

The non-compositional domain: diminutives and augmentatives in Brazilian Portuguese¹

(O domínio não-composicional: diminutivos e aumentativos no português brasileiro)

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Abstract: this paper investigates the syntactic domain of non-compositional interpretation. The empirical data are non-compositional diminutives and augmentatives in Brazilian Portuguese. It is proposed that these formatives are nominal categorizing heads and this status influences the computation of locality in syntactic structures. Based on data in which an affix intervenes between the root and the diminutive/augmentative morpheme, it is proposed, in line with the Exo-Skeletal model (BORER, 2003, 2005a, 2005b, 2013), that a split between elements which project functional structure and elements which projects lexical structure is a necessary one, since the former, but not the latter, defines domains of non-compositional interpretation

Keywords: non-compositionality; locality; phase; diminutive; augmentative.

Resumo: este artigo investiga o domínio sintático da interpretação não-composicional, a partir de dados de diminutivo e aumentativo do português brasileiro. Propõe-se que tais morfemas, em formações não-composicionais, são núcleos categorizadores nominais e tal estatuto influencia na computação de localidade nas estruturas sintáticas. Baseado em dados no qual um afixo intervém entre a raiz e o morfema de diminutivo/aumentativo, defende-se, em linha com o modelo Exoesquelético (BORER, 2003, 2005a, 2005b, 2013), que a divisão entre elementos que projetam estrutura funcional e elementos que projetam estrutura lexical é necessária, uma vez que os primeiros, mas não os últimos, definem domínios de interpretação não-composicional.

Palavras-chave: não-composicionalidade; localidade; fase; diminutivo; aumentativo

Introduction

Brazilian Portuguese, henceforth BP, presents a variety of different diminutive and augmentative affixes, but the most productive ones are *-inho/-zinho* for diminutive² formation, and *-ão/-zão* for augmentative formation. There is an interesting asymmetry between these formatives which groups *-inho/-ão* on one side and *-zinho/-zão* on the other side: while the former couple may trigger non-compositional interpretation, the latter one may not do it.

Interestingly, compositional and non-compositional diminutive/augmentative data behave differently: while compositional diminutive and augmentative may not play a role in determining the formal properties of the structure, non-compositional formatives, on the other hand, may change the formal features of the base to which they attach.

1 Paper submitted in 2013. Substantially different analysis of the phenomenon can be found in Armelin (2014) and in Armelin (in preparation).

2 We refer the reader to Câmara Jr. (1970), Leite (1974), Moreno (1977), Bisol (2010), Menuzzi (1993), Lee (1999), Vilalva (2000) and Ferreira (2005) for different approaches developed to treat diminutive formation in BP.

In the same sense, compositional diminutives and augmentatives may participate in the formation of a great variety of categories, while non-compositional formatives seem to exclusively derive nouns.

Based on these facts, it will be proposed that the diminutive, and the augmentative affixes deriving non-compositional interpretation are heads. More specifically, that they are a kind of nominal categorizer head *n*, in the sense of Distributed Morphology (HALLE; MARANTZ, 1993; MARANTZ, 1997 and much subsequent work). The structural status of non-compositional diminutives and augmentatives gives rise to interesting issues related to the delimitation of local domains in the syntactic derivation.

In order to discuss the syntactic domain of non-compositional interpretation, three different hypotheses put forth in the literature are going to be discussed: Marantz (2001, 2007)/ Arad (2003), Borer (2013, 2014) and Marantz (2013). Based on empirical data in which there is an intervener between the root and the non-compositional augmentative/diminutive, it is proposed, in line with Borer's Exo-Skeletal model, that a split between elements that project functional structure and elements that project lexical structure is an important one, in the sense that the former, but not the latter delimits a domain of non-compositional interpretation.

This paper is organized as follows: Section 2 brings a description of the data, comparing the formal properties of compositional and non-compositional diminutives and augmentatives. Section 3 proposes a syntactic structure to non-compositional diminutives and augmentatives. Section 4 discusses the syntactic domain of non-compositional interpretation. Finally, section 5 closes the paper with the final considerations.

