DERIVATIONAL PATTERNS OF RUSSIAN NOUNS WITH SUFFIXES OF SUBJECTIVE EVALUATION

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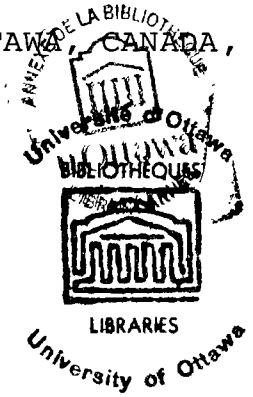

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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

Jaromira K. Rakusan was born April 4, 1940, in Prague, Czechoslovakia. She received her Master of Arts degree (promovaný filolog) in Slavic Languages and Literatures from the Charles' University of Prague, Czechoslovakia, in 1964. The title of her thesis was Complementation Characteristics of the Russian Verbs of Motion.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to investigate Russian substantives with suffixes of subjective evaluation (henceforth, suffixes SE), usually referred to as diminutives and augmentatives.

Slovar' sovremennogo russkogo iazyka in seventeen volumes[1] has served as the source of my material.

The study does not pretend to solve the problem of the expressive derivation of Russian substantives as a whole. It deals mainly with proportional relations among the linguistic elements involved in this kind of derivation. The quantitative approach has been chosen, first, because of the unusually high variability of suffixes involved, and second, because the majority of Russian nouns can serve as Base forms for the agglutination of suffixes SE. From these facts, it is obvious that the quantitative method could bring out the most interesting relations among suffixes SE (variables) and between the variables and their Base forms as well. The quantitative approach could also solve the question of productivity, which may be basically formulated as a question of quantitative relations.

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[1] Chernyshev, gen. ed., Slovar' sovremennogo russkogo iazyka, vol. I-XVII. (Moscow: Academy of Science, 1954-1959), (hereafter cited as Slovar' sovremennogo russkogo iazyka).

The derivational system of a language is in continuous motion: it is an open-ended system with vacant places which can be, in case of need, filled out. The inspiration for a speaker is usually an established pattern, which he applies in a new linguistic situation (the process of analogy). The existing language structure can therefore be understood as a trend-setter, pointing towards new formations in the future. The question, which can be rarely answered with certainty, is whether the formation will remain isolated, or whether it will inspire a new chain of neo-formations, and thus become the connecting element between existing units and the ones which are going to be formed. Taking into consideration that the derivational system is an open-ended system, each means of formation and each feature which brings about the possibility of continuation of pattern has tremendous significance. Such means and features can be identified as productive and the quantitative proportions within a given set are one of the most reliable indices in this respect.

CHAPTER I

EXPRESSIVE NOUNS AS A PART OF LANGUAGE SYSTEM

1. The Onomatological Function of Language

One of the basic functions of language is the onomatological, i.e. the naming of objects, persons, and phenomena.

Investigating the manner, processes, and means of the morphological formation of words, especially suffixation, we have to solve a general problem: what kinds of elements of thought content serve as a basis for the structures of motivated onomatological units? Let us assume that the basis is the social function of the onomatological act.

The onomatological act does not consist of simply naming an infinite number of new objects and phenomena. It is not only fixation of their complicated reflection in a speaker's consciousness in the form of images and notions, but also functions as a medium relating these elements to the extra-lingual reality: it formulates new outlooks and it evaluates. If each notion were to be given a special simple linguistic symbol, the complex structure of which would not be recognized, then language could not fulfill its onomatological function satisfactorily.

No language, of course, could work without such simple unmotivated sign symbols, but the economical principle forces each language to use motivation, which is a reflection of the structure of notions themselves.[1]

The motivation means that a word sign does not refer to extralingual reality directly but through the mediation of another sign: the new notional reflection of reality is being processed, classified, and inserted among the notions already recognized and named.

The way in which this is done depends on onomatological and structural possibilities and the conditions of every individual language.

The onomatological act can be realized firstly, as a simple association of the new notion with an old one, already named, on the basis of their similarities, e.g. metaphor, synecdoche; second, as relating of the new notion to two or more known and named phenomena or classes of phenomena.

We will pursue the latter case further. It is necessary to mention that in actual speech the speaker has a tendency to use the word "globally," i.e. he connects the phonetic form directly with the content. This tendency often leads to the loss of motivation (lexicalization, automatization), e.g. the loss of diminutive connotation in

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[1] V. Straková, Substantivní derivace (v ruštině a češtině) (Prague: Academia, 1973), pp. 5-7, (hereafter cited as Straková, Substantivní derivace).

Russian derivatives, such as butylka, knižka.

As a rule, however, the "global usage" of a motivated word does not interfere with the basic fact of the complex structure of onomatological units, which is being recognized in many situations.[2]

An onomatological unit is being structured when it is realized by categorial language means: morphological and syntactical, e.g. derivation by means of prefixes and suffixes as in the creation of compound words and phrases such as pig-let, re-done.

Simple units, such as dog, mother, swim, have from the synchronical point of view no onomatological structure.

From this assumption, it follows that the onomatological structures must be at least of a two-fold character: there is a denoted and a denoting member of a structure. In other words, the speaker performing an onomatological act chooses first an onomatological base, the member identifying the named phenomenon as a member of certain notional class, and then within this class the new phenomenon being identified through its onomatological motivation (the differentiating member). In this way the phenomenon named is specified abstractly as a member of a class (genus) and concretely as a member of species.[3]

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[2]V. Mathesius, "O soustavném rozboru jazykovém," in Čeština a obecný jazykozpyt, p. 161n, quoted by Straková, Substantivní derivace, p. 9.

[3]M. Dokulil and J. Kuchař, "Vztah jazyka a myšlení ve struktuře pojmenování," in Problémy marxistické jazykovědy (Prague: ČSAV, 1962), pp. 235-45, (hereafter cited as Dokulil and Kuchař, "Vztah jazyka").

The onomatological base is usually the closest notional class. E.g. in belyj kon', kon' constitutes the class. In beljak, the class is of more general nature--a white animal, or the most abstract class, based on the grammatical category of a part of speech, as in belizna, bel'mo. Here the class could be characterized as "something white, a substance with the feature of whiteness."

In derived words, the onomatological base can be expressed by a part of speech or by grammatical category only. In onomatological structures expressed by composite forms, the base is expressed more explicitly.

Any feature of the object could become onomatological motivation. In words like smel'čak, vesel'čak, umnica it is the feature of character which serves the function. In pjatiletka, semiletka, it is the relation of new phenomena to time. Sometimes the motive is chosen in very subjective fashion, e.g. božˇ'ja korovka (morphological translation: God's little cow = a lady bug).

Onomatological categories are notions which may serve as tools for the description of the word-forming habits of a language.[4]

Only by observing the words from the viewpoint of onomatological categories can we grasp the variety of motivational relations, the potential connections of some of the word-forming elements, and the fact that one derivational

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[4]Straková, Substantivní derivace, pp. 18-19.

element could belong to several different derivational categories, e.g. the suffix -k- in kuxarka which forms the feminine nouns from the masculines (conversion). In vystavka it forms deverbative nouns, in ručka and in idejka it adds expressive connotation, etc.

The onomatological approach points to interesting relations between different forms in a language, such as the intrinsic similarity of expressions like: malyj gorod - gorodok or bednyj starik - starikaška.

There is a discrepancy between the onomatological structures and the notional (gnoseological). The notion (especially the scientific one) is gaining on its content through the process of scientific development. Onomasiological structure, on the other hand, remains linguistically fixed. This creates a tension between both structures which often results in the destruction of the given onomasiological structure, namely:

a) partial or complete lexicalisation (demotivation of a word, e.g. voda - vodka, or

b) replacement of the old word by a new expression the onomasiological category of which can be changed or modified, e.g. otrok replaced by podrostok, čajevničat' replaced by pit' čaj.[5]

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[5]Dokulil and Kuchař, "Vztah jazyka," p. 244.

2. Expressivity and Emotionality

The majority of vocabulary units simply reflects reality by naming objects and phenomena without any special evaluation. Some words, however, originally neutral, can acquire a permanent expressive connotation by means of their semantic change. The result is a division of the meaning--the creation of homonyms, one with a neutral, matter-of-fact meaning and another with an expressive connotation. In such cases we may speak, according to Stankiewicz,[6] about adherent expressivity, e.g.

express. šljapa (helpless unpractical person)

neutral. šljapa (a hat)

The rest of the expressive vocabulary consists of units which are permanently marked with a special expressive connotation, transmitting the speaker's subjective evaluation during the onomatological act. Such a phenomenon can be referred to as inherent expressivity.

Inherent expressivity is transmitted by the following structural patterns:[7]

1) Lexical expressivity: e.g. trus, pečal, radost'.
2) Expressivity transmitted through the phonetic structure of the word: e.g. xoxotat',

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[6] E. Stankiewicz, Declension and Gradation of Russian Substantives (The Hague: Mouton, 1968), pp. 97-98, (hereafter cited as Stankiewicz, Declension and Gradation).

[7] J. Zima, "Expresivita slov v současné češtině," Rozpravy ČSAV vol.71:16 (1961), pp. 6-31.

fintifljuška, šeršavyj.

3) Expressivity transmitted through a change in animation or gender: as in proper names for women where the masculine version carries a special emotional connotation, e.g.

Sonja feminine - Sonik masculine

Lilja feminine - Lilik masculine

Lizočka feminine - Lizočik masculine

4) Expressivity transmitted through a semantic change of a derivational pattern: e.g.[8] umničat', ser' ezničat'.

5) Expressivity transmitted through truncation of the stem:[9] e.g.

Anatolij - Tolja

Nikolaj - Kolja

6) Expressivity transmitted through suffixation;

a) Formation of so called diminutives and augmentatives, e.g.

dom - domik

ruka - ručonka

pero - periško

b) Formation of hybrids (a foreign suffix with a native base or a native base with

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[8] I. K. Sazonova, Leksika i frazeologiia sovr. russ. lit. iazyka (Moscow: Izd. lit. na inostr. iazykax, 1963), p. 113.

[9] E. Stankiewicz, "The Expressions of Affection in Russian Proper Names," The Slavic and East European Journal XV (1957):196-210.

a foreign suffix), e.g.

simpatjaga

7) Expressivity can also be transmitted through syntactic arrangement: the range of combinations of words, or so-called "Functional sentence perspective," where the unusual word order signals emphasis, emotionality, or other special content such as the novelty of the message.[10]

Let us now return to type 6a, that is to the Russian nouns which are formed by the suffixes with expressive connotation. These nouns, usually called diminutives and augmentatives, manifest their expressivity in the first place in qualitative semantic change, while the quantitative meaning of the expression remains unchanged compared with the base form, e.g.

kopejka - kopeječka

moloko - moločko

In the second place, they do so by classifying the noun with no quantitative connotation as a form belonging to the category with a quantitative limit, e.g.

abstract gore - gorjuško

and in the third place by non-congruity of the meaning of the base form and the meaning of the suffix, e.g.

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[10] V. Mathesius, "Funkční linguistika," in Z klasického období pražské školy, 1925-1945 (Prague: Academia, 1972), pp. 27-40.

palač - palačok

gigant - gigantik

Observing and comparing the terms used by different authors in connection with expressivity of language we might ask ourselves whether the popular Shakhmatov's[11] term "category of subjective evaluation" (kategorija sub"jektivnoj ocenki) really includes all diminutives and augmentatives. We also need to clarify whether the expressive suffixes, and suffixes of subjective evaluation are one and the same thing, and whether expressivity is identical with emotionality.

In his book Russkij iazyk, V. V. Vinogradov[12] interprets expressivity sometimes as the emphatic, meaningful, eloquent manner of speaking (vyrazitel'naja sila), sometimes as subjective evaluation:

> . . .the word contains the expressive colouring of a social environment. Reflecting a personality (individual or collective) of a speaker, the word characterizes his evaluation of reality and at the same time defines the speaker as a member of a certain social group.

This spectrum of connotations, belonging to a word is its expressivity. Vinogradov claims that "expressivity is always subjective, characteristic, and personal." He does not distinguish the differences between the expressive and the emotional connotations and includes both among the forms

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[11] A. A. Shakhmatov, Sintaksis russkogo iazyka (Leningrad: Gos. uch. ped., 1941), pp. 452-53, (hereafter cited as Shakhmatov, Sintaksis).

[12] V. V. Vinogradov, Russkii iazyk (Moscow: Uchpedgiz, 1947), p. 18, (hereafter cited as Vinogradov, Russkii iazyk).

of subjective evaluation.

Galkina-Fedoruk[13] explains that "emotionality is always expressive, but expressivity does not have to be emotional." Besides, some of the words with suffixes normally indicating tenderness or disparagement are not always emotional and sometimes lack even expressivity. Exact semantic classification of the suffixes is almost non-existent at the present time.

L. A. Bulakhovskii[14] suggests that, in order to improve the distinction between emotionality and expressivity, it is necessary to draw a sharp line between problems of word-formation and those of lexico-semasiological character. He is convinced that word-formation should be studied historically. By means of the historical approach, it will be easier to differentiate between the emotional and expressive vocabulary, and also to separate those words which have already lost any such connotations from the former group.

For example, trubka (pipe), mašinka (a type-writer), kryl'co (a porch), setka (a hair-net), zubec (a cog), used to function as diminutive derivatives from truba (tube),

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[13] E. M. Galkina-Fedoruk, "Ob ekspressivnosti i emocional'nosti v iazyke," in Sbornik statei po iazykoznaniu (Moscow: Moscow University Press, 1958), pp. 121-24, (hereafter cited as Galkina-Fedoruk, "Ob ekspressivnosti.")

[14] L. A. Bulakhovskii, Kurs russkogo liter. iazyka, vol. I (Kiev: Riadianska shkola), pp. 137-38 quoted by Galkina-Fedoruk, "Ob ekspressivnosti," p. 123.

mašina (engine), set' (net), zub (tooth).

The lexicalization of derived forms which are or are not homonymous with expressive derivatives is particularly common in some semantic groups of the vocabulary, and is well known from the history of Russian and other languages.

The substantives otec, serdce, solnce, mesjac were diminutives in Proto-Slavic, and ptica, perec, ulica, nevestka, were diminutives in Old Russian.

The process of lexicalization and of stylistic and expressive differentiation can be illustrated by the example of deva, presented by Korsh.[15]

The diminutive devka was already in Old Russian (Igor's Tale) the equivalent of deva (a maiden, a girl). In Modern Russian deva has a bookish or poetic connotation. The original diminutive devka is used in the colloquial language with the meanings: 1) a virgin, 2) a young girl, 3) a prostitute. The word devuška, up to the seventeenth century applied to court maids, was later transferred to denote any female servant, even a married one.

According to F. Korsh,[16] devuška has the following meanings: 1) a young woman, 2) a female servant, 3) a virgin. This word is thus the neutral expression denoting a young girl in general.

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[15] F. Korsh, O russkom narodnom stikhoslozhenii (St. Petersburg, 1901), pp. 78-81.

[16] Ibid.

The original diminutive devica appears only in colloquial or poetic language, denoting a person of a lower social status. Its stylistic characteristics are archaic.

Devočka, originally a secondary diminutive, has lost its affectionate meaning, and signifies 1) a little girl, 2) a prostitute.

The modern language is left, according to the author, with the following expressive derivates:

1) devčuška (affectionate)
2) devčurka (affectionate, colloquial)
3) devon'ka (affectionate, colloquial, dialectical)
4) devčonka (pejorative).

3. Functional Specifications of Suffixes SE

Various discussions have been considered of the function of the suffixes of subjective evaluation (hereafter referred to as "suffixes SE") in the higher units of language of which they are constituents.

By the term "suffix SE" we mean the bound morpheme which occurs at the end of a root or a stem, precedes the declensional desinence (including zero), and serves the purpose of forming new substantives SE.

Functional specification of a morpheme in the word-structure allows us to distinguish the following morpheme types:[17]

1) Lexical morphemes,

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[17]Straková, Substantivní derivace, pp. 24-25.

2) Flexional morphemes (grammatical),

3) Derivational morphemes.

Lexical morphemes are characterized by their fulfillment of onomatological functions, flexional morphemes of grammatical functions. These two basic elements of a flexional word, however, differ in terms of their functional independence: while the lexical morpheme (in Sapir's term "radical")[18] can stand alone without the flexional morpheme, the existence of the flexional morpheme is conditioned by the presence of the lexical morpheme.

The derivational morphemes share with the lexical ones the onomatological function. They either introduce the sign content of lexical morphemes into new connections by transferring semantic meaning from one part of speech to another, e.g. ulybka - ulybat'sja, or they modify the content of the basic lexical morpheme, e.g. golova - golovuška.

Structural properties of derivational morphemes could be summed up as follows:

a) The derivational morpheme is not an obligatory component of the word structure.

b) The structural function of the derivational morpheme is less marked than that of the inflectional morpheme.

c) The position of the derivational morpheme is not

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[18] E. Sapir, Language (New York: Harcourt, 1968), pp. 25-41.

stabilized. In Russian word-structure the flexional morpheme is always in the final position. Derivational morphemes can be distributed according to their position into suffixes, prefixes, infixes.

d) Derivational morphemes can be very often repeated, e.g., cumulation is very frequent with the diminutives such as komnatuše̊čka, šube̊e̊čka, etc. This feature, called "Gradation" by Stankiewicz,[19] contrasts with the possibilities of flexional morphemes which are very limited. The noun paradigm of Russian nouns is characterized by one flexional morpheme alone.

Assuming the above-stated proposition, we then consider the suffixes SE to be of derivational character.

For other linguists, however, the expressive suffixes SE cannot be included among derivational formants. For example, C. Dawson[20] claims that a derivational suffix provides words with new meaning rather than just a modification of the original meaning, and also forms the substantives which are not limited in gender to that of the underlying substantive (Base form) as in the case with diminutives, augmentatives, and the affective formations.

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[19] Stankiewicz, Declension and Gradation, pp. 97-98.

[20] C. Dawson, "Remarks on the Derivational Suffixes of the Russian Substantives," in memorial volume To Honor R. Jakobson (Hague: Mouton, 1956), pp. 81-82.

Russian linguist P. Bogorodickii,[21] treated the formation of the nouns SE as a grammatical process.

He concluded first that the suffixes SE are less independent than the rest of derivational suffixes which change substantially the sign content of the Base forms.

Second, the uniqueness of the suffixes SE is also manifested morphologically as an agreement in the gender between the base form and its derivate, e.g. domiško or domiška, masculine gender, agreeing with the gender of dom, goloviše, ručiše, nožiše, feminine gender, influenced by the gender of golova, ruka, noga.

Third, diminutives often influence the form of those adjectives, with which they stand in construction. The adjectives often take corresponding diminutive suffixes, e.g. malen'kij kusoček, dobren'kaja staruška, belen'kij platoček.

A similar point of view had been expressed already at the beginning of the twentieth century by L. V. Shcherba in his PhD dissertation, "Vostočno lužickoe narečie."[22] He tried to solve the problems of distinguishing between a word-form and an independent lexeme, and decided that the diminutives and augmentatives are only different grammatical forms of one lexical unit.

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[21] V. A. Bogorodickii, Obshchii kurs russ. grammatiki, 5th ed. (Moscow: Soc. econ. izd., 1935), pp. 152-53, quoted by Galkina-Fedoruk, "Ob ekspressivnosti," p. 117.

[22] V. V. Vinogradov, "Obshchelinguisticheskie i gramm. vzgliady akademika L. V. Shcherby," in Sbornik, Pamiati akad. L. V. Shcherby (Leningrad: 1951), p. 52.

A. A. Shakhmatov[23] supported his views by stating that expressive nuances, brought on by the suffixes SE, do not change the basic meaning of the root. The suffixes SE do not therefore express any independent notions which would be radically different from those expressed by the corresponding basic word.

F. F. Fortunatov and his school[24] disagreed, viewing all the above mentioned forms as lexical units, independent of their Base forms. According to him the difference between the Base form and the suffixed form is not of morphological or syntactical character, but lexical.

Opinion, even more crystallized around this point, is presented by A. A. Potebnia:[25]

> . . . The general meaning of words, defined in dictionaries, are only artificial extracts, and therefore the smallest change in the meaning of the words means a creation of another independent word . . .

Since Potebnia considered even the case forms to be word-forming elements, it is not surprising that he includes the suffixes SE in the same category. More recently, similar views were expressed by P. S. Kuznetsov, in his "Lectures

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[23] A. A. Shakhmatov, Sintaksis, pp. 452-53.

[24] F. F. Fortunatov, "Sravnitel'noe iazykovedenie," lectures (1897-1898), p. 212, quoted by Galkina-Fedoruk, "Ob ekspressivnosti," p. 116.

[25] A. A. Potebnia, Iz zapisok po russkoi grammatike (Khar'kov: 1899), vol 1-2: p. 33, vol 3: p. 92, (hereafter cited as Potebnia, Iz zapisok).

on Morphology."[26]

V. V. Vinogradov[27] stated that the word-forming affixes are only those which change the lexical meaning of its Base form, and the form-forming affixes are those which play the role of the transmitters for different grammatical (as well as logical and expressive) relations.

He explains the difference between the objective diminutive and the other expressive derivates using the three-fold system:

1st degree	1)	Base form
2nd degree	2)	Base form + diminutive suffix = diminutive.
3rd degree	3)	Diminutive + suffix with connotation of tenderness (suffix of subjective evaluation).

The derivates of the second degree are objective diminutives. Only the derivates of the third degree are the ones which carry a connotation of expressiveness and emotionality.

To decide which of the two functions (word-forming/derivational or form-forming/grammatical) is fulfilled by the suffixes SE requires more precise specification of both notions.

It has been mentioned that the forms with the suffixes SE can carry, first, objective meaning of size, and, second, expressive connotation. It would therefore follow that words

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[26]P. S. Kuznetsov,"Kurs lekcii po morfologii," Sovr. russ. iazyk (Moscow: MGU, 1958), p. 31.

[27]Vinogradov, Russkii iazyk, pp. 63-64, 663.

such as paločka, motorčik, poloska, etc., if compared to palka, motor, polosa are new words, independent lexemes.

The suffix changes the lexical meaning of the words and shows that the object denoted by the suffixal forms differs from the one denoted by the non-suffixal form. Such words are similar to the nouns, formed with the suffixes -enok/-onok, e.g. kotenok, cyplenok, ščenok, which are generally considered independent of their Base forms.

The objective diminutiveness or augmentativeness of such words as paločka, motorčik can be hardly classified as grammatical meanings, such as, for example, the meanings of the suffixes of degree belonging to the Russian adjectives. Vinogradov claims that the objective connotation of size is too concrete for that.

Words, such as bratec, xlebuško, žitiško as compared to brat, xleb, žit'je, present an entirely different situation. The suffixes perform the role of subjective indices, showing the relation between a speaker and an object of discourse.

Pliamovataia[28] suggests that the meaning of the suffixes SE could be classified as grammatical only in cases when it is of abstract, general character. A clear cut case would be the expressive forms of Proper nouns, e.g. Roman, Roma, Romočka, Romik, etc., which can definitely be considered

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[28] S. S. Pliamovataia, "O grammaticheskoi prirode i klassifikacii imen sushch. s umen'shitel'. - ekspres. suffiksami v sovr. russ. iazyke," in Russkii iazyk v shkole 6 (1955), pp. 4-11, (hereafter cited as Pliamovataia, "O grammaticheskoi prirode.")

as different forms of one lexeme only.

There is, of course, a wide range of cases in which the suffixed form varies between objective connotation of size and some sort of emotional connotation. In such cases the forms are classified as either diminutives with the connotation of tenderness (umen'šitel'no-laskatel'nye), or diminutives with connotation of disparagement (umen'šitel'no-uničižitel'nye). There are many other examples:

človečeček	-	človek
staričok	-	starik
carek	-	car'
kotik	-	kot
gorodiško	-	gorod
domiško	-	dom

Pliamovataia concludes that the substantives with purely expressive connotation belong to the sphere of the form-forming (grammatical) processes, while the nouns with an objective indication of size belong to the sphere of the word-forming (derivational) processes. The majority of nouns which combine both meanings would therefore vary between the above mentioned two spheres, depending on their contextual environment.

E. Stankiewicz[29] avoids the functional problem of suffixes SE by defining two kinds of derivational processes:

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[29]Stankiewicz, Declension and Gradation, pp. 97-98.

1) Non-expressive derivation,

2) Expressive derivation.

Expressive derivation differs from non-expressive in several respects.

Non-expressive derivation involves all parts of speech, whereas the expressive derivation affects in Modern Standard Russian the nominal system only and in particular the class of substantives. Non-expressive derivation is the process of forming new lexical items, which may be accompanied by a change of class-membership or grammatical category (e.g. conversion of gender). The lexical meaning of non-expressive derivates cannot be predicted from the meaning of the underlying stem (Base form).

In Expressive derivation, the lexical meaning of the Base form remains intact; the expressive suffix serves merely to convey the emotive attitude of the speaker towards the subject of the message. The expressive suffixes are known in traditional Russian grammar as "suffixes of subjective evaluation." E. Stankiewicz points out that the term "subjective" should not be misinterpreted: the expressive suffixes are a part of the linguistic code, and their meaning is the same for all speakers. Furthermore, they may signal the emotive meaning independently of the actual emotional state of the speaker.

4. Meanings of the Suffixes SE

To sum up the available sources, we accept that the Russian substantives with the suffixes SE express the following basic meanings: a)words denoting an object of changed quantity, size, volume.

1) Smallness of quantity, size, volume, e.g.,

gorod	gorodok
dom	domik
kaplja	kapel'ka

2) Largeness of quantity, size, volume, e.g.,

gorod	gorodiščе
dom	domiščе
golova	goloviščе

According to Dement'ev[30] the substantives indicating smallness could be called objective diminutives, the substantives indicating largeness could be called objective augmentatives. The terms themselves emphasize the basic imaginary size-connotation of the words only. However, in certain contexts, both groups can possess an enormous emotional temperature which might sometimes nullify their original sign-content.

The suffixes SE express the meaning of objective size only when their Base forms denote an object which has a definite size, volume or capacity.

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[30]A. Dement'ev, "Umen'shitel'nye slova v russ. iazyke," in Russkii iazyk v shkole, vol 14, no 5 (1953), pp. 5-11, (hereafter cited as Dement'ev, "Umen'shitel'nye.")

Logically, one would expect contradictions between nouns belonging to the groups 1 and 2. Certain cases, however, manifest fluctuation between the diminutive and the augmentative meaning, as when for example, an adult refers to a child's hand, ". . . posmotri na ètu ručiščе . . ." (. . . look at this huge hand . . .). In such a case the connotation of size becomes a highly emotional nuance.

Besides the idea of quantity or size the following emotional-expressive nuances are often mentioned by a majority of authors:[31] b)words with emotional-expressive connotation.

1) Nouns expressing tenderness, affection (laskatel'nye slova), e.g.,

korova	korovuška
djadja	djaden'ka
bereza	berezon'ka

The expression of tenderness or endearment without objective diminutiveness is conveyed in such cases when the meaning of the Base form cannot be connected with the meaning

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[31] B. V. Bratus, The Formation and Expressive Use of Diminutives (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969) pp. 2-5; Dement'ev, "Umen'shitel'nye," pp. 5-11; F. Oberfalcer, "Zdrobnělá slova," in Naše řeč, vol 11, no 6 (1927), pp. 97-125; V. M. Ogol'cov, "Emocional'nye i ekspressivnye znacheniia suffiksa imen prilag. -en'k- (-on'k-)," in Russkii iazyk v skole, no 2 (1960), pp. 8-13; N. A. Ianko-Trinitskaia, "Osnovy sushchestv. na -onok, -ata" in Ocherki po slovoobrazovaniiu (Leningrad: University of Leningrad Press, 1965), pp. 159-67; E. F. Karskii, "O suffiksakh v russkikh slovakh tipa telenok, Vasen'ka," in Russ. filolog. vestnik, no 22 (1889), pp. 179-83; Vinogradov, Russkii iazyk, pp. 130-45.

of size, volume, capacity, etc.

Some of the Base forms, such as otec, serdce, solnce, jajco, ovca, palec, are originally diminutives with emotional connotation, as is evident from their structure (suffix -ec/-c-). A modern user of Russian would attach to them neither emotional connotation nor diminutiveness. Having been used quite frequently, the words have lost their expressiveness, and are unable to provoke any emotional reaction. The speaker then feels the necessity to refresh his speech with new forms which would satisfy his need for better expressiveness. For example, instead of otec, the speaker could use papa, papen'ka, papočka, batjuška, etc.[32]

A special case is the usage of roots, the semantic content of which evokes disgust or horror while the suffixes are those which usually indicate tenderness. The result is a form with positive emotional connotation. E.g., when addressing children: /Compare with Czech: Ty kurvičko! (vulg. kurva - a whore), in German: Stinkerli, Dreckfinckli, Schweinchen, (forms related to the roots, denoting a stink, a shit, a swine)/.[33]

2) Words expressing disparagement (uničižitel'nye or prezritel'no- uničižitel'nye slova), e.g.,

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[32]F. Oberfalcer, "Zdrobnělá slova," in Naše řeč, vol 11, no 6, (1927), pp. 97-125, (hereafter cited as Oberfalcer, "Zdrobnělá slova."

[33]Oberfalcer, "Zdrobnělá slova," pp. 100-101.

gorod	gorodiška
plat'e	plat'iško
akter	akteriška

3) Words expressing condescension and familiarity (prenebrežitel'no- famil'jarnye slova), e.g.,

rabota	rabotenočka
veščі	veščičkі

Negative connotation, such as disparagement or condescension is achieved by adding the particular suffixes to the Base form with neutral meaning, e.g., gorod - gorodiška , or to the Base form, that has negative meaning by itself, e.g., vor - voriška, lgun - lguniška, xvastun - xvastuniška.

Besides adding special suffixes, the negative connotation can be achieved by:

a) special context + diminutive suffix, e.g., ". . . Gospodin na nožkax nizkix visel, jurok i rumjan . . ." (Nekrasov).

b) special intonation + diminutive suffix, e.g., Nu i vodica!

Depending on the intonation, the form vodica can convey an approval, or disapproval, referring to the quality and taste of water.

Identical choice of meanings, depending on the intonation, exist for substantives without any suffix SE as well, e.g., Nu i tabak!

4) Hypocoristics (laskatel'no - domašnie slova), e.g.,

baba	babusja
mama	mamusja
papa	papaša

5) Word expressing approximation (slova so značeniem priblizitel'nosti),e.g.,

minuta	minutka
god	godik

This meaning emerges when the Base form expresses an accurate measure of time. The suffix SE disturbs the accuracy and the derivate accepts connotation of an approximate time or an approximate measure only.

6) Words expressing irony (Ironičeskie slova), e.g.,

ideja	idejka
teorija	teorijka
rabotnik	rabotniček

Irony is expressed by concatenation of suffixes SE to bases with connotation of importance, seriousness, exaltation, festivity, or to the abstract nouns. The derivate becomes almost an antonym when compared to its Base form.

7) Words expressing lesser or more intensive degrees of an effect, expressed by the Base form, e.g.,

veter	veterok
moroz	morozec

The Base form denotes strong or weak effects. Meaning is not connected with volume or size.

8) Words expressing the immaturity and youth of animals and persons, e.g.,

tigr	tigrenok
myš	myšenok
korova	telenok
sobaka	ščenok

This group is characterized by high occurrence of suppletive forms. Often the relation between the Base form and its derivate is not expressed formally, but semantically. The connection with immaturity is expressed by the suffix and by the new root of the suffixed form as well.

c) words which have lost their diminutive connotation as well as emotional-expressive connotation, e.g.,

palec

kol'co

Their suffixes are related to the suffixes SE only genetically. At the present time, the root and the suffix have fused, e.g., lod-k-a, ot-ec, etc.[34]

5. Gradation of Substantives with the Suffixes SE

Gradation of substantives is the process of forming expressive derivatives from the Base form of substantives, or

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[34]Ch. E. Townsend, Russian Word-Formation (London: McGraw Hill, 1968), pp. 30-31.

from other expressive derivatives.

The derivational process involves the use of expressive suffixes with or without morphophonemic alternation or truncation of the stem.

According to E. Stankiewicz,[35] the system of expressive derivation constitutes a double axis of vertical and horizontal terms which is carried by a set of expressive suffixes. The vertical axis presents a graded scale of "more" versus "less" expressive forms, which are derived from the emotively neutral Base form. On the horizontal axis the expressive forms are opposed to each other as diminutive versus augmentative and affectionate versus pejorative.

The system of expressive derivation represents the scale of different degrees of expressiveness by so called primary suffixes, secondary suffixes and also by tertiary suffixes, all of them differentiated according to gender. Primary suffixes are simple, secondary, and tertiary are compound. Compound suffixes consist of primary suffixes which are followed by one or two consonantal components.

Primary suffixes are based on a single morpheme usually containing only one consonant. It conveys the meaning of quantitative character, i.e. diminuation or augmentation, sometimes accompanied by slight emotive coloring, e.g.,

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[35]Stankiewicz, Declension and Gradation, pp. 97-98.

borod-ka

dvor-ik

piv-ko

Secondary suffixes can be characterized from a formal point of view as iteratives of the primary ones, i.e. they are doubled. They contain usually two consonantal elements, e.g.,

-š- -k-	as in	starik-aška
-č- -k-	as in	vod-ička
-n'- -k-	as in	tet-in'ka

From the semantic point of view, they display greater increase in size and/or stronger emotional symptoms than the primary suffixes.

Tertiary suffixes, being tri-morphemic, are formed on the basis of three (rarely four) consonants, e.g.,

-š- -č- -k-	as in	brat-iščka
-n- -č- -k-	as in	reč-ončka
-r- -č- -k-	as in	dač-určka

As a rule, tertiary suffixes involve a strongly marked hypochoristic meaning, with a high emotional temperature, very often affectionate. The meaning of objective size is in many cases absent, or is present only in very small measure.

Besides the formal type of classification of nouns into primary, secondary, and tertiary, derivates can be also classified as formations of the first, the second, and the third degree. In most cases there is a harmony between the

formal and the functional levels: primary diminutive functions as a diminutive of the first degree, secondary diminutive functions as a diminutive of the second degree, etc. In many cases, however, there is a discrepancy. For example, secondary diminutive may fulfill the function of a diminutive of the first degree, etc.[36] For example, in butyl-očka, the suffix -očka functions as a diminutive of the first degree, because the suffix -k- in butyl-ka has lost its diminutive function and the meaning of the whole form has become neutralized.

The loss of expressive function can be observed especially in connection with suffix -k-, which carries neither expressive, nor distinct lexical meaning. Such derivatives are merely stylistic variants of forms without the suffix. E.g.,

kniga - knižka

rubaxa - rubaška

sveča - svečka

The suffix-less forms are sometimes bookish, e.g., skovoroda, kroxa versus skovorodka and kroška, while the suffixed forms may be colloquial.[37]

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[36]L. Doležel, Tvoření slov v češtině (Prague: Academia, 1967), pp. 495-96, (hereafter cited as Doležel, Tvoření slov).

