Semitic languages (Wallace, 2013; Kastner, 2019; Kastner & Tucker, 2020), cases of reduplication (Haugen, 2011) and cases of truncation.

Researchers working on more traditional cases of non-concatenative morphology, such as root-and-template morphology and reduplication patterns, have proposed that a reinterpretation of the phonological branch of the model can predict and produce the correct morphophonological structures. Kastner & Tucker (2020) show that DM's inefficacy to deal with non-concatenative word-formation operations shows the need for aligning the morphosyntactic component as proposed by DM with current proposals on linearization and prosodic morphology, which prioritize well-formedness morphophonological constraints as proposed by the Optimality Theory framework (henceforth, OT) (Prince & Smolensky, 1993).

In the same vein, Wallace (2013) defends that non-concatenative morphology, especially in the case of Semitic languages, is derived by discrete nodes of the syntactic structure which are associated to Vocabulary Items (VIs) which are phonologically organized according to violable prosodic constraints. In this sense, she proposes that the PF branch of the grammar is constituted of two main components: Morphophonology and Phonological Grammar. The first one involves the functioning of the Vocabulary Insertion mechanism by pairing morphosyntactic terminal nodes with phonological exponents; the second one involves the interpretation of the output generated by Morphophonology based on an OT-designed phonological grammar.

Haugen (2011) working on reduplication makes a similar move in proposing that reduplicative morphemes are a special type of VI which are specified for a given

morphophonological operation of copying and each one of these operations occur to a well-delimited set of roots that is discriminated in the morphosyntactic context codified in the VIs themselves. We will not be able to discuss his proposal in detail, but what interest us here is the fact that he proposes specific morphophonological operations as the exponents of VIs related to some aspect information of the language. These VIs are special in the sense that their phonological content is determined through correspondence with their morphological source-element as proposed by Correspondence Theory (McCarthy & Prince, 1995).

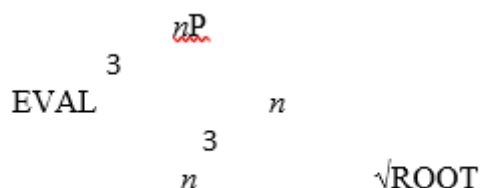
We follow the author's reasoning that reduplication and other types of morphology which need to make reference to specific prosodic information point to the necessity of a theory of phonological outputs capable of selecting the optimal form for those operations. Therefore, we follow these authors in assuming a phonologically-enriched version of DM in which there is a morphosyntactic component as traditionally assumed in DM, which derives the structure that needs to be morphophonologically instantiated and sends it to the interfaces; in the PF branch, the morphophonological interpretation of this structure is done in two steps: first, Vocabulary Insertion occurs; after this, there is the selection of the final output.

By adopting this particular version of DM, we aim to insert our proposal in the bigger project of reinterpreting non-concatenative morphology as epiphenomenal (Bye & Svenonius, 2012), as proposed in the current non-concatenative morphology consensus (adapted from Kastner & Tucker (2020): non-concatenative morphology [root-and-template morphology, reduplication and truncation] is not grammatically special except that it involves a particular combination of modular interactions that allow for non-concatenative phonology. In other words, we propose that truncation operations can also be considered as emergent: they are morphosyntactically concatenative, semantically compositional and phonologically non-concatenative.

To show how our proposal inserts in this project, we start with the syntactic structure proposed for truncated forms and hypocoristics. As we have already shown, we propose that both operations consist in a case of evaluative morphology, that is, they convey the subjective interpretation of the speaker towards a given person, event or thing (their semantic counterpart) through truncation (their formal counterpart). This is conveyed by an evaluative morpheme selected by the syntactic computation from List 1 which is merged to an already nominalized root – see (4). We assume that the syntactic relevance of this evaluative morpheme is given by its relevance for both interfaces. Syntactically, we assume that truncated forms and hypocoristics involve the same syntactic structure – (4) – in which there is a modification structure since BP hypocoristics and truncated forms do not change the grammatical category

and the gender value of their bases (Steriopolo, 2016; Gouskova & Bobaljik, 2022).

(4) Syntactic structure for hypocoristics and truncated forms



This syntactic structure is different from Scher's (2016; 2018) structure: the evaluative morpheme is not inherently marked for Class II; based on Gouskova & Bobaljik (2022), we propose that thematic markings are diacritics marked in the exponents of the VIs; therefore, there is no dissociated morpheme TH added at Morphological Structure.

Our proposal considers that the evaluative morpheme contributes compositionally to the meaning of the structure. We defend that evaluative morphology involves two types of meaning (Dressler & Merlini Barbaresi, 1994): a) a morphosemantic one, which is related to transforming the morphological base into a scalar predicate and to conveying that there is a deviation from a standard value in a specific semantic scale that can be of quantity or of quality (Wierzbicka, 1989; Grandi & Körtvélyessy, 2015); the determination of which deviation is given in each case is a matter for the Encyclopedia; b) a morphopragmatic one, which is directly related to the ilocutionary force of the speech act (familiarity, informality).

