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

Dr. Stela MANOVA
Elise Richter Fellow
Department of Slavic Studies
University of Vienna
Email: stela.manova@univie.ac.at
URL: http://homepage.univie.ac.at/stela.manova/
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,

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

If none of the three expected derivations is possible, SUFF is a closing suffix.
Closing Suffixes in German

*Lehrer* ‘teacher’ → *Lehrerin* ‘female teacher’
*Lehrer* → *Lehrer-chen* ‘little teacher’
*Lehrerin* → *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’, *Lehrerinn-en-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_{suff}, -heit/-keit/-igkeit, -in, -ish, -ling, and -ung
German Closing Suffixes in Detail

V + \(-e_{suff}\) → N
A + \(-heit/-keit/-igkei\)t → N
N males + \(-in\) → N females
N person + \(-isch\) → A
V, A + \(-ling\) → N
V + \(-ung\) → N
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 'sacredness'

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 females

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 \(\leftarrow\) učitel ‘teacher’)
- \(-in\)-ja (e.g. boginja \(\leftarrow\) bog ‘God’)
- \(-kin\)-ja (e.g. srăbkinja \(\leftarrow\) sărbin ‘a Serbe’)
- \(-ic\)-a (e.g. kralica \(\leftarrow\) kral ‘king’)
- \(-es\)-a (e.g. poetesa \(\leftarrow\) poet ‘poet’)
- \(-is\)-a (e.g. aktrisa \(\leftarrow\) akt’or ‘actor’) and
- \(-v\)-a (only in svekărva \(\leftarrow\) svekăr ‘father-in-law’)

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)

*läv* „lion” → *lävica* → DIM *lävička* (Google – 8 occurrences)

The only instance of a derivation involving a human being is *svekār* „father-in-law” → *svekārva* „mother-in-law” → *svekārvička* (rather ironical) (Google – 82 occurrences), *svekārva* being derived with the unique Movierung suffix -v-a (note that nouns such as *etārva*, *zālva*, though terminating in -v-a are non-derived)
Females from males in Bulgarian (foreign bases)

`princ` ‘prince’ → `princesa` → DIM `princeska` (Google – 528 occurrences)

`poet` ‘poet’ → `poetas`a → 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 $\rightarrow$ A
Schriftsteller 'writer' $\rightarrow$ schriftsteller-isch
'writer's'
Hund 'dog' $\rightarrow$ hünd-isch 'dog's'
Bg. pisatel 'writer' $\rightarrow$ pisatel-ski 'writer's'
kuče 'dog' $\rightarrow$ kuč-eški 'dog's'
Bg. -ski

The Bg. suffix -ski is closing.

N + -ski $\rightarrow$ ADJ $\rightarrow$ *N
$\rightarrow$ *V
$\rightarrow$ *ADJ
G. -ling

V, A + -ling → N

However:

prüfen 'to examin’ → Prüfling 'the examined person’ → FEM Prüflingin

lehren 'to teach’ → Lehrling 'the taught 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‘$\rightarrow$ $\emptyset$
$\rightarrow$ pis-anie, a piece of writing‘$\rightarrow$ DIM pisanijce

dviža (se), (l) move‘ $\rightarrow$ dviž-ene, moving‘ $\rightarrow$ $\emptyset$
$\rightarrow$ dviž-enie, moving, movement‘$\rightarrow$ DIM dviženijce

Bg. -Vne is closing but -Vnie is not!
Bg. \textit{-Vne} and \textit{-Vnie} action nouns

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

+/- closing does not depend on the semantics of the derivative and therefore lexicalized \textit{-Vne} nouns cannot be further diminutivized:

\textit{prane} ,loundry\textquoteright, \textit{piene} ,drink\textquoteright, \textit{jadene} ,food\textquoteright
# G & Bg. Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>German Closing Suffixes</th>
<th>Bulgarian Parallels</th>
<th>Closing in Bulgarian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-e_suff</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-heit/-keit/-igkeit</td>
<td>-ost</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-ka, -(k)inja, -ica, -esa, -isa, -va</td>
<td>Only if added to N for male humans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-isch</td>
<td>-ski</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ling ?closing</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ung</td>
<td>-ne, -nie</td>
<td>Only -ne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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’ → DIM1 snim-č-ic-a → → 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 meaning (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 different types of closing suffixes:
  1) suffixes that are always closing; and
  2) suffixes that are closing only if particular formal or (and) semantic restrictions apply.
References


