

RESTRICTIONS ON ITALIAN VERBAL EVALUATIVE SUFFIXES: THE ROLE OF ASPECT AND ACTIONALITY.

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Abstract

Evaluative morphology has been widely described in the literature in the field. However, scholars have always ignored evaluative constructions with a verb as the base. Actually, evaluative verbs are cross-linguistically less widespread than evaluative nouns and adjectives. Moreover, even in languages in which they display a satisfactory degree of productivity (as in Italian), their occurrences are far from being homogeneous: the distribution of evaluative verbs is highly constrained by the context of occurrence, that is by the tense of the verb. The paper is structured as follows. In section 1, a short definition of ‘evaluative morphology’ is given. Section 2 is devoted to presentation and classification of data. Sections 3 and 4 give reason of the low frequency of Italian ‘evaluative verbs’. In section 3 I investigate restrictions on the application of verbal evaluative suffixes, focusing on the role of actionality (data will show that only durative, dynamic, and atelic verbs can productively join an evaluative suffix). In section 4, constraints on the output of these word formation rules are described: verbs formed by means of an evaluative suffix usually occur only in tenses which convey an imperfective meaning. In the appendix, the whole list of approximately 150 Italian evaluative verbs on which the analysis presented in this paper is based is given.

1. Evaluative morphology

1.1. A definition

Within the field of linguistic studies, the term ‘evaluation’ is generally used when referring to various linguistic constructions mainly concerning morphology. However, even if to a lesser extent, other levels of analysis may be included: phenomena of phonetic iconicity, reduplication processes, apocopes,¹ etc. Despite the diffusion of the term,² a clear and commonly accepted definition of it is still lacking. In this contribution, the definition of ‘evaluation’ proposed by Grandi (2002: 52) will be adopted. In short, a construction can be defined as evaluative if it satisfies two conditions, one relating to semantics and the other to the formal level. The first condition indicates that a linguistic construction can be defined as evaluative if it has the function of assigning a value, which is different from that of the ‘standard’ (within the semantic scale to which it is part of), to a concept. This value is assigned without resorting to any parameters of reference external to the concept itself. The second condition indicates that an evaluative construction must include at least the explicit expression of the standard (by means of a linguistic form which is lexically autonomous and is recognised by the speakers of the language as an actual word) and an evaluative mark (a linguistic element that expresses at least one of the semantic values traditionally classed as evaluative: BIG, SMALL, GOOD, BAD). This definition allows a form like It. *scarpina* ‘small shoe’ to be included in the field of evaluation, since a base form expressing the standard meaning (*scarpa* ‘shoe’) and a morphological item, which expresses an evaluative value (the diminutive suffix *-ina*), are both clearly recognisable. A form like It. *tunisino* ‘Tunisian’ (from *Tunisia*), on the other hand, can not be labelled as evaluative, even if it contains the same suffix, *-ino*: in *tunisino* the meaning of the suffix has no link with the four evaluative functions indicated above.³ Along with forms which are clearly and irrefutably evaluative (such as It. *scarpina* quoted above, French *muret*

‘small wall’ < *mur* ‘wall’, Catalan *mega-ciutat* ‘big town’ < *ciutat* ‘town’, Slovenian *babura* ‘old hag’ < *baba* ‘old woman’, etc.) and forms that are undeniably not evaluative (such as It. *tunisino*, discussed above, or *imbianchino* ‘house-painter’, from *imbiancare* ‘to whitewash’), there are linguistic elements on which it is not possible to express an equally clear judgement. For example, in a form such as Srd. *vitellu* ‘calf’ the mark *-ellu*, which often has an evaluative function in Italo-Romance area (e.g. It. *contadinello* ‘peasant boy’ from *contadino* ‘peasant, farmer’), can be related to the semantic function SMALL (the meaning of Srd. *vitellu* can in fact be paraphrased as ‘young and therefore small cow’); but, on a purely synchronic level, it is not possible to identify a base form, namely an autonomous lexical unit that expresses the standard meaning: the morpheme *vit-* in fact does not derive from any actual word of Sardinian.⁴ Similar considerations are valid for forms such as It. *mangione* ‘hearty eater’ (from *mangiare* ‘to eat’): within this form, it is not always easy to recognise the expression of the standard form in the base-word. A *mangione* ‘hearty eater’ can be defined as a person who overeats; but the base word, however, goes back to the verb *mangiare* ‘to eat’, that does not express the standard form from which the evaluation derives, which would refer to ‘a person who eats moderately’. Nevertheless, as seen in the cases of *vitellu* and *mangione*, we cannot neglect that in such forms there are also clearly recognisable traces of a semantic function which is at least partially evaluative (i.e. a *mangione* does not designate a person who eats, but a person who overeats). Thus, it is necessary to suppose that ‘evaluation’ is a linguistic category with an internal structure in which different levels of membership can be recognised: there are central or prototypical members (such as Srd. *scarpina*, Fr. *muret* or Cat. *mega-ciutat*) and members which are placed in marginal positions (such as Srd. *vitellu*, It. *mangione*, etc.), without however being completely excluded from the category.

1.2. Verbs and nouns

In the literature, evaluative morphology has been widely investigated from many perspectives (areal, typological, in its interactions with other components of the grammar, etc.⁵). However, as examples briefly discussed in the previous paragraph covertly reveal, with a few exceptions, nouns have always been investigated more thoroughly than other parts of speech. Furthermore, verbal evaluative constructions have been almost systematically ignored by scholars.⁶ This situation is probably a consequence of their being cross-linguistically less diffused than nominal (and adjectival) evaluative constructions. While evaluative forms with a nominal base word are almost universal⁷, the behaviour of other syntactic categories is cross-linguistically less homogeneous. The relation between evaluative morphology on the one side, and the main syntactic categories on the other side has been summarized in the following implicational hierarchy:

- (1) Noun > Adjective, Verb > Adverb, Numeral, Pronoun, Interjection > Determiner
(*Universals Archive*, #2009;⁸ originally proposed in Nieuwenhuis 1985; revised in Bauer, 1997: 540)

This means that

if augmentatives/diminutives can be formed from Determiners, then they can also be formed from Adverbs, Numerals, Pronouns, or Interjections; if from Adverbs, Numerals, Pronouns, or Interjections, then also from Adjectives or Verbs; if from Adjectives or Verbs, then from Nouns
(<http://typo.uni-konstanz.de>)

In other words, if a language or a group of languages display some kind of evaluative morphology, then Noun (but, of course, not all nouns) always belongs to its domain of application. Adjective and Verb follow, and so on. Consequently, in order to comply with this implicational universal, languages that do not have a set of productive nominal evaluative affixes at their disposal are excluded from the domain of evaluative verbal affixes, even if they show an extremely rich verbal derivational morphology.⁹

However, implicational hierarchy in (1) also reveals that the productivity of evaluative morphology decreases as one moves from the left side of the hierarchy to its right side. In this picture what is really surprising is that the gap between the first and the second level of the hierarchy is very wide.

