

# Morpho-semantics of the French diminutive suffix -et(te)<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>I want to thank Donca Steriade for having the brilliant idea to teach the basics of French diminutive formation in the Ling101 class I was TAing last semester. This is what made me wonder about cases of gender mismatch in that domain.

# Background

- French assigns grammatical gender (**M**asculine or **F**eminine) to nominals and is endowed with a quite productive “diminutive” suffix **-et**/**-ette**.

- (1) a. maison<sub>F</sub> → (maisonn-**ette**)<sub>F</sub>  
‘house’ → ‘small (cute) house’
- b. balcon<sub>M</sub> → (balconn-**et**)<sub>M</sub>  
‘balcony’ → ‘small (cute) balcony’

- Because **M**-bases are often affixed with the **M**-variant of the diminutive (**-et**) and **F**-bases with the **F**-variant (**-ette**), traditional grammars implicitly assumed that **-et** and **-ette** were allomorphs dependent on the gender features of the base.
- A correlate of this assumption is that **-et** and **-ette** should be linked to the exact same diminutive semantics.

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- Milner (1989) however observed that **-ette** may attach to **M**-bases and **-et** to **F**-bases – a phenomenon we dub **gender-mismatch** – leading to a looser semantic relationship between the base and the derived form.

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(2) char<sub>M</sub> → (char-ette)<sub>F</sub> (3) a. boule<sub>F</sub> → (boul-et)<sub>M</sub>  
char<sub>M</sub> \*→ (char-et)<sub>M</sub> 'ball' → 'cannonball'  
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- The pairs in (2) and (3a) would be unexpected if the suffix simply agreed in gender with the base: rather, it seems that in at least certain cases, the suffix introduces its own gender (a phenomenon documented in other languages, cf. Kramer, 2015).

# Contribution

- In this work, we bring support to a refinement of Milner's observation *via* a more systematic analysis of the French lexicon.
- We also recast the empirical observations in more formal terms, within the framework of Distributed Morphology.
- More specifically, we argue that frequency differences between:
  1. **-et** and **-ette** suffixation;
  2. **M**-to-**F** vs **F**-to-**M** gender-mismatches;
  3. the number of “true” diminutives among the **-et** and **-ette** forms (regardless of the presence of a gender-mismatch)
- ...could be explained if we assume that:
  - **-ette** is ambiguous between an allomorph of the (non-purely diminutive) suffix **-et** and another very productive and purely diminutive suffix **-ette**;
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## Data analysis

- Methodology

- Gender imbalances

- Diminutive semantics

## Formal analysis

- Novel claims

- Background on Distributed Morphology

# Data analysis

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# Data collection

- From a list of French words provided by the Linux OS (346,200 entries), we extracted and filtered nouns ending in **-et** and **-ette**.
- Extraction involved:
  - matching all words ending in **-et** or **-ette**;
  - generating, for each candidate form, an approximation of its base by truncation;
  - checking if the approximate base is close enough to an element of the lexicon – if yes, the pair (base, diminutive) is added to our database.
- Filtering involved:
  - finding the exact base from which the word is derived using online resources (Larousse online dictionary, Wiktionary) and introspection;
  - verifying that the base is a nominal.<sup>1</sup>
- The dataset was supplemented by pairs generated *via* pure introspection (not all of them being documented in dictionaries).
- In total, 262 nouns in **-ette** and 146 nouns in **-et** were gathered.

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<sup>1</sup>Cases in which it was unclear whether the base was nominal, which happens, for instance, when the nominal is ambiguous with a deverbal, as in *déjeuner* ('(have) lunch'), were excluded.

