Universal and language-specific properties of closing suffixation: Types of closing suffixes

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### Goal

To establish the role of semantics in closing suffixation, i.e. whether closing suffixation can be seen as driven by universal semantic constraints.

Typology of closing suffixation

### The structure of this talk

- Definition of a closing suffix
- Examples of closing suffixes from German
- Establishing the semantics of the German closing suffixes and their correspondent Bulgarian suffixes
- Checking the Bulgarian suffixes for being closing
- Discussion
- Conclusions

### **Closing Suffix: Definition**

Closing suffixes are suffixes that closed the word to the addition of further suffixes.

- There are closing suffixes in derivation and in inflection.
- This talk concentrates in closing suffixes in the derivational word slots.



### Test for + /- closing

Logically,  $[BASE + SUFF]_{N, A, V} \rightarrow NOUN (N)$   $\rightarrow ADJECTIVE (A)$  $\rightarrow VERB (V)$ 

If none of the three expected derivations is possible, SUFF is a closing suffix.

### Closing Suffixes in German

Lehrer 'teacher'  $\rightarrow$  Lehrerin 'female teacher' Lehrer  $\rightarrow$  Lehrer-chen ,little teacher' Lehrerin  $\rightarrow$  \*Lehrerin-chen 'little female teacher'

Although diminutivization is a productive morphological change in German, *Lehrerin* cannot be diminutivized. Actually, no derivational suffix can be attached to the suffix *-in* (i.e. neither verbs nor adjectives can be derived from nouns terminating in the suffix *-in*), which allows us to conclude that *-in* is a closing suffix.

### Reopening

If *Lehrerin* is used as a first constituent of a compound or before the suffixoids *-shaft* and *-tum*, a linking element 'reopens' it, thus *Lehrerinn-en-zimmer* 'a room for female teachers', *Lehrerinnen-schaft* and *Lehrerinn-en-tum*. (cf. Aronoff & Fuhrhop 2002)

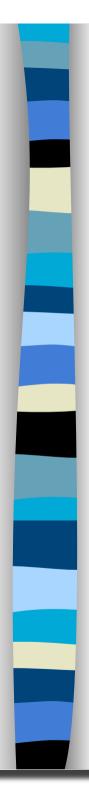
### German Closing Suffixes

Aronoff & Fuhrhop (2002: 461) point out the following German suffixes as closing:

-e<sub>suff</sub>, -heit/-keit/-igkeit, -in, -ish,
-ling, and -ung



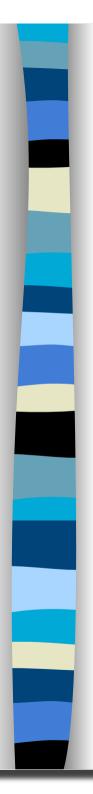
### German Closing Suffixes in Detail $V + -e_{suff} \rightarrow N$ $A + -heit/-keit/-igkeit \rightarrow N$ N males + $-in \rightarrow$ N females N person + -*isch* $\rightarrow$ A V, A + -ling $\rightarrow$ N $V + -ung \rightarrow N$



### G. -*esuff*

- $V + -e_{suff} \rightarrow N$
- G. pflegen 'to care for'→ Pflege 'care', PL Pflegen
- Cf. Bg. griža se '(I) care for' → griž-a 'care', PL griž-i

The parallel suffix in Bulgarian is inflectional and therefore doesn't allow further attachment of WF suffixes.



### G. -heit/-keit/-igkeit

A + -heit/-keit/-igkeit → N schön ,beautiful' → Schön-heit ,beauty' Bg. xubav ,beautiful' → xub-ost ,beauty' svjat ,sacred' → svjat-ost ,sacrednes'

N is an an abstract noun expressing property of A.