Furthermore, the same is true of frequency: that is frequency of evaluative forms also decreases as one moves from the left side of the hierarchy to the right. This is probably the most puzzling aspect of the whole picture: even in languages which make quite extensive use of verbal evaluative affixes (Romance languages above all), these are considerably less widespread and productive than nominal ones. The issue is even more pressing if one considers that verbal evaluative affixes are often identical to nominal ones

(2) Italian	
Nouns	Verbs
<i>diavol(o)+etto</i>	<i>fischi(are)+ettare</i>
devil + VAL ¹⁰	to whistle + VAL
<i>bambin(o)+ello</i>	<i>salt(are)+ellare</i>
child + VAL	jump + VAL
<i>goven(o)+icchio</i>	<i>mord(ere)+icchiare</i>
government + VAL	to bite + VAL ¹¹
etc.	

So, one may question why languages seem to show a sort of refusal towards verbal evaluative affixes. The aim of this paper is to face this issue, in order to understand whether evaluative affixes and verbs are really incompatible or whether they are not.

2. The data

My research covers a sample of approximately 300 Italian complex verbs (that is, verbs containing a derivational suffix) that can be traced back to simple verbs and that have been extracted from two dictionaries of contemporary Italian (GRADIT edited by Tullio De Mauro and DISC edited by Francesco Sabatini and Vittorio Coletti). Data presented in this paper are based on the analysis of a representative sub-set of approximately 150 complex verbs and 80 simple verbs, a sample of which is listed in (3) and (4) respectively (for the whole list, see the appendix, at the end of the article):

(3) Base verbs:	(4) Evaluative verbs:
beccare 'to peck'	becchettare, beccolare, beccuzzare, sbecchettare
beffare 'to mock, to trick'	beffeggiare, sbefeggiare
bere 'to drink'	bevacchiare, bevazzare, bevicchiare, bevucchiare
	sbevacchiare, sbevazzare, sbevicchiare,
	sbevucchiare
fischiare 'to whistle'	fischiettare
giocare 'to play'	giocherellare, giochicchiare

picchiare ‘to beat’	picchierellare, picchiettare
ridere ‘to laugh’	ridacchiare
saltare ‘to jump’	saltellare, salterellare, salticchiare
scoppiare ‘to explode’	scoppiettare
scrivere ‘to write’	scribacchiare, scrivacchiare, scrivicchiare, scrivucchiare
sputare ‘to spit’	sputacchiare, sputazzare
vivere ‘to live’	vivacchiare, vivicchiare, vivucchiare
volare ‘to fly’	volacchiare, volicchiare, svolacchiare, svolazzare

In a general perspective, the meaning of complex verbs in (4) can be represented by the paraphrase ‘to X in a superficial and careless manner’. Of course, some other semantic nuances are attested, often depending on the meaning of the base verb (X in the paraphrase). I will deal with this issue more thoroughly in § 4.

Coming back to complex verbs in (4), the following evaluative suffixes can be extracted from them:

- (5) -acchiare
 -ecchiare
 -icchiare
 -ucchiare
 -azzare
 -ezzare
 -uzzare
 -eggiare
 -(er)ellare
 -ettare
 -ottare
 -icare
 -igginare
 -olare
 -ucolare

They represent the inventory of verbal evaluative suffixes attested in contemporary Italian with varying degrees of productivity and frequency. Nevertheless, the list of evaluative verbs in (4) poses two problems that must be faced before analysing data.

2.1. The direction of the verb formation processes

First of all, the derivational history of some complex verbs is far from unambiguous. Consider the case of *fischiettare* ‘to whistle thoughtlessly, in a happy-go-lucky manner’: according to GRADIT, it derives from *fischiare* ‘to whistle’ by adding the evaluative suffix *-ettare*: *fischi(are)-ettare*. However, it can also be analysed in two other ways: *fischiettare* might be the effect either of a conversion from the diminutive noun *fischiotto* (*fischi(o)+etto* ‘small whistle’) or of the addition of the suffix *-ettare* to the noun *fischio* ‘whistle’. On the contrary, a verb as *sputacchiare* ‘to spit out, to splutter’ is described by GRADIT as a conversion from the diminutive / pejorative noun *sputacchio* (‘spittle’); but we cannot exclude that it is the suffix *-acchiare* to be joined to the noun *sputo* ‘spit’ (*sput(o)-acchiare*) or to the verb *sputare* ‘to spit’ (*sput(are)-acchiare*).

In this picture, one cannot avoid wondering which is the actual base of these forms and of other complex verbs. In order to answer this question, it is necessary to make a brief remark about the history of Italian verbal evaluative suffixes. Most of them derive from Latin nominal suffixes which underwent a process of conversion:

- (6) TUSSIS]_N > TUSS+ĪCŪLA]_{N DIM} > TUSSĪCŪL+ARE]_V
 ‘cough’ ‘little cough’ ‘to give a little cough’

The form TUSSĪCULARE was then reanalysed as follows:

- (7) TUSSĪCŪL+ARE > TUSS+ĪCŪLARE

giving rise to the new verbal evaluative suffix –ĪCŪLARE (> it. *-icchiare*).¹²

Verbs formed by conversion from evaluative nouns are widely diffused in the history of Italian morphology, uninterruptedly and with a constant productivity (cf. a very recent formation as *spinta*]_N ‘push’ > *spintone*]_{N AUG} ‘shove’ > *spintonare*]_V ‘to shove’).

Conversion, along with reanalysis that often accompanies it, has the consequence of weakening the boundary between evaluative nouns and corresponding verbs, of forming strong pairs of suffixes as *-icchio / -icchiare*, *-etto / -ettare* etc., and, finally, of making a verbal counterpart virtually available for most evaluative nouns. But, *vice versa*, a nominal counterpart becomes virtually available for most evaluative verbs too (through backformation). However, this process produces the side effect of obscuring the direction of derivation and of determining a split between the formal and semantic component of these word formation rules.