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## Observation 1: **-ette** vs. **-et** suffixation

Derived → Base ↓	<b>-ette</b> only	<b>-et</b> only	Both	Total
<b>Feminine</b>	186 (138)	15 (5)	32 (23/7)	233
<b>Masculine</b>	34 (12)	89 (54)	10 (3/6)	133
<b>Total</b>	<b>220</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>42</b>	366




**Table 1:** Dataset statistics;  =gender-preserving suffixation;  =F-to-M mismatches;  =M-to-F mismatches. The number of true diminutives for each count is put in parentheses; for bases with both a **-ette** and a **-et** form, the format is (# true **-ette** diminutives/ # true **-et** diminutives).

- Quantitatively (and regardless of the gender of the base), **-ette** suffixation is around 1.8 times more frequent than **-et** suffixation ( $(220+42)/(104+42) \sim 1.8$ ).
- Qualitatively, generating **-ette**-forms by introspection appeared easier.
- This all suggests that **-ette** is overall more productive than **-et**, which would be surprising if both were coming from the same underlying form.



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**Table 1:** Dataset statistics;  =gender-preserving suffixation;  =F-to-M mismatches;  =M-to-F mismatches. The number of true diminutives for each count is put in parentheses; for bases with both a **-ette** and a **-et** form, the format is (# true **-ette** diminutives/ # true **-et** diminutives).

- Quantitatively (and regardless of the gender of the base), **-ette** suffixation is around 1.8 times more frequent than **-et** suffixation ( $(220+42)/(104+42) \sim 1.8$ ).
- Qualitatively, generating **-ette**-forms by introspection appeared easier.
- This all suggests that **-ette** is overall more productive than **-et**, which would be surprising if both were coming from the same underlying form.

## Observation 2: M-to-F vs. F-to-M mismatches

Derived → Base ↓	-ette only	-et only	Both	Total
Feminine	186 (138)	15 (5)	32 (23/7)	233
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- The proportion of gender-mismatches is higher for M-bases (M-to-F mismatch) than F-bases (F-to-M mismatch):

$$\hat{\mathbb{P}}[-\text{et-form}|\text{F-base}] = 15+32/233 = 47/233 \sim 20\%$$

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$$\hat{\mathbb{P}}[-\text{ette-form}|\text{M-base}] = 34+10/133 = 44/133 \sim 33\%$$

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### Observation 3: true diminutives × gender-(mis)matches

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- More gender-matching forms than gender-mismatching ones appear to have a true diminutive semantics:

$$\hat{\mathbb{P}}[\text{DIM} | \text{F-base-ette or M-base-et}] = 138+23+54+6 / 186+32+89+10 \sim 70\%$$
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$$\hat{\mathbb{P}}[\text{DIM} | \text{F-base-et or M-base-ette}] = 5+7+12+3 / 15+32+34+10 \sim 30\%$$

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## Observation 4: a suffix-driven asymmetry

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- However, an asymmetry driven by the gender of the suffix arises in both “match” and “mismatch” cases!
  - non-mismatching F-forms in -ette are more likely to be diminutive than non-mismatching forms in -et:

$$\hat{P}[\text{DIM}|\text{F-base-ette}] = 138+23/186+32 \sim 74\%$$

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$$\hat{P}[\text{DIM}|\text{M-base-et}] = 54+6/89+10 \sim 60\%$$

- the same patterns holds for mismatching forms (although non-significant due to small sample sizes).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> $\hat{P}[\text{DIM}|\text{M-base-ette}] = 12+3/34+10 \sim 34\% > \hat{P}[\text{DIM}|\text{F-base-et}] = 5+7/15+32 \sim 26\%$

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## Zooming on observation 4: puzzling gender-matching examples

- Even if the gender-matching forms are more likely than the mismatching ones to exhibit a true diminutive semantics, pairs like those in (4) and (5) exemplify some kind of loose semantic relationship, *for both genders*.
- (4) a.     $\text{oeil}_M \rightarrow (\text{oeill-}et)_M$   
          ‘eye’ → ‘eyelet’
- b.     $\text{arc}_M \rightarrow (\text{arch-}et)_M$   
          ‘bow (archery)’ → ‘bow (music)’
- (5) a.     $\text{barre}_F \rightarrow (\text{barr-}ette)_F$   
          ‘bar (construction)’ → ‘hair-clip’
- b.     $\text{coquille}_F \rightarrow (\text{coquill-}ette)_F$   
          ‘shell’ → ‘elbow pasta’
- These data suggest that mismatches *per se* cannot explain all the semantic variation there is in seemingly diminutive forms: something about the suffixes themselves, and how they combine with their base, must be at play.