The data: compositional vs. non-compositional diminutives and augmentatives

Diminutives and Augmentatives in BP may participate in the formation of a great variety of categories: nouns (1a, 2a); adjectives (1b, 2b); adverbs (1c, 2c); gerunds (1d, 2d); participles (1e, 2e); and even inflected verbal forms (1f, 2f).

(1)	a. bola ('ball')	bolinha	('small ball')
	b. bonito ('beautiful')	bonitinho	('not that beautiful')
	c. longe ('far')	longinho	('a little bit far')
	d. correndo ('running')	correndinho	('very fast')
	e. conferido ('conferred')	conferinho	('completely conferred')
	f. gostei ('I liked')	gosteizinho ³	('I liked it a little bit')
(2)	a. bola ('ball')	bolona	('big ball')
	b. bonito ('beautiful')	bonitão	('very beautiful')
	c. longe ('far')	lonjão	('very far')
	d. correndo ('running')	correndão	('very fast')
	e. conferido ('conferred')	conferidão	('completely conferred')
	f. gostei ('I liked')	gosteizão ⁴	('I liked it a lot')

³ It is important to note that the form **gosteinho* is ungrammatical. It is not clear however if the ungrammaticality is a matter of phonology or if it is related to asymmetries between the relevant diminutive formatives.

⁴ Cf. note 2.

There is an interesting fact that emerges from the comparison between (1d)-(2d), and between (1e)-(2e): there are no clear differences in the interpretation of diminutive and augmentative forms, which means that neither of them, or at least one of them is non-compositionally interpreted. Also, when adverbs are at stake, it is not hard to find cases in which diminutive and augmentative forms express basically the same meaning:

- (3) a. à noite ('at night') à noitinha ('late at night')
 b. à noite ('at night') à noitão ('late at night')

The most productive diminutives *-inho* and *-zinho* may alternate when they attach to thematic nouns. The alternation between the augmentative affixes is also licensed in the same context. Nevertheless, there is a clear preference for *-inho/-ão*⁵ and this is even more striking in adverbs (4c, 5c), gerunds (4d, 5d) and participles (4e, 5e), in which the alternation is possible, but sounds really worse than *-inho/-ão* formations.

- (4) a. bola ('ball') bolinha/bolazinha ('small ball')
 b. chato ('annoying') chatinho/chatozinho ('a little bit annoying')
 c. rápido ('fast') rapidinho/?rapidozinho ('very fast')
 d. correndo ('running') correndinho/?conrrendozinho ('very fast')
 e. conferido ('conferred') conferinho/?conferidozinho ('completely conferred')
- (5) a. bola ('ball') bolona/bolazona ('small ball')
 b. chato ('annoying') chatinho/chatozinho ('a little bit annoying')
 c. rápido ('fast') rapidinho/?rapidozão ('very fast')
 d. correndo ('running') correndinho/?conrrendozão ('very fast')
 e. conferido ('conferred') conferinho/?conferidozão ('completely conferred')

This fact seems to correlate to another one: *-zinho/-zão* formations do not allow non-compositional interpretation. In this sense, while *-inho* diminutive may be ambiguous between compositional and non-compositional interpretation, the correspondent *-zinho* diminutive only allow compositional interpretation (6). The same is true in the *-ão* and *-zão* augmentative forms (7).

- (6) a. carro ('car') carrinho (*-inho* diminutive)
 Compositional interpretation: small car
 Non-compositional interpretation: sliding tackle
- a'. carro ('car') carrozinho (*-zinho* diminutive)
 Compositional interpretation: small car
 Non-compositional interpretation: NOT AVAILABLE
- b. caipira ('hick') caipirinha (*-inho* diminutive)
 Compositional interpretation: small hick
 Non-compositional interpretation: a kind of alcoholic drink
- b'. caipira ('hick') caipirazinha (*-zinho* diminutive)
 Compositional interpretation: small hick
 Non-compositional interpretation: NOT AVAILABLE

⁵ See Menuzzi (1993) for a discussion about the relevant prosodic facts in the alternation between *-inh* and *-zinh*.