Regarding the formal behavior of truncated forms and hypocoristics, we have already anticipated that most of the relevant phonological information is encoded in the VIs in our proposal. Considering the structure in (4) and recalling that we consider hypocoristics not to be morphologically complex, the nominalizer is always null for a hypocoristic; this null exponent is pruned from the structure in the sense of Embick (2010), which licenses a local and adjacent relation between the root itself – which is the anthroponym – and the evaluative morpheme. This context enables that the root and the evaluative morpheme interact with each other for allomorphic purposes: the EVAL morpheme selects a given allomorph of the root and this given allomorph is segmentally determined by the constraints coindexed to truncation, as we will see.

For truncated forms, however, the structure can be more complex since the nominalizer can be phonologically overt: *pad-ari-a*, *feij(o)-ad-a*. We propose that, in this case, the nominalizer is deleted in the context in which it is locally adjacent to an evaluative morpheme and the root survives and contributes with its own segments to the output form; this happens as

a consequence of the existence of a template which is filled with segments of the left periphery of the structure. This proposal is heavily dependent on Embick's (2010) phasal proposal, according to which a structure is sent to the interfaces once the second categorizer enters the derivation, causing its domain to be sent to the interfaces. Thus, our proposal respects the semantic scope problem already mentioned, since it defends that *pad-oc-a* and *feij-uc-a* are derived respectively from the *nP* structures *padaria* and *feijoada* by deleting the suffix as requested by the template and the mechanism of template filling.

In (5), we show the VIs proposed both for hypocorism and for morphological truncation. These VIs show that there is an allomorphy of the evaluative morpheme which is realized by different phonological exponents depending on the relevant contextual specifications. The possible syllabic structures of the output forms are determined as syllabic templates which correspond to the exponent related to the VIs and which can be a syllable (σ), two syllables ($\sigma\sigma$) or three syllables ($\sigma\sigma\sigma$). As we have seen in the last section, right-anchoring is limited to a few examples created almost exclusively by hypocorism; thus, in our proposal, [+right-anchoring] is a diacritic feature marked in the templatic exponent itself which is coindexed to a specific anchoring value for the anchoring constraint – as seen in (5a,b). The thematic marking is also encoded as a diacritic to the exponent – as seen in (5e,f,g,j,k). In terms of presence of an additional truncation suffix, we consider that VIs may be complex in the sense of possessing two different exponents at the same time: a given syllabic template and a given phonologically overt suffix – as seen in (5g,h,i,j,k). Below each VI in (5) we bring the output forms for each one of them.

(5) Vocabulary Items for the evaluative morpheme

- a. [EVAL] $\leftrightarrow$ $\sigma_{[+right-anchoring]}$ / [EVAL] $\widehat{}$ $\sqrt{\text{ANDRE}}$, $\sqrt{\text{JOSE}}$, ...
→ Dé, Zé
- b. [EVAL] $\leftrightarrow$ $\sigma\sigma_{[+right-anchoring]}$ / [EVAL] $\widehat{}$ $\sqrt{\text{ELIZABETH}}$, $\sqrt{\text{EDNEIA}}$...
→ Beth, Neia
- c. [EVAL] $\leftrightarrow$ σ / [EVAL] $\widehat{}$ $\sqrt{\text{JULIAN}}$, $\sqrt{\text{LUCIAN}}$, ...
→ Ju, Lu
- d. [EVAL] $\leftrightarrow$ $\sigma\sigma$ / [EVAL] $\widehat{}$ $\sqrt{\text{RAFAEL}}$, $\sqrt{\text{MANUEL}}$, $\sqrt{\text{FACULDADE}}$, $\sqrt{\text{BIJUTERIA}}$...
→ Rafa, Mano, facul, biju
- e. [EVAL] $\leftrightarrow$ $\sigma\sigma_{[+Class II]}$ / [EVAL] $\widehat{}$ $nP\widehat{}$ $\sqrt{\text{JAP}}$, $\sqrt{\text{NEUR}}$...
→ Japa, neura