[37]Stankiewicz, Declension and Gradation, p. 100.

CHAPTER II

MATERIAL AND METHODS

1. Material

The materials I have chosen to concern myself with are Russian nouns formed by one of the suffixes SE.

As a source of the material I used the single language dictionary: Slovar' sovremennogo russkogo iazyka (hereafter referred to as "Academic Dictionary.")

The advantage of choosing this material and not an available literary text is primarily that dictionaries indicate the form to which the derivative is related, and in what context each word can be found. Also the content of each word is given general definition.

In spite of the fact that the above mentioned source is the most extensive Russian dictionary available, we realize that it is far from exhaustive. It gives primarily only a survey of those derivational possibilities which have already been realized in the language, but not the potential possibilities, those which are utilized and often creatively used by a speaker. It is characteristic of derivation that it forms an open-ended system.

The authors of the "Academic Dictionary" have defined meaning and its variants for each basic substantive.

Derivates which do not essentially deviate from the meaning of their Base forms, are not defined separately, e.g., belǒčka, pismeco, domišče. Such derivates are the only ones included in the study. The derivates with suffixes SE which have already lost semantic connection with their Base forms are not discussed, e.g.,

nos	(a nose)	-	nosik čajnika	(the spout of a teapot)
xomut	(a collar)	-	xomutik vintovki	(the backside slide of a rifle)
šar	(a sphere)	-	krovjanye šariki	(blood corpuscles)

The shortcoming of our material is the absence of proper nouns, which display much greater compatibility with expressive suffixes than do the rest of substantival stems. From the viewpoint of quantitative analysis, they would represent a unique and interesting group. On the other hand, they possess the same forms as the other derivative nouns, and therefore no individual treatment is necessary.

2. Organization of the Material

A) Each suffixal form (the derivate) with the appropriate base form was transferred from the "Academic Dictionary" to a card.

Further information, supplied by the dictionary, was gender for both forms and expressional connotation of the derivate.

Finally, an English translational equivalent, based on the definition of each word, found in the "Academic Dictionary," was also included.

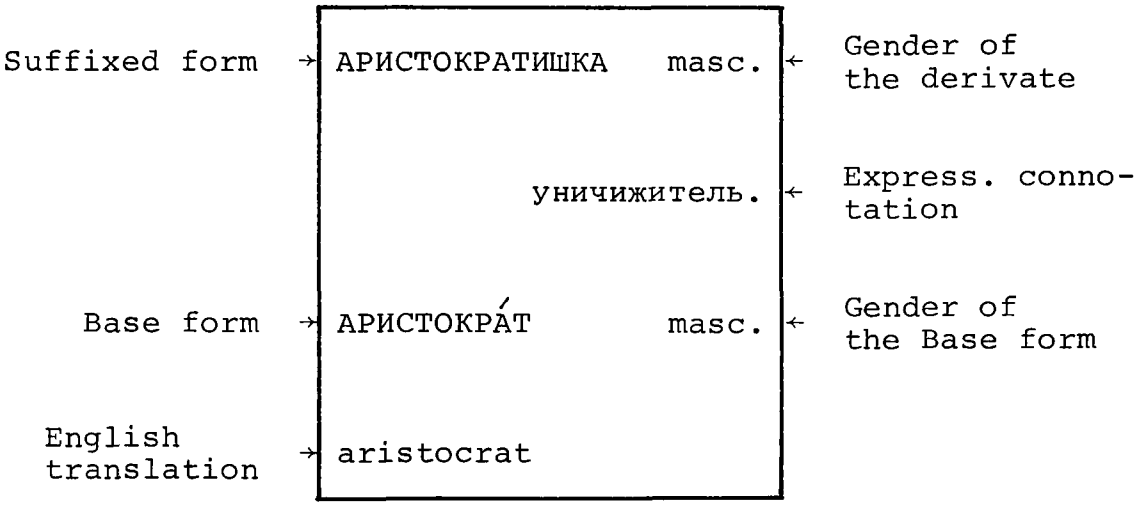

Figure 1:- An Example of an Excerption Card

As a result 3576 cards, i.e. 3576 nouns with suffixes SE were obtained. In order to deal with such abundant material, we decided to process the data by means of a computer, the results of which are apt to be more complete and accurate.

B) All cards had to be rewritten on Fortran Statement sheets, using the symbols agreeable to the computer. (See Table 1)

Besides the data already marked on the card, the following linguistic parameters were added:

1. Degree of the suffix: primary, secondary, tertiary.
2. Position of stress in the derivate and in the Base form.
3. Final consonant of the Base form.

TABLE 1

CODING SYMBOLS FOR THE FORTRAN STATEMENT SHEETS

	Russian Alphabet	Fortran Coding Symbols
1	А	A
2	Б	B
3	В	V
4	Г	G
5	Д	D
6	Е	IE (except after Ж, Ч, Ш, Щ, when written as E)
7	Ж	ZH
8	З	Z
9	И	I
10	Й	I
11	К	K
12	Л	L
13	М	M
14	Н	N
15	О	O
16	П	P
17	Р	R
18	С	S
19	Т	T
20	У	U
21	Ф	F
22	Х	X
23	Ц	C
24	Ч	CH
25	Ш	SH
26	Щ	H
27	ъ	W
28	Ы	Y
29	Ь	J
30	Э	E
31	Ю	IU (except after Ж, Ч, Ш, Щ, when written as U)
32	Я	IA (except after Ж, Ч, Ш, Щ, when written as A)
33	Stress	. the dot following the stressed vowel
34	Morphol. division between a stem and a suffix SE	| | an empty space

4. Vowel changes accompanying the suffixation.
5. Consonantal changes accompanying the suffixation.
6. Animity of the nouns.
7. Semantic class of the nouns.
8. Type of suffix.

The coding was arranged in the following way:

1. Columns 1-15. . . .Base forms
2. Columns 16-35 . . .Derivates
3. Columns 36-37 . . .Expressive connotation of the derivates
4. Columns 38-39 . . .Gender
5. Columns 40-41 . . .Degree of suffixes
6. Columns 42-43 . . .Stress
7. Columns 44-45 . . .Final consonant of the Base form
8. Columns 46-47 . . .Consonantal changes
9. Columns 48-49 . . .Vocalic changes
10. Columns 50-51 . . .Animate versus Inanimate
11. Columns 52-53 . . .Semantic classification
12. Columns 54-55 . . .Type of suffix

(See Figure 2 for the details.)

C) The data coded on Fortran sheets were punched to the computer card in the usual manner, i.e. each line of the Fortran sheet represents one card. There were 3576 punch cards. This was the final stage of preparing the material for processing on the computer. The processing was done at

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

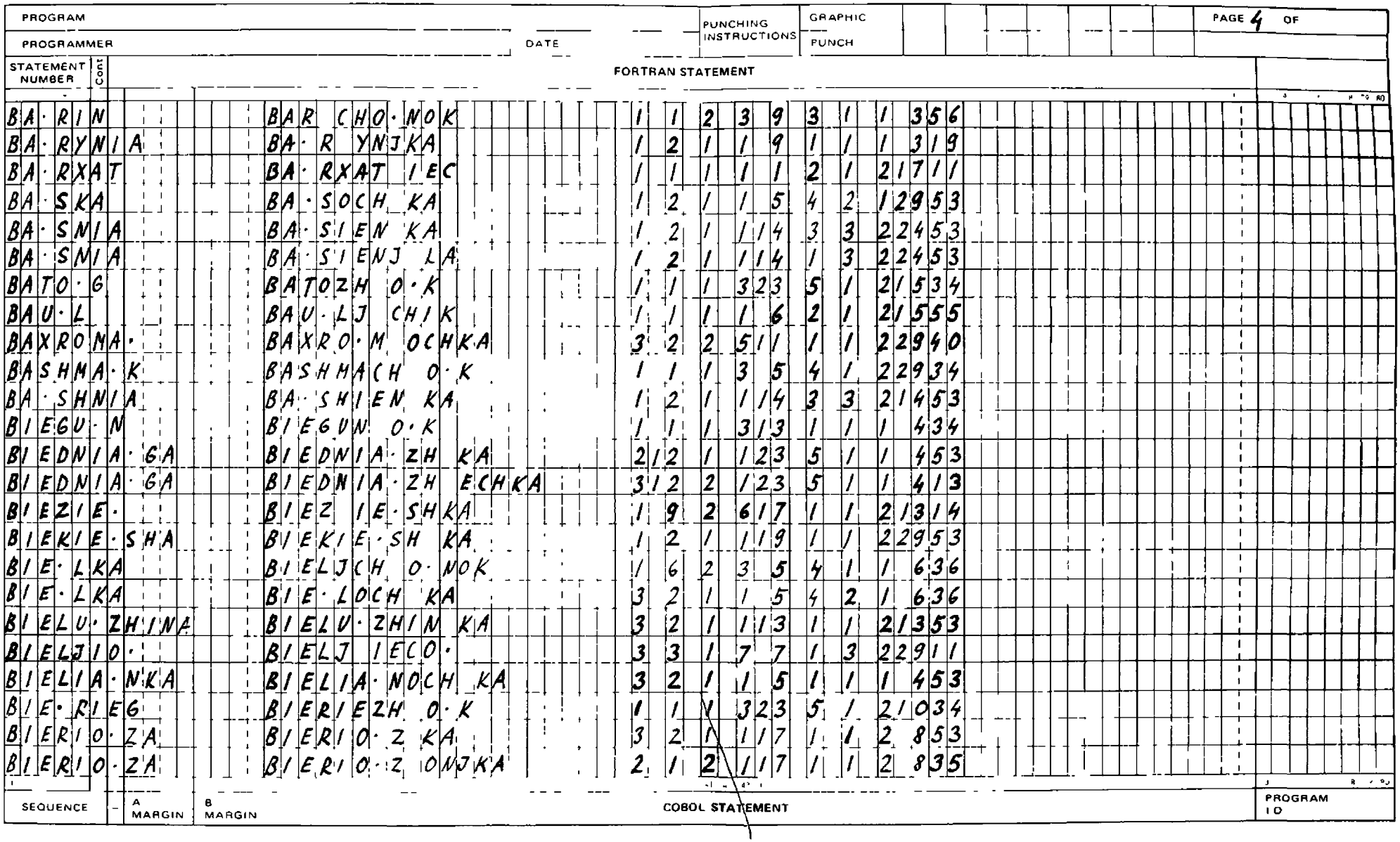

Figure 2:- An Example of a Completed Fortran Statement

the Carleton University Computing Centre on an IBM Xerox-Sigma 9 computer.

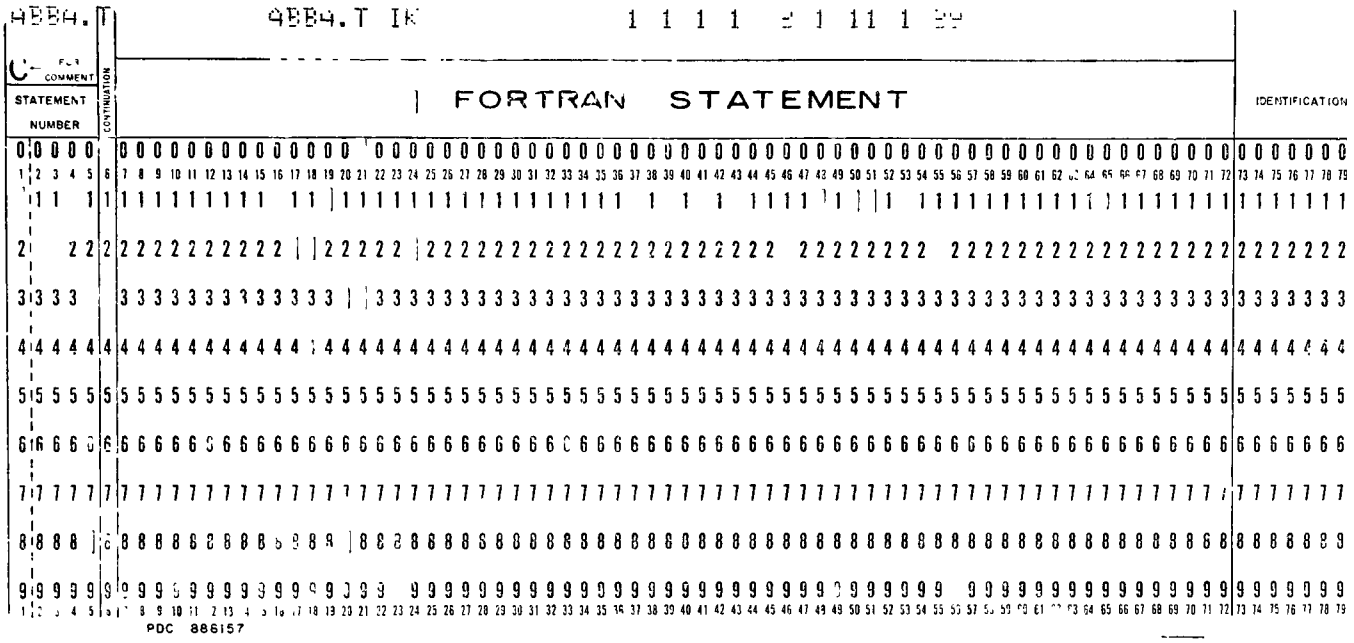

Figure 3:- An Example of a Punch Card.

3. Discussion of the Linguistic Parameters

It is necessary to remark that the study as presented is only a part of more extensive research planned for the future. Coding therefore includes various information not used in this study.

A) The data which has been utilized:

1. Columns 1-15. . . .Base forms
2. Columns 16-35 . . .Suffixed forms (derivates)
3. Columns 36-37 . . .Expressive connotation
4. Columns 38-39 . . .Gender
5. Columns 40-41 . . .Degree of a suffix

6. Columns 54-55 . . .Suffix SE

B) The data, which has not been utilized:

1. Columns 42-43 . . .Position of stress
2. Columns 44-45 . . .Final consonant of a Base form
3. Columns 46-47 . . .Consonantal changes
4. Columns 48-49 . . .Vocalic changes
5. Columns 50-51 . . .Animate versus Inanimate
6. Columns 52-53 . . .Semantic classification

In the ensuing commentary we will concentrate only on those parameters relevant to the presented study.

1. Columns 1-15 Base form

The Base form is a substantive from which the expressive derivate has been formed. The Base form, printed in Russian characters in the "Academic Dictionary" has been rewritten in the coding symbols, described in Table 1, page 35.

2. Columns 16-35 Suffixed forms (Derivates)

The suffixed forms are coded in the same way as the Base forms. (See Table 1, page 35.)

3. Columns 36-37 Expressive connotation

Code values from 1 to 16. Expressive connotations of the suffixed forms, found in the "Academic Dictionary," were classified by its authors in the following way:

Umen'šitel'nye . . . . . Code 1

(Diminutives) e.g. abbatik

Laskatel'nye . . . . . Code 2

(Expressing tenderness, affection)

e.g. aktrisočka

Umen'šitel'no-laskatel'nye . . . . . Code 3

(Combination of 1 and 2)

e.g. ananasik

Uničižitel'nye . . . . . Code 4

(Expressing disparagement)

e.g. šubenka

Prenebrežitel'nye . . . . . Code 5

(Expressing condescension)

e.g. akteriška

Uničižitel'no-prenebrežitel'nye . . . . Code 6

(Combination of 4 and 5)

e.g. žiliško

Umen'šitel'no-prenebrežitel'nye . . . . Code 7

(Combination of 1 and 5)

e.g. idejka

Uveličitel'nye . . . . . Code 8

(Augmentatives) e.g. čertišče

Umen'šitel'no-laskatel'no-prenebrežitel'nye

. . . . . Code 9

(Combination of 1, 2 and 5)

e.g. Van'ka

Umen'šitel'no-uničižitel'nye . . . . . Code 10

(Combination of 1 and 4)

e.g. voriška

Umen'šitel'no-laskatel'no-uničižitel'nye

. . . . . Code 11

(Combination of 1, 2 and 4)

e.g. grafčik

Laskatel'no-uničižitel'nye . . . . . Code 12

(Combination of 2 and 6)

e.g. gusarik

Razgovornye or Prostorečnye . . . . . Code 13

(Colloquial or vulgar forms)

e.g. kupčina

Mladenyš . . . . . Code 14

(Young animals and persons)

e.g. jagnenok

Mladenyš; Umen'šitel'no-laskatel'nye . Code 15

(Young animals and persons with positive emotional connotation)

e.g. jagnenoček

Mladenyš: Uničižitel'nye . . . . . Code 16

(Young animals and persons with negative emotional connotation)

e.g. ščenčiška

Remarks: Codes 14-15 were not marked in the dictionary separately from the others. E.g., nouns carrying Code 15 were marked as umen'šitel'no-laskatel'nye only. Since all of them denote young animals and persons, it could prove useful to keep them apart from the rest of the nouns.

4. Columns 38-39 The Gender

Code values 1-17

TABLE 2

CODES FOR THE GENDER OF NOUNS SE

Gender of the Base form	Gender of the suffixed form	Code
Masculine	Masculine	1
Feminine	Feminine	2
Neuter	Neuter	3
Masculine	Feminine	4
Masculine	Neuter	5
Feminine	Masculine	6
Feminine	Neuter	7
Neuter	Masculine	8
Neuter	Feminine	9
Pluralia tantum	Pluralia tantum	10
Pluralia tantum	Singular (Masc. or Fem. or Neuter)	11
Masculine	Possibility of two genders (Masc. or Fem.)	12
Singular (Masc. or Fem. or Neuter)	Appears in pluralia only	13
Feminine	Possibility of two genders (Masc. or Fem.)	14
Possibility of two genders (Masc. or Fem.)	Possibility of two genders (Masc. or Fem.)	15
Possibility of two genders (Masc. or Fem.)	Feminine	16
Possibility of two genders (Fem. or Neuter)	Feminine	17

Remarks: The order of the codes does not have any particular importance. The combinations were added as the material

gradually occurred.

The great majority of substantives with the exception of Pluralia tantum belong to one of the three formal classes (masculine, feminine, neuter), known as grammatical genders.

The classes find their expression not only in the special sets of the case forms for each of them, but also in the suffixal forms of derivation. The fourth group--Pluralia tantum--is a group of nouns which are marked for zero gender, since they lack singular forms.

In present day Russian the gender of a noun belongs to the area of language technique only, i.e. the gender of a noun is recognized by its ending.

There is one group of nouns, however, that behaves in a different way from the other nouns. It is rather numerically limited group of substantives, ending in nom. sg. in -a, e.g.,

vel'možа

vojevoda

starosta, etc.

Displaying formal features of the feminine gender, they clearly belong to the masculines. Pavskii[1] and Aksakov[2] mentioned the strong emotional connotation of nouns ending in -a. Almost all of them denote persons, both males and females, with negative features of character, very often

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[1]G. P. Pavskii, Filologicheskie nabliudenia, vol 2 (1842), pp. 182-272.

[2]K. C. Aksakov, Opyt russ. grammatiki, p. 97.

accompanied by hyperbolical augmentativeness.

Several sub-groups should be mentioned.

a) Deverbatives with suffix -ak-, characterizing a person according to his (her) appearance or action,

Connotation: Familiar irony or condescension, e.g.,

guljaka

pisaka

krivljaka

b) Deverbatives and denominatives with suffixes -šk-, -išk-, -ušk-, -ašk-,

Connotation: Familiar disparagement, colloquial, e.g.,

boltuška

starikaška

mal'čiška

c) Nouns with suffix -in-,

Connotation: Augmentatives, e.g.,

kupčina

duračina

d) Nouns with suffix -ag-,

Connotation: Condescension with possible tenderness, colloquial, e.g.,

bednjaga

miljaga

dobrjaga

e) Nouns with suffix -ug-,

Connotation: Condescension, augmentativeness, e.g.,

parnjuga

xitrjuga

p'jančuga[3]

Gender of nouns with the suffixes SE is claimed to be usually the same as gender of their Base forms,[4] e.g.,

gorod, masculine	gorodiško, masculine
šalun, masculine	šaluniška, masculine

in spite of the changes in the endings, which would normally point towards a difference in inflectional pattern. There are admitted exceptions from this rule, sometimes explained by their dialectal origin, e.g.

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[3]Vinogradov, Russkii iazyk, p. 74.

[4]V. V. Vinogradov et al, Grammatika russkogo iazyka, vol 1 (Moscow: AN, 1966), pp. 266-73; K. Heltberg, Studies on Slavic Derivation, vol 1 (Odense: Odense University Slavic Studies, 1970), p. 59, (hereafter cited as Heltberg, Studies).

koleno, masculine	kolenka, feminine (Southern Russian dialectal)
drjan', feminine	drjanco, neuter (Northern Russian dialectal)

As far as the choice of suffix is concerned, there is definitely dependence on the gender of the Base form, as pointed out in reliable sources.[5]

Suffixes -ec, -ok, -čik, -ik seem to join masculine Base forms only, e.g., ambarec, dolžok, blinčik, dožd'ik, etc.

Suffixes -ic-a, -k-a, -ink-a, -očk-a, -on'k-a/-en'k-a, -onk-a/-enk-a join feminine forms, e.g. pros'bica, dočka, krupinka, vannočka, lenca, berezon'ka, etc. There are several rare formations from the masculine Base forms, such as djaden'ka, malčonka, mužičonka, etc.

Suffixes that agglutinate with neuter bases are -ce/-c-o, -ic-e/-ic-o, -ec-e/-ec-o, e.g., bolotce, pal'teco, plat'ice, pis'meco, etc.

Suffixes that can be attached to masculine and feminine Base forms as well are -ašk-a and -in-a, e.g.,

morda, feminine	mordaška
starik, masculine	starikaška
jama, feminine	jamina
idiot, masculine	idiotina

Universal usage from the point of gender have suffixes -išk- and -išč-, e.g.,

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[5] N. J. Shvedova, ed., Grammatika sovrem. russ. lit. jazyka (Moscow: AN, 1970), pp. 129-41; Heltberg, Studies, p. 59.

kupec, masculine	kupčiška
zemlja, feminine	zemliška
moloko, neuter	moločiško
bas, masculine	basišče
ruka, feminine	ručišča
veslo, neuter	veslišče, etc.

The choice of the endings with the suffix -išk- depends on the gender and animity. Ending -a joins usually animate masculine nouns and the feminines. Ending -o is found in case of inanimate masculine nouns and the neuters.

5. Columns 40-41 The degree of suffixes

Code values from 1-3 with the following interpretation:

Nouns with primary suffixes . . .Code 1

Nouns with secondary suffixes . .Code 2

Nouns with tertiary suffixes . .Code 3

The suffixes SE occurring in our set can be distributed into three groups, depending on their formal structure and on their expressive connotation as well. (See more in Chapter I, Gradation of Substantives with the Suffixes SE, pp. 28-31.)

The codes for the individual suffixes SE occurring in the material are stated in Table 3, p. 50.

Remarks: The suffixes -onok and -enok, carrying connotations of youth or infantility, are included among the secondary suffixes, mainly because of their structure--two

consonantal elements.

6. Columns 54-55 Type of suffix SE

Code values from 1 to 79.

By the terms "suffix SE" is meant the bound morpheme, which occurs at the end of the root or a stem and precedes the declensional desinence (including zero) and serves the purpose of forming substantives with connotation of subjective evaluation (SE).

Each suffix SE, which appeared in the material, was marked as stated in Table 3, p. 50.

TABLE 3

CODES FOR THE DEGREE AND THE TYPE
OF THE SUFFIXES SE

Suffix	Degree Col. 40-41	Type Col. 54-55
-ašen'k-	3	1
-anek	2	2
-an'k-	2	3
-ašk-	2	4
-ačok /-ačk-	2	5
-ašečk-	3	6
-atk-	2	7
-ek	1	8
-en'k-	2	9
-etk-	2	10
-ec-	1	11
-ešučk-	3	12
-ečk-	2	13
-ešk-	2	14
-enek	2	15
-ičunk-	3	16
-ik-	1	17
-ink-	2	18
-in'k-	2	19
-inočk-	3	20
-ic-	1	21
-ičok	2	22
-iček	2	23
-ičk-	2	24
-išečk-	3	25
-išk-	2	26
-ic- (due to an error, coded twice, see code 21)		27

Suffix	Degree Col. 40-41	Type Col. 54-55
-in-	1	28
-iščˇˇ-	1	29
-išučˇkˇ-	3	30
-išˇ	1	31
-išˇok	2	32
-išˇek	2	33
-ok	1	34
-onk-	2	35
-onok	2	36
-onočˇek	3	37
-onočˇk-	3	38
-očˇek	2	39
-očˇk-	2	40
-on'k-	2	41
-onišˇ	2	42
-ošˇk-	2	43
-us'a·	1	44
-ulen'k-	3	45
-uročˇk-	3	46
-ušˇ-	1	47
-ušˇečˇk-	3	48
-ušˇek	2	49
-ušˇk-	2	50
-urk-	2	51
-ul'-	1	52
-k-	1	53
-c-	1	54
-čˇik	1	55
-čˇonok	2	56
-čˇurk-	2	57
-čˇuročˇk-	3	58
-čˇonočˇk-	3	59

Suffix	Degree Col. 40-41	Type Col. 54-55
-čonk-	2	60
-čušk-	2	61
-čušeč-	3	62
-čišeč-	3	63
-enok-	2	64
-atušk-	3	65
-ajk-	2	66
-an'-	1	67
-ešuč-	3	68
-čišk-	2	69
-eječ-	3	70
-nišč-	1	71
-ačin-	2	72
-ug-	1	73
-uk-	1	74
-ažk-	2	75
-nišk-	2	76
-ejk-	2	77
-nik-	1	78
-aš-	1	79

4. Transcription of the Russian Forms

Russian examples are stated in the text in Latin transliteration following the system of the Library of Congress, System III. The Bibliography follows System IV.[6] The same transliteration was used for example in the "Annual Bibliography" in PMLA and the

[6] J.T. Shaw, The Transliteration of Modern Russian for English-Language Publications (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), pp. 4-5.

American Bibliography of Slavic and East European Studies.

Transcription of Russian suffixes deviate from the system of the Library of Congress in several signs. Their transcription expresses the phonological structure of the suffixes without any regard for the Russian traditional orthography. For example, n', s', l', in -an'ka, us'a, ul'a symbolize palatalized n, s, l and not n followed by a soft sign, diminutive suffixes in volčonok and tigrenok will be in both cases -onok, etc.

5. Questions for the Computer Program

The program was written for IBM computer Xerox-Sigma 9 and processed at Carleton University Computing Center.

The computer distributed and printed out the data according to the following questionnaire.

A) Codes and Definitions

Codes:

1)	Base form	Col. 1-15
2)	Derivative form	Col. 16-35
3)	Expressive connotation	Col. 36-37
4)	Gender	Col. 38-39
5)	Degree of suffix	Col. 40-41
6)	Stress	Col. 42-43
7)	Final consonant of the Base form	Col. 44-45
8)	Consonantal changes	Col. 46-47
9)	Vowel changes	Col. 48-49
10)	Animate--inanimate	Col. 50-51
11)	Semantic characteristics	Col. 52-53
12)	Type of suffix	Col. 54-55

Definitions:

Entry	Col. 1-55 of one card
Base form	Part of one entry in Col. 1-15
Derivative form	Part of one entry in Col. 16-35
Suffix	Part of one entry in Col. 16-35 following the empty space.

Note: Symbols in Col. 1-35 are letters and punctuation marks. Symbols in Col. 36-55 are numbers.

B) Questions for the program

Q1:- How many different Base forms do we have in Col. 1-15?

(Sometimes there are repetitions, see Fortran statement, p. 1, lines 13-16 AMBA. R)

Q2:- a) Print out the entries distributed into 4 groups with the following characteristics:

Group 1 has in Col. 38-39 one of the following symbols:

1 4 5 12 13 15 16

Group 2 has in Col. 38-39 one of the following symbols:

2 6 7 13 14 15 16 17

Group 3 has in Col. 38-39 one of the following symbols:

3 8 9 13 17

Group 4 has in Col. 38-39 one of the following symbols:

10 11 18

b) Count the members of each group.

Q3:- In each of these four groups make three subdivisions according Col. 41.

a) In Group 1

1. Print together all entries which have in Col. 41 symbol 1.
2. Print together all entries which have in Col. 41 symbol 2.
3. Print together all entries which have in Col. 41 symbol 3.

In Group 2

1. Print together all entries which have in Col. 41 symbol 1.
2. Print together all entries which have in Col. 41 symbol 2.
3. Print together all entries which have in Col. 41 symbol 3.

In Group 3

1. Print together all entries which have in Col. 41 symbol 1.
2. Print together all entries which have in Col. 41 symbol 2.
3. Print together all entries which have in Col. 41 symbol 3.

In Group 4

1. Print together all entries which have in Col. 41 symbol 1.
2. Print together all entries which have in Col. 41 symbol 2.
3. Print together all entries which have in Col. 41 symbol 3.

b) Count the number of Derivative forms (Col. 16-35) in each of the subgroups 1., 2., 3.

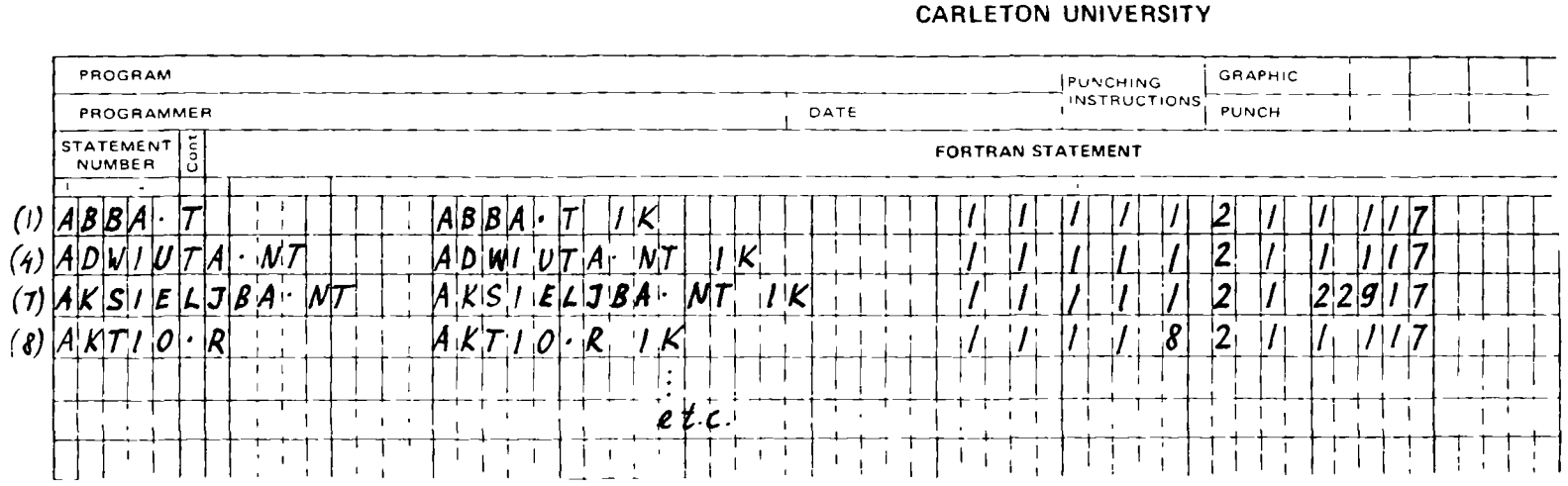
Q4:- Using 12 groups obtained from Q3, print the entries with the same code in Col. 54-55 together within each of the 12 groups and count the cases.

(The part of the entry following the empty space in Col. 16-35 is a suffix. E.g.: Fortran statement, p. 1, line 1, col. 16-35.)