- (7) a. roupa ('cloth') roupão (-ão augmentative)
 Compositional interpretation: big cloth
 Non-compositional interpretation: robe
- a'. roupa ('cloth') roupazona (-zão augmentative)
 Compositional interpretation: big cloth
 Non-compositional interpretation: NOT AVAILABLE
- b. carta ('letter') cartão (-ão augmentative)
 Compositional interpretation: big letter
 Non-compositional interpretation: card
- b'. carta ('letter') cartazona (-zão augmentative)
 Compositional interpretation: big letter
 Non-compositional interpretation: NOT AVAILABLE

Concerning the augmentative formations above, it is worth saying that the nouns *roupa* ('cloth'), and *carta* ('letter') present feminine gender in BP. The feminine augmentative forms are *-ona* and *-zona*. The output forms *roupazona* ('big cloth'), and *cartazona* ('big letter'), are compositional, due to the presence of the *-z* consonant. Nevertheless, *-ão* may be attached to an otherwise feminine form, resulting in a masculine formation. This explains the forms *roupão* ('big cloth' or 'robe') and *cartão* ('big letter' or 'card'), which are ambiguous between compositional and non-compositional interpretation. Note that the feminine augmentative *roupona* ('big cloth') and *cartona* ('big letter') are also grammatical, but, interestingly, they can only be compositionally interpreted. Therefore, the pattern is the following: *-ão*, but not *-ona* may be the trigger to non-compositional interpretation.

It is well known that diminutives in BP do not determine the formal features as the category (cf. 8a-c) or the gender (cf. 9a-d) of the formation.

- (8) a. carro ('car') – noun carrinho/carrozinho ('small car') – noun
 b. grande ('big') – adjective grandinho/grandezinho ('a little bit big') – adjective
 c. cedo ('early') – adverb cedinho/cedozinho ('a little bit early') – adverb
- (9) a. menina ('girl') – feminine menininha/meninazinha ('little girl') – feminine
 b. menino ('boy') – masculine menino/meninozinho ('little boy') – masculine
 c. semente ('seed') – feminine sementinha/semtezinha ('small seed') – feminine
 d. pente ('comb') – masculine pentinho/pentezinho ('small comb') – masculine

It is also true that augmentatives maintain the category of the base, as can be seen in the examples bellow.

- (10) a. carro ('car') – noun carrão/carrozão ('big car') – noun
 b. grande ('big') – adjective grandão/grandezão ('very big') – adjective
 c. cedo ('early') – adverb cedão/cedozão ('very early') – adverb

The gender value in the augmentative forms, however, shows an asymmetry between *-ão* and *-zão*: while the former may form a masculine augmentative out of a feminine base, the latter may not do it. Interestingly, this seems to correlate to the fact that, *-ão*, but not *-zão*, may allow non-compositional interpretation.

(11) a. tigela ('bowl') – feminine	tigelona/tigelazona ('big bowl') – feminine
a' tigela ('bowl') – feminine	tigelão/*tigelazão ('big bowl') – masculine
b. panela ('pan') – feminine	panelona/panelazona ('big pan') – feminine
b' panela ('pan') – feminine	panelão/*panelazão ('big pan') – masculine
c. semente ('seed') – feminine	sementona/sementezona ('big seed') – feminine
c' semente ('seed') – feminine	sementão/*sementezão ('big seed') – masculine

Non-compositional diminutives and augmentatives seem to be able to determine the formal properties of the structure. In (12), for example, [-animate] nouns are being changed into [+animate] by virtue of the presence of the diminutive. Also, while the non-diminutive forms in (12) are feminine, the correspondent non-compositional diminutives may be either feminine or masculine, depending on the sex of the referent.