- f. [EVAL] $\leftrightarrow \sigma\sigma\sigma_{[+Class II]}$ / [EVAL] $\widehat{}$ nP $\widehat{}$ $\sqrt{}$ PRESID, $\sqrt{}$ PORTUG...
→ Presida, portuga
- g. [EVAL] $\leftrightarrow -s_{[+Class II]}$; $\sigma\sigma$ / [EVAL] $\widehat{}$ $\sqrt{}$ BERMUD...
→ Bermas
- h. [EVAL] $\leftrightarrow -s$; $\sigma\sigma$ / [EVAL] $\widehat{}$ $\sqrt{}$ CAMILA, $\sqrt{}$ GABRIEL, $\sqrt{}$ CUNHAD...
→ Camis, Gabs, cunhas
- i. [EVAL] $\leftrightarrow -s$; $\sigma\sigma$ / [EVAL] $\widehat{}$ nP $\widehat{}$ $\sqrt{}$ BRINC, $\sqrt{}$ BOB, ...
→ Brincs, bobs
- j. [EVAL] $\leftrightarrow -oc_{[+Class II]}$; $\sigma\sigma\sigma$ / [EVAL] $\widehat{}$ nP $\widehat{}$ $\sqrt{}$ PAD, $\sqrt{}$ MOT...
→ Padoca, motoca
- k. [EVAL] $\leftrightarrow -uc_{[+Class II]}$; $\sigma\sigma\sigma$ / [EVAL] $\widehat{}$ nP $\widehat{}$ $\sqrt{}$ FEIJ
→ Feijuca
- l. [EVAL] $\leftrightarrow -inh^6$
→ Cesinha, Aninha, padoquinha, feijuquinha

It is necessary to show how the templates are filled with segmental material. This is done by checking for constraints that are coindexed to truncation; basically, they are prosodic constraints – (6a) for monosyllables, (6b,c) for disyllables and (6d) for trisyllables – and anchoring constraints (6f,g) which are higher ranked in truncation; there is also a morphophonological constraint (6e), a contiguity one (6h) and a maximization one (6i).

(6) Constraints for template filling

- a. PROMMAX: “Every segment in the output is in a prominent position [...] the word has only one (maximally filled) syllable” (Arndt-Lappe, 2008, p. 10);
- b. FOOTBINARITY: all feet must be binary (McCarthy & Prince, 1994);
- c. PARSE-SYLLABLE: every syllable must be parsed into a foot (McCarthy & Prince, 1994);
- d. PARSE-ROOT: morphophonological constraint responsible for maintaining all the segmental content from a root⁷;

⁶ We bring the VI in (5l) to show that diminutives are possible formal realizations for an evaluative meaning; in opposition to truncated forms and hypocoristics, they are licensed in more contexts since they do not have contextual specifications – for example, they can follow anthroponyms (*Cesinha*) and truncated forms (*padoquinha*).

⁷ We will not discuss in detail here the case of trisyllabic truncated forms, because they are challenging in the sense that they involve the creation of a three-syllable structure, which does not conform to parsing syllables to a foot in a direct way – for example, Martini (2010) proposes a templatic constraint $TF=\sigma\sigma\sigma$ to deal with these cases.

- e. PARSE-SUFFIX: morphophonological constraint responsible for guaranteeing that the additional truncation suffix is phonologically realized;
- f. LEFT-ANCHORING: the left edge of the output form must correspond to the left edge of the source-word (Alber & Arndt-Lappe, 2023);
- g. RIGHT-ANCHORING: the right edge of the output form must correspond to the right edge of the source-word (Alber & Arndt-Lappe, 2023);
- h. CONTIGUITY: constraint responsible for guaranteeing that there is no skipping of segments;
- i. MAX-IO: constraint responsible for guaranteeing that the maximal number of segments from the input is present in the output form.

For the constraint ranking, we consider that the constraints coindexed to truncation – the prosodic, morphophonological and anchoring ones – are the highest in the constraint ranking and they are undominated among themselves, but they dominate all other constraints. For the input, we consider here three types of input: a) Input_S (syntax); b) Input_{MP} (morphophonology); c) Input_{PG} (phonological grammar); for the *tableaux*, only the last one is relevant, since it is this one which contains the information relevant for output selection. In addition, we abstract away from discussing how stress is assigned to these forms; for now, we hypothesize that stress-assignment is done through a specific constraint – weight to stress (WSP), which guarantees that the heaviest syllable is the stressed one; therefore, this stress assignment mechanism is the general mechanism for BP. From (7) to (9) we bring some examples of *tableaux*.

Proposing a specific templatic constraint only for a specific type of output form is not elegant and introduces complexity to the system in question. We can find new theoretical discussions related to trisyllabic output forms in Martínez-Paricio & Torres-Tammarit (2019), which defends the existence of internally layered feet based on the assumption that “feet can be maximally trisyllabic, as long as they arise via prosodic adjunction of a weak syllable to a preceding or following binary foot” (Martínez-Paricio & Torres-Tammarit, 2019, p. 674). For now, we propose the constraint PARSE-ROOT to deal with trisyllabic output forms since we observed a tendency in them of maintaining the root and adding the suffix -a. We will go back to this discussion in future works.