A B B A . T I K

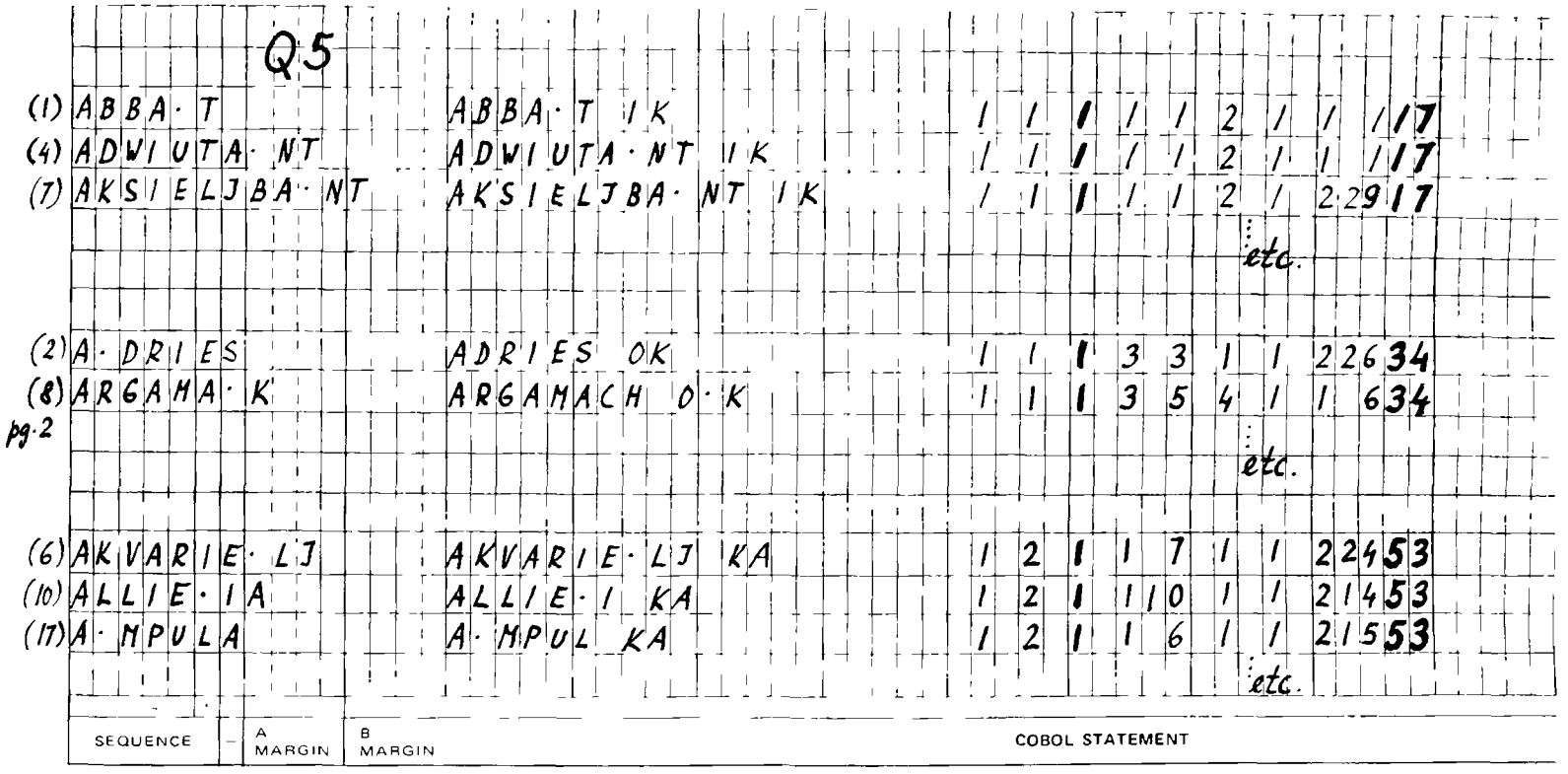
empty space ↑ ↑ suffix

Example from Fortran Statement, p. 1:



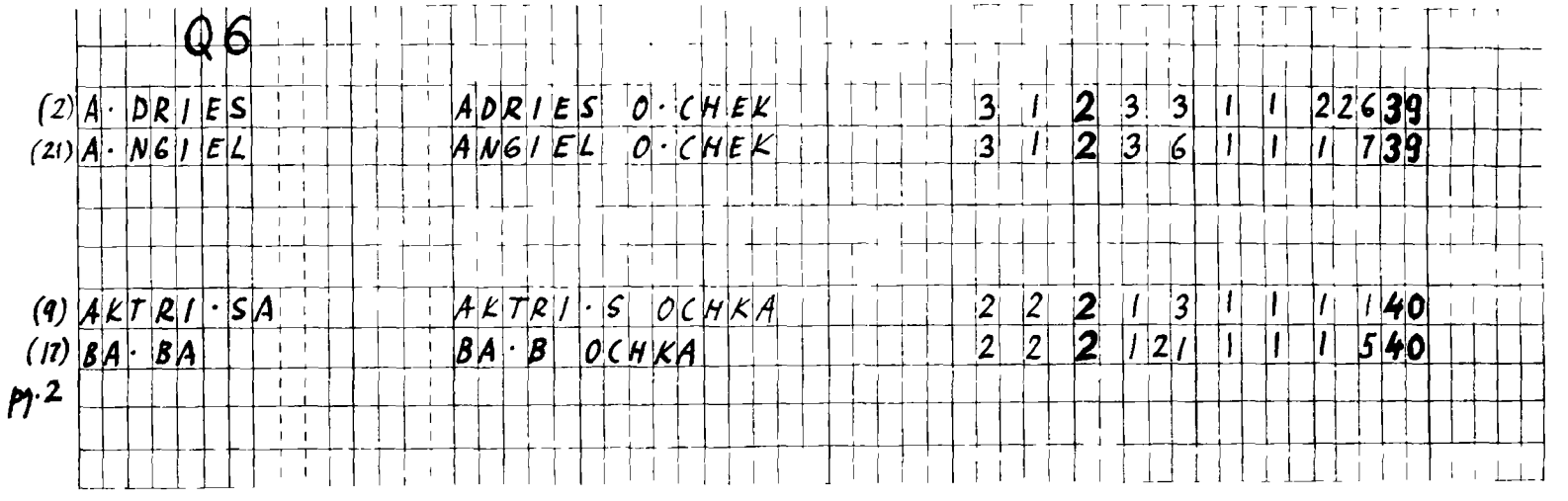
Q5:- Regardless of preceding grouping take out all entries which have symbol 1 in Col. 41 and arrange them into groups according to the data in Col. 54-55.

Example from Fortran Statement, pp. 1 and 2:



Q6:- Take out all entries which have the symbol 2 in Col. 41 and arrange them into groups according to data in Col. 54-55. (Analogy with Q5.)

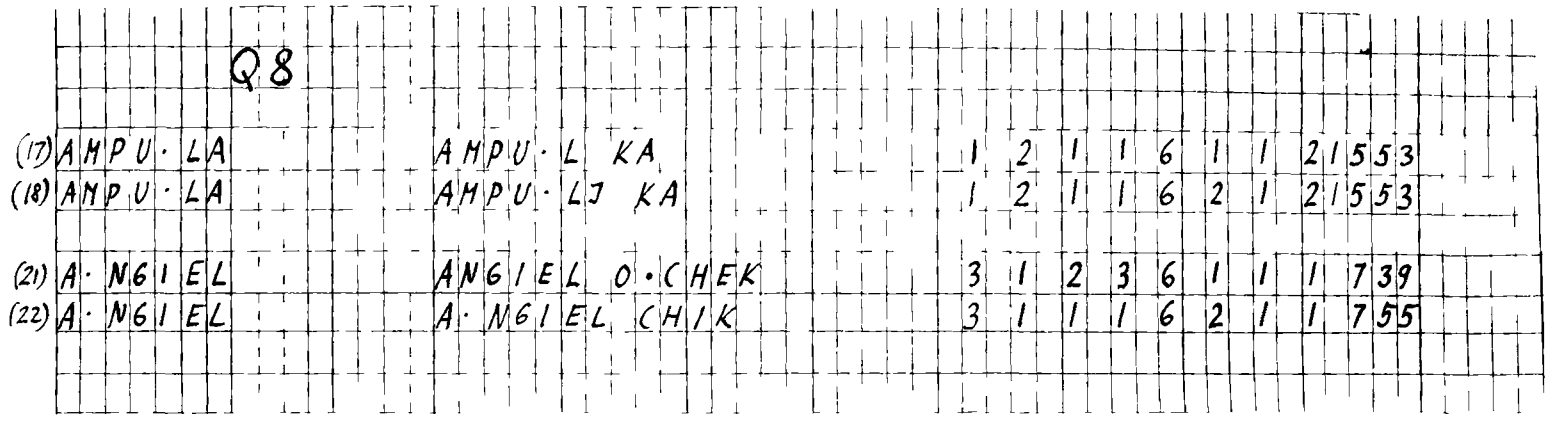
Example from Fortran Statement, pp. 1 and 2:



Q7:- Take out all the entries which have the symbol 3 in Col. 41 and arrange them into groups according to data in Col. 54-55.
(Analogy with Qs. 5 and 6.)

Q8:- Print out the entries (Col. 1-55) of the forms which recur in Col. 1-15 two times.

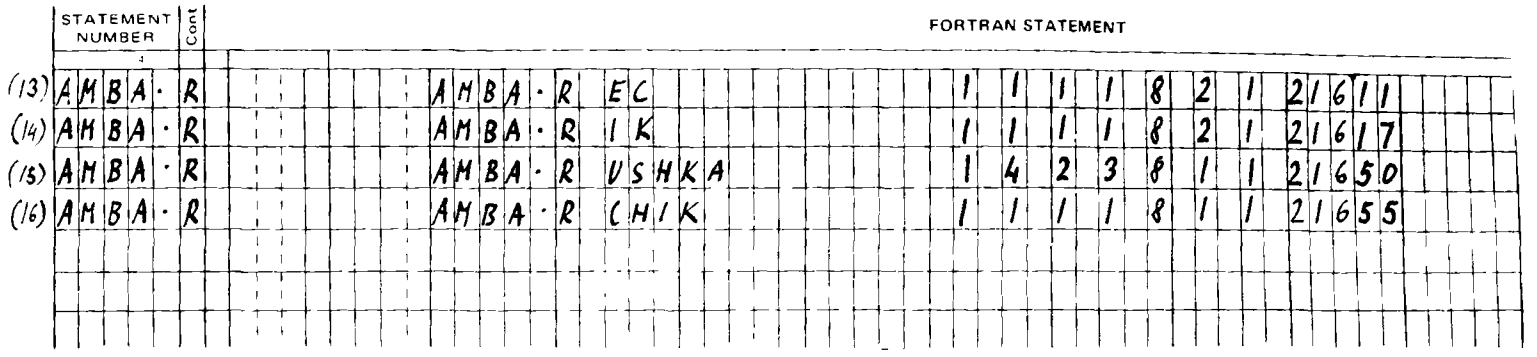
Example from Fortran Statement, p. 1:



Q9:- Print out the entries (Col. 1-55) of the forms which recur in Col. 1-15 one after another three times.

Q10:- Print out the entries (Col. 1-55) of the forms which recur in Col. 1-15 four times.

Example from Fortran Statement, p. 1:



Q11:- Print out the entries (Col. 1-55) of the forms which recur in Col. 1-15 more than four times.

Q12:- Make a correlation matrix of the codes in the following form: (See p. 62.)

TABLE 4

CORRELATION MATRIX

	Column 36-37 Connotation 1...α	38-39 Gender 1...β	40-41 Degree 1...γ	42-43 Stress 1...δ	44-45 Final 1...ε	46-47 Cons 1...ζ	48-49 Vowel 1...μ	50-51 Anim 1...ι	52-53 Semant 1...κ	54-55 Suffix 1.ȷ.λ
Col. 36-37 Connotation	1 i α									†*
Col. 38-39 Gender	1 . . β									
Col. 40-41 Degree	1 . . γ									
Col. 42-43 Stress	1 . . δ									
Col. 44-45 Final	1 . . ε									
Col. 46-47 Cons	1 . . ζ									
Col. 48-49 Vowel	1 . . μ									
Col. 50-51 Anim	1 . . ι									
Col. 52-53 Semant	1 . . κ									
Col. 54-55 Suffix	1 . ȷ . λ									

* Place here the number of entries having "i" in the "connotation" code and "j" in the suffix code. Complete the whole matrix.

Code Values:

1)	Connotation	Col. 36-37	α = 16
2)	Gender	Col. 38-39	β = 17
3)	Degree	Col. 40-41	γ = 3
4)	Stress	Col. 42-43	δ = 8
5)	Final	Col. 44-45	ε = 37
6)	Consonant	Col. 46-47	ζ = 15
7)	Vowel	Col. 48-49	μ = 16
8)	Animate	Col. 50-51	ι = 3
9)	Semantic	Col. 52-53	κ = 33
10)	Suffix	Col. 54-55	λ = 79

Q13:- Print out the entries of forms which in Col. 1-15 end with the following symbols:

1)	-E	11)	-IN	21)	-YSH
2)	-C	12)	-EC	22)	-INA
3)	-N	13)	-CO	23)	-LJA
4)	-OK	14)	-CE	24)	-AVLJ
5)	-EK	15)	-KO	25)	-USHA
6)	-IK	16)	-NO	26)	-INIA
7)	-AK	17)	-CA	27)	-NICA
8)	-EI	18)	-KA		
9)	-AN	19)	-NA		
10)	-NJ	20)	-NI		

Distribute according to these groups.

* In Col. 36-37 Symbols from 1 to 16 could be expected.

In Col. 38-39 Symbols from 1 to 18 could be expected, etc.

C. Linguistic Interpretation of the Questions

Q1:- How many distinct Base forms

Q2:- a) 1. Masculine Base forms
2. Feminine Base forms
3. Neuter Base forms
4. Pluralia and tantum distinct Base forms

b) How many in each Group 1-4.

Q3:- a) 1. Masculine Base forms with primary suffixes.
Masculine Base forms with secondary suffixes.
Masculine Base forms with tertiary suffixes.

2. Feminine Base forms with primary suffixes.
Feminine Base forms with secondary suffixes.
Feminine Base forms with tertiary suffixes.

3. Neuter Base forms with primary suffixes.
Neuter Base forms with secondary suffixes.

Neuter Base forms with tertiary suffixes.

4. Pluralia Tantum Base forms with primary suffixes.

Pluralia Tantum Base forms with secondary suffixes.

Pluralia Tantum Base forms with tertiary suffixes.

b) How many Derivative forms in each group.

Q4:- What have Derivative forms with the suffix -IK in common?

What have Derivative forms with the suffix -CHIK in common? etc.

Q5:- Forms with primary suffixes regardless of their gender.

Q6:- Forms with secondary suffixes.

Q7:- Forms with tertiary suffixes.

Q8:- All Base forms which form two Derivative forms.

Q9:- All Base forms which form three Derivative forms.

Q10:- All Base forms which form four Derivative forms.

Q11:- All Base forms which form more than four Derivative forms.

Q12:- Statistical material for establishing the relation of all given linguistic features: connotation, gender, degree of suffixes, etc.

Q13:- Groups of Base forms which have suffixes with lost emotional connotation of the first degree and other anomalies.

CHAPTER III

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

According to Doležel,[1] the quantitative analysis of a partial structure of a language system could be conducted in two ways:

a) by obtaining the data on the occurrence of language units in speech or text.

   The occurrence data that are constant are considered as the characteristics of the language system.

b) by establishing quantitative relations within a particular language category, i.e. quantitative relations of units (forms, grammatical means or meanings) and classes that represent the language category.

In this way we obtain data expressing the proportions within the language category.

As a source of material for task b) either a text or an existing descriptive material, such as a dictionary or a grammar, could be used as long as they offer sufficient material for the planned study.

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[1] Doležel, Tvoření slov, pp. 494-535.

Both of the above mentioned tasks complement each other and only their joint results ensure the complete quantitative description of the language category.

Since the material used in my study is based on a dictionary (Slovar' sovremennogo russkogo iazyka, Ac. of Science, Moscow-Leningrad, 1954-1959) and not on a text, I will concentrate on task b): the study of proportional relations within the system of Russian nouns with the suffixes of subjective evaluation (further referred to as N_{SE}).

The quantitative characteristics of the system of N_{SE} are of great importance for the description of the structure and the structural relations of all categories of word-formation.

The task of proportional quantitative analysis can be formulated in the following way:

We have a set of nouns with the suffixes SE, henceforth referred to as N_{SE}. Regarding the amount (3576 cases) and the extensive number of sources on the basis of which the dictionary was compiled, we allow ourselves to regard this set as a representative sample, the quantitative characteristics of which approximate the characteristics of the basic system, i.e. the system of N_{SE} in Modern Russian.

The system of N_{SE} can be subdivided into four groups with regard to their different relations to the grammatical gender:

1. N_{SE}^{M} set of masculines.

2. N_{SE}^{F} set of feminines.

3. N_{SE}^{N} set of neuters.

4. N_{SE}^{PL} set of pluralia tantum.

For the majority of nouns SE (3545) applies disjunction $N_{SE}^{M} \cup N_{SE}^{F} \cup N_{SE}^{N} \cup N_{IE}^{PL}$.

A minority of nouns SE (31 cases) manifest two or even three possibilities as to the choice of a gender.

Nouns are coded in Col. 38-39 by the following codes:

Code 11: N_{SE} has the possibility of masculine, feminine or neuter behaviour.

Code 12, 13, 14: N_{SE} has the possibility of masculine or feminine behaviour.

(See Chapter II: Material and Methods: Gender.)

The set of N_{SE} will be observed first from the point of view of one variable, i.e. the suffix SE. The individual suffixes (-čik, -ec, -onka, etc.) represent the variations of the observed phenomenon.

The proportional relations among the suffixes SE characterize S.C. Macrostructure of the system of N_{SE}.

The set of N_{SE} will be observed secondly with regard to their Base forms (nouns without the suffix SE from which the nouns SE are being formed). The combinations of nouns SE formed from one common Base form by the different suffixes SE

represent the so called Microstructure of the system of N_{SE}.

With regard to the identical variable (suffix SE) we can formulate two tasks of the quantitative analysis:

First, we will discover the distribution of the relative frequencies of the classes of nouns SE, each characterized by a particular suffix. If, for example, $N^{M}_{SE_a}$ is the number of masculine nouns SE with a suffix a, the relative frequency expressed in percentage equals to:

$$F(N^{M}_{SE_a}) = \frac{N^{M}_{SE_a}}{N^{M}_{SE}} \cdot 100$$

and

$$\sum_{i=1}^{n} F(N^{M}_{SE_i}) = 100$$

($F(N^{M}_{SE_i})$ is further referred to as F^{M}_{i}.)

The distribution of the relative frequencies F^{M}_{i} is the statistical representation of the Macrostructure of the set of masculine nouns SE.

This figure is an important indicator for the proportional study of masculine nouns (N^{M}_{SE}), feminine nouns (N^{F}_{SE}), neuter nouns (N^{N}_{SE}), pluralia tantum (N^{PL}_{SE}) and for the whole system of nouns SE as well.

Secondly, it is useful to obtain the data concerning the distribution of the relative frequencies of the

individual combinations of nouns SE with regard to their common Base form.

If, for example, B^M is the total number of the Base forms for the set of N_{SE}^M and C_{ab}^M the number of combinations of N_{SE}^M with the suffixes a and b, then the relative frequency Q of this combination could be expressed as:

$$Q(C_{ab}^M) = \frac{C_{ab}^M}{B^M} \cdot 100$$

and

$$\sum_{ij=1}^{n} Q(C_{ij}^M) = 100$$

($Q(C_{ij}^M)$ is further referred to as Q_{ij}^M.)

The distribution of the relative frequencies Q_{ij}^M represents statistical description of the Microstructure of the set of masculine nouns SE.

1. Masculine Nouns

In the group of masculine nouns we include all nouns derived from the Base forms defined as masculine in the "Academic Dictionary." Further we include the nouns derived from the Base forms that, according to the context, behave as either masculine or feminine or neuter, and the cases that fluctuate between the masculine and feminine genders.

1. Characteristics of the Macrostructure

The set of N_{SE}^{M} can be characterized by the following data:

1) Number of Base forms (B^{M}) 1070
2) Number of N_{SE}^{M} formed by primary suffixes . . 1357
3) Number of N_{SE}^{M} formed by secondary suffixes . 352
4) Number of N_{SE}^{M} formed by tertiary suffixes . . 20
5) Total number of masculine nouns SE (N_{SE}^{M}) . . . 1729

The proportion between the total number of nouns SE and the number of Base forms will be called the index of derivativity.

This index signifies the average number of suffixed forms derived from one Base form in the set of masculine nouns.

$$\frac{N_{SE}^{M}}{B^{M}} = \frac{1729}{1070} = 1.62$$

The index reflects the following facts:

1) Parallel formation of the suffixed forms of the same degree (e.g. two primary diminutives) from a common Base form, e.g.,

čulan - čulanec (prim.)		dom - domik (prim.)	
	čulančik (prim.)		domok (prim.)

2) The suffixed forms derived from a common Base form belong to different degrees, i.e. a Base form can take

suffixes of the primary, secondary and tertiary degrees, e.g.,

boroda - borodka (prim.)
borodu̇ška (sec.)

vnuk - vnuč̇ok (prim.)
vnuč̇onok (sec.)
vnuč̇onoč̇ek (tert.)

3) A Base form forms suffixed nouns that differ in gender only, e.g.,

barvinok (masc.) - barvinoč̇ek (masc.)
barvinoč̇ka (fem.)

4) The cases when a Base form varies in its phonemic structure after the suffixation with the same suffix are not included, e.g.,

basn'a - basen-ka
basen'-ka

baraxlo - baraxl-iṧko
baraxol-iṧko

A) Masculine Nouns SE with Primary Suffixes

Primary suffixes of the $N^{M}_{SE_a}$ are based on one consonant (except two variations of suffix -k, -č̇-k and -n-k) with the following vocalic elements:

TABLE 5

N_{SE}^{M}: STRUCTURE OF PRIMARY SUFFIXES

Consonantal Base	Vocalic Elements -i-	-e-	-a-	-o-	-u-	-ϕ-
-k-	-ik	-ek		-ok	-uka	-k-
(-č-k-)	-čik					
(-n-k-)	-nik					
-c		-ec				
-šč-	-išč-					
-n-	-ina					
-n'-			-an'a			
-g-					-uga	
-š-			-aša			

The set of N_{SE}^{M} with primary suffixes can be characterized by the following data.

TABLE 6

N_{SE}^{M} WITH PRIMARY SUFFIXES

a	X_i	F_i^M(%)	C_{F_iM}
-ok	386	28.4	28.4
-ik	302	22.3	50.7
-čik	219	16.1	66.8
-ek	205	15.1	81.9
-ec	116	8.5	90.4
-išč-	88	6.5	96.9
-k-	27	2.0	98.9
-ina-	9	0.7	99.6
-an'a	1	0.07	99.7
-uga	1	0.07	99.7
-uka	1	0.07	99.8
-nik	1	0.07	99.9
-aša	1	0.07	100.0
Total	1357	99.95	

a = primary suffixes

X_i = the number of N_{SE}^{M} with a suffix a.

F_i^M(%)= percentual proportions of values X_i.

$$F_i^M = \frac{X_i}{\sum_{i=1}^{13} X_i} \cdot 100$$

C_{F_iM} = values F_i^M arranged for cumulative graph.

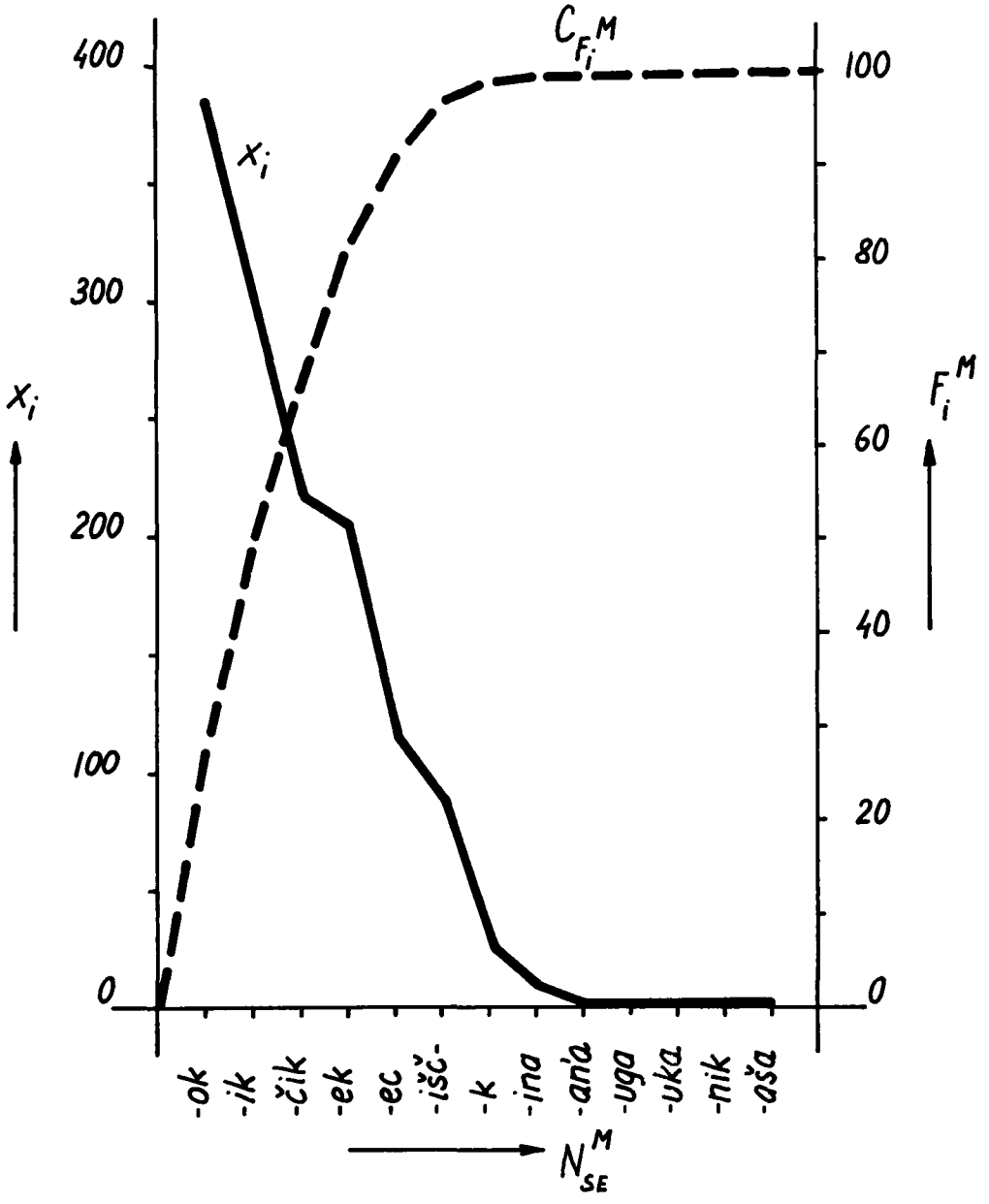

Figure 4:- Masculine Nouns: Primary Suffixes

Examples of Nouns for Each Suffix.

-ok:	parnik	-	parničok
	morjak	-	morjačok
-ik:	sokol	-	sokolik
	student	-	studentik
-čik:	limon	-	limončik
	poceluj	-	pocelujčik
-ek:	orex	-	orešek
	porog	-	porožek
-ec:	paket	-	paketec
	izvorot	-	izvorotec
-išč-:	dvor	-	dvorišče
	kabak	-	kabačišče
-k-:	žuravl'	-	žurka
	zajac	-	zajka
-ina:	dom	-	domina
	stvol	-	stvolina
-an'a:	papa	-	papanja
-uga:	xolod	-	xolodjuga
-uka:	xolod	-	xolodjuka
-nik:	arsin	-	arsinnik
-aša:	papa	-	papaša

The relations among the primary suffixes can be further characterized according to their ability to combine with a Base form.

a) The Mono-formations--the Base form takes one primary suffix only.

TABLE 7

N_{SE}^{M}: MONO-FORMATIONS WITH PRIMARY SUFFIXES

Suffix	Examples	X_i
-ok	žarok	314
-ik	žgutik	212
-ek	zavtraček	195
-čik	žurnal'čik	173
-ec	zakazec	68
-k-	mužčinka	20
-išč-	remnišče	11
-ina	lešačina	3
-nik	arsinnik	1
Total		997

b) The Double-formations--the Base form takes two primary suffixes.

TABLE 8

N_{SE}^{M}: DOUBLE-FORMATIONS WITH PRIMARY SUFFIXES

Suffixes	Examples			X_i
-ok/-išč-	kabačok	-	kabačišče	24
-ik/-ok	zadik	-	zadok	21
-ec/-ik	izumrudec	-	izumrudik	20
-ik/-išč-	karasik	-	karasišče	19
-čik/-ec	žurnal'čik	-	žurnalec	12
-čik/-ik	koverčik	-	kovrik	11
-čik/-ok	zipunčik	-	zipunok	5
-ec/-išč-	morozec	-	morozišče	4
-čik/-ek	karmančik	-	karmašek	3
-ek/-išč-	čeloveček	-	čelovečišče	3
-čik/-išč-	kabančik	-	kabanišče	3
-ec/-ok	saxarec	-	saxarok	3
-ok/-ek	serničok	-	serniček	2
-ik/-ina	somik	-	somina	2
-k-/-ek	tarakaška	-	tarakašek	1
-k-/-išč-	mužčinka	-	mužčinišče	1
-k-/-čik	pomidorka	-	pomidorčik	1
-an'a/-aša	papanja	-	papaša	1
Total				136

c) The Triple-formations--the Base form takes three primary suffixes.

TABLE 9

N_{SE}^{M}: TRIPLE-FORMATIONS WITH PRIMARY SUFFIXES

Suffixes	Examples			X_i
-ik/-ok/-išč-	kustik	kustok	kustišče	9
-ec/-ik/-išč-	zavodec	zavodik	zavodišče	3
-ok/-ina/-išč-	kulačok	kulačina	kulačišče	3
-ec/-čik/-išč-	samovarec	samovarčik	samovarišče	2
-ok/-čik/-išč-	zubok	zubčik	zubišče	2
-ec/-čik/-ik	salopec	salopčik	salopik	2
-ec/-ok/-čik	sosunec	sosunok	sosunčik	2
-ik/-k-/-išč	medvedik	medvedko	medvedišče	1
-k/-čik/-išč	zajka	zajčik	zaišče	1
-ik/-k-/-čik	portfelik	portfel'ka	portfel'čik	1
-čik/-ek/-k-	čurbančik	čurbašek	čurbaška	1
-ik/-ina/-išč-	lobik	lbina	lbišče	1
Total				28

d) The Tetra-formations--the Base form takes four primary suffixes.

TABLE 10

N_{SE}^{M}: TETRA-FORMATIONS WITH PRIMARY SUFFIXES

Suffixes	Example	X_i
-ok/-išč-/-uga/-uka	xolodok-xolodišče-xolodjuga-xolodjuka	1
Total		1

Comments:

The data expresses the following structural features of masculine nouns SE:

There are basically five forms sharing the same expressive function:

-ok (28.4%), -ik (22.3%), -čik (16.1%)

-ek (15.1%) and -ec (8.5%).

Considering their structure and their morphophonemic distribution, we can consider -ok and -ek as positional variants, since their choice depends on the position of a primary stem, and also -ik and -čik, since their choice depends on the last consonant of the stem.[2]

Then the forms with suffix -ok/-ek represent 43.5% of all nouns SE with primary suffixes and the forms with suffix -ik/-čik represent 38.4%.

Suffix -ec with its 8.5% seems to be pushed to the periphery of expressive diminutive means.

The changes in productivity of the above-mentioned suffixes were already noted by Prof. Dement'ev[3] who counted the diminutives in Sreznevskij's "Dictionary of the Old Russian Language," and compared them with the data obtained in Ušakov's Dictionary. He found not only a decrease in productivity of the suffix -ec but also changes in proportions between -ok/-ek and -ik/-čik. He claims that -ik/-čik is

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[2]V. V. Vinogradov et al, Grammatika sovr. russ. lit. iazyka (Moscow: A.N., 1970), p. 267.

[3]Dement'ev, "Umen'šitel'nye," p. 10.

gradually expanding to the detriment of -ok/-ek because of its more pronounced diminutive connotation.

Suffix -išč (6.5%) performs a different expressive function, usually augmentative, shared with the rare suffix -ina (0.7%).

B) Masculine Nouns with Secondary Suffixes

The nouns with secondary suffixes are characterized by a doubled suffixal consonant (exc., č-n-k, č-š-k) with the following vocalic variations.

TABLE 11

N^{M}_{SE}: STRUCTURE OF SECONDARY SUFFIXES

Consonantal Base	Vowels -i-	-e-	-a-	-o-	-u-
č-k	-iček	-ečka		-oček, očka	
š-k	išok/išek iška, iško		-aška		-ušek, -uška -ušk o
n-k		-en'ok, -en'ka	-an'ok, an'ka	onok, -onka	
n'-k	-in'ka				
ž-k			-ažka		
(č-n-k)				-čonok	
(č-š-k)	-čiško				
-n-š				-oniš	

Double consonantal feature on the structural level is accompanied by the emphasized expressional connotation on the semantic level.

Quantitative relations among the secondary suffixes are as follows:

TABLE 12

N_{SE}^{M} WITH SECONDARY SUFFIXES

a	X_i	F_i^M(%)	$C_{F_i}^M$
-išk̆o	105	29.8	29.8
-oček̆	88	25.0	54.8
-iškă	62	17.6	72.4
-uškă	27	7.7	80.1
-onok	21	6.0	86.1
-išek̆	6	1.7	87.8
-uškŏ	5	1.4	89.2
-očkă	5	1.4	90.6
-en'ka	5	1.4	92.0
-iček̆	5	1.4	93.4
-ušek̆	4	1.1	94.5
-aškă	3	0.9	95.4
-onka	3	0.9	96.3
-ečkă	2	0.6	96.9
-čonok	2	0.6	97.5
-en'ok	2	0.6	98.1
-čišk̆o	1	0.3	98.4
-išok̆	1	0.3	98.7
-ušok̆	1	0.3	99.0
-an'ka	1	0.3	99.3
-an'ok	1	0.3	99.6
-oniš	1	0.3	99.9
-in'ka	1	0.3	100.2
-ažk̆a	1	0.3	100.5
Total	352	100.5 ≈ 100	

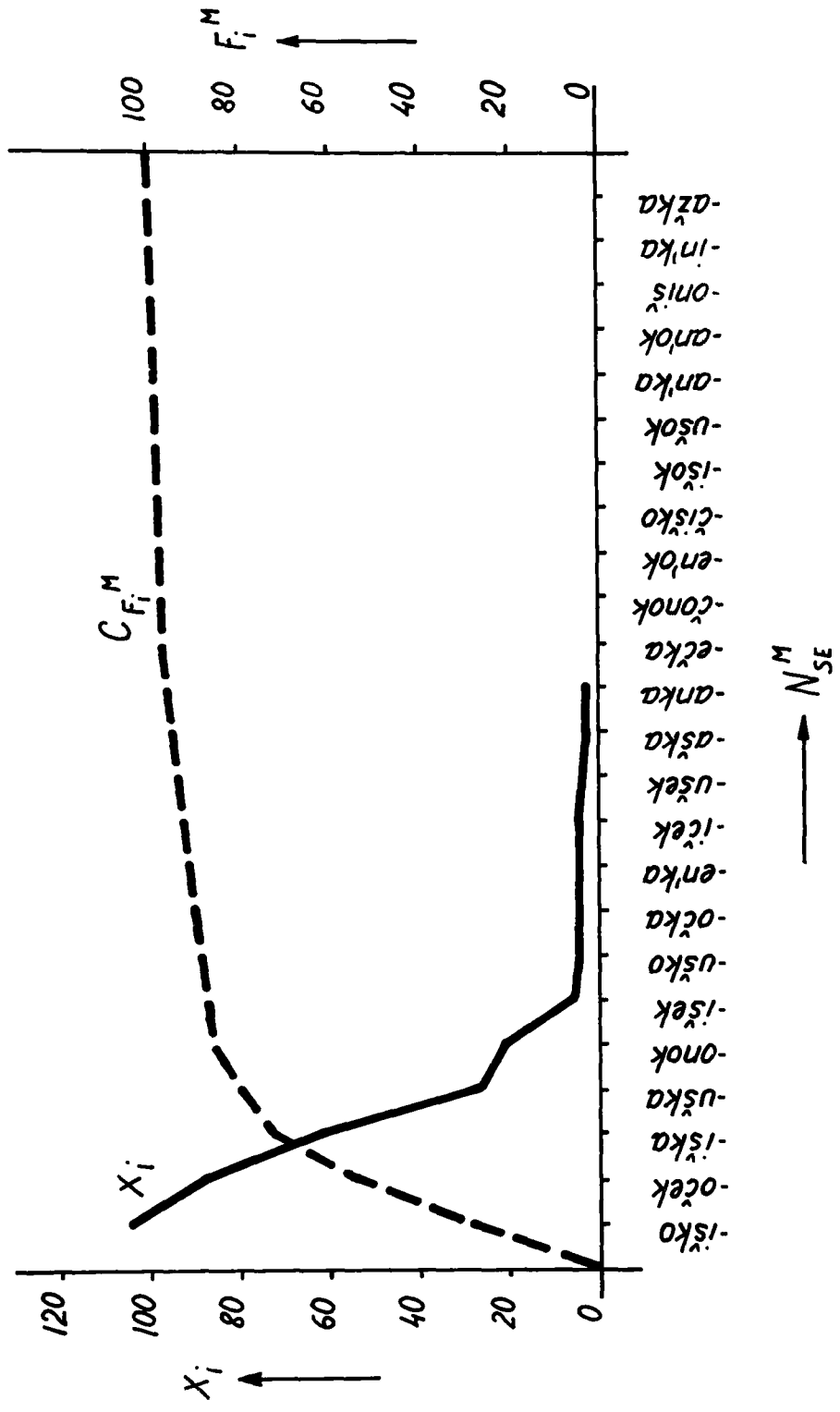

Figure 5:- Masculine Nouns: Secondary Suffixes

Examples of Nouns Formed by Secondary Suffixes.