(12) Feminine/ [-animate]	feminine or masculine/ [+animate]
a. A almofada	a /o almofadinha
DET.FEM. pillow	DET.FEM./DET.MASC pillowDIM
'pillow'	meaning: spoiled person; fop.
b. A tampa	a /o tampinha
DET.FEM. cover	DET.FEM./DET.MASC coverDIM
'cover'	meaning: a very short person
c. A coroa	a /o coroinha
DET.FEM. crown	DET.FEM./DET.MASC crownDIM
'crown'	meaning: altar boy or altar girl

It is necessary to emphasize that the diminutive forms above are ambiguous between a compositional and a non-compositional interpretation. For example *tampinha* can be either a 'bottle cap' (compositional) or a 'very small person' (non-compositional); *almofadinha* can be either a 'small pillow' (compositional) or a 'spoiled person' (non-compositional), and so on. Nevertheless, in the compositional interpretation, the feminine gender, displayed by the non-diminutive form, has to be preserved.

A nearly parallel scenario holds in augmentative formation, as the non-augmentative and the augmentative forms in (13) contrast with respect to the animacy feature.

(13) [-animate]	[+animate]
a. sapato ('shoe')	sapatão ('lesbian')
b. bunda ('bums')	bundão ('coward man')

Non-compositional diminutive and augmentatives may also change the category of the base:

(14) Adjectives	Nouns
a. barbudo	barbudinho
'heavily bearded'	'a kind of three'
b. quente	quentinha
'hot'	'take away food'

c. branco ‘white’	branquinho ‘correction fluid’
d. gordo ‘fat’	gordinho ‘a kind of fish’

In the examples above, the adjectives in the first column relate to diminutive noun forms. Once again, a possible compositional interpretation is available for the relevant diminutives. However, if they are compositionally interpreted, they have to maintain the same category as the non-diminutive form. In this same sense, non-compositional augmentatives may play a role in determining the category of the resulting formation:

(15) Adjetives	Nouns
a. quente ‘hot’	quentão ‘a kind of alcoholic drink’
b. amarelo ‘yellow’	amarelão ‘a kind of disease’
(16) Participle	Nouns
a. aberto ‘opened’	abertão ‘a big country area without trees’
b. batida ‘beat’	batidão ‘a music style’

Once again, it is possible for the above augmentatives to be compositionally interpreted. In this sense, *quentão* may also mean ‘very hot’, while *abertão* may also mean ‘wide open’, and so on. However, for the compositional interpretation to be available, the categorial feature of the non-augmentative form has to be maintained.

It was emphasized that only *-inho* and *-ão*, but not *-zinho* and *-zão*, may trigger non-compositional interpretation. In some contexts, however, the aforementioned alternation is not allowed. Much of the literature that has addressed the subject considers it to be the result of a phonological restriction that avoids hiatus (see BISOL, 2010).

(17) a. bebê (‘baby’)	*bebeinho/bebezinho	(‘little baby’)
b. bebê (‘baby’)	*bebeão/bebezão	(‘big baby’)
c. céu (‘sky’)	*ceuinho/ceuzinho	(‘small sky’)
d. céu (‘sky’)	*ceuão/ceuzão	(‘big sky’)

Interestingly, when the /z/ consonant is required by a phonological restriction imposed by the language, the sequence /zinho/ and /zão/ can be found triggering non-compositional interpretation. These are exactly the cases in which *-inho* and *-ão* are phonologically banned.