Consider the emblematic case of *ballettare*, the base of which, according to GRADIT, is the noun *balletto* ‘ballet’ (that is: *ballet(o)+are* by conversion), and not the verb *ballare* ‘to dance’ (that is: *ball(are)+ettare*). Nevertheless, the meaning of this complex verb is ‘to dance in an awkward, clumsy manner’, and not ‘to perform ballet without grace and elegance’, as we would have expected to mean if its base had been *balletto*. In other words, there are no traces of the meaning of *balletto* in the meaning of *ballettare*. So, although *ballettare*, in a diachronic perspective, is probably the effect of a conversion from *balletto*, in a synchronic perspective it is always re-interpreted and used as if it were derived from *ballare*. More specifically, *ballettare* has undergone a formal and semantic reanalysis: *ballett+are* > *ball+ettare*.

Similar in every detail, is the case of a very recent neologism, *vanghettare*, lit. ‘to till the land with a small spade’, from *vanghetto* ‘small spade’. However, in some occurrences, this verb assumes the meaning of ‘to dig in a superficial and careless manner’:

- (8) Mentre il gruppo si riposava io ho **vanghettato** per un’oretta
 While the others were resting, I **dug-VAL** for an hour’
 (from Internet)

In this and in other similar contexts, *vanghettare* seems to be used as a deverbal form from *vangare* ‘to dig’.

So, it is evident that speakers feel the strong link between the members of pairs of suffixes as *-etto / -ettare*, and, as a consequence, apply reanalysis whenever it is formally possible.

This situation can be represented as follows:

Category of the base	Suffix		Category of derived word	Meaning
	etto	are		
X	N		V	‘to use <i>Xetto</i> , to make <i>Xetto</i> , to produce <i>Xetto...</i> ’
	V	ettare	V	‘to do X in a superficial, careless manner ...’

Table 1: formal representation of Italian verb formation process

The crucial point of the issue is that Italian speakers easily move from one derivational structure to the other, irrespective of the oldest one.

So, if these are the premises, it is almost impossible, even pointless, to answer the question posed above, since there is not a single answer, but many answers that could be applied to each and every ambiguous case. Furthermore, these answers would be interesting for a statistical or historical investigation, but meaningless in order to grasp which rule is synchronically perceived by speakers. In this picture, the most convincing solution is probably to assert that formation of Italian deverbal verbs is largely conditioned by analogy, that is by abstract schemas that speakers gather from sets of actual words such as *vanga* ‘spade’ / *vangare* ‘to dig’ / *vanghetto* ‘small spade’ / *vanghettare* ‘to use a small spade / to dig in a superficial and careless manner’: N / V / N VAL / V VAL. It is plausible that speakers perceive each such set of words as a whole, since the course of the single derivation paths is tarnished by reanalysis processes.

Consequently, I will not draw any distinction between ambiguous forms as *ballettare* or *vanghettare* and clear cases as *mangiucchiare* ‘to nibble’ or *svolazzare* ‘to flutter’. In other words, my analysis will cover every complex verb in the structure of which a simple verb is recognisable (irrespective of etymology recorded in dictionaries of contemporary Italian), and that can be replaced in all occurrences (or in most occurrences) by that simple verb, without compromising the grammaticality of the sentence:

(9) Ambiguous forms

- a. Mentre il gruppo si riposava io ho **vanghettato** per un’oretta
While the others were resting, I **dug-VAL** for an hour’
- b. Mentre il gruppo si riposava io ho **vangato** per un’oretta
While the others were resting, I **dug** for an hour’

Unambiguous forms

- a. L’uccello **svolazzava** nella sua gabbietta
‘The bird **was flying-VAL** (was fluttering) in its little cage’
- b. L’uccello **volava** nella sua gabbietta
‘The bird **was flying** in its little cage’

2.2. Why Google?

The second problem posed by the list of 300 evaluative verbs taken from contemporary Italian dictionaries concerns the different degree of frequency and ‘vitality’ of these verbs: in the list various forms coexist, including very frequent forms as *mangiucchiare* ‘to nibble’ or *saltellare* ‘to trip, to hop’ and very uncommon forms as *ammalazzarsi* ‘to be sickly’. In the subsample of 150 verbs listed in the appendix, on which my analysis is based, only more frequent forms are included. Of course, it is necessary to explain clearly the criteria according to which this selection has been made.

As it is well known, dictionaries always outline a static image of a language. So, in order to gather the real, actual behaviour of evaluative verbs in contemporary Italian, a sample of occurrences of these verbs has been selected from the Web, accessed by using the search engine Google. The verbs into consideration have rapidly expanded within Italian lexicon in the last 150 years, but they still remain confined to a few spoken varieties of the language usually used in informal situations. On the contrary, the main and most accessible corpora of contemporary Italian often include texts referable to written and formal varieties of the language. So, they do not represent a suitable environment for evaluative verbs. As a consequence, the only way to have access to a large amount of texts that, even if in written form, reproduce a linguistic use close to the orality pole of the diamesic (written vs. spoken) dimension, is to use the Web:

The main advantage of Web data is the spontaneity found in the productions: many interesting findings occur in forums, blogs, and other types of pages where a community of speakers freely express themselves in informal contexts.

(Hathout, Montermini, and Tanguy 2008:72)

However, the use of the Web as source of data for linguistic investigations is not free from problems. For a survey of the main drawbacks, see Baroni and Bernardini (2006), Baroni and Ueyama (2006) and Hathout, Montermini, and Tanguy (2008). Here I will outline just two possible problems, which are particularly urgent for my analysis, explaining the solutions I have adopted.

At first, all search engines do not allow the use of wildcards; so, it is not possible to find words belonging to the same paradigm (i.e. *mangiucchi**), or to find words derived by means of the same suffix (i.e. **icchiare*). This problem did not represent an insurmountable obstacle to my analysis, since the aim of my query was not to draw a list of evaluative verbs, but to check the occurrences of verbs included in a list taken previously from another source. In this perspective, the impossibility to use wildcards represents an obstacle, that can be easily overcome by restricting the query to some representative forms of the paradigm. In my analysis, I have chosen to check the occurrences of the third person plural of present, imperfect, ‘remote past’ (*passato remoto*), present perfect and gerund for each verb.

The second problem regards the well-known ‘changeableness’ and ‘instability’ of the Web. Is it well-known that databases on which commercial search engines rely are constantly updated, always according to criteria that do not correspond to what linguists may require in their investigations. Moreover, criteria that are used in order to update databases are not always made explicit. As a result, linguistic tendencies that emerge from a survey of the Web can be trusted only if they are confirmed or strengthened in an adequate space of time.

