Affix ordering in Bulgarian, Russian and Polish double diminutives

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Goals

- To provide an overview of the diminutivizing strategies in Bulgarian, Russian and Polish;
- To explain the formation of double diminutives in the three Slavic languages;
- To contribute to the typology of diminutivization; and
- To contribute to the better understanding of affix ordering.
Structure of the talk

- Preliminaries: data and method, the structure of the Slavic word, what is a double diminutive, etc.
- The set of the Bulgarian diminutive suffixes and double diminutives in Bulgarian
- The set of the Russian diminutive suffixes and double diminutives in Russian
- The set of the Polish diminutive suffixes and double diminutives in Polish
- Double diminutives in Bg., R. and P: Summation
- Double diminutives and closing suffixation
- Conclusion
Data

- The data come from Bulgarian, Russian, and Polish, and thus represent the three major subgroups to which the Slavic languages are usually assigned.
- The three languages were selected to ensure that our research is typologically relevant.
Sources of data

- The respective Academy Grammars: Andrejčin et al. (1983) for Bulgarian, Švedova et al. (1980) for Russian, and Gregorczykowa et al. (1989) for Polish.
- other grammars and scholarly articles
- dictionaries
- the respective national corpora
- Internet
- native speaker intuition
The structure of the Slavic word

(PREFIX) - BASE - (DERIVATIONAL SUFF) - (THEMATIC MARKER) - (INFLECTIONAL SUFF)

non-evaluative    evaluative
Double diminutives

\[ X \rightarrow \text{DIM1} \text{ ‘small X’} \rightarrow \rightarrow \text{DIM2 ‘very small X’} \]

A DIM2 noun has two overt DIM suffixes, by default.

The problem: all diminutive suffixes in a language have the same semantics but do not combine freely with one another to express double diminutives. Thus, diminutive suffixes can help us understand how suffix ordering works.
The Slavic noun

PREF-BASE-**DSUFF-ISUFF**

Recall that the DSUFF slot accommodates the purely derivational suffixes and the DIM suffixes.

NB! Nominal DIM suffixes can be attached recursively:

\[
\left[ \left[ N + \text{DIM1} \right]_N + \text{DIM2} \right]_N
\]

i.e. suffixes of the same type (often also the same suffix) are added on adjacent cycles, which is rather unusual in word-formation.
Nominal diminutives
The formation of nominal diminutives, be they DIM1 or DIM2, can be seen as phonologically-driven.

Default rules
- nouns in -C receive DIM suffixes in -C
- nouns in -a receive DIM suffixes in -a
- nouns in -o/-e receive DIM suffixes in either -o (in R. & P.) or -e (in Bg. & R.)
Bulgarian diminutive suffixes

1. -ec: vjatăr ‘wind’ → DIMI vetr-ec
2. -l-e: nos → DIMI nos-le
3. -č-e: präst ‘finger’ → DIMI präst-če
4. -k-a: kniga ‘book’ → DIMI kniž-ka
5. -ic-a: räka ‘hand’ → DIM räč-ica
6. -ičk-a: čanta → DIMI čant-ička
7. -čic-a: sol ‘salt’ → DIMI sol-čica
8. -c-e: krilo ‘wing’ → DIMI kril-ce
9. -ic-e: mljako ‘milk’ → DIMI mleč-ice (unprod.)
10. -enc-e: tele ‘calf’ → DIMI tel-ence

III. -e: is considered inflectional (Manova 2005), e.g. kotel ‘caldron’ → kotl-e
Bulgarian diminutives (bases in -C)

Nouns terminating in -C, which are masculine by default, take either -ec or -le and -če:

- **-ec**: vjatăr ‘wind’ → DIM1 vetr-ec
- **-l-e**: nos → DIM1 nos-le
- **-č-e**: prăst ‘finger’ → DIM1 prăst-če

-le and -če are gender-changing, i.e.-le and -če diminutives are neuter.
Bulgarian diminutives (bases in -a)

Nouns terminating in -a are feminine by default and take either the diminutive suffix -ka or -ica, and seldom both, -ka and -ica:

- kniga → DIMI kniž-ka
- kniga → DIMI kniž-ica (archaic).
Bulgarian diminutives
(bases in -o/-e)

Nouns terminating in -o/-e which are neuter by default select -ce, -ice, and -ence. Some nouns form diminutives with both -ce and -ice:

mljako ‘milk’  $\rightarrow$ DIM I mlek-ce
mljako ‘milk’  $\rightarrow$ DIM I mleč-ice
dete ‘child’  $\rightarrow$ DIM I det-ence
DIM2 in Bulgarian I

DIM1 suffixes that attach to masculine nouns (i.e. to nouns in -C) cannot be used as DIM2 suffixes. However, the gender-changing DIM1 suffixes -le and -če can be followed by the diminutive suffix -ence:

-le + -ence → -lence

nos ‘nose’ → DIM1 nos-le → DIM2 nosl-ence

-če + -ene → -čence

krąg ‘circle’ → DIM1 krąg-če → DIM2 krąg-čence
drug-ar ‘friend’ → DIM1 drugar-če → drugar-čence

pisa-tel ‘writer’ → DIM1 pisatel-če → DIM2 pisatel-čence
Diminutive suffixes that attach to nouns terminating in -a form the following combinations:

- ica + -ka: -ič-ka
  răka ‘hand’ → DIM1 răč-ica
  → DIM2 răč-ič-ka

- ka + -ica → -č-ica
  kniga ‘book’ → DIM1 kniž-ka
  → DIM2 kniž-č-ica

There are DIM1 suffixes -ička (čanta ‘bag’ → DIM1 čant-ička) and -čica (sol ‘salt’ → DIM1 sol-čica).
Interim conclusion: Bulgarian

- DIM2 are -ka, -ica and -ence

Rules for derivation of DIM2 nouns

1) A noun in -a → DIM1 in -a → DIM2 in -a (either -ka or -ica)
2) A base in -C/-ο/-e → DIM1 in -e → DIM2 with -ence
3) Inanimate non-abstract nouns (countable) as well as animates denoting offspring (man’s and of animal’s) are the most typical meanings of DIM2 nouns.

- DIM2 are frequent, i.e. the process is productive and relatively unconstrained.
Russian diminutive suffixes

1. -ec: vopros ‘question’ → voprosec
2. -onok: mal’čik ‘boy’ → mal’čonok
3. -ik: stol ‘table’ → stolik
4. -ok: pidžak ‘coat’ → pidžačok
5. -ek: den ‘day’ → denek
6. -čik: rukav ‘sleeve’ → rukavčik
7. -ic-a: čast ‘part’ → častica
8. -k-a: bereza, ‘birch’ → berezka
9. -očk-a: kofta, ‘blouse’ → koftočka
10. -ik-o: lico, ‘face’ → ličiko
11. -k-o: pivo ‘beer’ → pivko
12. -c-e: maslo ‘oil’ → maslice
13. -ec-o: pis’mo, ‘letter’ → pis’meco
Russian DIMI (bases in -C)

- **-ec:** vopros ‘question’ $\rightarrow$ voprosec
- **-onok:** mal’čik ‘boy’ $\rightarrow$ mal’čonok
- **-ik:** stol ‘table’ $\rightarrow$ stolik
- **-ok:** pidžak ‘coat’ $\rightarrow$ pidžačok
- **-ek:** den ‘day’ $\rightarrow$ denek
- **-čik:** rukav ‘sleeve’ $\rightarrow$ rukavčik

! More or less variants of -ok/-ik/-ek.
Russian Dimi (bases in -a)

- k-a: bereza, birch ‘→’ berez-ka
- očk-a: kofta, blouse ‘→’ koft-očka
- ešk-a: ryba, fish ‘→’ ryb-eška

- ic-a: čast’, part ‘→’ čast-ica
Russian DIMI (bases in -o/-e)

- **-ik-o**: lico, 'face' → lič-iko
- **-k-o**: pivo, 'beer' → piv-ko
- **-c-o/-c-e**: maslo, 'oil' → masl-ice
- **-ec-o**: pis’mo, 'letter' → pis’m-ece
- **-yšk-o**: sol’nce → sol’n-yško
DIM2 in Russian (bases in -C)