(18) a. café (‘coffee’)	*cafeinho/cafezinho
Compositional meaning: small coffee	
Non-compositional meaning: an informal and small meal	
b. caju (‘cashew’)	*cajuinho/cajuzinho
Compositional: small cashew	
Non-compositional: a kind of candy made from cashew	

In a few words, when the alternation is licensed, *-inho/-ão*, but not *-zinho/-zão* may trigger non-compositional interpretation. Therefore I propose that non-compositional diminutive and augmentative headed by /z/ are no more than the result of *-inho* annexation, and that the /z/ consonant should, in these cases, be considered an epenthetic element.⁶

Another important fact concerning the comparison between compositional and non-compositional forms is related to the interaction between diminutives, augmentatives and derivational affixes. It is a well-known fact that diminutive and augmentative formatives may follow derivational affixes. In BP the suffixes *-or*, for example, form agent nouns, just like the suffixes *-er* in English.

- | | | | | |
|---------|-----------------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------------------|
| (19) a. | pian-ista ('pianist') | pian-ist-inha | /*pian-inh-ista | ('a small or bad pianist') |
| | piano-suff. | piano-suff-dim | piano-dim-aug. | |
| b. | pian-ista ('pianist') | pian-ist-ão | /*pian-ão-ista | ('a big or good pianist') |
| | piano-suff. | piano-suff-aug | piano-aug-suff. | |
| c. | dent-ista ('dentist') | dent-ist-inha | /*dent-inh-ista | ('a small or bad dentist') |
| | dent-suff. | dent-suff-dim | dent-dim-suff. | |
| d. | dent-ista ('dentist') | dent-ist-ão | /*dent-ão-ista | ('a big or good dentist') |
| | dent-suff. | dent-suff-aug | dent-aug-suff. | |

As it is shown in the examples above, neither the diminutive nor the augmentative may precede the derivational suffix. This is not the case, however, in non-compositional formation, in which nothing may come between the diminutive/augmentative suffix and the stem.

- | | | |
|---------|-----------------|--|
| (20) a. | caipir-inha | ('a kind of alcoholic drink') |
| | hick-dim | |
| b. | caipir-inh-eiro | ('a person who drinks a lot of <i>caipirinha</i> or who knows how to prepare it) |
| | hick-dim-suff. | |
| (21) a. | quent-ão | ('a kind of hot alcoholic drink') |
| | hot-aug | |
| b. | quent-ão-zeiro | ('a person who drinks a lot of <i>quentão</i> or who knows how to prepare it) |
| | hot-aug-suff. | |

While non-compositional diminutives and augmentatives require a very local relation with the stem, this is clearly not the case with compositional formations.

⁶ It is very important to say that we are not assuming that the /z/ in *-zinho* and *-zão* is always an epenthetic consonant. This analysis seems very plausible in cases of non-compositional interpretation. In compositional formations, however, the scenario is a little bit more complex and our hypothesis is that there are, in fact, two ways of getting to the /zinho/ and /zão/ phonological sequence. In some cases, it is clear that /z/ should be considered an epenthetic consonant, but in other cases that are enough arguments to say that *-zinho* and *-zão* are independent morphemes. However, due to space constraints this hypothesis will not be developed in the present paper.

Structuring non-compositional diminutives and augmentatives

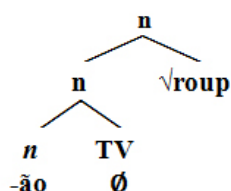
There is no good reason to assume that non-compositional diminutives and augmentatives occupy different structural positions, since they show a very similar behavior. However, the comparison between non-compositional and compositional formations showed very different properties. As this paper is specifically concerned with the domain of non-compositional interpretation, I am going to focus in proposing a structure for the non-compositional forms.

The first point to be emphasized is that non-compositional diminutives and augmentatives may change the formal features of the base. As Witschko and Steriopolo (2007) have proposed, this is typically a behavior of heads: the non-compositional diminutive and augmentative are, then, the head of their structure.

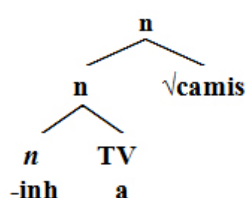
More specifically, given that non-compositional forms seem to always correlate to nouns, I propose they have the status of categorizing heads (in the sense of Distributed Morphology), which are responsible for providing the root with a category⁷.