Actually, one can easily predict that the more time passes between two queries, the bigger is the difference between the results, since the update of search engines’ databases is constant, but slow: given the huge overall amount of sites they cover, in a brief lapse of time the updates ultimately only concern a handful of them.

The most logical solution to this problem is to repeat the query after an adequate gap of time and to compare the results. This paper is the outcome of a three-year research project, so the query has been repeated three times in three years: in September 2004; in October 2005 and in November 2006. Through the first query, I collected and checked the occurrences of all 300 evaluative verbs taken from dictionaries and I ruled out all verbs with less than 50 occurrences on the Web from the corpus. Then, I repeated the queries twice for a sub-sample of evaluative verbs, in order to understand whether the tendencies revealed by the first query were confirmed or not: as we will see in § 4, the answer to this question is affirmative.¹³

2.3. Classification of data

The 150 verbs composing the sub-sample have been classified according to their argument structure as in (10):

- (10) transitive verbs (V TR),
 intransitive verbs with aux *avere* ‘to have’ (V INTR AV),
 intransitive verbs with aux *essere* ‘to be’ (V INTR ES),
 intransitive pronominal verbs (V INTR PRON);
 (cf. Jezek 2003)

and arranged in tables like the following:

	V TR	V INTR AV	V INTR ES	V INTR PRON
<i>picchiare</i> ‘to beat’				
<i>picchierellare</i> ‘to tap’				
<i>picchiettare</i> ‘to tap’				
	V TR	V INTR AV	V INTR ES	V INTR PRON
<i>suonare</i> ‘to play’				
<i>suonacchiare</i> ‘to play without much thought’				
<i>suonicchiare</i> ‘to play without much thought’				
	V TR	V INTR AV	V INTR ES	V INTR PRON
<i>ridere</i> ‘to laugh’				
<i>ridacchiare</i> ‘to chuckle’				
	V TR	V INTR AV	V INTR ES	V INTR PRON
<i>sudare</i> ‘to sweat’				
<i>sudacchiare</i> ‘to sweat heavily; in an unpleasant manner’				

Table 2: classification of data

These tables are the basis of my analysis, the general results of which are presented in Grandi (2008). In the next sections of this paper I will draw an overview of the interactions between evaluative suffixes and aspect / actionality, that is on restrictions on input and output of the word formation rules under consideration.

3. Restrictions on the input of word formation rules: the role of actionality

Both nominal and verbal evaluative suffixes are characterized by the so-called ‘categorical neutrality’, the peculiar formal property of evaluative morphology: they usually do not change the category of the base words.

It does seem generally to be the case that evaluative morphology does not change the syntactic category of the base. This might be expected from the function of evaluative

morphology. A noun which is noted as being of a particular size is still a noun; a noun which is stated to be liked or disliked is still a noun; an adjective which does not apply with its full force still remains an adjective.

(Bauer 1997:549)

However, the same does not apply to the subcategorization frame. As it is well-known, nominal evaluative suffixes interact with gender and number. For instance, in Slavic languages, in Modern Greek and in German most diminutives are neuter, regardless of the gender of the base; in Italian many augmentatives are masculine even if the base word is feminine, etc.

As far as verbs are concerned, evaluative suffixes affect the argument structure of the base, as table 2 clearly demonstrates. According to Jezek (2003), Italian verbs are distributed among 15 classes with respect to the argument structures they alternate:

(11)

- 1 V TR (es. *abolire* ‘to abolish’)
 - 2 V INTR AV (es. *russare* ‘to snore’)
 - 3 V INTR ES (es. *cadere* ‘to fall’)
 - 4 V INTR PRON (es. *pentirsi* ‘to regret’)
 - 5 V INTR AV and INTR ES (es. *squillare* ‘to ring’)
 - 6 V INTR AV and INTR PRON (es. *approfittare* ‘to take advantage of’)
 - 7 V INTR ES and INTR PRON (es. *ammuffire* ‘to mould’)
 - 8 V INTR AV and INTR ES e INTR PRON (es. *sedimentare* ‘to sediment’)
 - 9 V TR and INTR AV (es. *mangiare* ‘to eat’)
 - 10 V TR and INTR ES (es. *affondare* ‘to sink’)
 - 11 V TR and INTR PRON (es. *alzare* ‘to lift’)
 - 12 V TR and INTR AV and INTR ES (es. *continuare* ‘to continue’)
 - 13 V TR v INTR AV and INTR PRON (es. *chiudere* ‘to close’)
 - 14 V TR and INTR ES and INTR PRON (es. *ingiallire* ‘to turn yellow’)
 - 15 V TR and INTR AV and INTR ES e INTR PRON (es. *bruciare* ‘to burn’)
- (Jezek 2003)

In this paragraph, I will focus on the changes that intervene in the subcategorisation frame of a verb when an evaluative suffix is attached, because they give us a few clues in order to better understand the issue of input restrictions.

If one compares the argument structures of base and derived words, one may firstly note that in the selection of their domain, verbal evaluative suffixes show a strong preference towards verbs which are both transitive and intransitive and which select *avere* as auxiliary (that is, verbs which alternate transitive use with unergative use; *baciare* ‘to kiss’, *scrivere* ‘to write’, etc.; about 50% of the base verbs are members of this class); and, secondly, that an evaluative suffix often causes an increase in the class of intransitive verbs with aux *avere* (cf. line 2 in table 3); and, finally, that almost any intransitive verbs with aux *essere* is formed by means of an evaluative suffix:

	Argument structures	Base words	Derived words
1	V TR	7,3% (6)	10,7% (16)
2	V INTR AV	7,3% (6)	21,5% (32)
3	V INTR ES	1,2% (1)	1,3% (2)
4	V INTR PRON	0%	1,3% (2)
5	V INTR AV and INTR ES	8,5% (7)	6% (9)
6	V INTR AV and INTR PRON	0% (0)	0% (0)
7	V INTR ES and INTR PRON	0% (0)	0% (0)
8	V INTR AV and INTR ES and INTR PRON	1,2% (1)	0% (0)
9	V TR and INTR AV	48,8% (40)	50,3% (75)
10	V TR and INTR ES	1,2% (1)	1,3% (2)
11	V TR and INTR PRON	4,9% (4)	4% (6)
12	V TR and INTR AV and INTR ES	4,9% (4)	0,7% (1)
13	V TR and INTR AV and INTR PRON	12,2% (10)	0,7% (1)
14	V TR and INTR ES and INTR PRON	0% (0)	0% (0)
15	V TR and INTR AV and INTR ES and INTR PRON	2,4% (2)	2% (3)