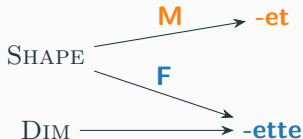
- **Effect of gender agreement between the base and the derived form:** gender-matching forms are more likely than gender-mismatching ones to lead to a true diminutive semantics, in line with previous work.
- **Effect of the suffix's gender alone:** **-ette** appears more productive than **-et** and also more likely to lead to a diminutive semantics, and interestingly those two facts somewhat extend to mismatching forms (which were previously thought to be plain lexicalizations).
- We take this last point as evidence that **-ette** is (sometimes, at least) distinct from the allomorph of **-et**.

# Formal analysis

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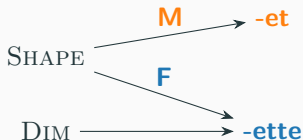
## Novel claims about the diminutive suffixes **-et** and **-ette**

- *Contra* previous accounts, we claim that **-ette** is ambiguous between an allomorph of **-et** and a separate (feminine) suffix **-ette**, which we assume is the pure French diminutive suffix DIM, indicating relative smallness, cuteness, or affection towards the object.
- We take that **-et** has a looser semantics, which only involves a similarity with the base w.r.t. a salient feature, usually shape (so we write **-et** = SHAPE for brevity). Milner (1989) and Delhay (1999) had made a similar observation already, but mostly for cases of gender-mismatch.



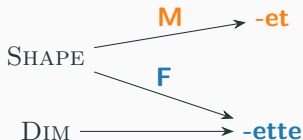
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- **-et** being the realization of SHAPE and **-ette** being that of either SHAPE+AGREE or DIM can explain why **-ette** is more frequent than **-et** across the board, and more likely to yield a diminutive semantics.
- Now we have to devise the exact conditions under which each exponent can surface, to account for the fact that gender mismatching forms overall yield less true diminutives. To do so, let's take a detour to Distributed Morphology.



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# Background on Distributed Morphology

- Distributed Morphology (**DM**, Halle and Marantz (1993)) assumes that there is no divide between syntax and morphology.
- The functions that other theories ascribe to the “lexicon” are “distributed” among other components of the grammar:
  - the **Formative List** provides the input for syntax in the form of feature bundles (no phonology at that point!);
  - **syntactic operations** (MERGE, MOVE, AGREE) apply to formatives;
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(a) The noun 'hammer'



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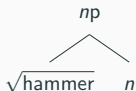


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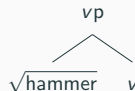
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# DM and the semantics-morphology interface

- Subsequent work within the DM framework (Marantz, 1997, 2001; Arad, 2003, 2005), points out the **crucial distinction between creating words from roots and creating words from existing words**, that is, from roots that are already merged with some word-creating head.
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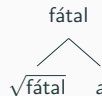
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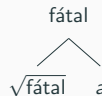
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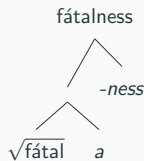
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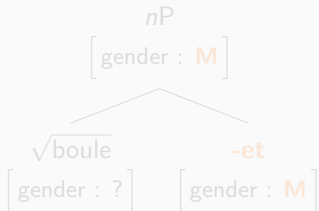
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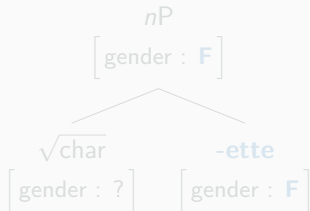
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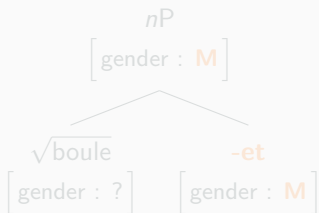
(a) Something akin to the root  $\sqrt{ball}$  ( $\simeq$  ball) in terms of SHAPE



