



DIMINUTIVIZATION AND CLOSING SUFFIXATION

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GOALS OF THE TALK

- To demonstrate that there is a clear relation between diminutivization and closing suffixation, i.e. that even in a language (Bulgarian) with extremely productive diminutivization of nouns, nouns terminating in closing suffixes do not diminutivize.
- Better understanding of diminutivization and closing suffixation.

AFFIX ORDER RESEARCH IN CURRENT LITERATURE: DATA

The two poles:

- Research based on large electronic corpora (e.g. research on English and Dutch):
- Research based on underdescribed languages, i.e. on very limited data.

This research represents an intermediate case:

- BULGARIAN – a well-described language but without a reliable electronic corpus for morphological analysis. Therefore my sources of data are: descriptive grammars, dictionaries, Internet, and native-speaker intuition.

BULGARIAN

- Bulgarian is a South Slavic language
- A generalized structure of a Bulgarian noun:

BASE-DSUFF-ISUFF

A noun can have more than one DSUFF as well as more than one ISUFF.

CLOSING SUFFIX: DEFINITION

- Closing suffixes are suffixes that close the word to the addition of further suffixes. There are closing suffixes in derivation and in inflection. (Szymanek 2000; Aronoff & Fuhrhop 2002).
- Inflection closes the word to the addition of derivational suffixes (Nida 1949: 85).
- This talk concentrates on closing suffixes in the derivational word slots:

pisa-**tel-k**-a ‘female writer’ BUT pisa-**tel-k** + *DSUFF

CLOSING SUFFIXES

- Closing SUFF_N

[BASE + SUFF]_N → *NOUN (N)
 → *ADJECTIVE (ADJ)
 → *VERB (V)
 → *DIMINUTIVE (DIM)

- Linguists against closing-suffix analysis: Rainer (2005)

DIMINUTIVIZATION

- Diminutives express prototypically smallness.
- In Bulgarian, diminutives are often interpreted pragmatically as referring to something nice or pleasant.
- A diminutive suffix follows all the derivational suffixes and is thus placed between DSUFF and ISUFF in the noun:

BASE-DSUFF_{N...}-**DIMSUFF**-ISUFF

pisa- tel- č- e

write DER DIM INFL

- DIMSUFFs are neither derivation nor inflection but Evaluative Suffixes (Scalise 1986: 134)

BULGARIAN DIMINUTIVIZATION PATTERNS

Ns in -C

- -ec vjatār → vetrec
- -le nos → nosle
- -če krak → krače

Ns in -a

- -ica žena → ženica
- -ka kniga → knižka
- -le kniga → knižle

Ns in -o and -e

- -ce krilo → krilce
- -ence dete → detence
- -ice lice → ličice

PRODUCTIVITY OF DIMINUTIVIZATION

○ $-ic-a + -k-a \rightarrow -i\check{c}-k-a$

žena 'woman' \rightarrow DIM1 žen- $ic-a$

\rightarrow DIM2 žen- $i\check{c}-k-a$

○ $-k+ -ic-a \rightarrow -\check{c}-ic-a + ic-a \rightarrow -\check{c}-i\check{c}-ic-a$

knig-a 'book' \rightarrow DIM1 kniž- $k-a$

\rightarrow DIM2 kniž- $\check{c}-ic-a$

\rightarrow DIM3 kniž- $\check{c}-i\check{c}-ic-a$

○ det-e 'child' \rightarrow DIM1 det- $enc-e$

\rightarrow DIM2 det- $enc-enc-e$

\rightarrow DIM3 det- $enc-enc-enc-e$

METHODOLOGY

With the help of sets of homophonous or synonymous suffixes, each set with at least one closing suffix and one suffix that combines with a DIMSUFF, we will check whether diminutivization will be able to ‘identify’ the closing suffix.

Homophonous and synonymous suffixes are selected to show that diminutivization is possible – phonologically (in the case of homophonous suffixes) and semantically (in the case of synonymous suffixes).

HOMOPHONOUS SUFFIXES: -KA

1. Result nouns

smjatom '(I) calculate' → smet-**k**-a 'calculation, account'

2. Female humans

profesor → profesor-**k**-a 'female professor'

3. Diminutives

veriga 'chain' → veriž-**k**-a 'little chain'

4. Extension -**k**-a

miš-**k**-a 'mouse' (cf. OCS myš б)