Table 3: argument structures of base and derived verbs

It is necessary to point out that in verbs belonging to class 9 (that is verbs in which the transitive value and the intransitive value with aux *avere* alternate), the intransitive value often is largely prevalent, as shown in (12): I have selected a small sample of 16 verbs and I have checked their first one hundred occurrences, in order to reckon the proportion of transitive to intransitive occurrences:

(12) Verb	INTR AV	V TR
<i>sbacchiare</i>	32	68
<i>becchettare</i>	68	32
<i>sbevazzare</i>	81	19
<i>canticchiare</i>	63	37
<i>scopiazzare</i>	60	40
<i>dormicchiare</i>	99	1
<i>fischiettare</i>	72	28
<i>leggiucchiare</i>	54	46
<i>mangiucchiare</i>	72	28
<i>mordicchiare</i>	61	39
<i>rubacchiare</i>	50	50
<i>scribacchiare</i>	73	27
<i>studiacchiare</i>	65	35
<i>suonicchiare</i>	64	36
<i>tagliuzzare</i>	44	56
<i>vivacchiare</i>	98	2

So, if one refers to table (3), one may note that approximately 72% of Italian evaluative verbs are intransitive with aux *avere*, often irrespective of the argument structure of the base.

On the grounds of the above mentioned premises, we can lay a first cornerstone asserting that evaluative suffixes show a strong preference for intransitive verbs with aux *avere*. This issue deserves to be investigated more deeply, since it can provide promising hints about restrictions on verbal evaluative suffixes. In this picture, the reference frame is necessarily represented by the categories of aspect (and tense) on the one side and actionality on the other.

According to Comrie (1976) and Bertinetto (1986), aspect is basically a morphological category, that is aspectual values are not inherently associated to lexemes; on the contrary, they are formally expressed by means of specific word formation rules (as in Russian) or other morpho-syntactic strategies (for instance by changes in tense as in Italian; for a general framework, see Vendler 1967). As such, one can hardly expect that the formation of evaluative verbs is conditioned by aspect. Hence we should turn our attention to actionality.

It is not easy to draw a uniform ‘actional’ description of base verbs belonging to classes 2 and 9 in (11) (V INTR AV and V TR / V INTR AV), but a clear tendency emerges: very often they designate events with an atelic, dynamic or durative nuance.

Therefore, the following picture can be outlined:

(13) Actional characteristic	Evaluative morphology	Example:
Durative verbs	Yes	<i>dormire</i> ‘to sleep’ > <i>dormicchiare</i> ‘to snooze, to doze’
Punctual verbs	No	<i>esplodere</i> ‘to explode’
Dynamic verbs	Yes	<i>trottare</i> ‘to trot’ > <i>trotterellare</i> ‘to scamper, to toddle’
Stative verbs	No	<i>credere</i> ‘to believe’
Atelic verbs	Yes	<i>cantare</i> ‘to sing’ > <i>canticchiare</i> ‘to sing softly, to hum’
Telic verbs	No	<i>morire</i> ‘to die’

So, the application of verbal evaluative suffixes seems to be constrained by a set of semantic restrictions that considerably reduce their domain of application. On the semantic-actional ground, there are three classes of verbs that seem to be more inclined to be related to them: atelic, dynamic and durative verbs. On the formal ground, these classes include verbs in which the intransitive value with aux *avere* is largely prevalent. Such restriction seems to be confirmed by data in (14):

(14) <i>nascere</i> ‘to be born’	*
<i>vivere</i> ‘to live’	<i>vivacchiare</i> ‘to scrape a living’
<i>morire</i> ‘to die’	*
<i>addormentarsi</i> ‘to fall asleep’	*
<i>dormire</i> ‘to sleep’	<i>sdormicchiare</i> ‘to snooze, to doze’

<i>svegliarsi</i> ‘to wake up’	*
<i>accendere</i> ‘to light’	*
<i>bruciare</i> ‘to burn’	<i>bruciacchiare</i> ‘to scorch, to singe’
<i>spegnere</i> ‘to put out; switch off’	*
<i>spogliare</i> ‘to undress’	*
<i>lavare</i> ‘to wash’	<i>lavicchiare</i> ‘to wash badly’
<i>vestire</i> ‘to dress (up)’	*
<i>partire</i> ‘to leave’	*
<i>correre</i> ‘to run’	<i>corricchiare</i> ‘to run against one’s will’
<i>arrivare</i> ‘to arrive’	*

In (14) there are some series of three semantically related (but non formally related) verbs: they indicate the initial, the intermediate and the final steps of the same situation. In each series, there are two punctual verbs and a durative or dynamic verb: only the second one can join an evaluative suffix.

In conclusion, I assert that the issue of restrictions on evaluative verbal suffixes can be best approached in a compositional way, that is by adopting a method which integrates the syntactic level with the actional-semantic one. If this perspective is adopted, then an interesting tendency does emerge: on the formal (syntactic) ground, the suffixes exhibit a clear preference towards unergative constructions and, on the semantic ground, towards atelic, durative and dynamic verbs.

4. Restrictions on the output of word formation rules: the role of aspect and tense

The restriction on unergativity and on actional characterisation of base verbs reduces considerably the domain of verbal evaluative suffixes, but it does not explain why even evaluative verbs with an unergative and dynamic / atelic / durative base often show a low and heterogeneous diffusion. In fact, what is really surprising is that the degree of acceptability of evaluative verbs exhibits a considerable range of variation according to the syntactic context, that is if the tense of the verb changes, as confirmed by data in (15):

(15)

<i>canticchiare</i> ‘to hum, to sing softly’	
<i>canticchiano</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – PRESENT	543 occurrences
<i>canticchiarono</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – REMOTE PAST	62 "
<i>hanno canticchiato</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – PRESENT PERFECT	210 "
<i>canticchiavano</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – IMPERFECT	476 "
<i>mangiucchiare</i> ‘to nibble, to have a bit’	
<i>mangiucchiano</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL - PRESENT	834 occurrences
<i>mangiucchiarono</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – REMOTE PAST	15 "
<i>hanno mangiucchiato</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – PRESENT PERFECT	36 "
<i>mangiucchiavano</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – IMPERFECT	255 "
<i>parlottare</i> ‘to whisper, to mutter’	
<i>parlottano</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – PRESENT	776 occurrences