The next question to be answered is how close to the root this categorizing head is. It was shown that a derivational affix must not intervene in the relation between the non-compositional formative and the root. Then, the relation established between the root and the non-compositional diminutive/augmentative may be a very local one. The structures proposed in this paper for the non-compositional forms are the following:

- (22) a. *camisa* ('shirt')
 a' *camisinha* ('condom?')



- b. *roupa* ('cloth')
 b' *roupão* ('robe')



Some remarks about the structures above are necessary. For the limits of this paper, theme vowel (TV) is being placed in adjunction to the categorizer. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the nature of the theme vowel. But it is worth saying it has been considered to be an element added after syntax (see HARRIS, 1999; ALCÂNTARA, 2010; OLTRA-MASSUET, 1999)

The third remark about the proposed structure concerns the absence of a theme vowel in *-ão* formation. It is a possible idea that the theme vowel is empty in augmentative formation due to the presence of a gender feature. More specifically, all the forms ending in the augmentative *-ão* are masculine. I propose, then, that gender and theme vowel establish, at least in BP, a kind of complementary distribution. This means that if gender information is present, the theme vowel cannot be realized.⁸

⁷ See Armelin (in preparation) for a different approach, which consider compositional and non-compositional structure of diminutive and augmentative forms to be identical.

⁸ See Armelin (2014) for an account that syntactically unifies the notions of gender and theme vowel in BP. The idea is that the traditionally split notions of gender and inflectional class are, in fact, phonological exponents of the same syntactic head, that is, the Gender head, which is part of the Extended Projection of the noun.

The categorizing status of the non-compositional head may interact in a very interesting way with the structural limits of the non-compositional interpretation and that is what is going to be investigated in the next section.

The non-compositional domain: a localist approach

This section will focus on cases in which there is an intervener between the root and the diminutive/augmentative morpheme. Note that this intervener was supposed to preclude the non-compositional meaning, which clearly is not the case.

(23) Non-compositional diminutives with an intervener

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| a. pux-ad-inho
to pull-part-dim | meaning: an annex, usually poorly done, in buildings. |
| b. pegadinha
to catch-part-dim | meaning: a practical joke, a prank |
| c. bentinho
to bless-part-dim | meaning: a sacred object |
| d. chuveirinho
rain-suff-dim | meaning: in soccer, the kind of play in which the ball is lunched into the area of the opposing team |
| e. chorãozinho
to cry-aug-dim | meaning: additional days to pay a check debt |

(24) Non-compositional augmentative with an intervener

- | | |
|--|--|
| a. mens-al-ão
month-aff-aug | meaning: a Brazilian corruption scheme |
| b. min-eir-ão
minas-aff-aug ¹⁰ | meaning: Atlético Mineiro's ⁹ Stadium |
| c. batidão
beat- par-aug | meaning: a music style |
| d. brasileirão
Brazil-suff-aug | meaning: Brazil's national soccer league. |

The question that immediately emerges is as follows: how do we delimit the syntactic domain of non-compositional interpretation?

I subscribe to the assumption that the domain of non-compositional interpretation should be syntactically established. Different hypotheses have been proposed to define this local domain. In these section, three different hypotheses are discussed: Marantz (2001, 2007)/Arad (2003); Borer (2013, 2014) and Marantz (2013).

Marantz (2001, 2007)/Arad (2003) propose that the first categorizing head is the boundary which separates compositional and non-compositional interpretation. More specifically, categorizers are considered to be phase heads, which trigger spell-out. This roughly means that the material attached under the first categorizing head negotiates

⁹ Atlético Mineiro is a Brazilian soccer team.