- **-ok + -ek → -oček**
  golos ‘voice’ → golosok → golos-oček

- **-ek + -ek → -eček**
  den ‘day’ → denek → den-eček

- **-ik + -ek → -iček**
  nož ‘knife’ → nožik → nož-iček
DIM2 in Russian (bases in -a and ‘)

- **-ka + -ka → -očka**
  igla ‘needle’ → igolka → igol-očka

- **-ica + -ka → -ička**
  voda → vodica → vod-ička
  čast’ → častica → čast-ička

- **-eška + -ka → -ešečka**
  ryba → rybeška → ryb-ešečka
DIM2 in Russian (bases in -o/-e)

-ko + -ko → -ečko

sito 'sieve' → DIM1 sitko →
→ DIM2 sit-ečko

okno 'window' → DIM1 okoško →
→ DIM2 okoš-ečko
Interim conclusion: Russian

Rules for derivation of DIM2 nouns:

- DIM1 in -C takes DIM2 -ek
- DIM1 in -a take DIM2 -ka
- DIM1 in -о take the DIM2 -ко.

DIM2 are usually formed from non-derived basic nouns that are countable, inanimate and non-abstract.

- A significantly lesser number of nouns than in Bulgarian form DIM2 nouns.
Polish diminutive suffixes

1. -ek: fartuch ‘apron’ → DIM1 fartusz-ek
2. -ik: konflikt ‘conflict’ → DIM1 konflikc-ik
3. -yk: kamień ‘stone’ → DIM1 kam-yk
4. -uszek: dzbanek ‘jug’ → DIM1 dzban-uszek
5. -iszek: brat ‘brother’ → DIM1 brac-iszek
6. -ulek: garnek ‘pot’ → DIM1 garn-ulek
7. -k-a: rura ‘pipe’ → DIM1 rur-ka
8. -uszk-a: bryczka ‘sulky’ → DIM1 brycz-uszka
9. -yczk-a: twarz ‘face’ → DIM1 twarz-yczka
10. -k-o: wiadro ‘bucket’ → DIM1 wiader-ko
11. -uszk-o: jabłko ‘apple’ → DIM1 jabł-uszko
Polish DIM1 (bases in -C)

-ek: fartuch ‘apron’  →  DIM1 fartusz-ek
-ik: konflikt ‘conflict’  →  DIM1 konflikc-ik
-yk: kamień ‘stone’  →  DIM1 kam-yk

-uszek: dzbanek ‘jug’  →  DIM1 dzban-uszek
-iszek: brat ‘brother’  →  DIM1 brac-iszek

-ulek: garnek ‘pot’  →  DIM1 garn-ulek
Polish DIM1 (bases in -a)

-ka: rura ‘pipe’ → DIM1 rur-ka

-uszka: bryczka ‘sulky’ →
  DIM1 brycz-uszka

-yczka: twarz ‘face’ →
  DIM1 twarz-yczka
Polish DIM1 (bases in -o/-e)

-ko: wiadро ‘bucket’ → DIM1 wiader-ko

-uszko: jabłко ‘apple’ →
    DIM1 jabł-uszko
DIM2 in Polish

Polish is very similar to Russian.

- DIM1 in -C take the DIM2 -ek:
  -ek+ -ek ⇒ -eczek
  dom ‘house’ ⇒ DIM1 domek ⇒
  DIM2 dom-eczek

  -ik + -ek ⇒ -iczeck
  stół ‘table’ ⇒ DIM1 stol-ik ⇒
  DIM2 stol-iczek

  -yk + -ek ⇒ -yczeck
  kosz ‘basket’ ⇒ DIM1 kosz-yk ⇒
  DIM2 kosz-yczek
DIM2 in Polish
(bases in -a and -o/-e)

- DIM1 in -a select DIM2 -ka:
  -ka + -ka → -eczka
  rama ‘frame’ → ramka → ram-eczka

- DIM1 in -o select the DIM2 -ko:
  -ko + -ko → -eczko
  sito ‘sieve’ → sitko → sit-eczko
DIM2 in Polish (unproductive patterns)

kwiat ‘flower’ → DIM1 kwiat-ek → DIM2 kwiat-uszek

kij ‘stick’ → DIM1 kij-ek → DIM2 kij-aszek

paka ‘package’ → DIM1 pacz-ka → DIM2 pacz-uszka

However, there is no *-uszko!
**Interim conclusion: Polish**

Polish is very similar to Russian, i.e. -ek, -ka and -ko are used as DIM2 suffixes.