<i>parlottarono</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – REMOTE PAST	79	"
<i>hanno parlottato</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – PRESENT PERFECT	139	"
<i>parlottavano</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – IMPERFECT	1.060	"
<i>saltellare</i> ‘to trip, to skip, to hop’		
<i>saltellano</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – PRESENT	15.700	occurrences
<i>saltellarono</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – REMOTE PAST	294	"
<i>hanno saltellato</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – PRESENT PERFECT	75	"
(and <i>sono saltellati</i>	16	")
<i>saltellavano</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – IMPERFECT	1674	"
<i>scribacchiare</i> ‘to scribble, to scrawl’		
<i>scribacchiano</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – PRESENT	290	occurrences
<i>scribacchiarono</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – REMOTE PAST	2	"
<i>hanno scribacchiato</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – PRESENT PERFECT	11	"
<i>scribacchiavano</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – IMPERFECT	90	"
<i>svolazzare</i> ‘to flutter, to fly about’		
<i>svolazzano</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – PRESENT	29.700	occurrences
<i>svolazzarono</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – REMOTE PAST	469	"
<i>hanno svolazzato</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – PRESENT PERFECT	115	"
(and <i>sono svolazzati</i>	32	")
<i>svolazzavano</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – IMPERFECT	10.600	"

The presence of an evaluative suffix seems to be more acceptable in some verb forms than in others. More specifically, imperfect seems to be the most suitable environment for using a verb containing an evaluative suffix. On the other hand, the remote past and the present perfect show a strong dislike for them.

Of course, such statements must be supported by a comparison with the situation of base verbs:

(16)		
<i>cantare</i> ‘to sing’		
<i>cantano</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – PRESENT	403.000	occurrences
<i>cantarono</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – REMOTE PAST	20.400	'
<i>hanno cantato</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – PRESENT PERFECT	57.800	"
<i>cantavano</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – IMPERFECT	138.000	"
<i>mangiare</i> ‘to eat’		
<i>mangiano</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – PRESENT	526.000	"
<i>mangiarono</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – REMOTE PAST	33.900	"
<i>hanno mangiato</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – PRESENT PERFECT	38.500	"
<i>mangiavano</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – IMPERFECT	111.000	"
<i>parlare</i> ‘to speak’		
<i>parlano</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – PRESENT	1.880.000	"
<i>parlarono</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – REMOTE PAST	73.700	"
<i>hanno parlato</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – PRESENT PERFECT	347.000	"
<i>parlavano</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – IMPERFECT	386.000	"

<i>saltare</i> ‘to jump’		
<i>saltano</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – PRESENT	274.000	"
<i>saltarono</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – REMOTE PAST	19.300	"
<i>hanno saltato</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – PRESENT PERFECT	845	"
(and <i>sono saltati</i>)	16.800)
<i>saltavano</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – IMPERFECT	31.900	"
<i>scrivere</i> ‘to write’		
<i>scrivono</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – PRESENT	1.420.000	"
<i>scrissero</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – REMOTE PAST	82.800	"
<i>hanno scritto</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – PRESENT PERFECT	661.000	"
<i>scrivevano</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – IMPERFECT	94.100	"
<i>volare</i> ‘to fly’		
<i>volano</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – PRESENT	636.000	"
<i>volarono</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – REMOTE PAST	25.600	"
<i>hanno volato</i>	765	"
(and <i>sono volati</i>)	27.000)	"
<i>volavano</i> 3 rd PERSON PLURAL – IMPERFECT	69.400	"

Therefore, if one checks the distribution of the occurrences of the third person plural of present, remote past and present perfect of base verbs, no clear tendency does emerge.

On the contrary, if we focus on imperfect and present perfect of evaluative verbs (the two more productive past tenses in contemporary Italian), the proportion between them is unambiguous: a ratio of one present perfect to more than 16 forms of imperfect on average.

(17)	<i>canticchiare</i>	vs.	<i>cantare</i>
p.p / impf.	1 / 7,7		1 / 2,4
	<i>mangiucchiare</i>	vs.	<i>mangiare</i>
p.p / impf.	1 / 7,08		1 / 2,3
	<i>parlottare</i>	vs.	<i>parlare</i>
p.p / impf.	1 / 7,6		1 / 1,11
	<i>saltellare</i>	vs.	<i>saltare</i>
p.p / impf.	1 / 18,4		1 / 1,8
	<i>scribacchiare</i>	vs.	<i>scrivere</i>
p.p / impf.	1 / 8,2		1 / 0,1
	<i>svolazzare</i>	vs.	<i>volare</i>
p.p / impf.	1 / 72,1 ¹⁴		1 / 2,5

Therefore, a clear preference of evaluative verbs towards tenses with an imperfective characterization seems to emerge.

Of course, in order to confirm such a tendency, it is indispensable to test it over a long lapse of time, repeating the query, since, as stated in § 2.2, this is the only way to cushion the effects of the well-known instability of the Web, depending on continuous updating of search

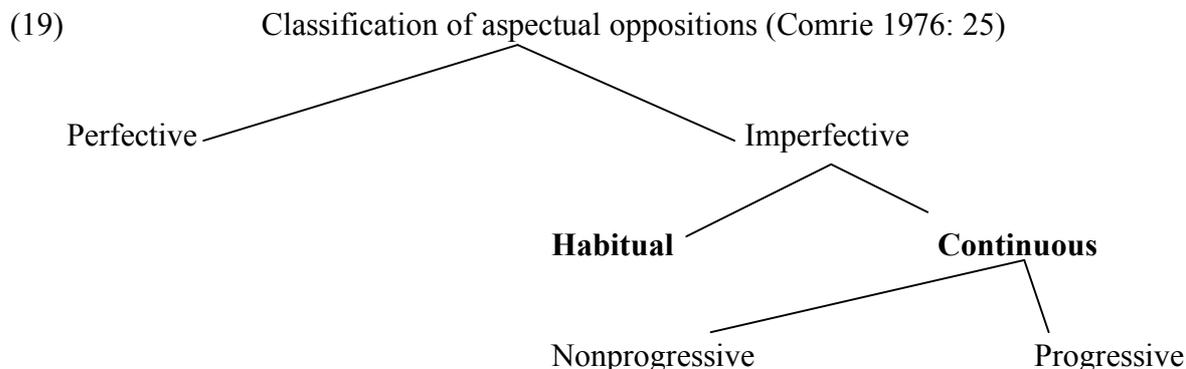
engines' databases. As to this point, it is clear that the tendency pointed out above would be strengthened further if it is performed on two different queries, with an adequate space of time between them. The claims presented above would be corroborated if, in these circumstances, the same result is obtained, or if the result of the second query strengthens the position of imperfect against present perfect and remote past. As I stated above, data discussed in this article have been collected within a three-year research project: the investigation using Google has been repeated three times (in September 2004; in October 2005 and in November 2006). A comparison between the results of the first and the third query reveal that the preference towards tenses with an imperfective nuance exhibited by evaluative verbs is gaining force:

(18)	Nov. 2006	Sept./Nov. 2004
canticchiano	5.360	543
canticchiarono	193	62
hanno canticchiato	196	210
canticchiavano	1.810	476
mangiucchiano	1.170	834
mangiucchiarono	38	15
hanno mangiucchiato	63	36
mangiucchiavano	295	255
parlottano	6.050	776
parlottarono	551	79
hanno parlottato	135	139
parlottavano	3.740	1.060
saltellano	19.100	15.700
saltellarono	1.040	294
hanno saltellato	118	75
(e sono saltellati	6	16)
saltellavano	6.180	1674
scribacchiano	437	290
scribacchiarono	10	2
hanno scribacchiato	42	11
scribacchiavano	94	90
svolazzano	31.800	29.700
svolazzarono	522	469
hanno svolazzato	427	115
(e sono svolazzati	62	32)
svolazzavano	13.340	10.600

Data confirm the conclusion presented above: in a lapse of time of three years there is a remarkable growth of imperfect and a corresponding decrease of both past perfect and remote past.

To pick up the thread of the argument, the reasons of the correlation between imperfective tenses and verbal evaluative suffixes must be sought in their meaning. A survey of the semantic reading of 150 verbs listed in (4) reveals that some features appear to be constant:

superficiality, habituality, iteration, and attenuation; that is, they usually indicate an action which is performed with superficiality, which recurs iteratively, the effects of which are attenuated, etc. Some of these features (iteration and habituality above all) are very close to some values often associated with imperfective aspect (bold in the following schema):



Therefore, the tendency pointed out above is not surprising: because of the semantic closeness between imperfective aspect and the meaning of the so-called verbal evaluative suffixes, one can easily foresee that their ‘acceptability rate’ is higher with verbal forms usually associated to imperfective aspect than with forms with a perfective nuance.

Moreover, prototypically imperfective aspect “pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation”; on the contrary, perfective aspect “indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation” (Comrie 1976: 16). Even in this case, the analogies with evaluative suffixes are very clear, since they usually operate a division within the action expressed by the base verb; that is, this action is split up in a series of single, discrete and subsequent micro-events. The sentence like that in (20) does not mean ‘she has beaten her son again and again’, that is an action done repeatedly at different times; but ‘she has patted her son’ for example on his shoulder: it designates a single action, but made up of different micro-events:

(20) *(lei) ha picchi-ettato suo figlio*
 she AUX hit-VAL:PAST PARTICIPLE her son

So, both evaluative suffixes and imperfective aspect express an internal quantification.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, the picture about the so-called verbal evaluative morphology appears far more complex than the one that is normally included in the literature. Data presented in this paper indicate that application and use of verbal evaluative suffixes are constrained by a tangled set of restrictions involving aspect and actionality that reduce both their domain and occurrences. Consequently, verbal evaluative suffixes have to ‘elbow’ their way through two powerful categories of verbal system. The scenario is still further complicated by the fact that, in a general perspective, Italian does not show any inclination for the formation of complex verbs by means of suffixation processes.

As a consequence, if these are the premises, it is probably right to turn over our initial question, thereby adopting a new point of view: in Italian, a language with an exuberant nominal evaluative morphology, verbal evaluative suffixes are not surprisingly unproductive

in a system which is particularly inclined to welcome them. On the contrary, they seem even extraordinarily productive in a system that dramatically curtails their vital space.

This perspective casts new light on the issue concerning the low cross-linguistic diffusion of these affixes. In languages such as Russian their occurrence is blocked by ‘true’ aspectual markers, on which the whole verbal system rests. On the contrary, in Romance languages such a constraint does not hold or holds to a lesser extent, since aspect is a ‘latent’ (or ‘parasitical’) category, not marked by a set of specific endings: aspectual values are carried by tenses. As a consequence, the so-called verbal evaluative suffixes do not trigger any ‘rivalry’. Nevertheless, it is just the absence of a set of aspectual endings, that is the fact that aspect is not the central category in the Italian verbal system, which brings about the marginal state of these affixes within the derivational system of Italian. In other words, the absence of aspectual endings leaves the way open to verbal evaluative suffixes, but at the same time it limits them to a peripheral position.

As such, in conclusion, it is misleading to determine the productivity of evaluative verbal suffixes by comparing them to nominal evaluative suffixes, since, except for the formal similarity mentioned in (2), on semantic ground they obey different principles that reflect different adaptation strategies to different sections of language system.

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Notes

1. Cf. Montermini (1999) and Kerleroux (1999).
2. Alternative labels sometimes used in the literature in the field are appreciative, alterative or expressive morphology, the last one not being exactly synonymous with the others.
3. On the polysemy of *-ino* and other related suffixes in Romance languages see Butler (1971).
4. The meaning of Srd. *vitellu* is ‘young (and therefore small) cow’, but in the word *vitellu* any lexical unit meaning ‘cow’ can be traced. The Sardinian word for ‘cow’ is *bacca*, from which the diminutive *bakkixedda* can be derived. For a sketch of Sardinian evaluative morphology cf. Grandi (2005).
5. A typological sketch of evaluative suffixes is drawn by Grandi (2002). For some areal tendencies in evaluative morphology see Matisoff (1991) and Grandi (2003). As to the interaction between phonology and evaluative morphology, cf. Bauer (1996); for the relationship between pragmatics and evaluative morphology the main reference is Dressler / Merlini Barbaresi (1994). The position of evaluative morphology within the morphological component and its interactions with inflection and derivation are investigated in Grandi (2001).
6. For verbal diminutives in French, Arabic, and Italian cf. Plenat (1999), Watson (2006), and Grandi (2007) respectively.
7. Even languages with an extremely scanty evaluative morphology, such as English or Turkish, display some diminutive formation processes (i.e. Eng. *booklet* or *piglet*; Trk. *kedicik* ‘kitten’, *oyuncak* ‘easy game’), usually characterized by a low degree of productivity.
8. <http://typo.uni-konstanz.de/archive/intro>

9. According to Bauer (1997: 539), Khmer possibly represents an exception to this tendency, since it marks diminutives and augmentatives on verbs, but not on nouns. But Bauer himself proceeds warily on this way, since his analysis is based on a very small sample of data.