-iško:	zamok	–	zamčiško
	kabak	–	kabačiško
-oček:	zub	–	zuboček
	klen	–	klenoček
-iška:	muravej	–	muraviška
	paren'	–	parniška
-uška:	žuravl'	–	žuravuška
	zajac	–	zajuška
-onok	zver'	–	zverenok
	idol	–	idolenok
-išek:	kol	–	kolyšek
	vorobej	–	vorobeišek
-uško:	xleb	–	xlebuško
	narod	–	naroduško
-očka:	barvinok	–	barvinočka
	papa	–	papočka
-en'ka:	knjaz	–	knjazen'ka
	Miša	–	Mišen'ka
-iček:	kovš	–	kovšiček
	nož	–	nožiček

-ušek:	xleb	-	xlebušek
	vorobej	-	vorobejušek
-aška:	malčugan	-	malčugaška
	durak	-	duraška
-onka:	starik	-	staričonka
	mal'čik	-	mal'čonka
-ečka:	bednjaga	-	bednjaečka
	djadja	-	djadečka
-čonok:	barin	-	barčonok
-čiško:	tulup	-	tulupčiško
-išok:	pen'	-	penyšok
-onka:	starik	-	staričonka
-ušok:	xleb	-	xlebušok
-an'ka:	papa	-	papan'ka
-an'ok:	kum	-	kumanek
-en'ok:	muž	-	muženek
-oniš:	zver'	-	zverenyš
-in'ka:	zajac	-	zain'ka
-ažka:	portnoj	-	portjažka

The relation between the secondary suffixes can be further characterized according to their ability to combine with the Base forms.

From this point of view, we will look for the Base forms which combine with one secondary suffix only (e.g., Mono-formations), for the Base forms which combine with two secondary suffixes (e.g. Double-formations), etc.

a) The Mono-formations--the Base form takes one secondary suffix only.

TABLE 13

N_{SE}^{M}: MONO-FORMATIONS WITH SECONDARY SUFFIXES

Suffixes	Examples	X_i
-iško	zamčisko	88
-oček	zuboček	71
-iška	trusiška	49
-onok	idolenok	16
-uška	Ivanuška	15
-išek	kolyšek	3
-en'ka	Mišen'ka	2
-iček	domiček	3
-aška	malčugaška	2
-čonok	barčonok	2
-uško	xmeljuško	1
-ušek	obmorušek	1
-ečka	bednjažečka	1
-išok	penyšok	1
-ušok	xlevušok	1
-an'ok	kumanek	1
-en'ok	muženek	1
-in'ka	zain'ka	1
-ažka	portjažka	1
Total		244

b) The Double-formations--the Base form takes two secondary suffixes.

TABLE 14

N_{SE}^{M}: DOUBLE-FORMATIONS WITH SECONDARY SUFFIXES

Suffixes	Examples			X_i
-iška/-iško	aristokratiška	-	aristokratiško	7
-oček/-iško	uzeloček	-	uzeliško	6
-oček/-onok	pisareček	-	pisarenok	3
-oček/-išek (išok)	ugoloček	-	ugolyšek	2
-oček/-uška	svatoček	-	svatuška	2
-iška/-uška	bratiška	-	bratuška	2
-oček/-iška	synoček	-	syniška	1
-oček/-očka	barvinoček	-	barvinočka	1
-oček/-iček	gvozdoček	-	gvozdiček	1
-uška/-en'ka	knjazuška	-	knjazen'ka	1
-uška/-uško	naroduška	-	naroduško	1
-uška/-očka	sirotinuška	-	sirotinočka	1
-uška/-ušek	solovuška	-	solovušek	1
-uška/-en'ok	testjuška	-	testenek	1
-iško/-uško	saraiško	-	sarajuško	1
-iško/-čiško	tulupiško	-	tulupčiško	1
-iška/-onka	mužičiška	-	mužičonka	1
-iško/-iček	dožd'iško	-	dožd'iček	1
-onok/-onka	mal'čonok	-	mal'čonka	1
Total				35

c) The Triple-formations--the Base form takes three secondary suffixes.

TABLE 15

N_{SE}^{M}: TRIPLE-FORMATIONS WITH SECONDARY SUFFIXES

Suffixes	Examples	X_i
-uška/-oniš/-onok	zverjuška - zverenyš - zverenok	1
-uška/-ušek/-uško	xlebuška - xlebušek - xlebuško	1
-uška/-en'ka/-ečka	djadjuška - djadjen'ka- djadečka	1
-oček/-iška/-iško	pareneček - parniška - parniško	1
-aška/-iška/-onka	starikaška - staričiška- staričonka	1
-ušek/-išek/-uško	vorobušek - vorobyšek - vorobuško	1
-an'ka/-en'ka/-očka	papan'ka - papen'ka - papočka	2
Total		8

Comments:

Masculine nouns SE form their secondary derivatives using 24 secondary suffixes SE.

From the quantitative proportions among the secondary suffixes, it is obvious that the most prominent place in the set is taken by the suffixes -iško (29.8%), -oček (25.0%), -iška (17.6%, -uška (7.7%) and -onok (6.0%).

The suffix -oček is the most frequent diminutive secondary suffix. Formations like zub - zuboček, košel' - košeloček, motil - motiloček, and others represent therefore

the productive type of diminutive noun formation, as opposed to the type nož - nožiček, gvozd' - gvozdiček. The suffix -iček covers 1.4% of all cases only.

Dement'ev explains the lack of sufficient secondary variants for the primary suffix -ik[4] by the theory that the primary suffix -ik expresses diminutiveness of a higher degree than the other primary suffix -ok/-ek and that therefore the need for a secondary derivative related to -ik is not so pressing.

The suffix -onok (6.0%) carries besides diminutive meaning, also a special connotation of youth, as in: golub - golubjonok, gad - gad'onok, and others.

There are a few instances in which the connotation of youth does not occur such as: gost' - gost'onok, volos - volos'onok, palec - palčonok.

Suffixes of the type -išk- express in most cases negative emotional connotation. Derivates with -išk- are often marked as either expressing disparagement (uničižitel'nye) or condescension (prenebrežitel'nye) or both.

Nouns with suffixes -oček, -ušek, -iček are predominantly marked as diminutives with the additional connotation of tenderness (umen'šitel'no-laskatel'nye). It is therefore surprising to find that 43 Base forms only use the possibility of the multi-formations between -išk and -oček, -ušek, -iček, since the derivates such as uzeloček (diminutive-

[4]Dement'ev, "Umen'šitel'nye," p. 11.

tenderness) and uzliško (disparagement) each have their specific expressive connotation.

The suffixes with different inflectional endings (e.g. -iško, -iška, -išek, etc.) are listed separately because the change of the inflectional pattern (i.e. from the masculine type to the feminine) seems to point out towards higher expressiveness.

C) Masculine Nouns SE with Tertiary Suffixes

Tertiary suffixes of the nouns SE_a^M are based on three consonants with the following vocalic elements.

TABLE 16

N_{SE}^{M}: STRUCTURE OF TERTIARY SUFFIXES

Consonantal Base	Vowels -i-e-	-o-o-	-a-e-
-š-č-k	-išečka -išečko		
-n-č-k-		-onoček	
-š-n'-k-			-ašen'ka

The tertiary suffix carries the maximum of expressiveness.

Masculine nouns SE with the tertiary suffixes are relatively rare--in our population there are only 20 derivates out of 1729.

TABLE 17

N_{SE}^{M} WITH TERTIARY SUFFIXES

a	X_i	F_i^M(%)	$C_{F_i}^M$
-onoček	15	75.0	75.0
-išečka	2	10.0	85.0
-išečko	2	10.0	95.0
-ašen'ka	1	5.0	100.0
Total	20	100.0	

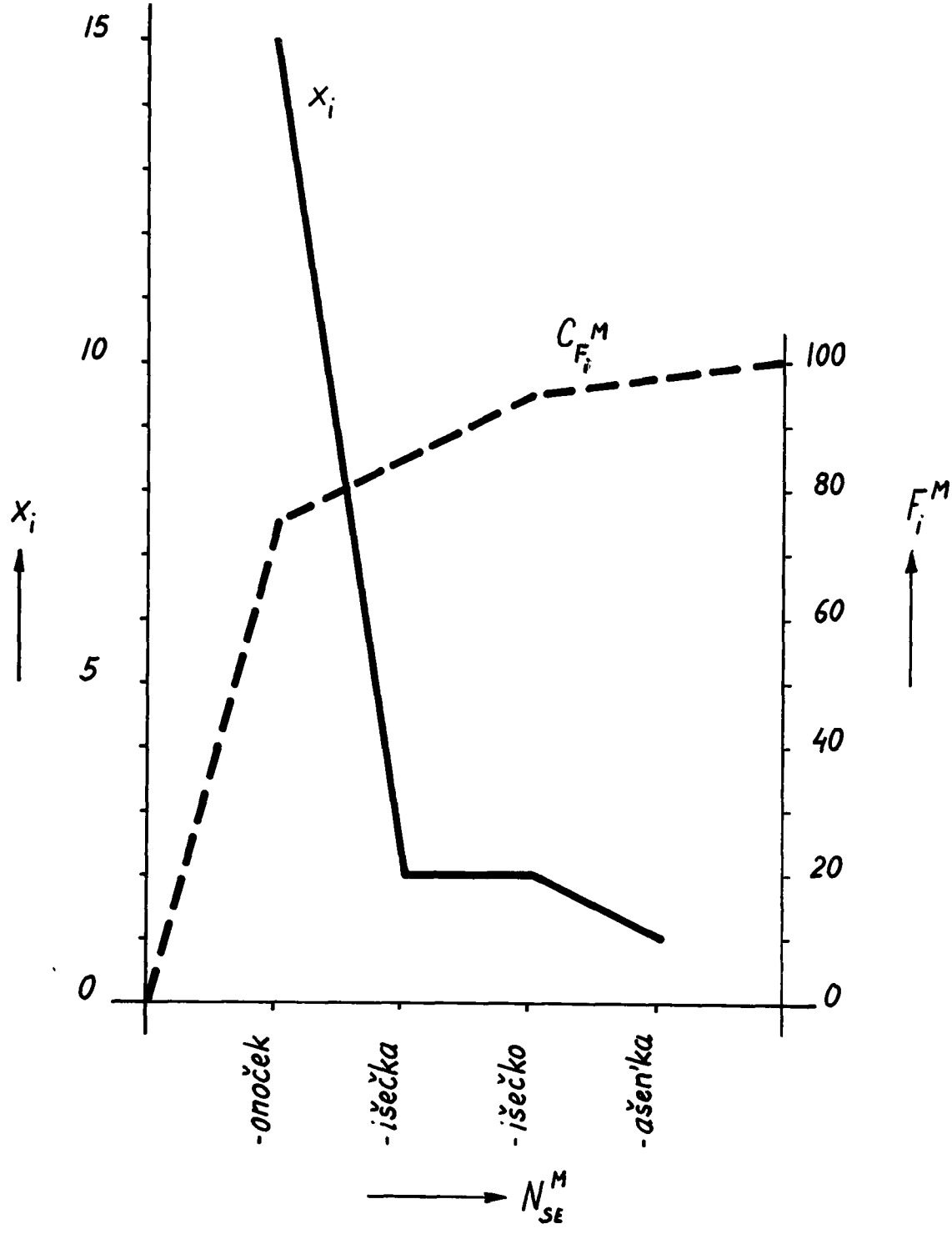

Figure 6:- Masculine Nouns: Tertiary Suffixes

Examples of Nouns for Each Suffix.

-onoček:	kozel	-	kozlenoček
	čert	-	čertenoček
-išečko:	zipun	-	zipunišečko
	paren'	-	parnišečko
-išečka:	mal'čik	-	mal'čišečka
	paren'	-	parnišečka
-ašen'ka:	papa	-	papašen'ka

a) The Mono-formations--the Base form takes one tertiary suffix.

TABLE 18

N_{SE}^{M}: MONO-FORMATIONS WITH TERTIARY SUFFIXES

Suffix	Examples	X_i
-onoček	nesmyslenoček	15
-išečko	zipunišečko	1
-išečka	mal'čišečka	1
-ašen'ka	papašen'ka	1
Total		18

b) The Double-Formations--the Base form takes two tertiary suffixes.

TABLE 19

N_{SE}^{M}: DOUBLE-FORMATIONS WITH TERTIARY SUFFIXES

Suffix	Examples	X_i
-išečko/-išečka	parnišečko-parnišečka	1
Total		1

Comments:

The suffix -onoček is used in 75.0% of cases, therefore seems to be the only productive tertiary suffix.

Distribution of the Relative Frequencies F_i^M

A derivatory suffix can be considered a variable of the population $N_{SE_a}^{M}$.

We have found that the variable a is, in the majority of cases, represented by the following forms:

Primary Suffixes:	-ok	in the following Table 20 marked as	A
	-ik	marked as	B
	-čik	marked as	C
	-ek	marked as	D
	-ec	marked as	E

-išč-	in the following Table 20 marked as	F
-k-	marked as	G

Secondary Suffixes:

-išk̆o	marked as	a
-očk̆/-ečk̆	marked as	b
-išk̆a	marked as	c
-ušk̆a	marked as	d
-onok	marked as	e
-išek̆	marked as	f
-ušk̆o	marked as	g
-očk̆a	marked as	h
-en'ka	marked as	i
-iček̆	marked as	j
-ušek̆	marked as	k

Tertiary Suffixes:

-onoček̆	marked as	α
-išečk̆o	marked as	β
-išečk̆a	marked as	γ
-ašen'k̆a	marked as	δ

The total number of suffixes forming the masculine derivates is 41:

primary suffixes	13
secondary suffixes	24
tertiary suffixes	4

The Table 20, shows in detail only these variables (22), which represent more than 1% of all $N_{SE_a}^{M}$ within each group characterized by primary, or secondary, or tertiary suffixes. E.g., forms with the primary suffix -ina are not included

because their occurrence ($X_i = 8$) constitutes 0.6% only out of the total occurrence of nouns SE^M with primary suffixes ($X_i = 1357$).

The data concerning the rare suffixes is summed up in the column marked with an asterisk.

TABLE 20

N_{SE}^{M}: DISTRIBUTION OF THE RELATIVE FREQUENCIES F_i^M

a	A	B	C	D	E	a	F	b	c	*	G	d	e	α	f	g	h	i	j	k	β	γ	δ	Σ
X_i	386	302	219	205	116	105	88	88	62	33	27	27	21	15	6	5	5	5	5	4	2	2	1	1729
F_i^M	22.3	17.5	12.7	11.9	6.7	6.1	5.1	5.1	3.6	1.9	1.6	1.6	1.2	0.9	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.06	100.3 = 100
$C_{F_i}^M$	22.3	39.8	52.5	64.4	71.1	77.2	82.3	87.4	91.0	92.9	94.5	96.1	97.3	98.2	98.5	98.8	99.1	99.4	99.7	100.0	100.1	100.2	100.3	

A - G = N_{SE}^{M} with primary suffixes.

a - k = N_{SE}^{M} with secondary suffixes.

α - δ = N_{SE}^{M} with tertiary suffixes.

* = rare suffixes combined.

X_i = the number of N_{SE}^{M} with a suffix a.

$$F_i^M = \frac{X_i}{\sum_{i=1}^{23} X_i} \cdot 100$$

$C_{F_i}^M$ = values F_i^M arranged for the cumulative graph.

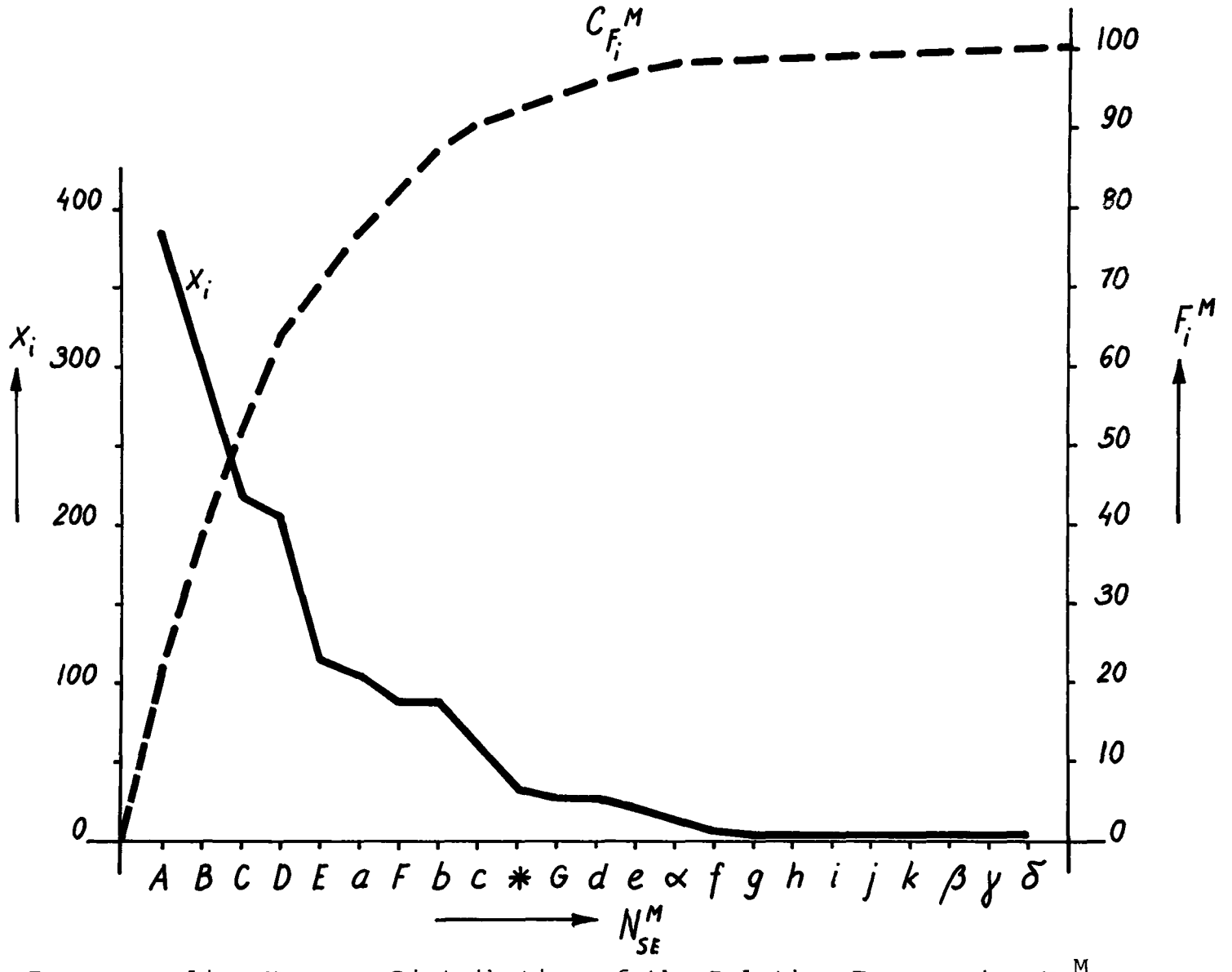

Figure 7:- Masculine Nouns: Distribution of the Relative Frequencies F_i^{M}

Macrostructure of N_{SE}^{M}: Results

Table 20 and Figure 7 show the macrostructure for the masculine nouns SE. X_i represents the actual number of N_{SE}^{M} occurring with the suffixes A - δ. F_i^M represents the relative frequencies stated as a percentage. $C_{F_i}^M$ represents the values F_i^M arranged for cumulative graph.

Table 20 shows that suffix A (-ok) represents 22.3% of all suffixes, suffix B (-ik) 17.5%, suffix C (-čik) 12.7%, etc.

Secondary suffixes enter the first time represented by suffix a (-išk-) 6.1% and b (-eček/-oček) 5.1%.

None of the tertiary suffixes represents even 1% of the whole population with their very low values: α (-onoček) 0.9%, β (-išečko) 0.1%, γ (-išečka) 0.1% and δ (-ašen'ka) 0.06%.

C_{F_i} M in Figure 7 emphasizes the proportions of productivity among the individual suffixes. It shows, for example, that in case we want to limit the description to only the several most used suffixes, the suffixes A (-ok), B (-ik), C(-čik), D (-ek), E (-ec) and a (-išk) represent already 77.2% of the whole population.

All the other suffixes fall within the final 22.8%.

These statistics have a very definite message for a linguist or any other specialist dealing with modern Russian. Apparently, the secondary and even more the tertiary suffixes of N_{SE}^{M} do not belong to the productive means of derivation.

The only exception, secondary suffix a (-isko), has in the majority of cases pejorative semantic connotation, and therefore performs a different function from that of most of the other secondary suffixes.

On the whole the derivational set of N_{SE}^{M} excels in the variety of derivational means, the majority of which combines with few Base forms only--therefore are not sufficiently utilized.

2. Characteristics of the Microstructure

The basic elements of the microstructure of the complex of N_{SE} are the combinations of forms derived from one common Base form.

Out of the total number of masculine Base forms--1070 cases--we have found:

794 Base forms taking one suffix only,

165 Base forms taking two suffixes,

54 Base forms taking three suffixes,

38 Base forms taking four suffixes,

14 Base forms taking five suffixes,

5 Base forms taking six suffixes.

A) Masculine Base Forms Combining with One Suffix SE

TABLE 21

N_{SE}^{M}: BASE FORMS WITH ONE PRIMARY SUFFIX

No. of Base Forms	Suffix	Examples
224	-ok	argamačok
166	-ek	breloček
162	-ik	anekdotik
130	-čik	apel'sinčik
48	-ec	barxatec
11	-ka	barboska
3	-išče	kaličišče
Total 744		

TABLE 22

N_{SE}^{M}: BASE FORMS WITH ONE SECONDARY SUFFIX

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Examples
15	-iška	faktiška
14	-iško	činiško
4	-uška	dernuška
4	-oček	brusoček
4	-onok	besenok
2	-čonok	barčonok
2	-en'ka	Mišen'ka
1	-išek	klinyšek
1	-an'ok	kumanek
1	-en'ok	muženek
1	-ažka	portjažka
Total 49		

TABLE 22

N_{SE}^{M}: BASE FORMS WITH ONE TERTIARY SUFFIX

No. of Base Forms	Suffix	Examples
1	-onoček	nesmyslenoček (nesmyslonoček)
Total 1		

Mono-forms: Total 794.

B) Masculine Base Forms Combining with Two Suffixes

TABLE 24

N_{SE}^{M}: BASE FORMS WITH TWO PRIMARY SUFFIXES

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Examples
14	-ec/-ik	dokumentec - dokumentik
12	-ec/čik	čulanec - čulančik
11	-ik/čik	čubik - čubčik
6	-ik/-ec	appetitik - appetitec
6	-ik/-ok	kiselik - kiselek
4	-ok/-išče	kablučok - kablučišče
3	-ek/-čik	karmašek - karmančik
3	-ik/-ina	šramik - šramina
2	-ok/-ec	romok - romec
2	(-ok/-ek)	serničok - serniček
2	-ok/-čik	taganok - tagančik
2	-čik/-išče	kabančik - kabanišče
2	-ec/-išče	morozec - morozišče
2	-ik/-išče	stolbik - stolbišče
1	-ka/-ik	epoletka - epoletik
1	-ka/-ek	tarakaška - tarakašek
1	-ka/-ok	grozdka - grozdok
1	-ka/-čik	pomidorka - pomidorčik
1	-ka/-išče	mužčinka - mužčinišče

Total 76

TABLE 25

N_{SE}^{M}: BASE FORMS WITH ONE PRIMARY AND ONE SECONDARY SUFFIX

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Examples
30	-ok/-oček	adresok - adresoček
		bančik - bančiško
18	-ik/-išk(-išek)	akterik - akteriška
		kolyk - kolyšek
11	-ok/-išk-	čekmenek - čekmeniško
9	-čik/-išk-	čepančik - čepaniško
		špionček - špioniška
4	-ec/-išk	doxodec - doxodiško
		xmelek - xmeljuško
3	-ok/-ušk-(-ušok-)	zatek - zatjuška
		xlebok - xlebušok
2	-ek/-išk-(-išek)	zamoček - zamčiško
		ogaroček - ogaryšek
2	-išče/-iška	lgunišče - lguniška
1	-ok/-aška	duračok - duraška
1	-čik/-oček	angel'čik- angeloček
1	-ik/-iček	kovšik - kovšiček
1	-ec/-onok	palec - pal'čonok
1	-ka/-uška	dedka - deduška
1	-ec/-oček	larec - laroček
1	-ina/-iška	kupčina - kupčiška
1	-išče/-iček	nožišče - nožiček
Total 88		

TABLE 26

N_{SE}^{M}: BASE FORMS WITH ONE SECONDARY AND ONE TERTIARY SUFFIX

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Examples
1	-onok/-onoček	porosenok - porosenoček
Total 1		

Double-forms: Total 165.

C) Masculine Base Forms Combining with Three Suffixes

TABLE 27

N_{SE}^{M}: BASE FORMS WITH THREE SUFFIXES

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Base Forms Forming *the Derivates
8	-ok/-ik/-oček	list, gorb, raz, loskut, prut puzyr', grob, kolos
6	-ok/-išče/-oček	sneg, šag, nogot', omut, pirog, veter
6	-ik/-išče/-iška/ -iško	karas', komar, dvor, knut, talant, voz
4	-ok/-ik/-iška(iško)	kon', život, xomut, prud
4	-ok/-oček/-iško (-iška,-išek)	nomer, golos, kofei, ugol
4	-ok/-išče/-iška/ -iško)	červjak, pauk, jazyk, kabak
3	-ec/-čik/-iško	žurnal, kaftan, rasskaz
2	-ok/-čik/-išče	čugun, koster
2	-ik/-ec/-išče	oboz, ambar
2	-ec/-ik/-iška (iško)	kapot, fakt
1	-ok/-ik/-onok	kot
1	-ok/-ec/-oček	terem
1	-ok/-čik/-oček	v"jun
1	-čik/-onok/-onoček	žerebec
1	-ok/-oček/-išek	ugol
1	-ok/-ik/-išče	bagor
1	-ok/-iška/-iško	frak, syn
1	-ek/-iška/-iško	činovnik
1	-ok/-oček/-uška	čerep
1	-ok/-ina/-onka	stix
1	-ek/-išče/-iška	čelovek

TABLE 27

Cont'd.

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Base Forms Forming *the Derivates
1	-čik/-išče/-iško	čemodan
1	iček/-išče/-iško	dožd'

Total 54

* From three suffixes up only the Base forms are stated.

D) Masculine Base Forms Combining with Four Suffixes

TABLE 28

N_{SE}^{M}: BASE FORMS WITH FOUR SUFFIXES

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Base Forms Forming the Derivates
5	-ok/-išče/-oček/-iško	greben', gorod, lapot', les, nos
4	-ok/-ik/-išče/-oček	gruzd', kust, sad, snop
2	-ok/-ec/-čik/-oček	sosun, ustup
1	-ko/-čik/-ušek/-uška	solovej
1	-ka/-en'ka/-ečka/-uška	djadja
1	-čik/-išek/-ušek/-uško	vorobej
1	-ka/-čik/-in'ka/-uška	zajac
1	-ok/-ik/-oček/-uška	svat
1	-ok/-čik/-išče/-oček	zub
1	-ik/-išče/-iček/-oček	gvozd'
1	-ik/-išče/-onok/-onoček	kozel
1	-ok/-iška/-uška/-en'ka	knjaz
1	-iška/-onka/-onok/-onoček	mal'čik
1	-ok/-ik/-oček/-iško	čas
1	-ok/-čik/-iško/-išečko	zipun
1	-ik/-čik/-ka/-iško	portfel'
1	-ec/-čik/-ik/-iško	salop
1	-ok/-oček/-onok/-iška	pisar'
1	-ec/-čik/-išče/-iško	samovar
1	-ok/-išče/-onok/-iška	rak
1	-čik/-išče/-uško/-iško	saraj
1	-ik/-išče/-uška/-iška	soldat
1	-ik/-išče/-ina/-iško	lob
1	-ik/-išče/-iško/-oček	most
1	-ik/-išce/-onok/-oček	kozel
1	-ik/-ok/-išče/-iško	topor
1	-čik/-išče/-iško/-čiško	tulup
1	-ik/-išče/-iška/-iško	erš

TABLE 28
Cont'd.

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Base Forms Forming the Derivates
1	-ok/-išče/-ina/-iško	kulak
1	-ik/-ec/-išče/-iško	zavod
Total 38		

E) Masculine Base Forms Combining with Five Suffixes

TABLE 29

N^{M}_{SE}: BASE FORMS WITH FIVE SUFFIXES

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Base Forms Forming the Derivates
3	-ok/-ik/-išče/-oček/-iško	uzel , rot, um
1	-ik/-čik/-ec/-ka/-uška	žuravl'
1	-ec/-ina/-ušek/-uška/-uško	xleb
1	-ok/-ik/-išče/-oček/-onok	volos
1	-ok/-išče/-oček/-iška/-iško	paren'
1	-ok/-išče/-uga/-uka/-oček	xolod
1	-ok/-ik/-ec/-iška/-uška	brat
1	-ok/-išče/-oček/-išek/-išok	pen'
1	-ok/-išče/-onka/-aška/-iška	starik
1	-ok/-ina/-išče/-iška/-onka	mužik
1	-ik/-čik/-ec/-išče/-uška	ambar
1	-ik/-išče/-uška/-onok/-onoček	čert
Total 14		

F) Masculine Base Forms Combining with Six Suffixes

TABLE 30

N_{SE}^{M}: BASE FORMS WITH SIX SUFFIXES

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Base Forms Forming the Derivates
1	-ok/-ik/-išče/-ina/-iško/-iček	dom
1	-ec/-išče/-uška/-uško/-iško/-iška	narod
1	-ok/-ik/-oček/-onok/-iško/-onoček	golub'
1	-ik/-ko/-išče/-onok/-uška/-onoček	medved'
1	-aša/-an'a/-an'ka/-en'ka/-očka/-ašen'ka	papa
Total 5		

The preceding data enables us to arrange the components of the total combinations for N_{SE}^{M}, i.e. the description of a set of N_{SE}^{M} which contains all possible variants of the derivative suffixes. Theoretically each of the Base forms belonging to the masculine gender could form derivatives of the primary as well as the secondary and the tertiary degrees.

The variety of suffixes used in modern standard Russian are represented in the following Figure 8.

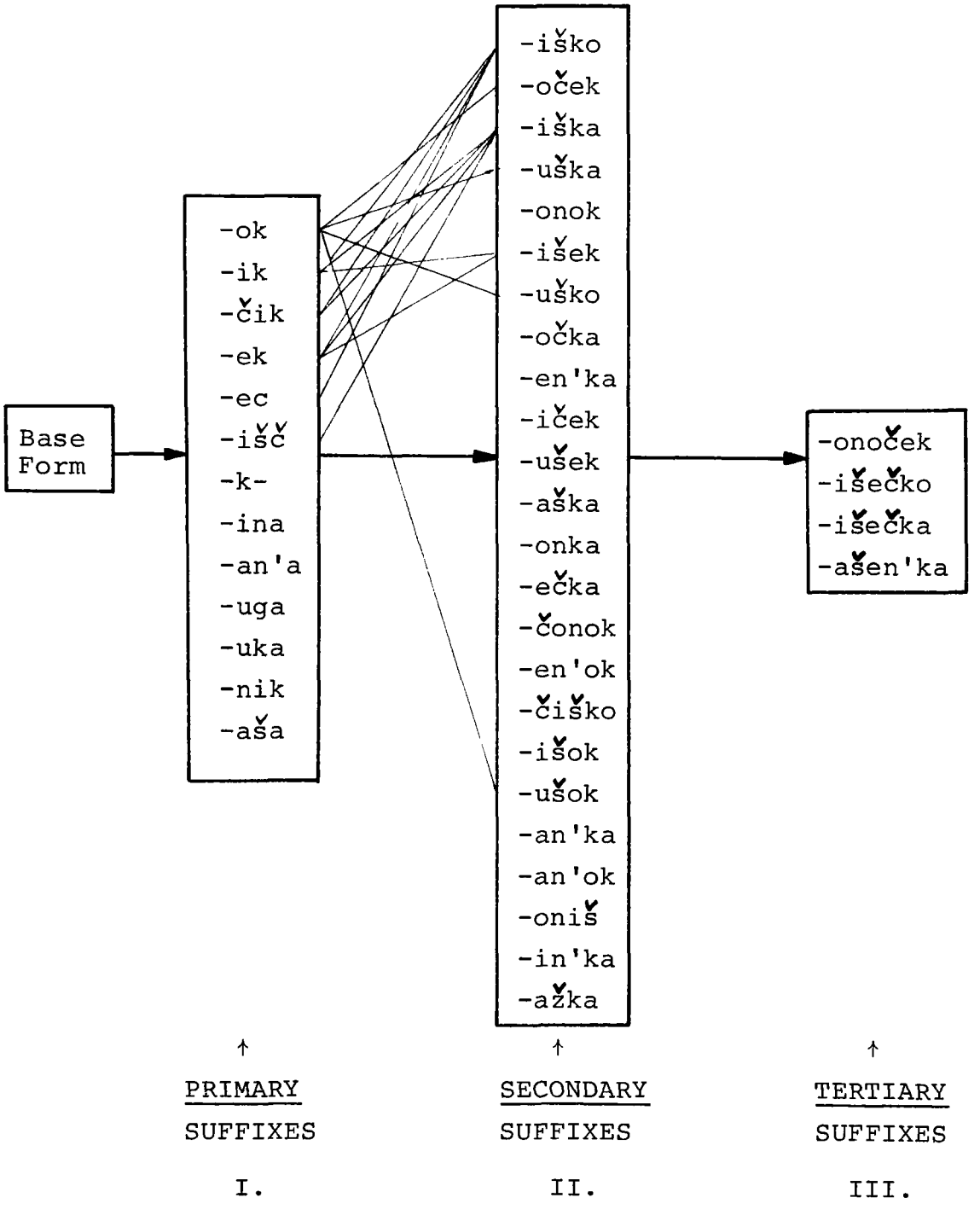

Figure 8:- The Scheme of the Total Combinations for the Masculine Base Forms

Remarks Concerning Figure 8

Connections between the nouns with primary, secondary and tertiary suffixes are marked if the suffixes form derivatives from a common Base form more than once.

First, the suffixes are arranged according to the degree of expressive connotation into the three columns I, II and III. Column I contains the primary suffixes, Column II contains the secondary suffixes and Column III contains the tertiary suffixes.