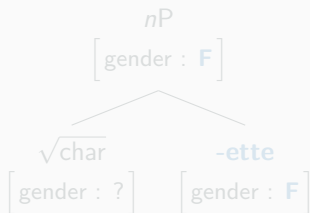
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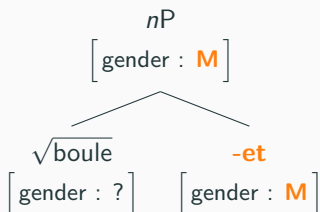


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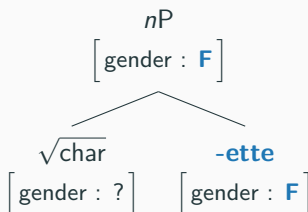


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- At that level, the suffix plays the role of a categorizing head and can superimpose its own gender to the category-neutral root.
- Also, both suffixes (but SHAPE in particular), act on semantically underspecified roots, and as such lead to looser meanings.



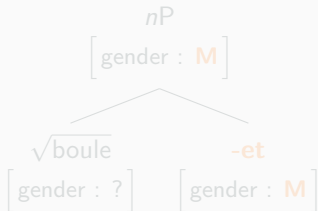
**(a)** Something akin to the root  $\sqrt{\text{ball}}$  ( $\simeq$  ball) in terms of SHAPE



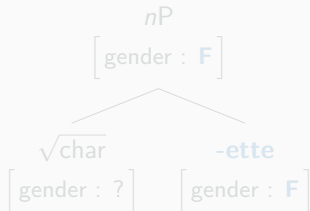
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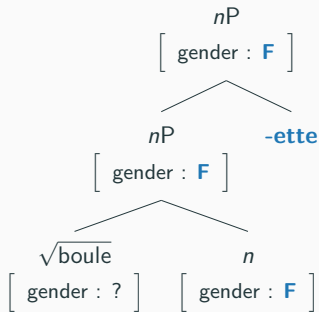
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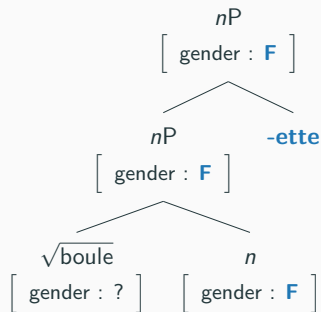
- Gender-matching forms have their suffix merged above the nominalizing head  $n$  (which we assume hosts gender features). In that case the suffix simply has to agree in gender with the already categorized noun.
- Problem: some matching forms could very well result from a root-level derivation whereby the gender of the categorizing suffix incidentally matches that of the noun (if it were categorized)...
- We want to block that kind of configuration by saying that affixes should be merged as high as possible: “Merge high!”.



**Figure 4:** A diminutive of the categorized noun ‘ball’ (feminine).

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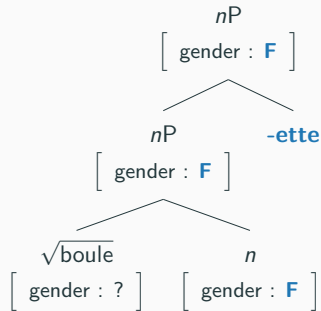
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## Further predictions

- This analysis, making use of both exponent ambiguity and of the existence of two distinct levels of morphological derivation, explains why gender-mismatching forms are less likely to be diminutive, *while still exhibiting a gender-related asymmetry*.
- In particular, we predict **M**-to-**F** forms in **-ette** to exhibit a diminutive semantics (contributed by **-ette**, which is unambiguously DIM in that case), but not on the “right” /most salient entity (due to root-underspecification). This might be the case for the pairs below.

