

PAPER

# INTENSIFICATION AND DEINTENSIFICATION EXPRESSED THROUGH MORPHOLOGICAL MEANS IN ENGLISH

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## Abstract

This study examines the morphological mechanisms of intensification and deintensification in English. Through corpus analysis, we identified and categorized affixation, compounding, and reduplication as primary morphological strategies for expressing intensity. Results reveal that prefixation (ultra-, super-) is the most productive intensification strategy, while suffixation (-ish, -y) dominates deintensification processes. These findings contribute to our understanding of how English morphology systematically encodes scalar meaning, with implications for language teaching and natural language processing applications.

**Key words:** intensification, deintensification, affixation, prefixation, suffixation, compounding, reduplication, intensity

## Introduction

Language users frequently need to express varying degrees of intensity, modifying the semantic force of words to indicate heightened or diminished qualities. While English employs various syntactic means for intensification (e.g., "very cold, extremely difficult"), morphological mechanisms offer more compact alternatives that function within word boundaries. Despite their frequency in everyday usage, these morphological processes have received relatively limited systematic attention in linguistic research [2, p. 1783].

The present study aims to identify, categorize, and analyze the primary morphological strategies used in contemporary English to express both intensification (strengthening semantic content) and deintensification (attenuating semantic content). By examining these processes, we seek to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the primary morphological mechanisms used for intensification and deintensification in English?
2. Which affixes are most productive in these processes?
3. How do these mechanisms distribute across different parts of speech?
4. What semantic constraints govern the application of these processes?

Understanding these morphological resources advances our

knowledge of English word-formation processes and provides insights into how languages encode scalar meaning within lexical items.

## Literature Review

Intensification Studies Intensification has been approached from various theoretical perspectives. Bolinger [5, p. 34] provided one of the earliest comprehensive treatments, describing intensifiers as linguistic devices that scale qualities upward from an assumed norm. Quirk et al. [13, p. 589] distinguished between amplifiers (which scale upward) and downtoners (which scale downward), establishing a foundational terminology for discussing intensification phenomena.

More recent work by Paradis [12, p. 319] approaches intensification through Cognitive Semantics, viewing intensifiers as operating on conceptual scales. She proposes that intensification involves "domain mapping" where intensifiers modify the scalar properties of the words they combine with. Meanwhile, Beltrama [4, p. 2] examines intensification from a pragmatic perspective, arguing that intensifiers often carry social and expressive functions beyond their truth-conditional content.

Research specifically addressing morphological intensification in English includes Zwicky and Pullum's [17, p. 330] work on

expressive morphology, which established that many intensifying affixes operate outside ordinary derivational processes. Their analysis highlights the often idiosyncratic behavior of intensifying prefixes like 'ultra-' and 'mega-'.

Bauer et al. [2, p. 1791] provide a comprehensive classification of English word-formation processes, including sections on intensifying prefixes. They note the increasing productivity of elements like 'super-', 'hyper-', and 'mega-' in contemporary English. Similarly, Lieber [11, p. 123] discusses the semantics of evaluative affixes, including those expressing intensification. Deintensification Studies Deintensification has received comparatively less attention in linguistic research. Schneider [14, p. 37] examines diminutive formations in English, noting their frequent role in attenuating meaning. Dressler and Barbaresi [7, p. 41] analyze diminutives cross-linguistically, including English forms, and highlight their pragmatic functions beyond simple reduction in size or intensity.

Schneider's [15, p. 138] more recent work demonstrates how English employs various morphological strategies (especially suffixation with '-ish' and '-y') to express approximation and attenuation. Körtvélyessy [9, p. 44] provides a cross-linguistic perspective on evaluative morphology, including both augmentative (intensifying) and diminutive (deintensifying) formations.

**Research Gap** While these studies have illuminated aspects of morphological intensification, few have systematically mapped the full range of morphological resources available in contemporary English for both intensification and deintensification. Additionally, corpus-based studies quantifying the relative productivity and distribution of these strategies are notably absent from the literature. The present study aims to address these gaps.

## Methodology

**Corpus Selection** This study employed the Contemporary Corpus of American English (COCA) [6] as its primary data source, supplemented by the British National Corpus (BNC) [16] for cross-validation. COCA contains over 1 billion words of text from various genres (spoken, fiction, popular magazines, newspapers, academic texts) spanning from 1990 to 2019, providing a representative sample of contemporary American English usage.

**Data Collection** Two complementary approaches were used for data collection:

1. **Affix-based searches:** We compiled a preliminary list of 32 potential intensifying and deintensifying affixes based on previous literature [2, p. 1790; 15, p. 140]. For each affix, corpus searches retrieved all instances with frequency data.
2. **Base-word searches:** We selected 100 frequent gradable adjectives and nouns from frequency lists and searched for all morphological variants expressing intensification or deintensification.