Second, the suffixes within each column (primary, secondary, tertiary) are arranged according to the number of nouns appearing with the particular suffix in the system (see Macrostructure).

Third, the connections between the columns symbolize the following facts:

> At least two Base forms combine with the suffix a and only with the suffix a.
>
> At least two Base forms combine with one primary suffix a and one secondary suffix b and only with the suffixes a and b.

The above mentioned distribution of connections contradicts the assumption that a masculine Base form forms the derivatives of three degrees (primary, secondary and tertiary). Our material shows that such occurrences are only exceptional as can be checked in the data offered in the previous section.

Another problem presents the fact that the derivatives of the first degree (nouns with the primary suffixes) can be subdivided according to their expressive connotation into at least two groups:

First are the diminutives, sometimes with the positive expressive connotation, e.g., nouns with the suffixes -ok, -ik, -čik, etc.

Second are the augmentatives, e.g., nouns with the suffixes -išč, -ina, -uga, -uka, which could also take derogatory meanings,e.g.,

kulak	-	kulačina	augmentative
stix	-	stišina	derogatory

A very similar problem is presented by the semantic dispersion found among secondary suffixes. Several of them function with two different expressive connotations (as marked in the "Academic Dictionary.") For example, the suffix -išek is marked for derogatory in pen' - pen'išek and for diminutive in vorobej - vorobejišek.

The suffix -onka is marked for derogatory in starik - staričonka and for diminutive in mal'čik - mal'čonka.

The suffix -uška is marked for derogatory in čerep - čerepuška and for diminutive in xleb - xlebuška, etc.

Taking this fact into consideration we may assume that we are dealing with two kinds of formants: a) double-functional, i.e. those which, according to the intention of the speaker, could add two different kinds of connotations. b) mono-functional, i.e. those which serve one expressive

function only. (More on this problem in Chapter IV.)

There are obvious imperfections in marking connotations in the dictionary, because the expressive function is not bound to the lexical unit only, but is frequently the result of the context and also of the suprasegmental features chosen by the speaker. Regarding the semantic possibilities, each Base form should be, therefore, able to form the following set of derivatives.

1) Derivatives of the first degree:
   a) diminutive
   b) augmentative

2) Derivatives of the second degree:
   a) diminutive
   b) derogatory

3) Derivatives of the third degree:

This means, theoretically, that a Base form is expected to form at least five derivatives in order to realize the expressive possibilities of the system.

The study of the Microstructures including Figure 8 shows, however, that the complete set is not only atypical but actually impossible.

The Distribution of the Relative Frequencies Q_i^M

The statistical description of the combinatorial variations of the individual Base forms is presented in the following Table 31.

TABLE 31

COMBINATORIAL TYPES FOR THE MASCULINE BASE FORMS

Order	Combinatorial Type T^M	X_i	$Q_i{}^M$(%)	$C_{Q_i}{}^M$
1	X	744	69.5	69.5
2	Xx	88	8.2	77.7
3	XX	76	7.1	84.8
4	x	49	4.6	89.4
5	XXx	39	3.6	93.0
6	XXxx	18	1.7	94.7
7	XXXx	14	1.3	96.0
8	Xxx	9	0.8	96.8
9	XXXxx	7	0.7	97.5
10	XXX	5	0.5	98.0
11-12	XXxxx	4	0.4	98.4
	Xxxx	4	0.4	98.8
13-14	XXXXx	2	0.2	99.0
	XXxxxx	2	0.2	99.2
15-24	γ	1	0.1	99.3
	xγ	1	0.1	99.4
	Xxγ	1	0.1	99.5
	XXxγ	1	0.1	99.6
	xxxγ	1	0.1	99.7
	XXxxγ	1	0.1	99.8
	XXXXxx	1	0.1	99.9
	XXXxxx	1	0.1	100.0
	XXxxxγ	1	0.1	101.0
Total		1070	100.1 $\doteq$ 100	

Table 31 contains the actual number of Base forms belonging to a common combinatorial type T^M and their relative frequencies (Q_i^M) arranged according to their decreasing values. I have disregarded semantic dispersion of the primary and the secondary derivatives. The data continues to be arranged according to the structural criteria only.

The symbols used have the following interpretation:

X-- a derivative formed by any primary suffix.

x-- a derivative formed by any secondary suffix.

γ-- a derivative formed by any tertiary suffix.

For example, the combinatorial type Xx of the order 2 symbolizes 88 Base forms which take one primary suffix and one secondary suffix such as: adres - adresok
adresoček

kovš - kovšik
kovšiček, etc.

Since Table 31 gives the data for the combinatorial types only, we include an additional Table 32 that gives the actual occurrences of the individual suffixes with their Base forms. The derivatives and the combinations of derivatives belonging to a common Base form that occurred once only were not included.

TABLE 32

REPRESENTATION OF COMBINATORIAL TYPES T^M

Combinatorial Type T^M	No. of Base Forms	Derivates with Primary Suffixes								Derivates with Secondary Suffixes						Number of Derivatives
		-ok	-ik	-čik	-ek	-ec	-igč	-k	-ina	-išk-	-ošek	-ušk-	-onok	-en'ka	-čonok	
X	224	224														224
X	166				166											166
X	162		162													162
X	130			130												130
X	48					48										48
X	11							11								11
X	3						3									3
x	15									15						15
x	14									14						14
x	4											4				4
x	4										4					4
x	4												4			4
x	2														2	2
x	2													2		2
XX	14		14			14										28
XX	12			12		12										24
XX	11		11	11												22
XX	6		6			6										12
XX	6	6	6													12
XX	4	4					4									8
XX	3			3	3											6
XX	3		3						3							6
XX	2	2				2										4
XX	2	2			2											4
XX	2	2		2												4
XX	2			2			2									4
XX	2					2	2									4
Xx	30	30									30					60
Xx	19		19							19						38
Xx	11	11								11						22
Xx	9			9						9						18
Xx	4					4				4						8
Xx	3	3										3				6
Xx	2						2									2
Xx	2				2					2		3				7
XXx	8	8	8								8					24
XXX	2	2		2			2									6
XXX	2		2		2		2									6
XXx	6	6					6				6					18
XXx	3			3		3				3						9
XXx	2		2			2				2						6
XXx	4	4	4							4						12
XXx	4	4								4	4					12
Xxx	4	4					4			4						12
XXx	6		6				6			6						18
XXx	5	5					5			5	5					20
XXxx	4	4	4				4				4					16
XXXx	2	2		2		2					2					8
XXXx	3	3	3					3		3	3					15
XXXxx																

Microstructure of N_{SE}^{M}: Results

It is evident that the distribution of the relative frequencies Q_i^M is greatly disproportionate. The combinatorial type X represents 69.5% of all cases. Next relatively high values occur with the low orders 2-5, represented by the combinatorial types Xx, XX, x, XXx, covering 93.0% of all population. Contrary to this high order 15-24 is represented by one case each. It is interesting to note that the formations with the tertiary suffixes appear in high orders only (15-24) which only confirms their peripheral place among the means of derivation.

Here are examples of formations representing the most typical combination of suffixes for each of the above described types:

a) Combinatorial type X (Order 1)

X = {-ok, -ik, -čik, etc.}

e.g.,	žar	-	žarok
	žgut	-	žgutik
	žurnal	-	žurnalčik
	zavtrak	-	zavtraček

b) Combinatorial type Xx (Order 2)

X ={-oček, -ušok, -išk-, etc.}

e.g.,	adres	-	adresok
			adresoček

angel' - angel'čik

angeločk

akt'or - akt'orik

akt'oriška

c) Combinatorial Type XX (Order 3)

e.g., zad - zadok

zadik

žurna'l - žurnal'čik

žurnalec

d) Combinatorial Type x (Order 4)

e.g., fakt - faktiška

bes - bes'onok

e) Combinatorial Type XXx (Order 5)

e.g. kot - kotok

kotik

kot'onok

terem - teremok

teremec

teremoček

čemodan - čemodančik

čemodanišče

čemodaniško

Combinatorial type Xx includes also cases where the Base form does not form a primary diminutive (X representing an augmentative formation only).

e.g., kupec ——————— kupčiška
kupčina

A tertiary suffix appears for the first time in order 15 and then in orders 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 and 24, represented by 1 case only. Examples of the formations with the tertiary suffixes are:

čert	-	čertik čertišče čertuška čert'onok čert'onoček	Type XXxxγ
zipun	-	zipunok zipunčik zipuniško zipunišečko	Type XXxγ
medved'	-	medvedik medvedko medvedišče medveduška medvežonok medvežonoček	Type XXXxxγ

2. Feminine Nouns

As feminine nouns, we consider all Base forms and their derivatives defined as feminine in the "Academic Dictionary," and also the nouns which, according to the same source, could behave as either feminine or masculine or neuter.

1. Characteristics of the Macrostructure

The set of feminine nouns with suffixes of subjective evaluation (N_{SE}^{F}) can be characterized by the following data:

1) Number of Base forms (B^{F}) 1183
2) Number of N_{SE}^{F} formed by the primary suffixes 1082
3) Number of N_{SE}^{F} formed by the secondary suffixes 433
4) Number of N_{SE}^{F} formed by the tertiary suffixes 16
5) Total number of feminine nouns SE (N_{SE}^{F}) . . 1528

The proportion between the total number of N_{SE}^{F} and the number of their Base forms, i.e., index of derivativity:

$$\frac{N_{SE}^{F}}{B^{F}} = \frac{1528}{1183} = 1.29$$

The index reflects the fact that from one feminine Base form is formed 1.26 derivatives.

A) Feminine Nouns SE with Primary Suffixes

Primary suffixes of N_{SE}^{F} are based on one consonant with several vocalic elements as seen in the following Table 33.

TABLE 33

N_{SE}^{F}: STRUCTURE OF PRIMARY SUFFIXES

Consonantal Base	Vocalic Elements -i-	-a-	-ø-	-u-
-k-	-ika		-ka	
-c-	-ica		-ca	
-šč-	-išča			
-š-		-aša		
-n-	-ina			
-s'-				-us'a
-l'-				-ul'a

The set of N_{SE}^{F} with primary suffixes can be characterized by the following data.

TABLE 34

N_{SE}^{F} WITH PRIMARY SUFFIXES

a	X_i	F_i^F (%)	$C_{F_i}^F$
-ka	1003	92.5	92.5
-iščˇˇ	37	3.4	95.9
-ica	24	2.2	98.1
-ca	12	1.1	99.2
-us'a	3	0.3	99.5
-ul'a	2	0.2	99.7
-ika	1	0.1	99.8
-ašˇa	1	0.1	99.9
-ina	1	0.1	100.0
Total	1084	100.0	

a = primary suffixes.

X_i = the number of N_{SE}^{F} with a suffix a.

F_i^F = percentual proportions of values X_i.

$$F_i^F = \frac{X_i}{\sum_{i=1}^{9} X_i} \cdot 100$$

$C_{F_i}^F$ = values F_i^F arranged for cumulative graph.

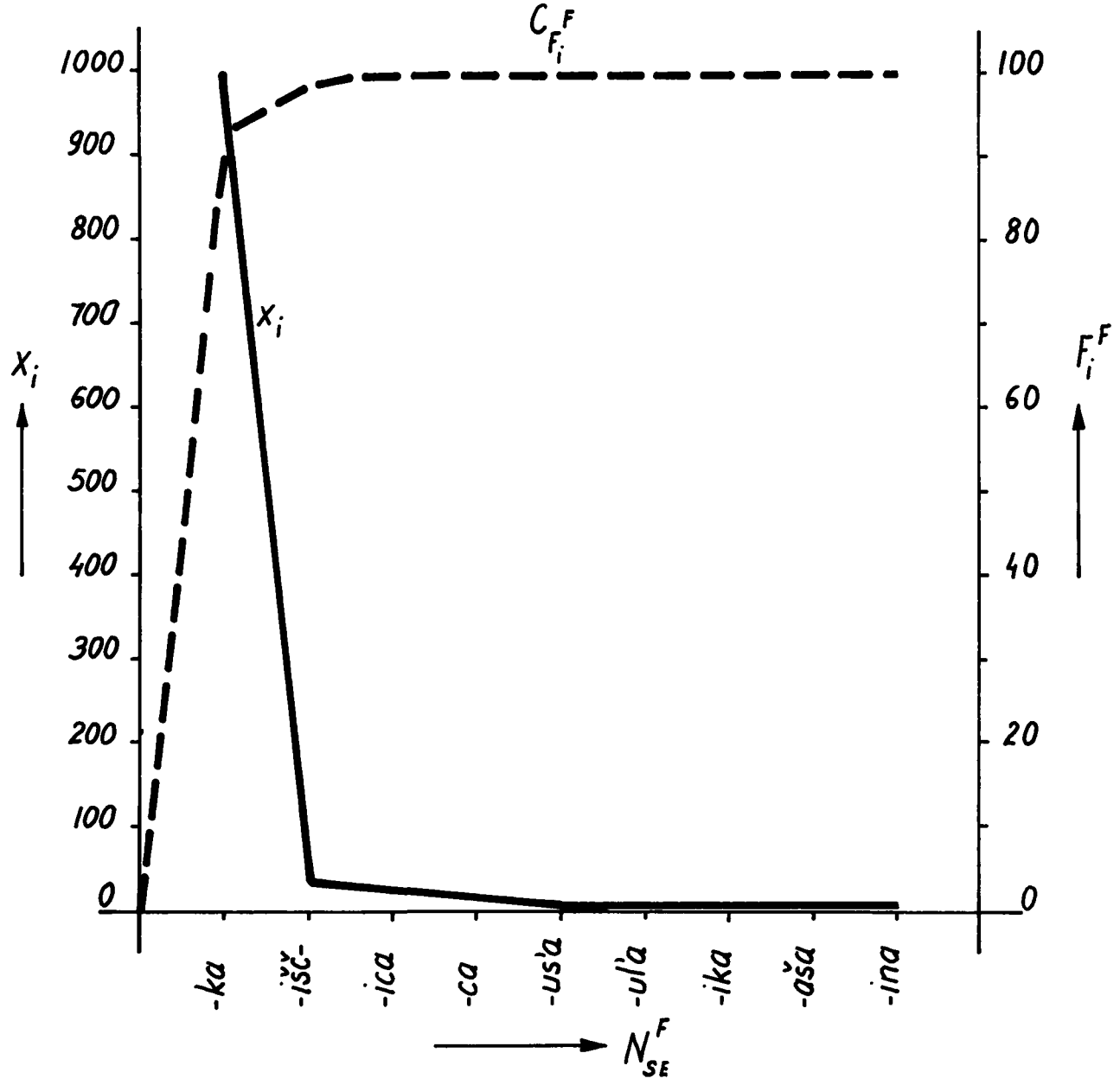

Figure 9:- Feminine Nouns: Primary Suffixes

Examples of Nouns for Each Suffix

-ka:	dača	-	dačka
	gora	-	gorka
-išča:	jama	-	jamišča
	šuba	-	šubišča
-ica:	voda	-	vodica
	služba	-	službica
-ca:	gnil'	-	gnilca
	madera	-	maderca
-us'a:	pani	-	panjusja
	baba	-	babusja
-ul'a:	baba	-	babulja
-ika:	rabota	-	rabotika
-aša:	mama	-	mamaša
-ina:	ščuka	-	ščučina

Comments:

The set of feminine N_{SE}^{F} is in 92.5% of cases formed by the suffix -ka. Its dominant function contrasts with the distribution of masculine suffixes, where the most used suffix -ok reached only 28.4% of all formations.

a) The Mono-formations--the Base form takes one primary suffix only.

TABLE 35

N_{SE}^{F}: MONO-FORMATIONS WITH PRIMARY SUFFIXES

Suffix	Examples	X_i
-ka	blondinka	988
-išča	černotišča	28
-ica	časčica	22
-ca	gnil'ca	11
-usja	pani	2
-aša	mamaša	1
Total		1052

b) The Double-formations--the Base form takes two primary suffixes.

TABLE 36

N_{SE}^{F}: DOUBLE-FORMATIONS WITH PRIMARY SUFFIXES

Suffixes	Examples			X_i
-ka/-išča	krovka	-	krovišča	8
-ka/-ica	kaška	-	kašica	3
-ka/-ca	zemel'ka	-	zemlica	1
-ka/-ika	rabotka	-	rabotika	1
-ka/-ina	ščučka	-	ščučina	1
-us'a/-ul'a	babusja	-	babulja	1
Total				15

c) The Triple-formations--the Base form takes three primary suffixes.

TABLE 37

N_{SE}^{F}: TRIPLE-FORMATIONS WITH PRIMARY SUFFIXES

Suffixes	Examples			X_i
-ka/-ica/-išča	knižka	knižica	knižišča	1
Total				1

Comments:

The dominant role of the suffix -ka is also reflected in a very poor set of double-formations and triple-formations. There is not one suffix which we could point out as competing in its function with -ka.

On the whole, we can conclude that there is only one productive primary suffix forming feminine nouns SE--suffix -ka.

B) Feminine Nouns (N_{SE}^{F}) with Secondary Suffixes

The set of N_{SE}^{F} with secondary suffixes is a more complex system than that with primary suffixes.

The suffixes are based on two to three consonants each with different vocalic elements.

TABLE 38

N_{SE}^{F}: STRUCTURE OF SECONDARY SUFFIXES

Consonantal Base	Vowels -a-	-i-	-o-	-u-	-e-
-š-k-	-aška	-iška	-oška	-uška	
č-š-k				-čuška	
-č-k-		-ička	-očka		-ečka
-n'-k-	-an'ka	-in'ka	on'ka		
-n-k-		-inka	onka		-enka
-j-k-					-ejka
-r-k-				-urka	
č-r-k-				-čurka	

From the viewpoint of the quantitative analysis, the set is characterized as follows:

TABLE 39

N_{SE}^{F} WITH SECONDARY SUFFIXES

a	X_i	F_i^F (%)	$C_{F_i}F$
-očka	148	34.6	34.6
-uška	96	22.4	57.0
-onka	44	10.3	67.3
-ečka	35	8.2	75.5
-iška	27	6.3	81.8
-en'ka	23	5.4	87.2
-on'ka	12	2.8	90.0
-inka	11	2.6	92.6
-ička	8	1.9	94.5
-in'ka	6	1.4	95.9
-čonka	4	0.9	96.8
-aška	3	0.7	97.5
-an'ka	3	0.7	98.2
-enka	2	0.7	98.9
-oška	2	0.7	99.6
-ejka	1	0.2	99.8
-urka	1	0.2	100.0
-čurka	1	0.2	100.2
-čuška	1	0.2	100.4
Total	428	100.4	

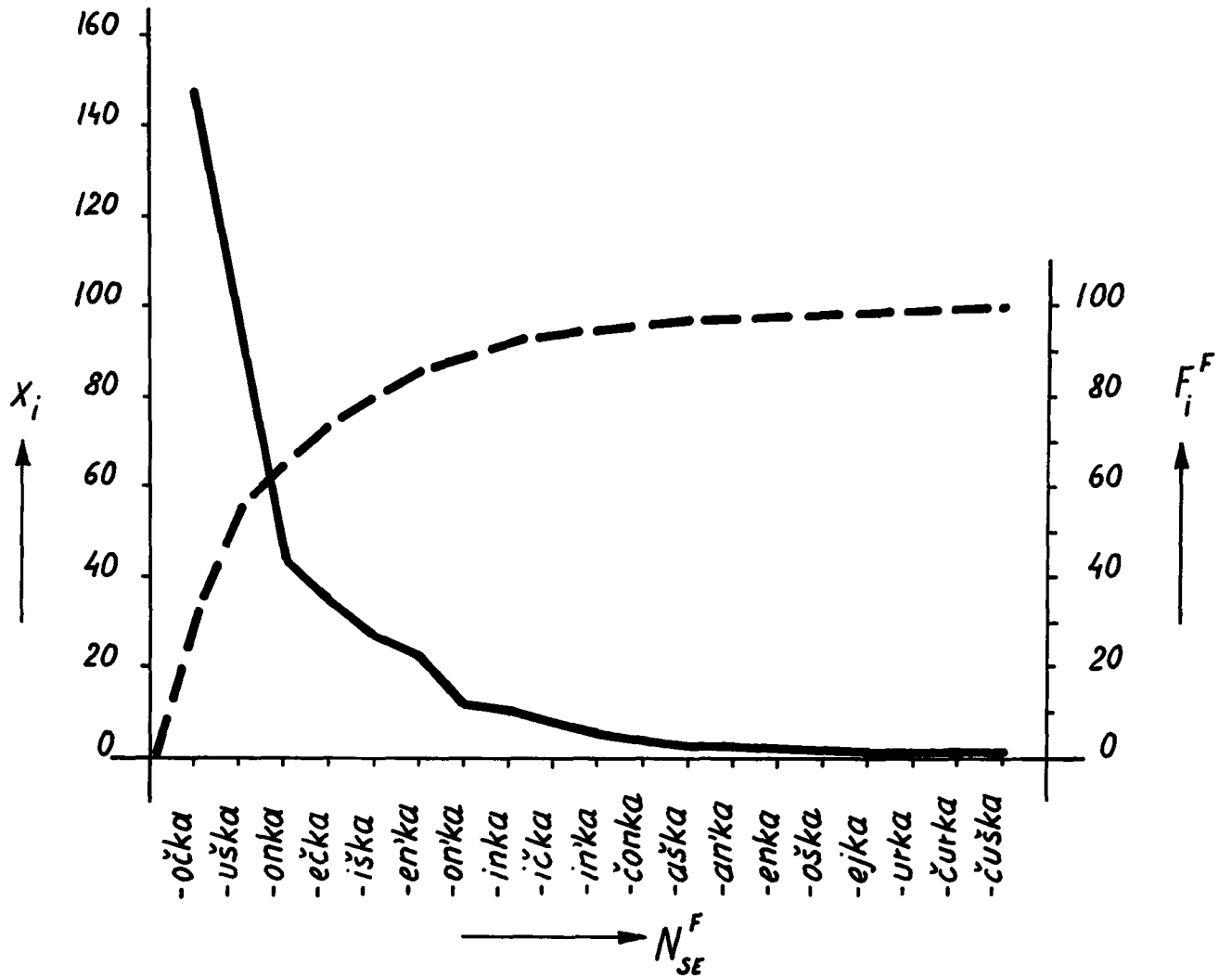

Figure 10:- Feminine Nouns: Secondary Suffixes

Examples of Nouns Formed by Secondary Suffixes

-očka:	forma	-	formočka
	ospa	-	ospočka
-uška:	fabrika	-	fabričuška
	dubrava	-	dubravuška
-onka:	svita	-	svitenka
	telega	-	teležonka
-ečka:	rogula	-	rogulečka
	volnuxa	-	volnušečka
-iška:	svjaz'	-	svjaziška
	rož'	-	rožiška
-en'ka:	rodnja	-	rodnen'ka
	reka	-	rečen'ka
-on'ka:	ryba	-	rybon'ka
	šuba	-	šubon'ka
-inka:	šč̆el'	-	šč̆elinka
	tvar'	-	tvarinka
-ička:	rož'	-	rožička
	vedomost'	-	vedomostička
-in'ka:	tetja	-	tetin'ka

-čonka:	svita	-	svitčonka
	ryba	-	rybčonka
-aška:	rjumka	-	rjumaška
	dvojnja	-	dvojnjaška
-an'ka:	cypa	-	cypan'ka
-enka:	sosna	-	sosenka
	pravda	-	pravdenka
-oška:	rabota	-	raboteška
	sila	-	sileška
-ejka:	šuba	-	šubejka
-urka:	doč'	-	dočurka
-čurka:	deva	-	devčurka
-čuška:	deva	-	devčuška

a) The Mono-formations--the Base form takes one secondary suffix only.

TABLE 40

N_{SE}^{F}: MONO-FORMATIONS WITH SECONDARY SUFFIXES

Suffixes	Examples	X_i
-očka	baxromočka	129
-uška	burjuška	73
-onka	bumazonka	30
-ečka	badeečka	25
-iška	kajutiška	23
-inka	baljasinka	11
-en'ka	dorožen'ka	8
-ička	metnička	7
-in'ka	ostinka	3
-aška	dvojnjaška	2
-enka	pravdenka	2
-oška	sileška	1
-ejka	šubejka	1
-an'ka	cypan'ka	1
-čonka	svitčonka	1
Total		317

b) The Double-formations--the Base form takes two secondary suffixes.

TABLE 41

N_{SE}^{F}: DOUBLE-FORMATIONS WITH SECONDARY SUFFIXES

Suffixes	Examples			X_i
-očka/-uška	lapočka	-	lapuška	9
	lučinočka	-	lučinuška	
-ečka/-en'ka	rečečka	-	rečen'ka	5
	svečečka	-	svečen'ka	
-onka/-uška	komnatenka	-	komnatuška	3
-onka/-iška	myslenka	-	mysliška	3
-en'ka/-on'ka	rečen'ka	-	rečonka	2
-an'ka/-on'ka	kisan'ka	-	kison'ka	2
-en'ka/-uška	zoren'ka	-	zorjuška	2
-in'ka/-on'ka	kosyn'ka	-	koson'ka	1
-ečka/-uška	njanečka	-	njanjuška	1
-on'ka/-čonka	rybon'ka	-	rybčonka	1
-on'ka/-uška	travon'ka	-	travuška	1
-enka/-ička	sestrenka	-	sestrička	1
-onka/-oška	rabotenka	-	raboteška	1
-očka/-aška	rjumočka	-	rjumaška	1
-očka/-ečka	dostočka	-	doščečka	1
-onka/-en'ka	sobačonka	-	sobačen'ka	1
Total				35

c) The Triple-formations--the Base form takes three secondary suffixes.

TABLE 42

N_{SE}^{F}: TRIPLE-FORMATIONS WITH SECONDARY SUFFIXES

Suffixes	Examples			X_i
-en'ka/-ečka/-onka	nožen'ka	- nožečka	- nožonka	1
-en'ka/-ečka/-uška	gulen'ka	- gulečka	- guljuška	1
-en'ka/-uška/-iška	dereven'ka	- derevuška	- derevniška	1
-očka/-on'ka/-in'ka	polosočka	- poloson'ka	- polosyn'ka	1
-očka/-onka/-čonka	svitočka	- svitenka	- svitčonka	1
-očka/-uška/-in'ka	smertočka	- smertuška	- smertyn'ka	1
-očka/-uška/-onka	cerkovočka	- cerkovuška	- cerkvenka	1
-očka/-uška/-on'ka	šubočka	- šubuška	- šubenka	1
-očka/-onka/-en'ka	babočka	- babenka	- baben'ka	1
Total				9

d) The Tetra-formations--the Base form takes four secondary suffixes.

TABLE 43

N_{SE}^{F}: TETRA-FORMATIONS WITH SECONDARY SUFFIXES

Suffixes	Examples	X_i
-očka/-on'ka/-onka/-uška	golovočka - golovon'ka - golovenka - golovuška	1
-on'ka/-čurka/-čuška/-čonka	devon'ka - devčurka - devčuška - devčonka	1
-en'ka/-ečka/-uška/-urka	dočen'ka - dočečka - dočuška - dočurka	1
Total		3

Comments:

Feminine nouns SE form their secondary derivatives using 21 secondary suffixes SE.

The most frequent suffixes are -očka (34.6%), -uška (22.4%), -onka (10.3%) which together cover 67.3% of all secondary formations.

More than 1% of all N_{SE}^{F} with the secondary suffixes is formed by each of the following suffixes: -ečka (8.2%), -iška (6.3%), -en'ka (5.4%), -on'ka (2.8%), -inka (2.6%), -ička (1.9%) and -in'ka (1.4%).

The usage of multi-formations is very similar to that of the masculine nouns with one exception: Feminine nouns have four tetra formations (see page 138) whereas masculine nouns have none.

C) Feminine Nouns SE with Tertiary Suffixes

Tertiary suffixes are based on three to four consonants with several vocalic variations.

TABLE 44

N_{SE}^{F}: STRUCTURE OF TERTIARY SUFFIXES

Consonantal Base	Vowels -e-e-	-a-e-	-o-o-	-u-o- -u-e-	-i-o- -i-u-
š-č k				-ušečka	
č-š-č-k				-čušečka	
n-č-k			-onočka		-inočka
č-n-č-k			-čonočka		
-š-n'-k		-ašen'ka			
-č-š-k					-ičuška
-j-č-k	-eječka				
-r-č-k				-uročka	
-č-r-č-k				-čuročka	

The set of nouns with tertiary suffixes is characterized by the following proportions:

TABLE 45

N_{SE}^{F} WITH TERTIARY SUFFIXES

a	X_i	F_i^F (%)	$C_{F_i}^F$
-ušečka	4	25.0	25.0
-onočka	4	25.0	50.0
-ašen'ka	1	6.2	56.2
-ičuška	1	6.2	62.4
-eječka	1	6.2	68.6
-uročka	1	6.2	74.8
-inočka	1	6.2	81.0
-čonočka	1	6.2	87.2
-čuročka	1	6.2	93.4
-čušečka	1	6.2	99.6
Total	16	100.0	

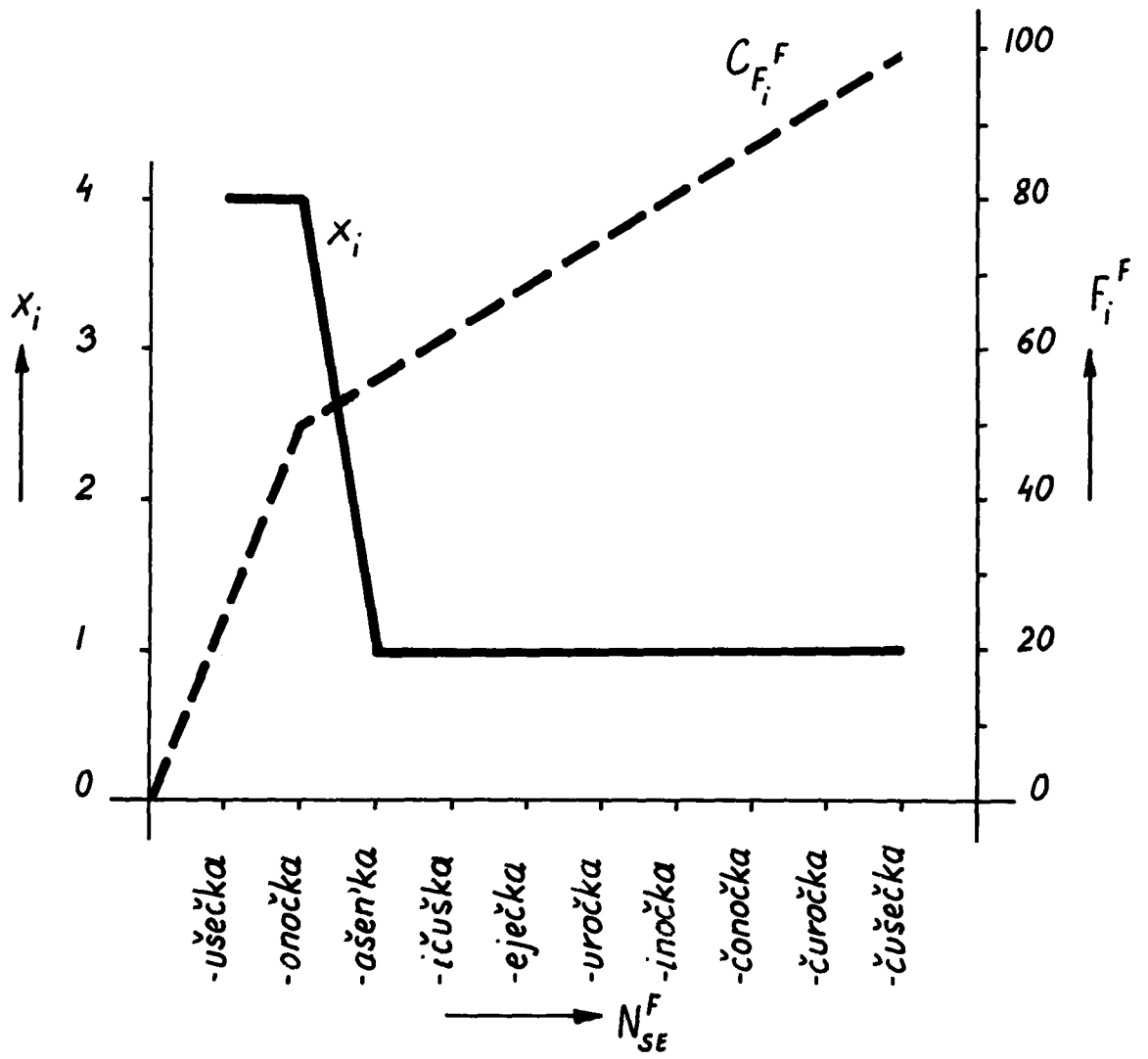

Figure 11:- Feminine Nouns: Tertiary Suffixes

Example of Nouns for Each Suffix

-ušečka:	izbušečka
	kadušečka
	komnatušečka
	čerepušečka
-onočka:	rubašonočka
	starušonočka
	gubenočka
	babenočka
-ašen'ka:	mamašen'ka
-ičuška:	sestričuška
-eječka	šubeečka
-uročka:	dočuročka
-inočka:	slezinočka
-čonočka:	devčonočka
-čuročka:	devčuročka
-čušečka:	devčušečka

Comments:

From Table 45 it is obvious that 50% of all nouns with the tertiary suffixes are formed by suffixes -ušečka and -onočka.

Since the tertiary formations are very rare (only 0.01% of all N_{SE}^{F}) and can be apparently formed on an ad hoc basis whenever the speaker feels the need for greater expressivity, we do not consider our proportional characteristics too reliable.

Distribution of the Relative Frequencies F_i^F

A derivatory suffix can be considered a variable of the population $N_{SE_a}^{F}$ (nouns of feminine gender with a derivatory suffix a).

The variable a is represented by the following forms:

Primary Suffixes:	-ka	in the following Table 46 marked as	A
	-išča	marked as	B
	-ica	marked as	C
	-ca	marked as	D
Secondary Suffixes:			
	-očka	marked as	a
	-uška	marked as	b
	-onka	marked as	c
	-ečka	marked as	d
	-iška	marked as	e
	-en'ka	marked as	f
	-on'ka	marked as	g
	-inka	marked as	h
	-ička	marked as	i
	-in'ka	marked as	j
Tertiary Suffixes:	-ušečka	marked as	α
	-onočka	marked as	β

The total number of different suffixes forming the N_{SE}^{F} is 38:

primary suffixes	9
secondary suffixes	19
tertiary suffixes	10

The Table 46 shows 16 variables only. The following variables are excluded:

a) The suffixes which represent less than 1% of all N_{SE}^{F} within each group characterized either by primary or secondary or tertiary suffixes.

b) All tertiary suffixes which appeared in our set only once.

The data concerning the rare suffixes a) and b) is summed up in the column marked with an asterisk.

