Competition analysis of non-allomorphs: diminutive suffixes in modern Russian.

Although masculine diminutive suffixes [-ok, -ik, -t͡ɕik] were considered allomorphs in previous studies (Gouskova et al., 2015; Polivanova, 1967), they were never tested for allomorphy. The assumption was based on their distribution in standard Russian which is close to complementary and can be predicted with phonological factors. However, these suffixes appeared to have differences in meaning. Phonological preferences of the suffixes (Gouskova et al., 2015; Polivanova, 1967; my data). Are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Phonological properties of nouns selected by each suffix.

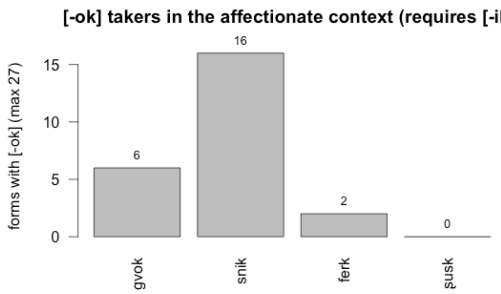
Suffix	stem-final consonant	base stress position	other	changes to the stem suffix causes	example
-ok	preferably velar	initial	no hiatus stem-initial CC preferred	stem-final velar mutation stress shift to the suffix	duˈrak→duraˈt͡ɕok,
-ik	fricative	final	OCP (front vowel)	palatalization may cause stem-final velar mutation	vapˈros→vapˈrosʲik
-t͡ɕik	sonorant	final	no final CC		baˈton→baˈtont͡ɕik

Experimental evidence for non-allomorphy.

I argue that all three suffixes [-ok], [-ik] and [-t͡ɕik] have different meanings: [-ok] has pejorative tone, [-ik] has affectionate tone and [-t͡ɕik] is neutral. I conducted a short online survey (10 nonce words) with three protocols: affectionate context, pejorative context, no context. Participants had to choose one of the three diminutive forms for each word: with the [-ok], [-ik] or [-t͡ɕik] suffix. The experiment has shown that pejorative context significantly increases chances of [-ok] and decreases chances of [-ik]; affectionate context significantly increases chances of [-ik] and decreases chances of [-ok] and the [-t͡ɕik] suffix remains unaffected. Phonological factors listed in Table 1 have significant impact as well. Figure 1 illustrates interaction between semantic and phonological factors.

Figure 1. Phonological factors that require [-ok] help resistance to the affectionate context.

noun	**Stem-final velar**	**Initial cluster**	**OCP (front)**
snʲik	x	x	x
gvok	x	x	
fʲerk	x		x
ʂusk	x		



Phonological factors

I have found that the distribution of suffixes [-ok, -ik, -t͡ɕik] on newly borrowed nouns and on nouns without an established diminutive form is different from reported in previous studies. I conducted a forced choice survey to test possible phonological factors that may influence the suffixes distribution. The experiment has shown that the [-t͡ɕik] suffix is used significantly more often with loan words than with native words. I think it is due to its morphological

transparency: the [-t͡ɕik] suffix does not cause any changes to the stem and does not have any additional meaning. I trained a Maxent model (Hayes et al, 2009) on the experimental data. The weights of faithfulness constraints indeed appear to be as much (or almost as much) as of markedness ones.

References

Gouskova, Maria, Luiza Newlin-Łukowicz, and Sofya Kasyanenko. "Selectional restrictions as phonotactics over sublexicons." *Lingua* 167 (2015): 41-81.

Hayes, Bruce, Colin Wilson, and Benjamin George. 2009 MaxEnt grammar tool. *Java program downloaded from http://www. linguistics. ucla. edu/people/hayes/Maxent-GrammarTool*.

Polivanova, Anna K. 1967. Obrazovanie umen'shitel'nyx suschestvitel'nyx muzhskogo roda. *Russkij jazyk v natsional'noj shkole.* (reprinted, 2008. *Obscheee russkoe jazykoznanie: Izbrannye raboty, volume 4, 8–22. Moscow: RGGU.)*