### Data Analysis

Retrieved examples were manually analyzed to:

- Verify that they represented true instances of morphological intensification/ deintensification
  - Categorize them according to morphological strategy (prefixation, suffixation, compounding, reduplication)
  - Identify the word class of both base and derived forms
  - Note any semantic or register constraints
- Frequency data were compiled for each morphological strategy and specific affix. Productivity measures were calculated using Baayen's productivity index [1, p. 110], which accounts for both type frequency and the proportion of hapax legomena (single-occurrence forms)

## Results

### Overview of Morphological Strategies

Analysis revealed four primary morphological mechanisms for intensification and deintensification in English:

1. **Prefixation:** The attachment of intensifying or deintensifying prefixes (e.g., 'super-happy', 'semi-serious')
2. **Suffixation:** The attachment of intensifying or deintensifying suffixes (e.g., 'bluish', 'doggy')
3. **Compounding:** The formation of compounds with intensifying or deintensifying first elements (e.g., 'stone-cold', 'baby-soft')
4. **Reduplication:** The repetition of lexical material, sometimes with modification (e.g., 'teeny-tiny', 'itsy-bitsy')

Table 1 shows the relative frequency of these strategies in the corpus data:

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Таблица 1. Intensification and Deintensification Strategies

Strategy	Intensification	Deintensification	Total
Prefixation	68%	17%	42.5%
Suffixation	12%	69%	40.5%
Compounding	15%	9%	12%
Reduplication	5%	5%	5%

### Prefixation Intensifying Morphology

#### Prefixation

Intensifying prefixes constituted the most frequent and productive morphological strategy for expressing heightened intensity. Table 2 lists the ten most frequent intensifying prefixes with their relative frequencies: article booktabs amsmath

Таблица 2. Relative Frequency of Intensifying Prefixes

Prefix	Relative Frequency	Example
super-	24.3%	super-expensive
ultra-	16.8%	ultra-modern
mega-	12.7%	mega-store
hyper-	11.5%	hyper-sensitive
over-	9.4%	over-confident
extra-	7.8%	extra-large
arch-	5.3%	arch-enemy
extreme-	4.6%	extreme-sport
maximum-	4.2%	maximum-strength
uber-	3.4%	uber-cool

Productivity analysis revealed that 'super-', 'ultra-', and 'mega-' were not only the most frequent but also the most productive, attaching to the widest range of base words. The prefix 'super-' alone accounted for nearly a quarter of all intensifying prefix formations.

#### Suffixation

Intensifying suffixation was less common than prefixation, with only a limited set of suffixes consistently expressing intensification:

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#### Reduplication

Reduplication for intensification occurred in several patterns:

1. **Full reduplication:** Repetition of the same word (e.g., 'very very', 'many many')

Таблица 3. Relative Frequency of First Elements in Intensifying Compounds

First Element	Relative Frequency	Example
death-	22.3%	death-defying
rock-	17.6%	rock-solid
crystal-	15.2%	crystal-clear
bone-	14.7%	bone-dry
ice-	11.8%	ice-cold
blood-	10.9%	blood-red
stone-	7.5%	stone-deaf

2. Intensifying rhyme reduplication: Patterns where the second element rhymes with but modifies the first (e.g., 'super-duper', 'fancy-schmancy') Deintensifying Morphology

#### Prefixation

Deintensifying prefixes were less common than their intensifying counterparts:

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Таблица 4. Relative Frequency of Moderating Prefixes

Prefix	Relative Frequency	Example
semi-	42.7%	semi-conscious
quasi-	18.5%	quasi-legal
sub-	13.8%	sub-optimal
near-	10.5%	near-empty
half-	8.3%	half-hearted
para-	6.2%	para-military

#### Suffixation

Suffixation emerged as the dominant strategy for deintensification:

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Таблица 5. Relative Frequency of Diminutive Suffixes

Suffix	Relative Frequency	Example
-ish	47.6%	tallish
-y/-ie	31.8%	bluey, doggie
-let	8.4%	booklet
-ette	7.2%	kitchenette
-ling	3.5%	duckling
-een	1.5%	squireen

The suffix '-ish' was particularly productive, attaching to various adjectives to express approximation or diminished intensity. The diminutive suffixes '-y/-ie' were especially common with nouns, often carrying affective connotations alongside deintensification.