TABLE 46

N_{SE}^{F}: DISTRIBUTION OF THE RELATIVE FREQUENCIES F_i^F

a	A	a	b	c	B	d	*	e	C	f	D	g	h	i	j	∝	β	Σ
X_i	1003	148	96	44	37	35	34	27	24	23	12	12	11	8	6	4	4	1528
F_i^F	65.6	9.7	6.3	2.9	2.4	2.3	2.2	1.8	1.6	1.5	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.3	100%
$C_{F_i}F$	65.6	75.3	81.6	84.5	86.9	89.2	91.4	93.2	94.8	96.3	97.1	97.9	98.6	99.1	99.5	99.8	100.1	

A - D = N_{SE}^{F} with primary suffixes.

a - j = N_{SE}^{F} with secondary suffixes.

∝ - β = N_{SE}^{F} with tertiary suffixes.

* = rare suffixes combined.

X_i = the number of N_{SE}^{F} with a suffix a.

$$F_i^F = \frac{X_i}{\sum_{i=1}^{17} X_i} \cdot 100$$

$C_{F_i}F$ = values for the cumulative graph.

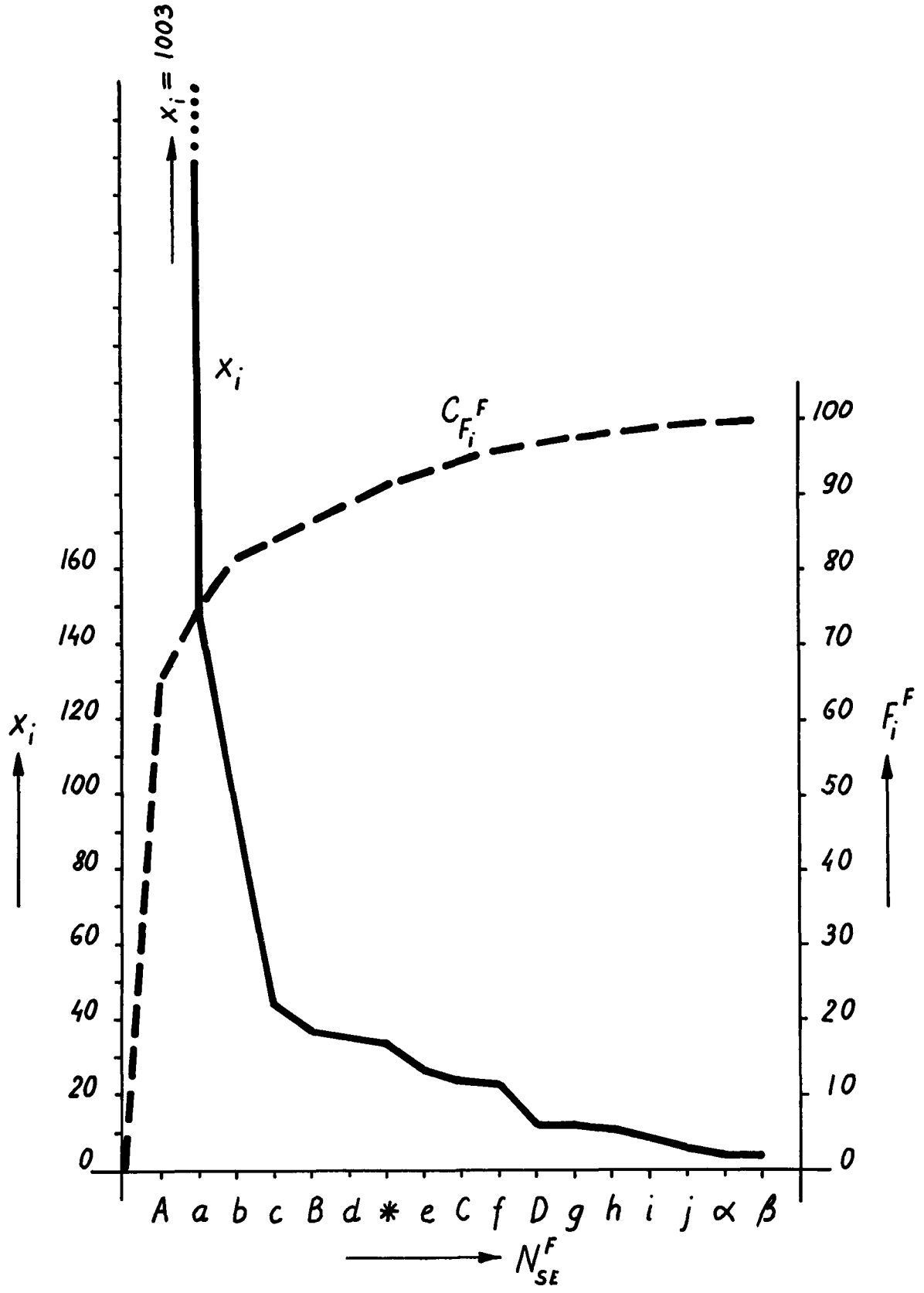

Figure 12:- Feminine Nouns: Distribution of the Relative Frequencies F_i^F

Macrostructure of N_{SE}^{F}: Results

Table 46 and Figure 12 sum up the proportions of the macrostructure for the feminine nouns SE.

Proportions of $N_{SE_a}^{F}$ are even more asymmetrical than those of $N_{SE_a}^{M}$. The nouns with only two suffixes A (-ka) and a (-očka) represent 80% of all derived feminine forms while the masculines made use of six suffixes. Suffix A (-ka) with its absolute frequency 1003 and relative frequency 65.6 is apparently the only productive primary suffix in distinction to the situation with masculines which reach almost the same percentage (63.1%) with four primary suffixes.

The most productive secondary suffix a (-išk) of masculine nouns represents 6.1% of the whole population N_{SE}^{M} and the feminine most productive secondary suffix a (-očka) represents 9.7% of the population N_{SE}^{F}.

The second secondary suffixes b maintain very close values:

N_{SE}^{M} with suffix b (-eček/-oček) = 5.5%

N_{SE}^{F} with suffix b (-uška) = 6.3%

Tertiary suffixes seem to be used slightly more in the masculine set:

N_{SE}^{M} suffixes α(-onoček) = 0.8%

β(-išečko) = 0.6%

N_{SE}^{F} suffixes α(-ušečka) = 0.3%

β(-onočka) = 0.3%

2. Characteristics of the Microstructure

As we have already mentioned, the basic characteristics of the microstructure are the combinations of forms derived from one common Base form.

Out of the total number of feminine Base forms (1211), we have found 992 Base forms which combine with 1 suffix, 134 Base forms which combine with two suffixes and 57 Base forms which combine with more than two suffixes.

A) Feminine Base Forms Combining with One Suffix SE

TABLE 47

N_{SE}^{F}: BASE FORMS WITH ONE PRIMARY SUFFIX

No. of Base Forms	Suffix	Examples
771	-ka	zagogulinka
28	-išč	temnotišča
8	-ica	lužica
4	-ca	sol'ca
1	-us'a	panjusja
Total 812		

TABLE 48

N_{SE}^{F}: BASE FORMS WITH ONE SECONDARY SUFFIX

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Examples
88	-očka	zaplatočka
36	-uška	zaznobuška
19	-ečka	kralečka
9	-iška	strastiška
7	-inka	fal'sivinka
6	-en'ka	močen'ka
5	-onka	svitonka
3	-ička	lestnička
2	-an'ka	kisan'ka
2	-enka	sosenka
2	-aška	trojnjaška
Total 179		

TABLE 49

N_{SE}^{F}: BASE FORMS WITH ONE TERTIARY SUFFIX

No. of Base Forms	Suffix	Examples
1	-ušečka	čerepušečka
Total 1		

Mono-forms: Total 992.

B) Feminine Base Forms Combining with Two Suffixes

TABLE 50

N_{SE}^{F}: BASE FORMS WITH TWO PRIMARY SUFFIXES

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Examples
6	-ka/-ica	kaška - kašica
2	-ka/-ok	vatažka - vatažok
1	-ka/-išča	gorka - gorišča
1	-ca/-išča	grjazca - grjazišča
1	išča/-iše	ujmišča - ujmiše
1	-ka/-ca	maderka - maderca
1	-ka/-ina	ščuka - ščučina

Total 13

TABLE 51

N_{SE}^{F}: BASE FORMS WITH ONE PRIMARY AND ONE SECONDARY SUFFIX

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Examples		
40	-ka/-očka	jagodka	-	jagodočka
20	-ka/-uška	dolinka	-	dolinuška
10	-ka/-ečka	kastrjul'ka	-	kastrjulečka
9	-ka/-onka	bumažka	-	bumažonka
5	-ka/-en'ka	dorožka	-	dorožen'ka
4	-ka/-iška	kajutka	-	kajutiška
2	-ka/-inka	muška	-	mušinka
2	-ica/-iška	pros'bica	-	pros'biška
2	-ica/-ička	veščica	-	veščička
2	-išča/-očka	durišča	-	duročka
1	-ka/-onok	beločka	-	belčonok
1	-ka/-on'ka	berezka	-	berezon'ka
1	-ka/-ička	melenka	-	mel'nička
1	-ka/-čonka	trubka	-	trubčonka
1	-ka/-etka	vual'ka	-	vualetka
1	-ica/-ečka	kozica	-	kozečka
1	-išča/-uška	semišča	-	semuška
1	-išča/-iška	utrobišča	-	utrobiška

Total 104

TABLE 52

N_{SE}^{F}: BASE FORMS WITH TWO SECONDARY SUFFIXES

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Examples
2	-očka/-uška	bylinočka - bylinuška
2	-očka/-onka	koftočka - koftenka
1	-očka/-aška	rjumočka - rjumaška
1	-očka/-onok	sel'močka - sel'menok
1	-očka/-inka	zvezdočka - zvezdinka
1	-očka/-ička	uločka - ulička
1	-uška/-ečka	njanjuška - njanečka
1	-uška/-en'ka	zorjuška - zoren'ka
1	-uška/-onka	ženuška - ženenka
1	-uška/-inka	tvarjuška - tvarinka
1	-on'ka/-an'ka	lison'ka - lisan'ka
1	-onka/-iška	myslenka - mysliška
1	-on'ka/-en'ka	svaxon'ka - svašen'ka
1	-ečka/-inka	usmešečka - usmešinka
1	-ečka/-en'ka	svečečka - svečen'ka
Total 17		

Double-forms: Total 134.

There are 57 Base forms which take more than two suffixes. Because of the relative rarity, we include all such Base forms into an example.

C) Feminine Base Forms Combining with Three Suffixes

TABLE 53

N_{SE}^{F}: BASE FORMS WITH THREE SUFFIXES

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Base Forms Forming *the Derivates
5	-ka/-očka/-uška	duma, lučina, poljana, sirotina, storona
3	-ka/-onka/-uška	korova, lošad', fabrika
2	-ka/-išča/-očka	figura, jama
2	-očka/-on'ka/-onka	šapka, svita
1	-onka/-en'ka/-ečka	duša
1	-uška/-onka/-ušečka	izba
1	-očka/-uška/-ušečka	kadka
1	-ka/-očka/-onka	kobyla
1	-očka/-onok/-onoček	utka
1	-uška/-onok/-onoček	vorona
1	-ka/-onka/-uška	lavka
1	-ka/-en'ka/-uška	noc'
1	-ka/-inka/-očka	ščel'
1	-ica/-ička/-iška	roz'
1	-ka/-išča/-uška	šeja
1	-ka/-onka/-iška	šinel'
1	-ka/-uška/-in'ka	smert'
1	-ka/-ečka/-onka	telega
1	-ka/-uška/-iška	derevnja
Total 27		

* From three suffixes up, only the Base forms are stated.

D) Feminine Base Forms Combining with Four Suffixes

TABLE 54

N_{SE}^{F}: BASE FORMS WITH FOUR SUFFIXES

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Base Forms Forming the Derivates
2	-ka/-išča/-en'ka/-onka	ruka, sobaka
1	-ka/-očka/-on'ka/-enka	golova
1	-ka/-en'ka/-ečka/-uška	gulja
1	-ka/-išča/-onka/-onočka	guba
1	-ka/-ica/-ička/-iška	zemlja
1	-ica/-ička/-in'ka/-on'ka	kosa
1	-ka/-očka/-on'ka/-an'ka	kisa
1	-ka/-išča/-uška/-iška	krov'
1	-ka/-išča/-očka/-uška	lapa
1	-ka/-en'ka/-ečka/-onka	noga
1	-ica/-iška/-očka/-uška	nužda
1	-ka/-en'ka/-uška/-onka	reka
1	-ka/-ečka/-onka/-onočka	staruxa
1	-ka/-išča/-ečka/-iška	stat'ja
1	-ica/-ička/-onka/-ičuška	sestra
1	-ka/-inka/-onka/-inočka	sleza
1	-ečka/-en'ka/-in'ka/-uška	tetja
1	-ka/-išča/-on'ka/-uška	trava
Total 19		

E) Feminine Base Forms Combining with Five Suffixes

TABLE 55

N_{SE}^{F}: BASE FORMS WITH FIVE SUFFIXES

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Base Forms Forming the Derivates
1	-ka/-išča/-onka/-iška/-uška	boroda
1	-ka/-ica/-išča/-ečka/-onka	kniga
1	-ka/-uška/-onka/-iška-/-ušečka	komnata
1	-aša/-on'ka/-uška/-očka/-en'ka	mama
1	-ka/-išča/-očka/-onka/-čonka	šljapa
1	-ka/-ica/-išča/-čonka/-on'ka	ryba
Total 6		

F) Feminine Base Forms Combining with Six Suffixes

TABLE 56

N_{SE}^{F}: BASE FORMS WITH SIX SUFFIXES

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Base Forms Forming the Derivates
1	-ka/-en'ka/-erka/-uška/-urka/-uročka	doč'
1	-ka/-išča/-očka/-on'ka/-uška/-onka	šuba
1	-ka/-išča/-uška/-onka/-oška/-iška	sila
Total 3		

G) Feminine Base Forms Combining with Seven Suffixes

TABLE 57

N_{SE}^{F}: BASE FORMS WITH SEVEN SUFFIXES

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Base Forms Forming the Derivates
1	-išča/-ul'a/-us'a/-očka/-onka/-en'ka/ -onočka	baba
Total 1		

H) Feminine Base Forms Combining with Eight Suffixes

TABLE 58

N_{SE}^{F}: BASE FORMS WITH EIGHT SUFFIXES

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Base Forms Forming the Derivates
1	(-ka)/-urka/-uška/-on'ka/-onka/-uročka/ -ušečka/-onočka	deva
Total 1		

The above stated analysis provides the facts for Figure 13, following. The overall pattern of all possible suffixes SE which can be agglutinated to the feminine Base forms is presented here.

Remarks Concerning Figure 13

The connections between the nouns with primary, secondary and tertiary suffixes indicate that the suffixes form derivatives from a common Base form more than once.

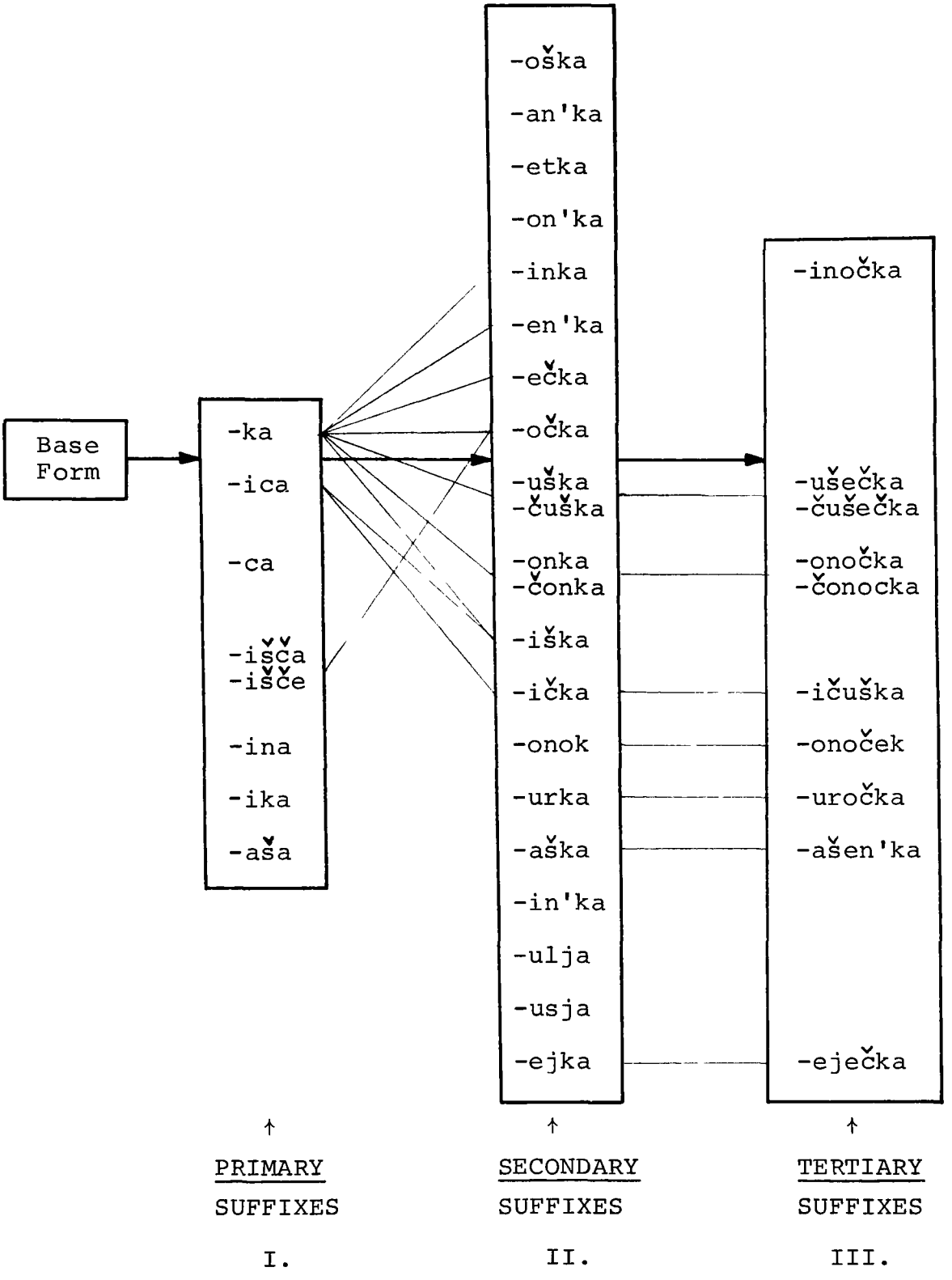

Figure 13:- The Scheme of the Total Combinations for the Feminine Base Forms

The Distribution of the Relative Frequencies Q_i^F

The statistical description of the combinatorial types which the individual feminine Base forms belong to is represented in the Table 59.

The symbols used have the following interpretation:

X-- a derivate with any primary suffix

x-- a derivate with any secondary suffix

γ-- a derivate with any tertiary suffix

Table 59 contains the actual number of Base forms belonging to a common combinatorial type C and their relative frequencies Q_i^F arranged according to their decreasing values. (For more explanation, see pages 116-118, "The Distribution of the Relative Frequencies Q_i^M.")

The next table, Table 60, shows in what way the combinatorial types are represented by individual derivates. The cases when the derivate with suffix a appeared once only have been excluded.

TABLE 59

COMBINATORIAL TYPES FOR THE FEMININE BASE FORMS

Order	Combinatorial Type T^F	X_i	$Q_i{}^F$ (%)	$C_{Q_i}{}^F$
1	X	812	68.7	68.7
2	x	179	15.1	83.8
3	Xx	104	8.8	92.6
4-5	xx	17	1.4	94.0
	Xxx	17	1.4	95.4
6	XX	13	1.1	96.5
7-8	Xxxx	7	0.6	97.1
	XXxx	7	0.6	97.7
9	xxγ	4	0.3	98.0
10-13	xxx	3	0.3	98.3
	XXx	3	0.3	98.6
	Xxxγ	3	0.3	98.9
	XXxxx	3	0.3	99.2
14	XXxxxx	2	0.2	99.4
15-23	XXxγ	1	0.1	99.5
	xxxx	1	0.1	99.6
	XXXxx	1	0.1	99.7
	Xxxxγ	1	0.1	99.8
	γ	1	0.1	99.9
	Xxxxx	1	0.1	100.0
	Xxxxxγ	1	0.1	100.1
	XXXxxxγ	1	0.1	100.2
	Xxxxxγγγ	1	0.1	100.3
Total		1183	100.3 =100	

TABLE 60

REPRESENTATION OF COMBINATORIAL TYPES T^F

Combinatorial Type T^F	No. of Base Forms	Derivates with Primary Suffixes					Derivates with Secondary Suffixes												Number of Derivatives
		-ka	-ica	-ca	-išč-	-ok	-očka	-uška	-ečka	-iška	-inka	-en'ka	-onka	-ička	-an'ka	-enka	-aška	-on'ka	-čonka	
X	771	771																		771
X	8		8																	8
X	4			4																4
X	28				28															28
x	88						88													88
x	36							36												36
x	19								19											19
x	9									9										9
x	7										7									7
x	6											6								6
x	5												5							5
x	3													3						3
x	2														2					2
x	2															2				2
x	2																2			2
XX	6	6	6																	12
XX	2	2				2														4
Xx	40	40					40													80
Xx	20	20						20												40
Xx	10	10							10											20
Xx	9	9											9							18
Xx	5	5										5								10
Xx	4	4								4										8
Xx	2	2									2									4
Xx	2		2							2										4
Xx	2		2											2						4
Xx	2				2		2													4
xx	2						2	2												4
xx	2						2						2							4
Xxx	3	3	3					3					3							9
Xxx	5	5					5	5												15
XXx	2	2			2		2													6
xxx	2						2											2	2	6
XXxx	2	2			2							2							2	8

Microstructure of N_{SE}^{F}: Results

Combinatorial types of feminine nouns contain 23 different arrangements between primary, secondary and tertiary suffixes agglutinated to a single Base form each. In this respect the feminines are very close to masculines, which have 24 of such types.

The difference is only in the number of suffixes: a masculine Base form is able to take up to six suffixes, a feminine Base form is able to take up to eight suffixes.

The distribution of the relative frequencies of feminine nouns is even more disproportional than that of masculines.

Combinatorial types of low order 1-3 represent 92.6% of the whole set. The highest occurrence has the type X (the Base form with one primary diminutive suffix) covering 68.7% of all combinatorial possibilities.

Second highest is the type x (the Base form with one secondary suffix) covering 15.1% of all possibilities.

The third type Xx (the Base form with one primary diminutive suffix and one secondary suffix) represents 8.8%.

3. Neuter Nouns

As neuter nouns, we consider all Base forms and their derivatives marked as nouns of the neuter gender in the Academic Dictionary. This group also includes the forms marked as either feminine and neuter or masculine and neuter.

1. Characteristics of the Macrostructure

The set of the neuter nouns with suffixes of subjective evaluation (N_{SE}^{N}) could be characterized by the following data:

1) Number of Base forms (B^{N}) 136
2) Number of N_{SE}^{N} formed by the primary suffixes 139
3) Number of N_{SE}^{N} formed by the secondary suffixes 76
4) Number of N_{SE}^{N} formed by the tertiary suffixes 4
5) Total Number of neuter nouns SE (N_{SE}^{N}) . . . 219

The proportion between the total number of N_{SE}^{N} and the number of their Base forms, i.e., index of derivativity:

$$\frac{N_{SE}^{N}}{B^{N}} = \frac{219}{136} = 1.61$$

The index reflects the fact that one Base form forms in average 1.61 derivative forms.

A) Neuter Nouns (N_{SE}^{N})
with Primary Suffixes

Primary suffixes of the N_{SE}^{N} are based on one consonant with the following vocalic elements.

TABLE 61

N_{SE}^{N}: STRUCTURE OF PRIMARY SUFFIXES

Consonantal Base	Vocalic Elements -i-	-e-	-ø-
-c-	-ice	-eco	-ce/-co
-k-	-iko		-ko/-ka
-šč-	-išče		

The set of N_{SE}^{N} with the primary suffixes can be characterized by the statistical data as follows:

TABLE 62

N_{SE}^{N} WITH PRIMARY SUFFIXES

a	X_i	F_i^N(%)	$C_{F_i}^N$
-ice	56	40.3	40.3
-ce	35	25.2	65.5
-ko	15	10.8	76.3
-co	14	10.1	86.3
-eco	5	3.6	89.9
-išče	5	3.6	93.5
-ka	5	3.6	97.1
-iko	4	2.9	100.0
Total	139	100.0	

a = primary suffixes.

X_i = the number of N_{SE}^{N} with a suffix $\underline{a}$.

$F_i^{N(\%)}$ = percentual proportions of values X_i

$$F_i^{N} = \frac{X_i}{\sum_{i=1}^{8} X_i} \cdot 100$$

$C_{F_i}^{N}$ = values F_i^{N} arranged for cumulative graph.

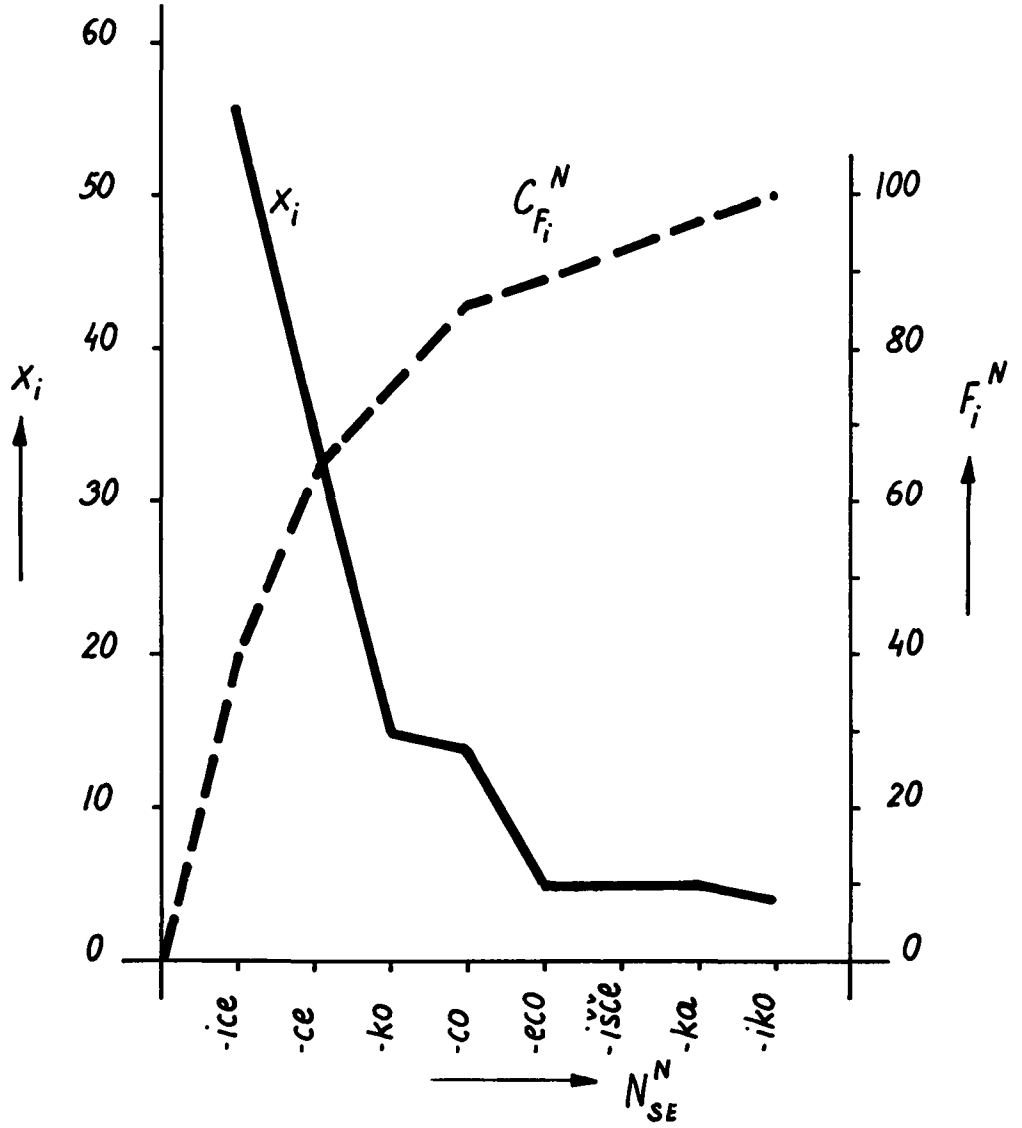

Figure 14:- Neuter Nouns: Primary Suffixes

Example of Nouns for Each Suffix

-ice:	zavedenie	-	zavedenice
	stixotvorenie	-	stixotvorenice
-ce:	zerkalo	-	zerkal'ce
	odejalo	-	odejal'ce
-ko:	koleno	-	kolenko
	pivo	-	pivko
-co:	ozero	-	ozerco
	pis'mo	-	pisemco
-eco:	ruž'e	-	ružeco
	serebro	-	serebreco
-išče:	bel'e	-	belice
	poleno	-	polenice
-ka:	čučelo	-	čučelka
	dit'e	-	detka
-iko:	koleso	-	kolesiko
	plečo	-	plečiko

The relations among the primary suffixes can be further characterized according to their ability to combine with a Base form.

a) The Mono-formations--the Base form takes one primary suffix only.

TABLE 63

N_{SE}^{N}: MONO-FORMATIONS WITH PRIMARY SUFFIXES

Suffix	Examples	X_i
-ice	pomeščenice	55
-ce	podduval'ce	31
-ko	jabločko	11
-co	slovco	10
-eco	serebreco	3
-išče	dnišče	2
-ka	čučelka	5
-iko	ličiko	1
Total		117

b) The Double-formations--the Base form takes two primary suffixes.

TABLE 64

N_{SE}^{N}: DOUBLE-FORMATIONS WITH PRIMARY SUFFIXES

Suffixes	Examples			X_i
-ko/-ce	kolenko	-	kolence	1
-ko/-iko	koleč̌ko	-	kol'č̌iko	1
-ko/-co	pivko	-	pivco	1
-ce/-ice	kresel'ce	-	kreslice	1
-ce/-co	derevce	-	derevco	1
-eco/-co	pis'meco	-	pisemco	1
-eco/-iš̌č̌e	beleco	-	beliš̌č̌e	1
-iko/-iš̌č̌e	pleč̌iko	-	pleč̌iš̌č̌e	1
-iko/-co	kolesiko	-	kolesco	1
Total				9

c) The Triple-formations--the Base form takes three primary suffixes.

TABLE 65

N_{SE}^{N}: TRIPLE-FORMATIONS WITH PRIMARY SUFFIXES

Suffixes	Examples					X_i
-ko/-ce/-iš̌č̌e	polenko	-	polence	-	poleniš̌č̌e	1
Total						1

Comments:

The data express the following structural features of neuter nouns SE.

N_{SE}^{N} with the primary suffixes appear in our material in very small numbers (139) compared to N_{SE}^{M} (1357) and to N_{SE}^{F} (1079). They have a relatively rich repertoire of suffixes (8) compared to N_{SE}^{M} (13) and to N_{SE}^{F} (9).

The most productive suffix is -ice, which together with its non-vocalic variant -ce represents 65.5% of all suffixed forms with the primary suffixes.

The suffix -išče with its different expressive connotations represents 3.6% only.

Competition of suffixes is almost non-existent as can be seen from the small number of multi-formations.

B) Neuter Nouns (N_{SE}^{N}) with Secondary Suffixes

The secondary suffixes combining with the neuter nouns are based on two to three consonants with several vocalic elements.

TABLE 66

N_{SE}^{N}: STRUCTURE OF SECONDARY SUFFIXES

Consonantal Base	Vowels -i-	-e-	-o-	-u-	-a-
-š-k-	-išk̆o	-eška		-uško	
-č-k-	-ičko	-ečko	-očko/ očka		-ačko
-t-k-					atko

The set of N_{SE}^{N} with secondary suffixes has the following proportions.

TABLE 67

N_{SE}^{N} WITH SECONDARY SUFFIXES

a	X_i	F_i^N (%)	$C_{F_i}N$
-iško	45	59.2	59.2
-ečko	13	17.1	76.3
-uško	10	13.2	89.5
-očko	3	3.9	93.4
-ičko	1	1.3	94.7
-ačko	1	1.3	96.0
-eška	1	1.3	97.3
-očka	1	1.3	98.6
-atko	1	1.3	99.9
Total	76	99.9 = 100	

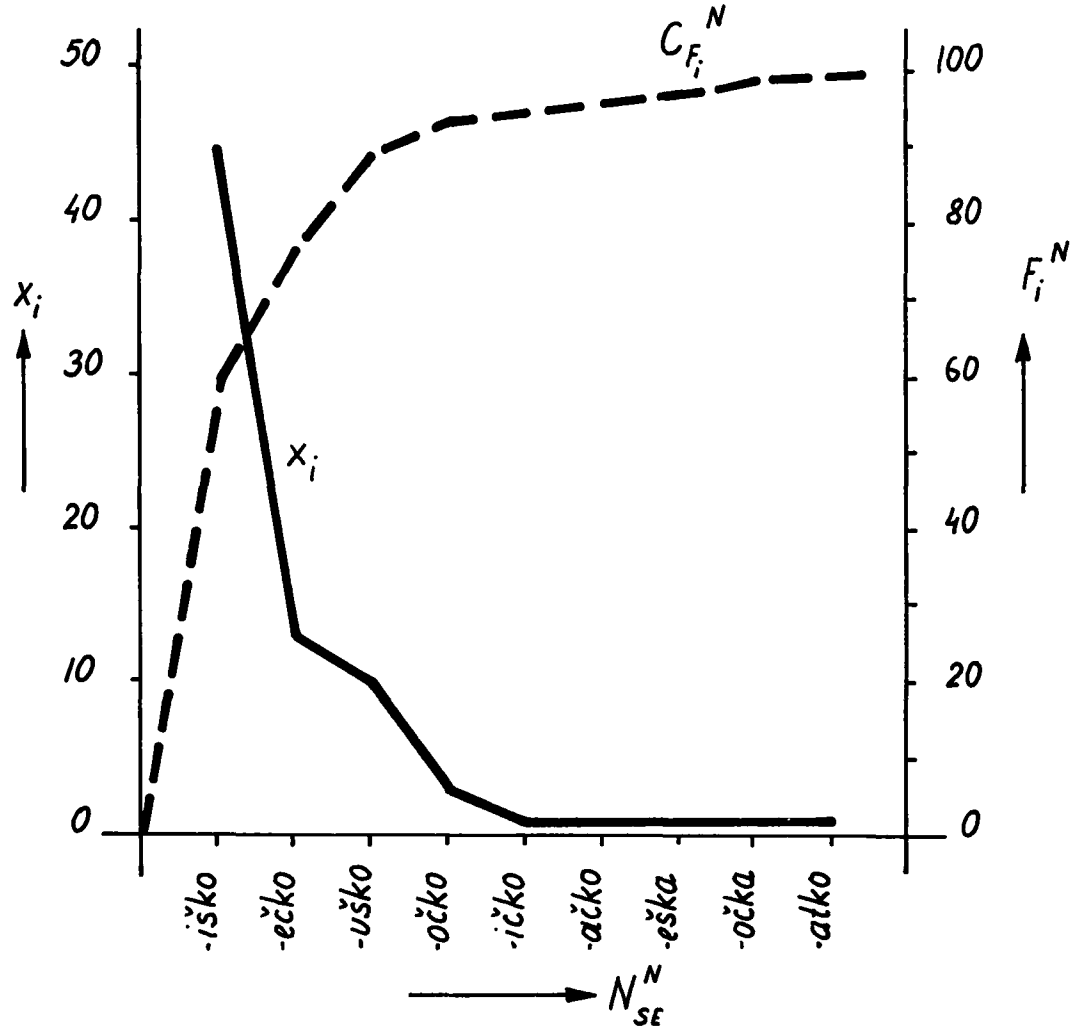

Figure 15:- Neuter Nouns: Secondary Suffixes

Examples of Nouns Formed by Secondary Suffixes

-išk̆o:	zveno	-	zvenyšk̆o
	krylo	-	krylyšk̆o
-ečk̆o:	mesto	-	mestečk̆o
-ušk̆o:	more	-	morjušk̆o
	pero	-	perušk̆o
-očk̆o:	koleno	-	kolenočk̆o
	čado	-	čadočk̆o
-ičk̆o:	pal'to	-	pal'tičk̆o
-ačk̆o:	temja	-	temjačk̆o
-eška:	beze	-	bezeška
-očk̆a:	dit'e	-	detočk̆a
-atko	dit'e	-	ditjatko

The relation between the secondary suffixes of N_{SE}^{N} can be further characterized according to their ability to combine with the Base form.

a) The Mono-formations--the Base form takes one secondary suffix only.