(7) *Tableau* for Dé (André)

Inputs: $\sqrt{158, n}$, [EVAL] Input _{mp} : ANDRE, Ø, gg Input _{pp} : /an.dre/, Ø[right-anchoring]	PROMMAX	RIGHT-ANCHOR	*COMPLEX-ONSET ⁸	MAX-IO	CONTIGUITY
An.dré	*!		*		
An.dé	*!			*	
Dré			*!	**	
⊙ Dé				***	
An		*!***		***	

(8) *Tableau* for neura (neurose)

Inputs: $\sqrt{55, n}$, [EVAL] Input _{mp} : NEUR, -os, gg, -a Input _{pp} : /neu.ro.s/, gg, /a/	FOOTBINARITY	PARSE-SYLLABLE	LEFT-ANCHOR	PARSE-SUFFIX	MAX-IO	CONTIGUITY
Neu.ro.se	*!	*		*	*	
Neu	*!			*	*****	
Neu.ro				*!	**	
Ro.se			*!***	*	****	
⊙ Neu.ra					**	
Ro.sa			*!***		***	

(9) *Tableau* for portuga (português)

Inputs: $\sqrt{95, n}$, [EVAL] Input _{mp} : PORTUG, -uês, ggg, -a Input _{pp} : /portug/, -ês, ggg, /a/	PARSE-ROOT	LEFT-ANCHOR	PARSE-SUFFIX	MAX-IO	CONTIGUITY
Por.tu.guês			*!		*
Por.tu	*!			*****	*
⊙ Por.tu.ga				**	
Gue.sa	*!	*****		****	*
Por.ta	*!			**	

To finish, we make a brief comment on a challenging aspect of hypocorism specially: the possibility of more than one output for the same input since anthroponyms such as *Fernanda* and *Isabela* can form two possible hypocoristics each (*Fer* and *Nanda*; *Isa* and *Bela*,

respectively). Our proposal does not have a principled way to account for these cases, but it provides a possible formalization to this by means of doubly listed roots: they can form two different outputs because the same root is present in the contextual specifications of two different VIs; in (10), the root $\sqrt{\text{FERNANDA}}$ appears in the list for the two first VIs, while the root $\sqrt{\text{ISABELA}}$ appears in the list for the two last VIs.

(10) Anthroponyms with more than one hypocoristic

- a. $[\text{EVAL}] \leftrightarrow \sigma / [\text{EVAL}]^{\frown} \sqrt{\text{JULIANA}}, \sqrt{\text{LUCIANA}}, \sqrt{\text{FERNANDA}}...$
- b. $[\text{EVAL}] \leftrightarrow \sigma\sigma_{[\text{+right-anchoring}]} / [\text{EVAL}]^{\frown} \sqrt{\text{FERNANDA}}, \sqrt{\text{ISABELA}}...$
- c. $[\text{EVAL}] \leftrightarrow \sigma\sigma / [\text{EVAL}]^{\frown} \sqrt{\text{MANUELA}}, \sqrt{\text{LARISSA}}, \sqrt{\text{ISABELA}}...$

5 Final remarks

In this paper, we analyzed hypocorism and morphological truncation in order to show that they are morphophonological word-formation operations which make reference to both morphological information (an evaluative morpheme) and to phonological information (template and constraints). In terms of data analysis, we analyzed how hypocoristics and truncated forms behave by themselves as well as if their behavior is related to any characteristic of their source-words. In terms of theoretical analysis, we proposed that the phonologically-enriched version of the DM framework (Haugen, 2011) is capable of explaining the morphosyntactic, morphosemantic and morphophonological behavior of hypocoristics and truncated forms. In addition, our proposal considers that truncation in general behaves just like other non-concatenative word-formation operations in being emergent: they are syntactically concatenative, semantically compositional and phonologically non-concatenative (Kastner & Tucker, 2020). To answer the questions presented at the introduction:

- a) The differences between hypocoristics and truncated forms are related to the specific values preferred by each one in terms of syllabic structure, anchoring pattern and presence of an additional truncation suffix; the similarities between them are related to the fact that these aspects are not directly derived by any characteristic of their source-words and therefore they must be listed somehow; in our proposal, truncated forms and hypocoristics have the same morphosyntactic structure, while their differences are phonological and depend on how the Vocabulary Insertion mechanism occurs;

- b) Although there are some tendencies (for example, the fact that the truncated form and the hypocoristic have to be shorter than their source-words), there is not a general way to predict the syllabic structure, the anchoring pattern and the presence of an additional suffix based on any relevant information from the source-words;
- c) Morphological truncation and hypocorism involve an evaluative morpheme related to a specific meaning and a specific form already present in the syntactic derivation;
- d) Assuming the phonologically-enriched version of DM (Haugen, 2011), we proposed that information regarding the syllabic structure, the anchoring pattern and the presence of an additional suffix are encoded in the grammar in the VIs either as their phonological exponent (a template or a template plus an additional suffix) or as diacritics marked in the exponents (right-anchoring and theme vowel).

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