### Bg. -ost

revniv ,jelous' → revn-ost ,jelouscy' → revnost-en ,devoted' → revnostn-ost ,devotedness' sladăk ,sweet' → slad-ost ,sweetness' → sladost-en ,pleasant' → sladostn-ost ,pleasure' cjal ,whole' → cjal-ost ,wholeness' → cjalost-en ,complete' → cjalostn-ost ,completeness' xubav ,beautiful' → xubost ,beauty' → xubost-nik ,rascal' bjal ,white' → bjalost ,whiteness' → ø

Bg. suffix *-ost* is not closing

### G. -*in*

(derivation of females from males, i.e. G. Movierung)

### ■ N males + $-in \rightarrow$ N famales

Over 90 % of all *Movierung* formations in German are derived through the attachment of this suffix. In other words, the fact that the suffix *-in* is closing is enough to determine German *Movierung* as closing in general.

Except *-in*, modern German uses for Movierung also *-(i/e)sse*, *-euse*, *-ine*, *-esse* and *-sche* (dialectal, North German), formations with these suffixes, however, often have *-in* doublets or allow addition of *-in*, e.g. *Baron-esse* and *Baron-in*, as well as *Prinzess-in* (cf. Wellmann 1975: 107ff).

Bulgarian suffixes for derivation of females from males (1)

-k-a (e.g. učitelka ← učitel 'teacher')

- *in-ja* (e.g. *boginja* ← *bog* 'God')
- *-kin-ja* (e.g. *srăbkinja ←* sărbin 'a Serbe')
- -*ic-a* (e.g. *kralica*  $\leftarrow$  *kral* 'king')
- -es-a (e.g. poetesa ← poet 'poet')
- is-a (e.g. aktrisa ← akt'or 'actor') and

Bulgarian suffixes for derivation of females from males (2)

These suffixes are closing only if the suffix is native and added to a base denoting male person. Suffixes deriving female animals are not closing.

(Manova 2008)

# Females from males in Bulgarian (animals)

magare ,donkey' → magarica → DIM magarička (Google – 683 occurrences)

l a v, lion'  $\rightarrow l a v i c a \rightarrow DIM l a v i c k a$  (Google – 8 occurences)

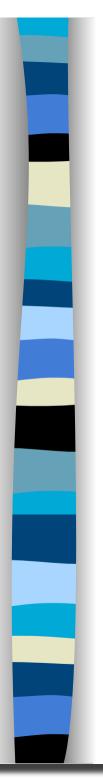
The only instance of a derivation involving a human being is *svekăr* 'father-in-law' → *svekărva* 'mother-inlaw' → *svekărvička* (rather ironical) (Google – 82 occurrences), *svekărva* being derived with the unique Movierung suffix *-v-a* (note that nouns such as *etărva, zălva*, though terminating in *-v-a* are nonderived) Females from males in Bulgarian (foreign bases)

*princ* 'prince' → *princesa* → DIM *princeska* (Google – 528 occurrences)

poet 'poet' → poetesa → DIM poeteska (Google
\_ 236 occurrences)

baron 'baron' → baronesa → DIM baroneska
(Google – 1 occurrence)

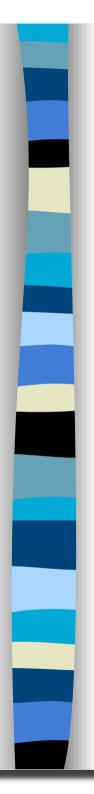
akt'or 'actor' → aktrisa → DIM aktriska (Google
 54 occurrences)



### Lexicalizations

daskal ,teacher (archaic)' → daskalica →
 DIM daskalička ,little female teacher &
 little female pupil'

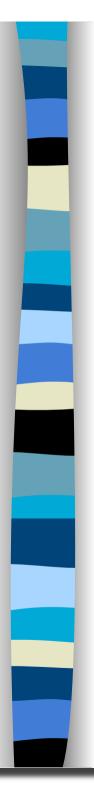
■ princesa 'warm sandwich' → DIM princeska



### G. -isch

N person, animals + *-isch* → A *Schriftsteller*, writer' → *schriftsteller-isch* ,writer's' *Hund*,dog' → *hünd-isch*,dog's'

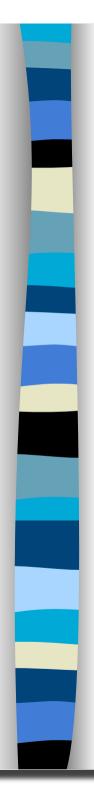
Bg. *pisatel* ,writer' → *pisatel-ski* ,writer's' *kuče* ,dog' → *kuč-eški* ,dog's'



### Bg. -ski

The Bg. suffix -ski is closing.