TABLE 68

N_{SE}^{N}: MONO-FORMATIONS WITH SECONDARY SUFFIXES

Suffixes	Examples	X_i
-iško	zvenyško	42
-ečko	zdorov'ečko	12
-uško	nebuško	6
-očko	kolenočko	1
-eška	bezeška	1
Total		64

b) The Double-formations--the Base form takes two secondary suffixes.

TABLE 69

N_{SE}^{N}: DOUBLE-FORMATIONS WITH SECONDARY SUFFIXES

Suffixes	Examples			X_i
-ičko/-iško	pal'tičko	-	pal'tiško	1
-uško/-iško	peruško	-	peryško	4
-ečko/-ačko	temečko	-	temjačko	1
-očko/-uško	čadočko	-	čaduško	1
-očko/-iško	vederočko	-	vederyško	1
-očka/-atko	detočka	-	ditjatko	1
Total				10

Comments:

The set of N_{SE}^{N} is formed basically by three dominant suffixes-- -iško (59.2%), -ečko (17.1%) and -uško (13.2%). The suffixes represent 89.5% of all formations.

The suffix -iško enters five double-formations with the suffixes -ičko, -uško. The reason is obviously its frequent derogatory function, which contrasts with the positive diminutive emotional connotation of -ičko and -uško.

The real double-formations, i.e. the derivates formed by two suffixes of the same degree with the same expressive connotation, are therefore only two: temečko - temjačko and čadočko - čaduško.

Neuter Nouns (N_{SE}^{N}) with Tertiary Suffixes

Tertiary suffixes of N_{SE}^{N} are based on three consonants with several vocalic elements.

TABLE 70

N_{SE}^{N}: STRUCTURE OF TERTIARY SUFFIXES

Consonantal Base	Vowels -e-u-	-a-e-	-o-o-	-u-o-
č-š-k	-ečuško			
š-č-k		-ašečka		
n-č-k			-onočka -onoček	
r-č-k				-uročka

The set of N_{SE}^{N} with the tertiary suffixes is proportionally very limited. There are only four derivates.

TABLE 71

N_{SE}^{N} WITH TERTIARY SUFFIXES

a	X_i	F_i^N(%)	$C_{F_i}^N$
-ečuško	1	25.0	25.0
-ašečka	1	25.0	50.0
-onočka	1	25.0	75.0
-onoček	1	25.0	100.0
Total	4	100.0	

The graph is not included since the data is very limited.

Examples of Nouns for Each Suffix

-ečuško: slovo - slovečuško

-ašečka: derevo - derevjašečka

-onočka: dit'a - detenočka

-onoček: dit'a - detenoček

a) The Mono-formations--the Base form takes one tertiary suffix only.

TABLE 72

N_{SE}^{N}: MONO-FORMATIONS WITH TERTIARY SUFFIXES

Suffixes	Examples	X_i
-ečuško	slovečuško	1
-ašečka	derevjašečka	1
Total		2

b) The Double-formations--the Base form takes two tertiary suffixes.

TABLE 73

N_{SE}^{N}: DOUBLE-FORMATIONS WITH TERTIARY SUFFIXES

Suffixes	Examples	X_i
-onočka/-onoček	detenočka - detenoček	1
Total		1

Distribution of the Relative Frequencies F_i^N

A derivatory suffix a can be considered a variable of the population $N_{SE_a}^N$ (nouns of neuter gender with a derivatory suffix a).

The variable a is represented by the following forms:

Primary Suffixes:	-ice	in the following Table 74 marked as	A
	-ce	marked as	B
	-ko	marked as	C
	-co	marked as	D
	-eco	marked as	E
	-išče	marked as	F
	-ka	marked as	G
	-iko	marked as	H
Secondary Suffixes:			
	-ško	marked as	a
	-ečko	marked as	b
	-uško	marked as	c
	-očko	marked as	d
	-ičko	marked as	e
	-ačko	marked as	f
	-eška	marked as	g
	-očka	marked as	h
	-atko	marked as	i
Tertiary Suffixes:	-ečuško	marked as	α
	-ašečka	marked as	β
	-onočka	marked as	γ
	-onoček	marked as	δ

The total number of different suffixes forming the derivatives from neuter bases is 21:

primary suffixes	8
secondary suffixes	9
tertiary suffixes	4

The following Table 74 shows the arrangement of data according to the decreasing values of X_i and F_i^N.

The distribution of frequencies (F_i^N) expresses the basic properties of the macrostructure.

TABLE 74

N_{SE}^{N}: DISTRIBUTION OF THE RELATIVE FREQUENCIES F_i^N

$\underline{a}$	A	a	B	C	D	b	c	E	F	G	H	d	e	f	g	h	i	α	β	γ	δ	Σ
X_i	56	45	35	15	14	13	10	5	5	5	4	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	219
F_i^N	25.5	20.5	16.0	6.8	6.4	5.9	4.8	2.3	2.3	2.3	1.8	1.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	99.6 = 100
$C_{F_i^N}$	25.5	46.0	62.0	68.8	75.2	80.2	85.0	87.3	89.6	91.9	93.7	95.1	95.6	96.1	96.6	97.1	97.6	98.1	98.6	99.1	99.6	

A - H = N_{SE}^{N} with primary suffixes.

a - i = N_{SE}^{N} with secondary suffixes.

α - δ = N_{SE}^{N} with tertiary suffixes.

X_i = the number of N_{SE}^{N} with a suffix $\underline{a}$.

$F_i^N = \frac{X_i}{\sum_{i=1}^{21} X_i} \cdot 100$

$C_{F_i^N}$ = values F_i^N arranged for cumulative graph.

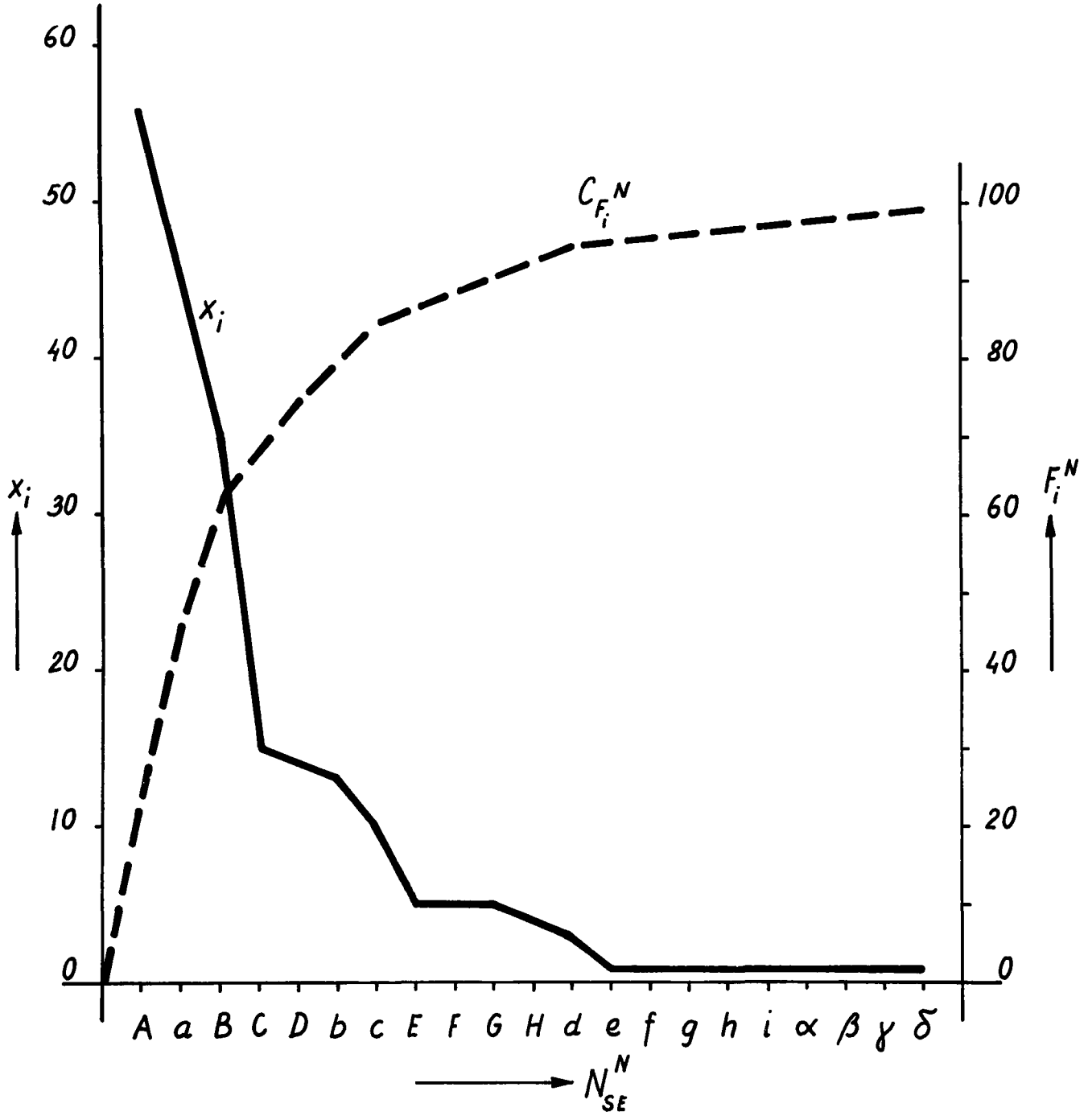

Figure 16:- Neuter Nouns: Distribution of the Relative Frequencies F_i^N

Macrostructure of N_{SE}^{N}: Results

Table 74 and Figure 16 sum up the proportions of the macrostructure for the neuter nouns SE.

X_i represents the actual number of N_{SE}^{N} with the suffixes A - δ.

F_i represents their relative proportion stated in percentage.

$C_{F_i}N$ represents F_i^N values arranged for the cumulative graph.

The arrangement of values F_i^N suggests the usual asymmetry which has been found in all sets of N_{SE}. The variability of values, however, is much smaller than in preceding sets N_{SE}^{M} and N_{SE}^{F}.

Forms with the suffixes A (-ice), a (-išˇko), B (-ce), C (-ko), D (-co), b (-ečˇko) represent 80.2% of all derivatives from neuter bases.

The proportionaly exceeding values have the forms with the following three suffixes:

A (-ice)	25.5%
a (išˇko)	20.5%
B (-ce)	16.0%

After the value for the B (-ce) suffix, the curve in Figure 16 shows a rapid decrease and then continues more or less smoothly towards the lowest value - 0.5% for the suffixes e, f, g, h, i, α, β, γ, δ.

All the tertiary suffixes are found in this lowest proportional category.

α	(-ečušk̆o)	0.5%
β	(-ašečk̆a)	0.5%
γ	(-onočk̆a)	0.5%
δ	(-onočk̆ek)	0.5%

This fact suggests very low productivity of tertiary formations from the neuter Base forms.

2. Characteristics of the Microstructure

The microstructure is characterized by the combinations of forms derived from one common Base form.

Out of the total number of neuter Base forms (136), we have found:

110 Base forms combining with one suffix,
16 Base forms combining with two suffixes,
8 Base forms combining with three suffixes,
2 Base forms combining with more than three suffixes.
136 Total.

A) Neuter Base Forms Combining with One Suffix SE

TABLE 75

N_{SE}^{N}: BASE FORMS WITH ONE PRIMARY SUFFIX

No. of Base Forms	Suffix	Examples
46	-ice	stremlenice
22	-ce	dul'ce
6	-co	dolotco
4	-ko	jabločko
4	-eco	kop'eco
2	-ka	čučelka
2	-iko	ličiko
Total 86		

TABLE 76

N_{SE}^{N}: BASE FORMS WITH ONE SECONDARY SUFFIX

No. of Base Forms	Suffix	Examples
11	-iško	jadriško
8	-ečko	imečko
4	-uško	gorjuško
1	-ejka	sossejka
Total 24		

Mono-forms: Total 110.

B) Neuter Base Forms Combining with Two Suffixes

TABLE 77

N^{N}_{SE}: BASE FORMS WITH TWO PRIMARY SUFFIXES

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Examples
1	-co/-iko	kolesco - kolesiko
1	-ko/-iko	kolečko - kol'čiko

Total 2

TABLE 78

N^{N}_{SE}: BASE FORMS WITH ONE PRIMARY AND ONE SECONDARY SUFFIX

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Examples
2	-ko/-iško	breveško - brevnyško
2	-co/-iško	vinco - viniško
2	-ce/-išk-	del'ce - deliški
2	-ice/-iško	maslice - masliško
1	-'ce/-iško	stekol'ce - stekolyško
1	-ce/-ečko	sitce - sitečko

Total 10

TABLE 79

N_{SE}^{N}: BASE FORMS WITH TWO SECONDARY SUFFIXES

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Examples
1	-očko/-uško	čadočko - čaduško
1	-očko/-iško	vederočko - vederyško
1	-uško/-iško	pjatnuško - pjatnyško
1	-ečko/-ačko	temečko - temjačko
Total 4		

Double-forms: Total 16.

C) Neuter Base Forms Combining with Three Suffixes

TABLE 80

N_{SE}^{N}: BASE FORMS WITH THREE SUFFIXES

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Base Forms Forming *the Derivates
1	-eco/-išče/-iško	bel'e
1	-ce/-co/-ašečka	derevo
1	-ko/-ce/-očko	koleno
1	-eco/-ičko/-iško	pal'to
1	-ko/-ce/-uško	pivo
1	-co/-ečko/-ečuško	slovo
1	-ko/-ce/-iško	zoloto
1	-ko/-iško/uško	serdce
Total 8		

* From three suffixes up, the derivates are not stated.

D) Neuter Base Forms Combining with Four Suffixes

TABLE 81

N^{N}_{SE}: BASE FORMS WITH FOUR SUFFIXES

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Examples
1	-ce/-išče/-iško/-uško	dno
Total 1		

E) Neuter Base Forms Combining with Five Suffixes

TABLE 82

N^{N}_{SE}: BASE FORMS WITH FIVE SUFFIXES

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Examples
1	-ka/-očka/-atko/-onoček/-onočka	dit'e
Total 1		

The total pattern of derivational possibilities formed from the neuter Base forms is represented in the following diagram (Figure 17).

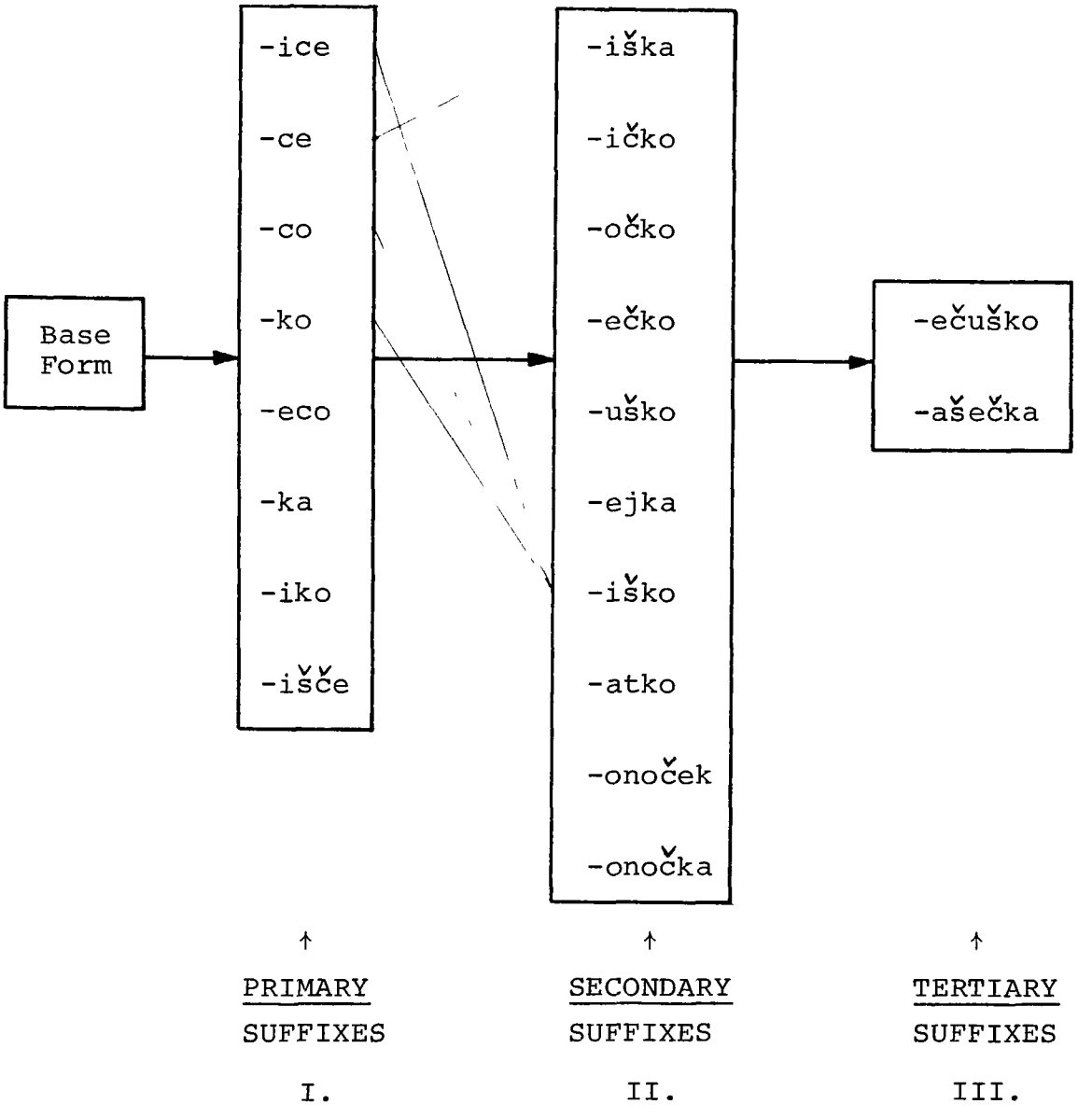

Figure 17:- The Scheme of the Total Combinations for the Neuter Base Forms

Remarks Concerning Figure 17

The connections between the suffixes of different degrees indicate that the suffixes form derivatives from a common base more than once.

The Distribution of the Relative Frequencies Q_i^N

The statistical description of the combination of types that the individual neuter Base forms are able to enter is represented in Table 83.

The symbols used have the following interpretation:

X-- a derivate formed by any primary suffix.

x-- a derivate formed by any secondary suffix.

γ-- a derivate formed by any tertiary suffix.

The table contains the actual number of Base forms belonging to a common combinatorial type C and their relative frequencies Q_i^N arranged according to their decreasing values.

The neuter Base forms show very limited combinatorial possibilities (12 types) compared to the preceding feminine Base forms (26 types) and the masculine Base forms (24 types).

The next table, Table 84, shows how the combinatorial types T^N are represented by the individual suffixes.

TABLE 83

COMBINATORIAL TYPES FOR THE NEUTER BASE FORMS

Order	Combinatorial Type T^N	X_i	Q_i^N (%)
1	X	86	63.2
2	x	24	17.6
3	Xx	10	7.3
4-5	xx	4	2.9
	XXx	4	2.9
6	XX	2	1.5
7-12	Xxx	1	0.7
	XXγ	1	0.7
	Xxγ	1	0.7
	XXxx	1	0.7
	Xxxx	1	0.7
	Xxxxx	1	0.7
Total		136	99.3 = 100.0

TABLE 84

REPRESENTATION OF COMBINATORIAL TYPES T^N

Combinatorial Type T^N	No. of Base Forms	Derivates with Primary Suffixes								Derivates with Secondary Suffixes												Derivates with Tertiary Suffixes		Number of Derivatives
		-ice	-ce	-co	-ko	-eco	-ka	-iko	-išče	-iško	-ečko	-uško	-ejka	-iško	-atko	-onoček	-onočka	-ačko	-iška	-ičko	-očko	-ečuško	-ašečka	
X	46	46																						46
X	22		22																					22
X	6			6																				6
X	4				4																			4
X	4					4																		4
X	2						2																	2
X	2							2																2
x	11									11														11
x	8										8													8
x	4											4												4
x	1												1											1
XX	1			1				1																2
XX	1				1			1																2
Xx	2				2					2														4
Xx	2			2						2														4
Xx	2		2																2					4
Xx	2	2												2										4
Xx	1		1							1														2
Xx			1								1													2
xx	1											1									1			2
xx	1													1							1			2
xx	1											1		1										2
xx	1										1							1						2
XXx	1					1			1															2
XXγ	1		1	1																			1	3
XXx	1		1		1																1			3
Xxx	1					1								1						1				3
XXx	1			1	1							1												3
Xxγ	1			1							1											1		3
XXx	1		1		1					1														3
Xxx	1				1					1		1												3
XXxx	1		1						1	1		1												4
Xxxxx	1						1								1		1	1						4

Microstructure of N_{SE}^{N}: Results

From Tables 83 and 84, it is evident that neuter, as well as masculine and feminine, nouns favor the usage of primary suffixes. In the case of neuter nouns, such formations represent 63.2%. The second most used formation is the combinatorial type x (the Base form combines with one secondary suffix only)-- (17.6%). The third prominent type is Xx which represents 7.3%.

As Table 84 shows, the most frequent suffix representing X is -ice (46 cases), type x is represented by -iško (11 cases), while type Xx has not one predominent representation.

Base forms of N_{SE}^{N} enter 12 different combinatorial types.

4. Pluralia Tantum

In the group of Pluralia Tantum we include: first, all Base forms and their derivates with suffixes SE marked as pluralia tantum in the Academic Dictionary. Second, the Base forms marked as pluralia tantum with their derivates in singular form, e.g., ščі- pluralia tantum - -ščec masculine. Third, the Base forms marked as masculines, feminines or neuter forming derivates that appear in plural form only, e.g., stix - stišonki

nerv - nerviški

ditja - detiški, etc.

There are no derivates such as stišonok, nervišek or detišek.

1. Characteristics of the Macrostructure

The set of pluralia tantum with suffixes of subjective evaluation can be characterized by the following data:

1) Number of Base forms (B^{PL}) 74
2) Number of N_{SE}^{PL} formed by the primary suffixes 61
3) Number of N_{SE}^{PL} formed by the secondary suffixes 38
4) Number of N_{SE}^{PL} formed by the tertiary suffixes 1
5) Total number of pluralia tantum SE(N_{SE}^{PL}) . 100

The proportion between the total number of N_{SE}^{PL} and the number of their Base forms, i.e., index of derivativity:

$$\frac{N_{SE}^{PL}}{B^{PL}} = \frac{100}{74} = 1.35$$

The index reflects the fact that one Base form forms in average 1.35 derivates with suffixes SE.

A) Pluralia Tantum (N_{SE}^{PL}) with Primary Suffixes

Primary suffixes of N_{SE}^{PL} are based on one consonant (except two variations of -k- and -šč- consonantal bases: -čiki- and -ništč-).

TABLE 85

N_{SE}^{PL}: STRUCTURE OF PRIMARY SUFFIXES

Consonantal Base	Vowels -i-	-e-	-ø-
-k	-iki		-ki
-c-		-ec	-c-
-šč-	-išči		
-š-	-iši		
-č-k-	-čiki		
-n-šč-	-nišči		

The set of N_{SE}^{PL} with primary suffixes can be characterized by the following data.

TABLE 86

N_{SE}^{PL} WITH PRIMARY SUFFIXES

a	X_i	F_i^{PL} (%)	$C_{F_i}^{PL}$
-ki	33	56.9	56.9
-iki	8	13.8	70.7
-išči	4	6.9	77.6
-c-	4	6.9	84.5
-čiki	4	6.9	91.4
-ec	3	5.2	96.6
-iši	1	1.7	98.3
-nišč-	1	1.7	100.0
Total	58	100.0	

a = primary suffixes.

X_i = the number of N_{SE}^{PL} with a suffix a.

$F_i^{PL}(\%)$ = percentual proportions of values X_i.

$$F_i^{PL} = \frac{X_i}{\sum_{i=1}^{8} X_i} \cdot 100$$

$C_{F_i}^{PL}$ = values F_i^{PL} arranged for cumulative graph.

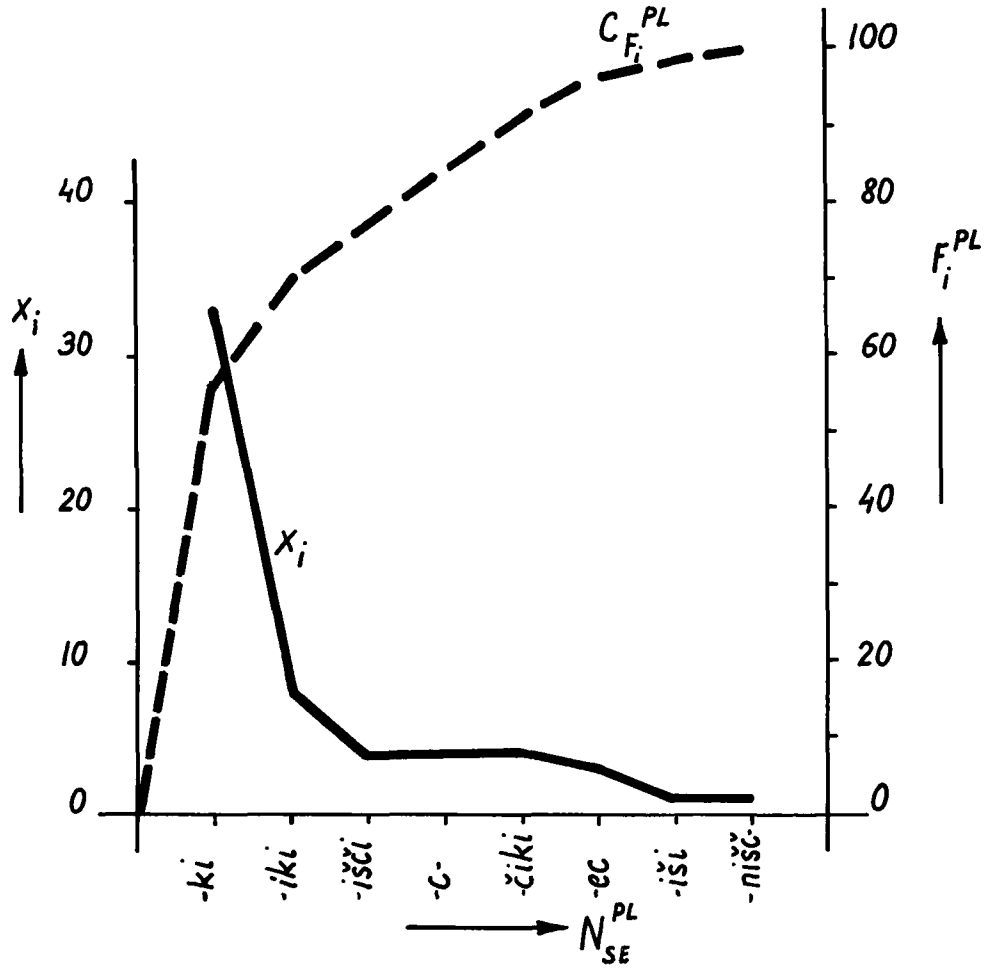

Figure 18:- Pluralia Tantum: Primary Suffixes

Examples of Nouns for Each Suffix

-ki:	kastanety	-	kastanetki
	nožnicy	-	nožnička
-iki:	klešči	-	kleščiki
	trusy	-	trusiki
-išči:	glaza	-	glazišči
	den'gi	-	den'gišči
-c-:	kruževa	-	kruževca
	cernila	-	cernilca
-ec:	šči	-	ščec
	drožži	-	drožžec
-čiki:	kal'sony	-	kal'sončiki
	pantalony	-	pantalončiki
-iši:	usy	-	usiši
-nišč-:	sapogi	-	sapožnišči

The relations between the primary suffixes can be further characterized according to their ability to combine with a Base form.

a) The Mono-formations--the Base form takes one primary suffix only.

TABLE 87

N_{SE}^{PL}: MONO-FORMATIONS WITH PRIMARY SUFFIXES

Suffix	Examples	X_i
-ki	zapjatočki	35
-iki	pejsiki	7
-išči	glazišči	3
-ec	drovec (drova)	3
-c-	kruževca	2
-čiki	sarovarčiki	2
Total		52

b) The Double-formations--the Base form takes two primary suffixes.

TABLE 88

N_{SE}^{PL}: DOUBLE-FORMATIONS WITH PRIMARY SUFFIXES

Suffix	Examples			X_i
-iki/-iši	usyki	-	usyši	1
-išči/-nišči	sapožišči	-	sapožnišči	1
-ki/-ci	gusel'ki	-	gusel'cy	1
Total				3

c) Triple-formations--the Base form takes three primary suffixes.

TABLE 89

N^{PL}_{SE}: TRIPLE-FORMATIONS WITH PRIMARY SUFFIXES

Suffix	Examples	X_i
-c-/-čiki/-ki	pantaloncy - pantalončiki - pantaloški	1
Total		1

B) Pluralia Tantum (N^{PL}_{SE}) with Secondary Suffixes

Secondary suffixes of N^{PL}_{SE} are based on two to three consonants with the following vocalic variations.

TABLE 90

N^{PL}_{SE}: STRUCTURE OF SECONDARY SUFFIXES

Consonantal Base	Vowels -i-	-e-	-o-	-u-
-š-k-	-iški	-eški		-uški
-n'-k-		-en'ki	-on'ki	
-č-k-		-ečki	-očki	
-n-k-			-onki	
(-n'-š-k-)	-niški			

Quantitative relations between the secondary suffixes of N_{SE}^{PL} are as follows.

TABLE 91

N_{SE}^{PL} WITH SECONDARY SUFFIXES

a	X_i	F_i^{PL} (%)	$C_{F_i}^{PL}$
-iški	22	55.0	55.0
-očki	5	12.5	67.5
-onki	5	12.5	80.0
-on'ki	3	7.5	87.5
-uški	1	2.5	90.0
-en'ki	1	2.5	92.5
-ečki	1	2.5	95.0
-eški	1	2.5	97.5
-niški	1	2.5	100.0
Total	40	100.0	

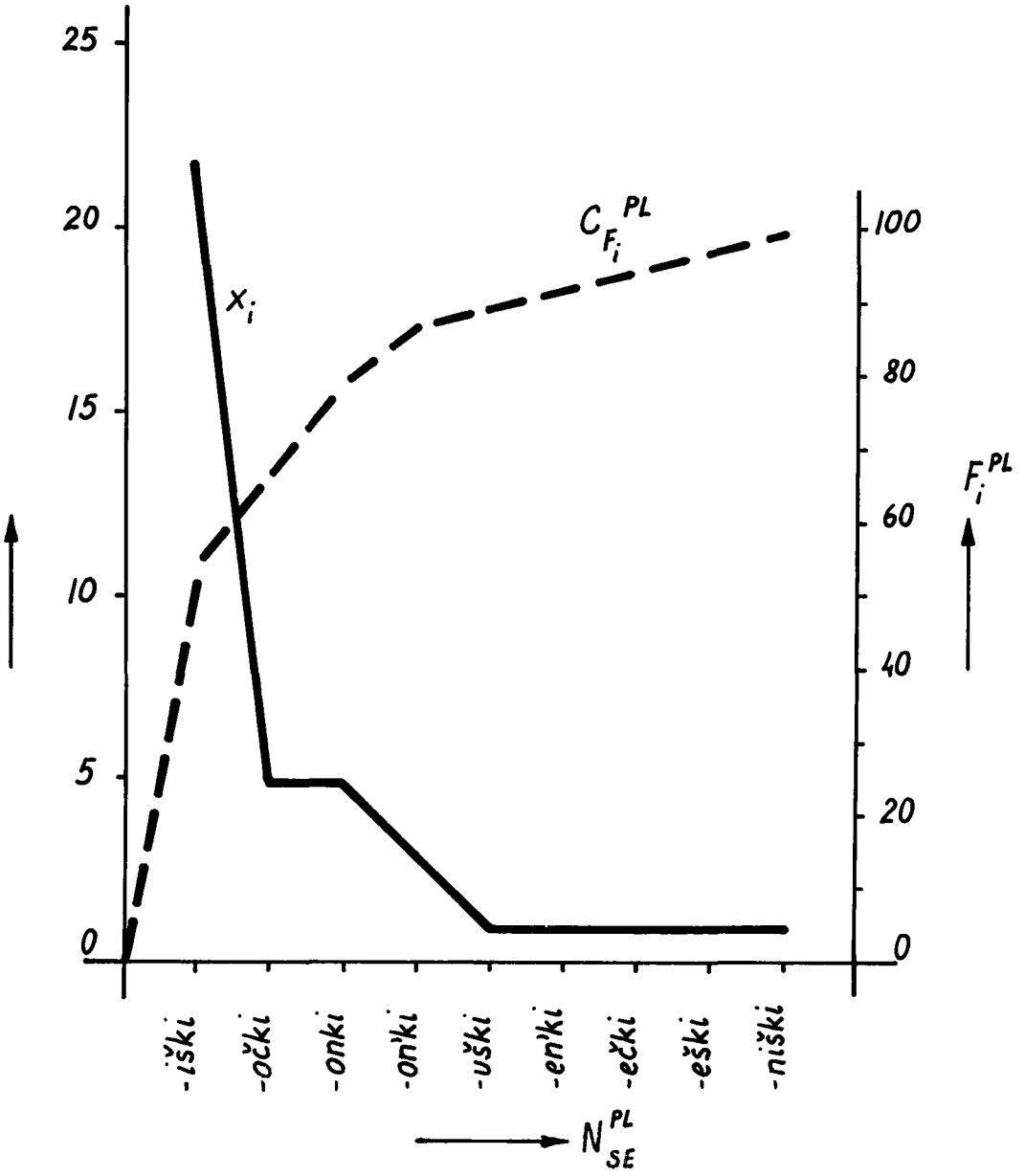

Figure 19:- Pluralia Tantum: Secondary Suffixes

Examples of Nouns Formed by Secondary Suffixes

-iški:	portki	-	portiški
	sani	-	saniški
-očki:	tiski	-	tisočki
	sani	-	sanočki
-onki:	zuby	-	zubenki
	sapogi	-	sapožonki
-on'ki:	glaza	-	glazon'ki
-uški:	deti	-	detuški
-en'ki:	oči	-	očen'ki
-ečki:	seni	-	senečki
-eški:	drova	-	droveški
-niški:	sapogi	-	sapožniški

a) The Mono-formations--the Base form takes one secondary suffix only.