¹⁰ Minas (Gerais) is a Brazilian State.

meaning with the root. The negotiated meaning has to be preserved throughout the derivation. This hypothesis has faced a lot of counterexamples — see Anagnostopoulou and Samioti (2012), concerning adjectival participles and verbal adjectives in Greek; Borer (2013), concerning constructs N-N in Hebrew, and Lemle (2013), concerning derived forms in BP — pointing that the first categorizing head constitutes an excessively restricted domain. It is very clear that this hypothesis is also too restrictive to explain data in (23) and (24), given that when the diminutive/augmentative morpheme enters the derivation, the first categorizing phase is already closed. It is very important to say that, in the relevant data, it is exactly the diminutive or augmentative marking that triggers the non-compositional interpretation.

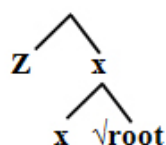
In Marantz (2013), on the other hand, the system works differently. The boundary of non-compositional interpretation is still the phase, but additional constraints on non-compositional interpretation are proposed. Interestingly, the author assumes the same constraints proposed in Embick (2010). The system is based on the idea that two elements may only influence each other's interpretation if they are adjacent to one another. Considering that we are dealing with non-compositional interpretation, the relevant adjacency, as defined by the author, is semantic. In this sense, if there is an intervener, in order for this intervener to not preclude non-compositional interpretation, it has to be semantically null. The first phase head is not the only domain for non-compositional interpretation, since it could be phonologically overt but semantically null, not properly counting as an intervener.

If the element between the diminutive/augmentative morpheme and the root in (23) and (24) is considered to be semantically null, the system described above could, *a priori*, be able to handle the relevant data. But two problems arise. The first one is that it is not obvious that the intervener is always semantically null. In some cases, it seems that the intervener contributes, in some sense, to the final meaning:

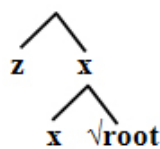
- (25) a. Brasil ('Brazil') > brasileiro ('Brazilian') > brasileirão ('a Brazilian soccer championship')
 b. Mês ('month') > mensal ('monthly') > mensalão ('a corruption system which involves monthly illegal payment')

The second problem concerns the phase head status on the non-compositional diminutive/augmentative morpheme. Embick (2010) points an asymmetrical behavior between phase heads and non-phase heads. The author proposes that a non-phase head may skip a phonologically null intervener, for the purposes of allomorphic interaction. However, a phase head may not do it. In this sense, even if phonologically adjacency is met, the second phase head and the root may not influence each other's phonology.

(26) a.



b.



Suppose *x* is the first categorizing head in both structures, and suppose *z* in (26b) is a phase head, while *Z* in (26a) is not. Inside Embick's system, if *x* is null, then *Z* is adjacent to the root. On the other hand, even if *x* is null, *z* may not be adjacent to the root, because it is itself a phase head.

The same is true in Marantz (2013). So, if non-compositional diminutive/augmentative morphemes are categorizing heads, as I claim they are, even the intervener being semantically null, there is not enough adjacency for the diminutive/augmentative and the root to influence each other semantically.

It is also interesting to note that the diminutive/augmentative morpheme is not really playing any semantic role in (23) and (24). This said, if the intervener element is null, and the diminutive/augmentative is not acting in the interpretation, it is fair to say that it is hard to establish the limits of non-compositional interpretation based on the null vs. non-null aspect of the terminal nodes.

In the approach proposed by Borer (2013, 2014), the non-compositional interpretation correlates to the presence of functional structure, in the sense that functional heads restrict non-compositional interpretation. However, what the author considers as a functional head does not necessarily coincide with phase heads. The theoretical framework implemented by the author presents a Functor Lexicon, which is equivalent to the Vocabulary in Distribute Morphology. The members of this Functor Lexicon are divided into two different types: S-functors (S as an allusion to semantic) and C-functors (C as an allusion to Category). The first ones are implicated in the valuing of functional nodes, and are typically assumed to be linked with Extended Projections (like the_D, three_#, will_T, <pst>_T, <pl>_{DIV}, for example). C-functors, on the other hand, are responsible for dividing the categorial space, projecting a lexical node (like -al_A, -ation_N, -ize_V, -ly_{ADV}, on_{pp} for example). In this sense, acategorial roots merge with these functors, and are contextually categorized by virtue of their syntactic environment. The component responsible by meaning assignment is called encyclopedia. In order to do that, the encyclopedia searches post-syntactic representations. The key point for our analysis is that the encyclopedic searches, which are cyclic and local, are rigidly delimited by S-functors.