 $\begin{array}{ll} \mathsf{N} + -\mathsf{s}\mathsf{k}i & \to \mathsf{A}\mathsf{D}\mathsf{J} & \to \mathsf{*}\mathsf{N} \\ & & \to \mathsf{*}\mathsf{V} \\ & & \to \mathsf{*}\mathsf{A}\mathsf{D}\mathsf{J} \end{array}$ 



G. -ling

V, A + -*ling*  $\rightarrow$  N

However:

prüfen ,to examin' → Prüfling ,the examined
 person' → FEM Prüflingin
lehren ,to teach' → Lehrling ,the thaught person'
 → FEM Lehrlingin

Source: Google (Native speakers evaluate such forms as impossible.)

G. *-ling* does not have an equivalent in Bulgarian.



### G. -ung $V + -ung \rightarrow N$ $piša \rightarrow pis-ane$ , writing' $\rightarrow ø$ $\rightarrow$ pis-anie, a piece of writing' $\rightarrow$ DIM pisanijce dviža (se),(I) move' $\rightarrow dviž$ -ene, moving' $\rightarrow \phi$ $\rightarrow$ dviž-enie, moving, movement' $\rightarrow$ DIM dviženijce

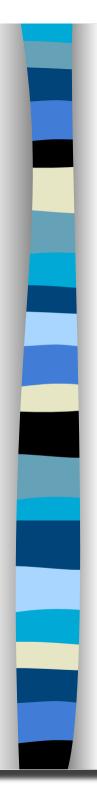
*Bg. -Vne* is clooing but *-Vnie* is not!

### Bg. -Vne and -Vnie action nouns

The suffix -Vne attaches only to IMPFV bases whereas the suffix -Vnie takes both IMPFV and PFV bases.

+/- closing does not depend on the semantics of the derivative and therefore lexicalitzed -*Vne* nouns cannot be further diminutivized:

prane ,loundry', piene ,drink', jadene ,food'



### G & Bg. Suffixes

German Closing Suffixes	Bulgarian Parallels	Closing in Bulgarian
-e <sub>suff</sub>	Ø	Ø
-heit/-keit/-igkeit	-ost	NO
-in	-ka, -(k)inja, -ica, -esa, -isa, -va	Only if added to N for male humans
-isch	-ski	YES
-ling ?closing	Ø	Ø
-ung	-ne, -nie	Only -ne

## Diminutivization

Aronoff & Fuhrhop (2002 : 460) exclude German diminutive suffixes (-chen, -ei/-erei, and -lein) from their analysis since a diminutive suffix is not expected to be followed by another suffix. This observation, however, does not hold for Bulgarian:

snim-k-a 'photograph'  $\rightarrow$  DIM1 snim-č-ic-a  $\rightarrow \rightarrow$ DIM2 snimčič-ic-a

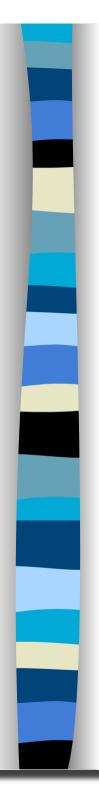
Note that not all diminutive suffixes can be attached recursively, e.g. DIM *-k-a* does not allow recursive use.

### Conclusions (1)

- Semantics that is closing in German is not always closing in Bulgarian;
- If (closing) semantics is expressed by a set of suffixes, not all the suffixes of the set are closing;
- A (set of) suffix(es) can be closing with a semantically restricted type of bases (e.g. females derived from human males). However, if the base has another, though semantically related meanig (e.g. male animal), the suffix(es) is(are) not closing.

# Conclusions (2)

- Semantics is of importance to closing suffixation, but semantic restrictions alone cannot define a suffix as +/-closing.
  - There are diffrent types of closing suffixes:
- 1) suffixes that are always closing; and
- suffixes that are closing only if particular formal or (and) semantic restrictions apply.



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