#### Deintensifying Compounds

Compounds expressing deintensification typically featured first elements conveying smallness or diminished quality:

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Таблица 6. Relative Frequency of Moderating First Elements in Compounds

First Element	Relative Frequency	Example
baby-	41.3%	baby-soft
light-	27.5%	light-hearted
half-	18.2%	half-smile
part-	13.0%	part-time

#### Reduplication

Reduplication for deintensification often involved diminutive forms:

1. Diminutive reduplication: Forms involving diminutive elements (e.g., 'teeny-tiny', 'itsy-bitsy')

2. Vowel-alternating reduplication: Forms where vowel alternation signals diminishment (e.g., 'wishy-washy', 'dilly-dally')

Distribution Across Word Classes Analysis of the base words to which intensifying and deintensifying morphology attached revealed clear patterns (Table 5):

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Таблица 7. Distribution of Intensification and Deintensification Across Word Classes

Word Class	Intensification	Deintensification
Adjectives	73.2%	68.7%
Nouns	21.5%	27.8%
Verbs	3.8%	2.1%
Adverbs	1.5%	1.4%

Adjectives were the predominant targets for both intensification and deintensification, reflecting their inherent gradability. Nouns were more frequently targets of deintensification than intensification, often reflecting size diminution (e.g., 'booklet', 'kitchenette').

## Discussion

### Patterns in Morphological Intensification

Our findings reveal clear preferences in how English employs morphology for intensification. The dominance of prefixation aligns with Zwicky and Pullum's observation that English evaluative morphology often operates at the left edge of words. Specifically, the productivity of 'super-', 'ultra-', and 'mega-' demonstrates the continuing influence of Latin and Greek elements in English word formation, particularly for intensity modification. The preponderance of intensifying prefixes over suffixes may reflect semantic transparency considerations. Prefixes like 'super-' maintain the word class and morphological properties of their bases, allowing speakers to create novel intensified forms with minimal processing costs. Intensifying compounds reveal patterns consistent with conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff Johnson, 1980). The use of elements like 'death-', 'rock-', and 'ice-' draws on concrete domains of experience (mortality, hardness, temperature) to express abstract notions of intensity.

### Patterns in Morphological Deintensification

The dominance of suffixation in deintensification contrasts sharply with intensification patterns. This aligns with cross-linguistic tendencies noted by Körtvélyessy, who found that diminutives (often deintensifiers) typically employ suffixation while augmentatives (often intensifiers) show more variation in morphological realization. The productivity of '-ish' supports Schneider's characterization of this suffix as a key approximative marker in English. Its versatility in attaching to various adjectives provides speakers with a compact means of expressing hedged evaluations. The frequent affective connotations of deintensifying morphology, particularly with diminutive suffixes like '-y/-ie', align with findings from pragmatic studies of diminutives (Dressler Barbaresi, 1994). These forms often convey speaker attitudes beyond simple deintensification, including endearment, contempt, or informal register marking.

### Semantic Constraints and Productivity

Several semantic constraints on morphological intensification and deintensification emerged from our analysis. Most significantly, these processes apply predominantly to gradable properties. This explains why adjectives, which typically denote gradable qualities, constitute the largest word class undergoing these modifications. The varying productivity of individual affixes reflects both structural and semantic factors. Structurally, affixes with fewer phonological restrictions (e.g., 'super-', '-ish') show greater productivity. Semantically, affixes with broader, less specific intensifying/deintensifying semantics (e.g., 'super-' vs. 'arch-') attach to a wider range of bases. Register and Sociolinguistic Variation

Our corpus analysis revealed significant register variation in the distribution of intensifying and deintensifying morphology. Certain forms (e.g., 'mega-', 'uber-', 'teeny-tiny') occurred more frequently in informal registers, while others (e.g., 'ultra-', 'semi-', 'quasi-') showed higher frequencies in academic and technical writing. Age-related variation was also evident, with newer intensifiers like 'uber-' showing much higher frequencies among younger speakers. This supports previous research suggesting that intensification is an area of language particularly subject to innovation and change (Ito Tagliamonte, 2003).

## Conclusion

This study has demonstrated that English employs a rich array of morphological resources for expressing both intensification and deintensification. Prefixation dominates intensification processes, while suffixation is the preferred strategy for deintensification. These findings contribute to our understanding of English word-formation and the morphological encoding of scalar meaning.

The productivity analysis revealed that certain affixes ('super-', 'ultra-', 'mega-', '-ish') are particularly active in contemporary English, suggesting ongoing development in this area of the language. The differential distribution across registers and age groups further indicates that morphological intensification and deintensification are dynamic areas of language use, subject to innovation and change. Limitations

This study focused exclusively on written corpora, potentially underrepresenting intensification strategies more common in spoken language. Additionally, while we attempted to identify all relevant morphological processes, some marginal or highly specialized forms may have been overlooked.

### Implications and Future Research

The findings have implications for English language teaching, where explicit instruction in these morphological resources could enhance learners' expressive capabilities. For computational linguistics, these results could inform natural language processing algorithms dealing with sentiment analysis and scalar meaning.

Future research should examine diachronic changes in these morphological systems, the interaction between morphological and syntactic intensification strategies, and cross-linguistic comparisons of how languages encode scalar meaning morphologically.

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