Therefore, what effectively counts as barriers for the non-compositional interpretation in Borer's system are the extended projections of functional heads. In (23) and (24), the intervening element seems to correlate with what Borer calls C-functor: they do not project functional structure. The suffix -eiro in (23d), (24b), (24d) is a derivational affix, which generates agent nouns, and it is certainly an example of C-functor.

- | | | |
|------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| (27) | a. cova ('grave') | cov-eiro ('gravedigger') |
| | b. carta ('letter') | cart-eiro ('postman') |
| | c. gol ('goal') | gol-eiro ('goalkeeper') |

In this same sense, the suffix -al in (25a) forms adjectives and, therefore, it is reasonable to say that it projects a lexical node:

- | | | |
|------|------------------------|------------------------|
| (28) | a. pessoa ('person') | pezzo-al ('pesonal') |
| | b. ano ('year') | anu-al ('annual') |
| | c. cultura ('culture') | cultur-al ('cultural') |

The suffix *-ão* in (24e) seems to be a derivational element, which creates agent nouns out of verbs and this is a productive process in BP¹¹. Again, the relevant formative is a C-functor and not an S-functor.

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------|---|
| (29) | a. chorar ('to cry') | chor-ão ('someone who complains a lot') |
| | b. babar ('to drool') | bab-ão ('someone who drools a lot') |
| | c. responder ('to reply') | respond-ão ('someone who talks back') |

Finally, the examples in (23a), (23b), (23c), and (24c) all have a participial element preceding the non-compositional diminutive/augmentative morpheme. These cases could be analyzed as counterarguments for the proposal put forth, but in fact the participle, in these cases, does not project functional structure at all. In fact the relevant participles are denoting a property, just as adjectives do. Then, it is plausible to analyze them as C-functors, and not S-functors. Let's take a closer look at some of the denotations relating to the relevant participles

- | | | |
|------|-----------|---------------------|
| (30) | a. bento | 'a blessed element' |
| | b. puxado | 'demanding' |
- a' Esse menino é bento! Ele consertou meu carro em segundos.
(‘This boy is blessed. He fixed my car in seconds.’)
- b' Esse trabalho é muito puxado. Vai me levar meses para terminá-lo.
(‘This work is very hard. It will take me months to finish it.’)

The above examples show that the relevant participles are not functional elements, in the sense that they do not project functional structure. I conclude, then, that the split between elements implicated in the projection of functional structure and elements implicated in the projection of lexical structure is a valid one, and that it may explain the possibility that diminutive and augmentative formatives trigger non-compositional interpretation in the presence of an intervener between them and the root. The explanation is that the intervener projects lexical structure and due to this fact it does not constitute a boundary for semantic interpretation.

Final considerations

This paper investigated the local domain in which non-compositional interpretation may be licensed. Empirically, it focused on diminutive and augmentative formation in BP, and it was shown that non-compositional formation behaves very differently from the compositional ones. In this sense, non-compositional diminutives and augmentatives in BP may determine the formal properties of the structure, and they only derive nouns. Non-compositional diminutives and augmentatives were analyzed as a nominal categorizing head locally related to the root. This status entailed consequences in the computation of local domains in the syntactic structure.

In order to analyze data in which there was an intervener between the root and the augmentative/diminutive morpheme, different theoretical proposals for the delimitation

¹¹ See Medeiros (2013).

of the non-compositional domain were compared. In line with the Exo-Skeletal model, it was proposed that a split between elements that are implicated in assigning functional values and those that project lexical structure is a relevant one, in the sense that the former, but not the latter, delimits the domain for non-compositional interpretation.

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