- (6) a.   cigare**M** → (cigar-**ette**)**F**  
          ‘cigar’ → ‘cigarette’
- b.   disque**M** → (disqu-**ette**)**F**  
          ‘CD, (hard) disk’ → ‘floppy disk’

# Summary

base	suffix	level	form	semantics
M	SHAPE	$\frac{1}{2}$	-et	loose on “exact” base
	DIM	1	-ette	diminutive on “noisy” root
F	SHAPE	1	-et	loose on “noisy” root
	SHAPE+AGR	2	-ette	loose on “exact” base
	DIM	$\frac{1}{2}$		diminutive on “exact” base

**Table 2:** Summary of the predictions. ‘1’=root-level derivation; ‘2’=above  $n$ . Struckthrough level are ruled out by our condition “MERGE high!”.

# Conclusion

- We argued that the difference in productivity and transparency between **-ette** and **-et** was due to **-ette** being **ambiguous between an allomorph of -et (not purely diminutive) and Dim.**
- We showed the discrepancy was modulated by gender-mismatches, which we argued were the result of **root-level derivation and therefore linked to extra semantic noise.**
- Crucially, our account provided a morphosyntactic explanation as to why **gender-mismatches correlate with some form of semantic mismatch**; accounts positing lexicalization did not address this.
- However, it comes at the cost of assuming that **the suffixes Dim and Shape can in principle merge either at the root-level or higher** (modulo the “MERGE high!” condition). This is unwarranted, but not totally unprecedented (cf. *-ity* affixed unexpectedly “high” after *-able*, Aronoff and Lindsay (2014)).
- Another limit is that the account, in predicting the gender imbalance in the dataset, may **overgenerate in the semantic domain** (cf. previous Table). This is hard to assess as judgments are subtle.



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- Can/Should this kind of analysis extend to other pairs of French suffixes with gender inflections (e.g. the *-ier/-ière* pair mentioned yesterday, or the sometimes augmentative, sometimes diminutive suffix *-ot*)?
- What about other syntactic categories, such as adjectives (e.g. *mignonnet*, *longuet*, *gentillet*)?
- We may try to approximate probabilities for each possible parse (with DIM, SHAPE, high or low), to see if they more or less match our empirical statistics.
- Lastly, we could try to see if the semantic relations we talked about are somewhat captured by statistical models of language such as word embedding models, which come with ways to quantitatively measure semantic similarity as well as the variability in the “direction” ( $\sim$  meaning) of morphological transformations **\*time for shameless self-citations...\*** (Benbaji et al., 2022; Hénot-Mortier, 2022; Benbaji et al., 2023).

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Thank you very much for your  
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## A remaining puzzle(?)

- Why are <sup>60/99</sup> **M**-forms in **-et** diminutive, given that we predict the more general SHAPE relationship to hold in that case?
- We think this may be due to some form of morphological reanalysis targeting a specific subset of the *-et*-forms.
- Indeed, a DIM-meaning is more likely to arise for bases ending in *in/on/eau* (38/41), which already have a fossilized diminutive flavor:<sup>3</sup>
- Such endings were also the preferred targets for applying **-et** productively.
- This suggests that they were perhaps re-analyzed as proper morphemes (contributing the DIM semantics) by the action of **-et** suffixation.

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<sup>3</sup>We use this denomination because most of the nominals from the dataset with such endings (e.g. *cochon*, 'pig', *champignon*, 'mushroom') were morphologically simplex; yet, the same endings are common in proper names (*Antoine* → *Antonin*; *Marie* → *Marion*; *Boucher* → *Bouchereau*...) and appear consistently diminutive.