10. Abbreviations: AUG = augmentative; AUX = auxiliary; AV = (auxiliary) *avere*; DIM = diminutive; ES = (auxiliary) *essere*; INTR = intransitive; N = noun; PRON = pronominal (verb); TR = transitive; V = verb; VAL = evaluative suffix.

11. While most nominal evaluative suffixes can be univocally classified with respect to their meaning (i.e. diminutive, augmentative, and pejorative), verbal evaluative suffixes cannot be classed in a unique way, since their meaning is often a ‘cluster’ of different semantic nuances (attenuation, iteration, superficiality, etc.). So, in these glosses, I use a generic label such as VAL, covering the four evaluative values mentioned in §1.1 (SMALL, BIG, GOOD, BAD).

12. For details about the genesis of Italian verbal evaluative suffixes cf. Grandi (2008).

13. I tested the situation of less frequent verbs with particular accuracy, in order to understand whether the lack of occurrences was due to a gradual exclusion from the language or to accidental reasons. In all cases, the tendency revealed by the first query was confirmed by the second and third queries (cf. *ammalazzarsi* ‘to be sickly’: 8 occurrences in November 2004, 5 in November 2005 and 0 in November 2006).

14. Including also the 32 occurrences of *sono svolazzati*.

Appendix

Base verbs:

ammontare ‘to amount (to)’
 annaspire ‘to grope about’
 arrangiare ‘to arrange, to manage’
 avvolgere ‘to wind, to roll up’
 baciare ‘to kiss’
 balzare ‘to jump’
 beccare ‘to peck’
 beffare ‘to mock, to trick’
 bere ‘to drink’

braccare ‘to hunt’
 bruciare ‘to burn’
 bucare ‘to hole’
 cagare / cacare ‘to shit’
 campare ‘to live, to scrape along’
 cantare ‘to sing’
 comprare ‘to buy’
 copiare ‘to copy’
 costare ‘to cost’
 dormire ‘to sleep’
 fischiare ‘to whistle’
 forare ‘to make a hole in’
 frugare ‘to rummage’
 fumare ‘to smoke’

giocare ‘to play’

Evaluative verbs:

ammonticchiare
 annaspicare
 arrangicchiare
 avvoltolare
 baciucchiare, sbaciucchiare
 balzellare, sbalzellare
 becchettare, beccolare, beccuzzare, sbecchettare
 beffeggiare, sbeffeggiare
 bevacchiare, bevazzare, bevicchiare, bevucchiare
 sbevacchiare, sbevazzare, sbevicchiare,
 sbevucchiare
 bracceggiare
 abbruciacchiare, bruciacchiare, sbruciacchiare
 bucherellare
 scacazzare, scagazzare
 campicchiare
 canterellare, canticchiare
 compticchiare
 scopiazzare
 costicchiare, costucchiare
 dormicchiare, sdormicchiare
 fischiettare
 foracchiare, sforacchiare
 frugacchiare, frugicchiare, frugolare
 fumacchiare, fumazzare, fumeggiare, fomicchiare,
 sfumacchiare, sfumazzare, sfomicchiare
 giocherellare, giochicchiare

girare ‘to ramble, to wander’	girellare, gironzolare
gridare ‘to shout’	gridacchiare
guadagnare ‘to earn’	guadagnucchiare
guaire ‘to yelp’	guaiolare
guardare ‘to look’	guardicchiare, guarducchiare, sguardicchiare, sguarducchiare
guidare ‘to drive’	guidacchiare
imparare ‘to learn’	imparacchiare, imparicchiare, imparucchiare
inciampare ‘to trip’	inciampicare
insegnare ‘to teach’	insegnicchiare, insegnucciare
lavare ‘to wash’	lavicchiare
lavorare ‘to work’	lavoracchiare, lavoricchiare, slavoricchiare
leccare ‘to lick’	sleccazzare
leggere ‘to read’	leggiacchiare, leggiucchiare
macchiare ‘to stain’	macchiettare
mangiare ‘to eat’	mangicchiare, mangiucchiare, smangiucchiare
mordere ‘to bite’	mordicchiare
palpare ‘to feel, to touch’	palpeggiare
parlare ‘to speak’	parlacchiare, parlicchiare, parlottare, parlucchiare
pelare ‘to peel, to remove hair / fur from’	spelacchiare
pennellare ‘to paint’	pennelleggiare
piacere ‘to like’	piacicchiare, piaciucchiare
piangere ‘to cry’	piagnucolare, piangiucchiare
picchiare ‘to beat’	picchierellare, picchiettare
piegare ‘to bend, to fold’	pieghettare, spiegazzare
piovere ‘to rain’	piovicchiare, piovicciare, piovigginare
puzzare ‘to stink’	puzzacchiare, puzzicchiare
ridere ‘to laugh’	ridacchiare
rigare ‘to rule, to scratch’	righettare
riposare ‘to rest’	riposicchiare
rodere ‘to gnaw’	rosicchiare
rubare ‘to steal’	rubacchiare, rubicchiare
saltare ‘to jump’	saltellare, salterellare, salticchiare
sballottare ‘to jolt (about)’	sballottolare
sbavare ‘to drool’	sbavazzare
scherzare ‘to joke’	scherzeggiare
sciupare ‘to spoil, to waste’	sciupacchiare
scoppiare ‘to explode’	scoppiettare
scrivere ‘to write’	scribacchiare, scrivacchiare, scrivicchiare, scrivucchiare
sfottere ‘to make fun of’	sfotticchiare
sparare ‘to shoot’	sparacchiare
spelare ‘to remove the hair / the fur from’	spelacchiare
spendere ‘to spend’	spendacchiare, spendacciare, spendicchiare, spenducchiare
spennare ‘to pluck’	spennacchiare
spezzare ‘to break’	spezzettare
sputare ‘to spit’	sputacchiare, sputazzare
stentare ‘to be hard up’	stentacchiare

stirare ‘to stretch’	stiracchiare
studiare ‘to study’	studiacchiare, studicchiare
sudare ‘to sweat’	sudacchiare
suonare ‘to play’	suonacchiare, suonicchiare
tagliare ‘to cut’	tagliuzzare
tastare ‘to feel, to touch’	tasteggiare
tossire ‘to cough’	tossicchiare
tremare ‘to tremble’	tremolare
trottare ‘to trot’	trotterellare
vendere ‘to sell’	vendicchiare
vivere ‘to live’	vivacchiare, vivicchiare, vivucchiare
volare ‘to fly’	volacchiare, volicchiare, svolacchiare, svolazzare

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