FURTHER DERIVATIONS: RESULT NOUNS

smjat-am '(I) calculate' → smet-**k**-a
'calculation, account'

smet-**k**-a → ADJ smet-**k**-ov, e.g. smetkov
balans 'account ballance'

smet-**k**-a → DIM smet-**č**-ic-a

FURTHER DERIVATIONS: FEMALE HUMANS

profesor → FEM profesor-**k**-a

profesor → ADJ profesor-**sk**-i ‘profesor’s’

profesor → N profesor-**stv**-o ‘professors
(collective); being a professor’

profesor → DIM profesor-**č**-e

However:

profesorka → *ADJ

profesroka → *N

profesorka → *DIM

THE DIMINUTIVE -KA

verig-a 'chain' → DIM1 veriž-**k**-a

→ DIM2 veriž-**č-ic**-a

knig-a → DIM1 kniž-**k**-a

→ DIM2 kniž-**č-ic**-a

THE EXTENSION -KA

miš-**k**-a ‘mouse’ → ADJ miš-**k-in** ‘mouse-’

miš-**k**-a → DIM miš-**č-ic**-a

váš-**k**-a ‘louse’ → ADJ váš-**k-av** ‘louse-’

váš-**k**-a → DIM váš-**č-ic**-a

SUMMARY: -KA

Suffix	Further DER		DIM
1. -ka result N		YES	YES
2. -ka DIM		NO	YES
3. <u>-ka fem. humans</u>	NO		NO
4. -ka extension		YES	YES

THE SUFFIX -ICA

1. Objects

nož 'knife' → nož-**ic**-a 'scissors'

2. Diminutives

kosa 'hair' → DIM kos-**ic**-a

3. Female animals

lāv 'lion' → FEM lāv-**ic**-a

4. Female humans

imperator 'emperor' → FEM imperatr-**ic**-a

FURTHER DERIVATIONS: -ICA

1. nož-**ic**-a ‘scissors’ → ADJ nož-**ič-en** ‘scissors-’
→ DIM nož-**ič-k**-a

2. DIM1 kos-**ic**-a ‘hair (dim)’ → DIM2 kos-**ič-k**-a

3. FEM lāv-**ic**-a ‘lioness’ → ADJ lāv-**ič-in**
→ DIM lāv-**ič-k**-a

4. FEM imperatr-**ic**-a ‘empress’ → *ADJ
→ *DIM

(very few exceptions with other meanings, e.g. car ‘king’ →
car-**ic**-a ‘queen’ (but also a chess figure) → DIM car-**ič-k**-a)

SUMMARY: -ICA

Suffix	Further DER	DIM
1. -ica objects	YES	YES
2. -ica DIM	NO	YES
3. -ica fem. animals	YES	YES
4. <u>-ica fem humans</u>	NO	NO

SYNONYMOUS SUFFIXES: -VNE & -VNIE ACTION NOUNS

IMPFV dviža (se) ‘(I) move’ → dviž-en-e ‘moving’
→ dviž-eni-e

‘moving,
movement’

IMPFV četa ‘(I) read’ → čet-en-e ‘reading’
→ *čet-eni-e

PFV sãobrazja se ‘(I) consider’ → *sãobraž-en-e
→ sãobraž-eni-

e

‘consideration’

FURTHER DERIVATIONS: -VNE vs. -VNIE

- -nie

dviž-**eni-e** ‘moving, movement’

→ ADJ dviž-**en-česk-i** ‘related to a movement’

→ DIM dviž-**eni-je-e**

- -ne

dviž-**en-e** ‘moving’ → *ADJ

→ *DIM

Exceptions (a handful of lexicalizations):

jad-**en-e** ‘eating & food’ → DIM jad-**en-ce**

pi-**en-e** ‘drinking & drink’ → DIM pi-**en-ce**

(source: Google)

ABSTRACT NOUNS: -INA, -OTA, -OST

topāl 'warm' → topl-**in**-a 'warmth'

→ ADJ topl-**in-en** 'warmth-'

→ DIM topl-**in-k**-a

sljap 'blind' → slep-**ot**-a 'blindness'

→ *ADJ

→ *DIM

Except kras-**ot**-a 'beauty, niceness' → DIM kras-**ot-ičk**-a
'small nice place'.

gaden 'nasty' → gad-**ost** 'nastiness'

→ ADJ gad-**ost-en** 'nastiness-'

→ DIM gad-**ost-čic**-a

SUMMARY: ACTION AND ABSTRACT NOUNS

Suffix	Further DER	DIM
<u>-Vne</u>	<u>NO</u>	<u>NO</u>
-Vnie	YES	YES
-ina	YES	YES
<u>-ota</u>	<u>NO</u>	<u>NO</u>
-ost	YES	YES

CONCLUSIONS

- A DIMSUFF is always placed between DSUFF and ISUFF and can be followed by another DIMSUFF.
- Diminutivization appears strongly related to suffixation by DSUFFs. Suffixes that combine with other derivational suffixes allow attachment of diminutive suffixes, whereas closing suffixes cannot be followed by diminutive suffixes. This rule has very few exceptions, almost all due to lexicalization.
- Diminutives are an in-between category but much more derivation-like than inflection-like.
- Closing suffixes do exist!

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Thank you!

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