DIM2 are derived from base noun that are countable, non-abstract and non-personal. The base nouns also tend to be morphologically simple and monosyllabic.

**NB! Phonological constraint:** nouns ending in a velar consonant (k, g, h) seldom form DIM2.

- The number of DIM2 nouns is relatively small.
The three languages, Bulgarian, Russian and Polish, have specialized three suffixes each for derivation of DIM2 nouns:

- **Bg.**: -ka, -ica and -ence
- **R.**: -ek, -ka and -ko
- **P.**: -ek, -ka and -ko

Double diminutives are most frequent (less constraint) in Bulgarian, less frequent in Russian and least frequent (most constraint) in Polish.
Constraints on double diminutives

Constraints on the BASE NOUN:

- **Semantic** (slightly different in the different languages): countable inanimate non-abstract nouns are the typical bases of DIM2;
- **Morphological** (only in Russian and Polish): non-deived monosyllables are the typical bases of DIM2.
- **Phonological** (only in Polish): bases in velar consonants seldom have DIM2.
Constraints on the suffix attached

- **Phonological**: the suffix must have a particular phonological make-up;
- **Morphological**: the combinations of suffixes are fixed and to some extent resemble templatic affix ordering, i.e. only particular suffixes can be placed in the DIM2 subslot and these suffixes never co-occur in the that subslot.
- **Psycholinguistic**: only productive diminutive suffixes are used in DIM2 nouns.
Suffix selection in diminutives

Bg. N in -C → DIM1 in -e → DIM2 -ence → DIM3 -ence
Bg. N in -a → DIM1 in -a → DIM2 in -a → DIM3 -ica
Bg. N in -o/-e → DIM1 in -e → DIM2 -ence → DIM3 –ence

R. /P. N in -C → DIM1 in -C → DIM2 -ek
R./P. N in -a → DIM1 in -a → DIM2 in -ka
R. /P. N in -o/-e → DIM1 in -o → DIM2 in -ko
A closing suffix is a suffix that does not allow addition of further suffixes of the same type, i.e. a closing derivational suffix cannot be followed by another derivational suffix, and a closing inflectional suffix cannot be followed by another inflectional suffix. Inflectional suffixes can attach to closing derivational suffixes.

(based on Aronoff & Fuhrhop 2002)
Diminutives and closing suffixation

- DIM suffixes follow the other derivational suffixes and are thus trivially closing. (Aronoff & Fuhrhop 2002)

This claim is false!

As we could see, with respect to reclusiveness there are different types of diminutive suffixes.
Closing diminutive suffixes

There are two types of closing diminutive suffixes:

1) Diminutive suffixes which do not allow further diminutivization, e.g. Bg./R. -ec. Such suffixes are unproductive.

2) Diminutive suffixes that can be followed only by themselves. Such suffixes are productive.
Closing suffixes are suffixes that close the word to the addition of further suffixes of the same type, i.e. a closing derivational suffix cannot be followed by another derivational suffix, except by itself, and a closing inflectional suffix cannot be followed by another inflectional suffix.
Conclusion

- Slavic double diminutives are an interesting case of affix ordering and contribute to morphological theory.
- Of all constraints involved in the ordering of the semantically homogeneous diminutive suffixes, the morphological constraint on the DIM2 suffixes, i.e. the fixed order defined by morphology, is the most powerful one. If one knows which suffixes can be used as DIM2 and in which combinations (they are only three!), one would be able to produce a DIM2 noun (a potential one at least).
Thank you!