TABLE 92

N_{SE}^{PL}: MONO-FORMATIONS WITH SECONDARY SUFFIXES

Suffixes	Examples	X_i
-iški	den'žiški	17
-očki	tisočki	3
-onki	glazenki	3
-on'ki	glazon'ki	1
-uški	detuški	1
-en'ki	očen'ki	1
-ečki	senečki	1
Total		27

b) The Double-formations--the Base form takes two secondary suffixes.

TABLE 93

N_{SE}^{PL}: DOUBLE-FORMATIONS WITH SECONDARY SUFFIXES

Suffixes	Examples			X_i
-iški/-očki	saniški	-	sanočki	1
-iški/-eški	droviški	-	doveški	1
-iški/-niški	sapožiški	-	sapožniški	1
-onki/-on'ki	glazenki	-	glazen'ki (glazon'ki)	1
Total				4

c) The Triple-formations--the Base form takes three secondary suffixes.

TABLE 94

N_{SE}^{PL}: TRIPLE-FORMATIONS WITH SECONDARY SUFFIXES

Suffixes	Examples	X_i
-očki/-iški/-uški	detočki - detiški - detuški	1
Total		1

Comments:

Secondary derivatives of pluralia tantum are formed by nine secondary suffixes.

The most productive suffix -išk̆o covers 55.0% of all cases. The next place is taken by the suffixes -očki and -onki with 12.5% each.

The suffix -išk̆o usually carries a negative emotional connotation, as distinct from the suffix -očki which, besides diminutiveness, indicates tenderness. This fact is reflected in the ability of -išk̆o to yield several multi-formations.

Pluralia Tantum (N_{SE}^{PL}) with Tertiary Suffixes

There is only one tertiary suffix which appears in the set of N_{SE}^{PL}.

TABLE 95

N_{SE}^{PL}: STRUCTURE OF TERTIARY SUFFIXES

Consonantal Base	Vowels -o-o-
n-č-k	-onočki

TABLE 96

N_{SE}^{PL} WITH TERTIARY SUFFIXES

a	X_i	F_i^{PL} (%)	C_{F_i} PL
-onočki	1	100.0	100.0
Total	1	100.0	

Example: glaza - glazonočki

(The graph is not included for obvious reasons.)

Distribution of the Relative Frequencies F_i^{PL}

Any derivatory suffix can be considered a variable of the population N_{SE}^{PL}.

The variable a is represented by the following suffixes:

Primary Suffixes:	-ki	in the following Table 97 marked as	A
	-iki	marked as	B
	-išči	marked as	C
	-c-	marked as	D
	-ec-	marked as	E
	-čiki	marked as	F
	-iši	marked as	G
	-nišči	marked as	H
Secondary Suffixes:			
	-iški	marked as	a
	-očki	marked as	b
	-onki	marked as	c
	-on'ki	marked as	d
	-uški	marked as	e
	-en'ki	marked as	f
	-ečki	marked as	g
	-oški	marked as	h
	-niški	marked as	i
Tertiary Suffixes:	-onočki	marked as	∝

The following Table 97 shows the resulting data characterizing the macrostructure of N_{SE}^{PL}.

TABLE 97

N_{SE}^{PL}: DISTRIBUTION OF THE RELATIVE FREQUENCIES F_i^{PL}

a	A	a	B	b	C	D	c	E	F	d	e	G	H	f	g	h	i	∝	Σ
X_i	37	21	8	5	4	4	4	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100
F_i^{PL}	37.0	21.0	8.0	5.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	100%
$C_{F_i}^{PL}$	37.0	58.0	66.0	71.0	75.0	79.0	83.0	86.0	89.0	91.0	93.0	94.0	95.0	96.0	97.0	98.0	99.0	100.0	

A - M = N_{SE}^{PL} with primary suffixes.

a - i = N_{SE}^{PL} with secondary suffixes.

∝ = N_{SE}^{PL} with tertiary suffixes.

X_i = the number of N_{SE}^{PL} with a suffix a.

$$F_i^{PL} = \frac{X_i}{\sum_{i=1}^{18} X_i} \cdot 100$$

$C_{F_i}^{PL}$ = values of F_i^{PL} arranged for cumulative graph.

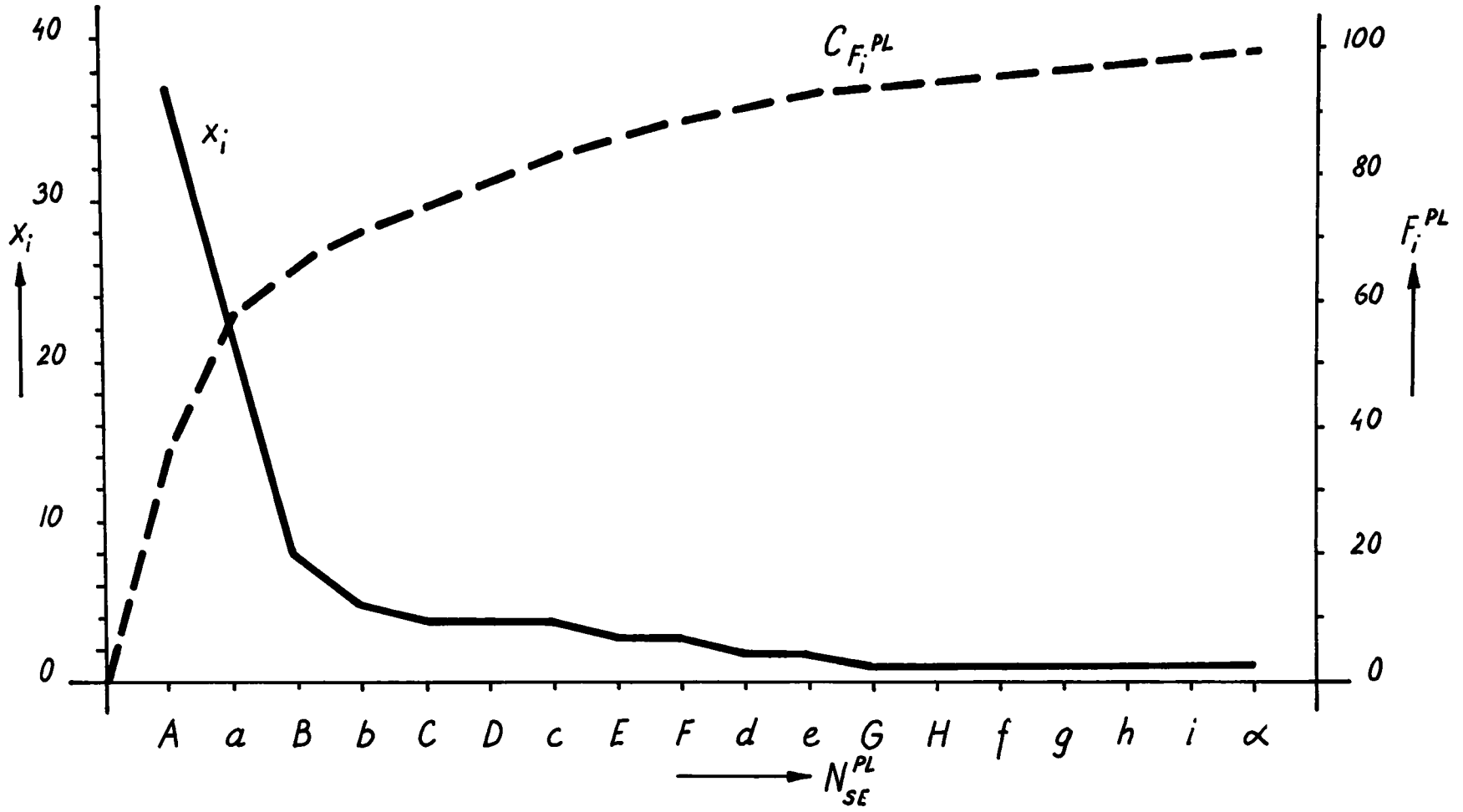

Figure 20:- Pluralia Tantum: Distribution of the Relative Frequencies F_i^{PL}

Macrostructure of N_{SE}^{PL}: Results

N_{SE}^{PL} is numerically a very weak group (100 cases). This is reflected also in its variety of suffixes, i.e. 18 only, as compared to 41 suffixes of N_{SE}^{M} and 38 suffixes of N_{SE}^{F}.

As before, the set N_{SE}^{PL} manifests asymmetrical distribution (see Figure 19).

The suffixes A (-ki) and a (-iški) cover 58% of all cases, the rest of the 16 suffixes cover the remaining 42%.

Tertiary suffixes, as usual, represent a very small fragment of all derivatory means (1% only).

2. Characteristics of the Microstructure

A) Puralia Tantum Base Forms Combining with One Suffix SE

TABLE 98

N_{SE}^{PL}: BASE FORMS WITH ONE PRIMARY SUFFIX

No. of Base Forms	Suffix	Examples
26	-ki	grabliki
5	-iki	trusiki
2	-ca	černil'ca
2	-ec	drožec
2	-išči	glazišči
2	-čiki	kal'sončiki
Total 39		

TABLE 99

N_{SE}^{PL}: BASE FORMS WITH ONE SECONDARY SUFFIX

No. of Base Forms	Suffix	Examples
13	-iški	štaniški
3	-očki	vesočki
2	-on'ki	
2	-onki	stišonki
1	-en'ki	ocen'ki
1	-ečki	senečki
Total 22		

Mono-forms: Total 61.

B) Pluralia Tantum Base Forms Combining with Two Suffixes

TABLE 100

N_{SE}^{PL}: BASE FORMS WITH TWO SUFFIXES

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Examples
2	-ki/-iški	portki - den'gi
2	-iki/-iški	trusy - časy
1	-ki/-ci	gusli
1	-čiki/-iški	šarovary
Total 6		

C) Pluralia Tantum Base Forms Combining with Three Suffixes

TABLE 101

N_{SE}^{PL}: BASE FORMS WITH THREE SUFFIXES

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Examples
1	-ki/-ci/-čiki	pantalony
1	-ec/-eški/-iški	drova
1	-iki/-iši/-onki	usy
1	-onki/-on'ki/-onočki	glaza
Total 4		

D) Pluralia Tantum Base Forms Combining with Four Suffixes

TABLE 102

N_{SE}^{PL}: BASE FORMS WITH FOUR SUFFIXES

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Examples
1	-ki/-išči/-iški/-očki	sani
1	-ki/-očki/-iški/-uški	deti
Total 2		

E) Pluralia Tantum Base Forms Combining with Five Suffixes

Do not occur.

F) Pluralia Tantun Base Forms Combining with Six Suffixes

TABLE 103

N_{SE}^{PL}: BASE FORMS WITH SIX SUFFIXES

No. of Base Forms	Suffixes	Examples
1	-ki/-iščči/-niščči/-onki/-iški/-niški	sapogi
Total 1		

The total pattern of derivatives with suffixes SE that a Base form can form is represented in the following diagram.

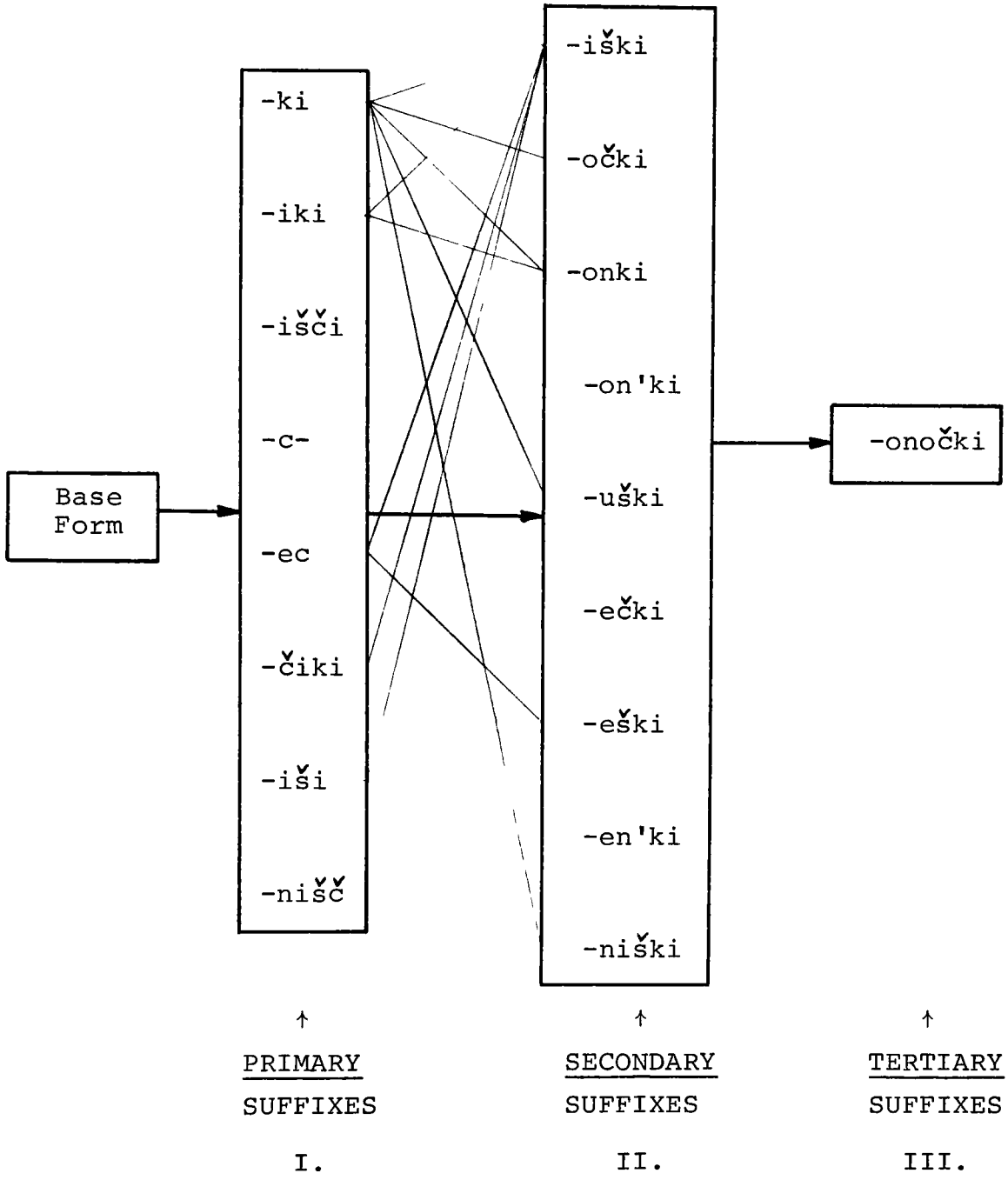

Figure 21:- The Scheme of the Total Combinations for the Pluralia Tantum Base Forms

Connections between the forms with primary, secondary and tertiary suffixes mark the compatibility of derivates of different degrees (primary, secondary, tertiary) formed from one common Base form.

The Distribution of Relative Frequencies Q_i^{PL}

The statistical description of the combinatorial types which the individual Base forms belong to is represented in Table 104.

The symbols used have the following interpretation:

X-- a derivate with any primary suffix

x-- a derivate with any secondary suffix

γ-- a derivate with any tertiary suffix

Table 104 contains the actual number of Base forms belonging to a common combinatorial type T^{PL} and their relative frequencies Q_i^{PL} arranged according to their decreasing values.

TABLE 104

COMBINATORIAL TYPES FOR THE
PLURALIA TANTUM BASE FORMS

Order	Combinatorial Type T^{PL}	X_i	Q_i^{PL} (%)
1	X	37	50.0
2	x	24	32.4
3	Xx	4	5.4
4	XX	2	2.7
5-11	XXX	1	1.4
	XXx	1	1.4
	Xxx	1	1.4
	xxγ	1	1.4
	XXxx	1	1.4
	Xxxx	1	1.4
	XXXxxx	1	1.4
Total		74	100.3

The next table (Table 105) shows how the combinatorial types T^{PL} are represented by the individual suffixes.

TABLE 105

REPRESENTATION OF COMBINATORIAL TYPES T^{PL}

Combinatorial Type T^{PL}	No. of Base Forms	Derivates with Primary Suffixes								Derivates with Secondary Suffixes									Derivates with Tertiary Suffixes	Number of Derivatives
		-ki	-iki	-išči	-c-	-ec-	-čiki	-iši	-ničč-	-iški	-očki	-onki	-on'ki	-uški	-ečki	-eški	-en'ki	-niški	-onočki	
X	26	26																		26
X	5		5																	5
X	2				2															2
X	2					2														2
X	2			2																2
X	2						2													2
x	13									13										13
x	3										3									3
x	2											2								2
x	2												2							2
x	1																1			1
x	1														1					1
XX	1	1		1																2
Xx	2	2								2										4
Xx	2		2							2										4
Xx	1						1			1										2
XXX	1	1		1			1													3
Xxx	1					1				1						1				3
XXx	1		1					1				1								3
xxγ	1											1	1						1	3
XXxx	1	1		1						1	1									4
Xxxx	1	1								1	1			1						4
XXXxxx	1	1		1					1	1		1						1		6

Microstructure of N_{SE}^{PL}: Results

The microstructure of pluralia tantum shows structural features similar to the sets of masculines and feminines in spite of the limited number of pluralia tantum Base forms.

There are 74 Base forms which form derivates of 11 combinatorial types. As in previous cases, type X is the most productive (50.0%). Second comes type x (32.4%). The rest of the types constitute only fragments of all formations: type Xx (5.4%), type XX (2.7%), etc.

A Base form can take up to six different suffixes of the type XXXxxx.

The Tertiary suffix appears only once in type xxγ, of the order 5-11.

CHAPTER IV

SEMANTIC RELATIONS OF THE NOUNS WITH SUFFIXES OF SUBJECTIVE EVALUATION

1. Evaluation of the Available Lexical Data

In Chapter III, I concentrated on the formal properties of suffixes SE only, no attention being paid to the type of expressive connotation from the qualitative viewpoint. In this way suffixes with a basically diminutive connotation were treated together with the augmentative ones, and the nouns with a basically positive emotional connotation were treated together with the negative connotated nouns as long as their suffixes belonged to the same group according to their degree: primary, secondary or tertiary.

Since the "Academic Dictionary" offers classification of nouns according to their expressive connotation and this information was included in the codes, we can now examine whether there is any special relationship between the individual suffixes SE and their expressive connotation.

In older Russian lexicographical works there was a tradition of recognizing only three types of noun forms with suffixes SE:

a) umalitel'nye (diminutives)

b) privetstvennye (nouns with friendly, pleasant connotation)

c) umalitel'nye i privetstvennye (combination of a and b).

This classification was mentioned already in Slovar'akademii Rossijskoj[1] (1789).

The Tol'kovyj slovar' zhivago velikorusskogo iazyka[2] of V. I. Dal' also recognizes:

a) umalitel'nye (diminutives)

b) laskatel'nye (nouns expressing tenderness)

c) umalitel'nye i laskatel'nye (combination of a and b)

A. X. Vostokov[3] mentions the following types:

a) uveličitel'nye (augmentatives)

b) smjagčitel'nye (nouns with euphemistic connotation)

c) laskatel'nye (nouns expressing tenderness)

d) uničižitel'nye (nouns expressing disparagement and belonging to colloquial speech)

---

[1] Slovar'akademii Rossijskoj, vol 1-VI (St. Petersburg: 1789).

[2] V. I. Dal', ed., Tol'kovyi slovar' zhivago velikorusskogo iazyka, vol I-IV (Moscow: 1863-1866).

[3] A. X. Vostokov, Russkaja grammatika 1 (St. Petersburg: 1874), p. 11, Pliamovataia, "O grammaticheskoi prirode," p. 5.

e) umen'šitel'nye (diminutives in objective sense, which are used in "serious speech.")

F. I. Buslaev[4] stresses that there are two types of nouns: one transmits the notion of a size of an object, the other transmits the relation of a speaker to the object of discourse and a listener.

A. A. Potebnja[5] also pointed out the necessity of distinguishing between objective diminutiveness or augmentativeness from the connotation of tenderness, which expresses the personal relation of a speaker to a thing.

S. S. Pliamovataia[6] proves that certain types of diminutives, e.g. with suffixes -ok, -k-a, -k-o, function as objective diminutives in scientific technical style, e.g.:

> Vmeste s gazami iz gorloviny vybrasʼvajutsia kapel'ki metalla v vide iskr.[7]

> Eti mesta ovraga samye opasnye. Zdes doždevoj ručeek, tekuščij po ložbinke, obrazuet vodopadik . . .[8]

---

[4]F. I. Buslajev, Istoricheskaia grammatika (Moscow: 1863), p. 196, Pliamovataia, "O grammaticheskoi prirode," p.5.

[5]Potebnia, Iz zapisok, p. 92, Pliamovataia, "O grammaticheskoi prirode," p. 5.

[6]Pliamovataia, "O grammaticheskoi prirode," p. 5.

[7]Saxov, Metallurgiia (1948), p. 52.

[8]V. A. Obruchev, Osnovy geologii (Moscow: 1947), p. 13.

The same function is performed where the authors preserve a strictly objective narrative:

> Napravo v uglu stojala krasennaja derevjannaja kadka s vodoj, a potom celyj arsenal sundukov, jaščikov, jaščičkov . . .[9]

> Teleginu bylo prikazano zaujat' so svojimi oxotnikami lesok, sinevšij na gorke . . .[10]

In other stylistic levels, such as colloquial, oratorial and poetic, the nouns tend to lose the objective connotation of size and instead obtain different shades of expressiveness (umen'šitel'no-laskatel'nye, prenebrežitel'nye etc.).

There is a different range of semantic possibilities. For instance motorčik, vederko, pjatnyško, kamušek, etc. have still preserved objective diminutiveness.

In other cases, either the expressivity displaces objective diminutiveness, e.g. berezon'ka, zimuška or is indissolubly bound to it, e.g., domiško, rybeška, buketec, lavčonka, etc. Such expressions do not occur in a neutral context.

According to A. A. Dement'ev[11] a Russian speaker expresses objective meaning of size only by a descriptive

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[9] D. N. Mamin-Sibiriak, V khudykh dushakh, chap. 3.

[10] A. N. Tolstoi, Khozhdenie po mukam vol 1, chap 43.

[11] Dement'ev, "Umen'shitel'nye," p. 6.

phrase such as malen'kij stol, nebol'šoj učastok zemli, etc. Such phrases, however are not always stylistically acceptable, e.g., malen'kaja doska cannot be used in all contexts, since doščečka is possible.

The epithet malen'kij or nebol'šoj cannot have the same meaning as the diminutive or augmentative suffix, e.g.

> . . . Kovš sostojit iz 10-20 malen'kix stakančikov, nasazennyx čerez 1 cm na vertikal'nuju os' . . .[12]

> . . . Čerez 1-2 dnja razvivaetsja na meste ukazannogo infil'trata nebol'šoj sine-bagrovyj puzyrek . . .[13]

These examples illustrate the specific mutual influence of the stem and the suffix.

When there is a need to mark the expressive connotation of a noun in an absolute sense, i.e. attach it to an isolated word unit, as happens in a dictionary, the authors run into many difficulties and naturally find themselves under heavy criticism. However, even if we take into consideration that the exact marking of nouns with suffixes SE is extremely difficult, it is still necessary to reproach the authors of the "Academic Dictionary" for not having done their analysis consistently.

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[12] V. D. Bykov, Gidrometriia (1949), p. 69.

[13] Gesse, Girgolav,Shaak, Obshchaia khirurgiia (Moscow: 1928), p. 10.

Several important connotations are completely missing from their repertoire, compared to all possible shades of meaning, discussed in Chapter I.

First, ironical connotation is not recognized with forms such as idejka, ideal'čik. Both nouns are characterized as umen'šitel'no-prenebrežitel'nye (smallness - condescension) according to our opinion wrongly, because the notion of size can be hardly connected with abstract nouns.

A second problem arises in connection with the suffixal forms, denoting periods of time, or an indication of measure and weight, e.g. godik, časik, minutka, etc. There is certainly a reason for expressing disagreement with the traditional way of marking these words as umen'šitel'nye (diminutive) or umen'šitel'no-laskatel'nye (diminutive - tenderness), since the above mentioned forms do not indicate any notion connected with the size of volume of an object, but with the tendency towards emotional expression.

The words čajek, vodička, marked as umen'šitel'no-laskatel'nye (diminutive - tenderness) are also not diminutives in the exact sense, and should be classified, if not in a special group, then at least as laskatel'nye (tenderness) only, or in the case of negative connotation as uničižitel'nye (disparagement) *or even* prenebrežitel'nye (condescension).[14]

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[14]M. Hayekova, "Ešte o formálných zdrobneninách - expresívach," in Slovenská reč (Slovens: 1957), pp. 359-63, No. 12 (hereafter cited as Hayekova, "Ešte o formálnych zdrobneninách.")

The group of the derivates mentioned in Chapter I, (p. 27) as forms denoting lesser or more intensive degrees of an effect expressed by the Base form, e.g. veterok, morozec, are marked in the "Academic Dictionary" as umen'šitel'nye (diminutives). They also do not express any changes in volume or size.

Hypocoristics (Chapter I, p. 27), e.g. babulja are usually marked as umen'šitel'no-laskatel'nye (diminutive - tenderness) together with formations such as berezon'ka, borodušk̆a, where the notion of size could be taken into consideration besides the emotional overtone undoubtedly present.

By the three-fold marking such as "umen'.-lask.-prenebr." the authors of the "Academic Dictionary" characterize the contextual possibilities of the meaning of the diminutive. This can be very useful in further research. However, the problem is their inconsistency in marking and in the possibility of several interpretations of the three-fold marker.

In different contexts, the derivate marked as "umen'.-lask.-prenebr. (unič.)" could have the following connotation:

1. Context a) umen'.
   Context b) lask.
   Context c) prenebr. (unič.)

2. Context a) umen'.-lask.

   Context b) prenebr. (unič.)

3. Context a) umen'.-prenebr. (unič.)

   Context b) lask.

I found only fifteen derivates marked with the three-fold marker in my material:

Code 9 Umen'.-lask.-prenebr.

ženix	ženišok
narod	narodec
Vanja	Van'ka

Code 11 Umen'.-lask.-unič.

golos	golosiško
graf	grafčik
mužčina	mužčinka
muzykant	muzykantik
pisar'	pisarek
reka	rečuška
riza	rizka
tema	temka
um	umok
frant	frantik
xaltura	xalturka
čelovek	čeloveček

The situation is apparently not any different in other dictionaries checked by M. Hayekova[15] for several expressions.

Hayekova compared Tolkovyj slovar' russ. iazyka edited by D. N. Ushakov[16] and Slovar' russ. iazyka edited by S. I. Ozhegov[17] (second edition) and the "Academic Dictionary." Within each of the dictionaries the classification of nouns according to their expressive function was found to be inconsistently presented.

See the following examples:

Expression	Tolkovyj slovar' D. N. Ushakov	Slovar' russ. iaz. S. I. Ozhegov	"Academic Dictionary"
bratec	laskatel'.	umen'šitel'.	umen'š.-lask.
bratiška	umen'š.	laskatel'.	umen'š.-lask.

Another example shows the classification of several words belonging to similar semantic classes:

D. N. Ushakov's Dictionary

basmačok	-umen'.	but	kablučok	-umen'.-lask.
domik	-umen'.	but	funtik	-umen'.-lask.
carek	-umen'.-unič.	but	knjazek	-umen'.-lask.
moločko	-umen'.-lask.	but	vodička	-lask.

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[15] M. Hayekova, Ešte o formálny'ch zdrobneninách, p. 361.

[16] D. N. Ushakov, ed. Tolkovyj slovar' russ. iazyka (Moscow: 1935-40).

[17] S. I. Ozhegov, ed. Slovar' russ. iazyka (Moscow: 1952).

S. I.Ozhegov's Dictionary

rotik, rotok	-umen'.	but	zubok	-umen'.-lask.
ručeek	-umen'.	but	lužok	-umen'.-lask.
godik, časik	-umen'.	but	minutka	-umen'.-lask.
večerok	-umen'.	but	denek	-lask.

The inconsistencies in marking and the difficulty of any exact classification eo ipso kept me from mentioning even the obvious differences during the analysis, such as those between the objective diminutive and objective augmentative. However, it was becoming obvious that in spite of the traditional lexicographical errors, the marking in the "Academic Dictionary" shows that certain suffixes tend to be more or less specialized in certain expressive functions. Other suffixes showed the possibility of expressing two functions, depending on the Base form they had joined.

2. Processing of the Material

The set of matrixes, printed out by the computer according to the request showed, besides other relations, proportions depending on two variables: Expressive connotation and Type of suffix.

The codes marking Expressive connotation were rearranged into four groups:

1) Neutral emotional connotation:

a) Objective indication of small size (Umen'šitel'nye). . . . . Code 1

b) Objective indication of large size

(Uveličitel'nye) . . . . . Code 8

2) Positive emotional connotation

a) Endearment

(laskatel'nye) . . . . . Code 2

b) Diminutiveness and endearment

(Umen'šitel'.-laskatel'.) . . . . Code 3

3) Negative emotional connotation

a) Disparagement

(Uničižitel'nye) . . . . . Code 4

b) Condescension

(Prenebrežitel'nye) . . . . . Code 5

c) Disparagement and condescension

(Uničižitel'.-prenebrežitel'nye) Code 6

d) Diminutiveness and condescension

(Umen'šitel'.-prenebrežitel'nye) Code 7

e) Diminutiveness and disparagement

(Umen'šitel'.-uničižitel'nye) . . Code 10

f) Augmentativeness and disparagement

(Uveličitel'no-uničižitel'nye) . Code 13

4) Positive and negative emotional connotation

a) Diminutiveness and endearment and condescension

(Umen'šitel'no-laskatel'no-prenebrežitel'nye) . . . . . Code 9

b) Diminutiveness and endearment and disparagement (Umen'šitel'no-laskatel'no-uničižitel'nye) . . . . . Code 11

c) Endearment and disparagement (Laskatel'no-uničižitel'nye) . . . Code 12.

Examples of Nouns for Each Coded Expressive Connotation

Code 1	železka, zabotka, kajutka, obrazok
2	djaden'ka, eločka, kalinuška, nočuška
3	ežik, žerebčik, kal'sončiki, nogotok
4	beliško, gnil'ca, den'žiški, kvartirenka
5	akteriška, boltuniška, zavodiško
6	žit'iško, intelligentik
7	izdanice, kroška, nastroenice
8	ambarišče, volčišče, morozišče
9	ženišok, narodec
10	životiško, zamčiško, kabačiško
11	mužčinka, muzykantik, pisarek
12	paravoziško, pisareček, dedka
13	papanja, kozlišče, kupčina

The next table, Table 106, shows the proportions among suffixes with different connotations depending on adjustment. Since the suffixed form with double contextual possibilities (coded as 9, 11, 12) belong to both groups, positive and negative, their occurrence was added to two

TABLE 106

CONTEXTUAL POSSIBILITIES OF SUFFIXES SE

1	2	3	Usage--4	Usage--5	Usage--6	7	8		
Order	Code of the Suffix	Suffix	Suffixes with Positive Connotation	Suffixes with Negative Connotation	Suffixes with Neutral Connotation	Total	Percentage of the Maximal Value Pos.	Neg.	Neutral
1	53	-k-	806	26	265	1097	73.4		
2	34	-ok-	271	10	113	394	68.8		
3	17	-ik-	227	16	78	321	70.7		
4	26	-išk-	29	234	8	271		86.3	
5	55	-čik-	148	11	66	225	65.8		
6	8	-ek-	170	6	31	207	82.1		
7	40	-ečk-	143	-	15	158	90.5		
8	50	-ušk-	130	8	7	145	89.7		
9	29	-išč-	-	2	135	137			98.5
10	11	-ec-	71	5	48	124	57.3		
11	39	-eček-	80	-	11	91	87.9		
12	21	-ic-	53	10	17	80	66.3		
13	54	-c-	42	4	23	69	60.9		
14	35	-onk-	12	45	-	57		78.9	
15	13	-ečk-	49	-	5	54	90.7		
16	9	-en'k-	27	-	-	27	100.0		
17	37	-onoček-	12	1	7	20	60.0		
18	41	-on'k-	15	1	-	16	93.8		
19	36	-onok-	9	3	-	12	75.0		
20	18	-ink-	7	-	5	12	58.3		
21	28	-in-	-	2	9	11			81.8
22	24	-ičk-	7	1	2	10	70.0		

columns in Table 106. This is to say that column 4, containing suffixes with positive connotation, includes the values for the codes 2, 3, and 9, 11, 12. Column 5, containing suffixes with negative connotation, includes values for the codes 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 13 and 9, 11, 12 as well.

Column 7, marked as "Total" does not therefore indicate the actual number of occurrences of the suffix, but the total of contextual possibilities.

The suffixes with one to nine occurrences only were not included in Table 106.

3. Semantic Relations of the Nouns SE: Results

Figure 22 is based on the data found in Table 106, which contains the data concerning the contextual possibilities of suffixes SE with regard to their possible emotional connotations. Only twenty-two of the most frequent suffixes were chosen to be represented.

Figure 22 shows that the suffixes differ in their expressive function in several ways: First, there are cases when the suffix could carry neutral, positive and negative connotations, e.g. -ek-, -ic-, and others. Other suffixes, e.g. -očk-, -onk-, etc., show the possibility of two connotations while suffix -en'k- carries a positive connotation only.

Second, the graph shows the proportions. For example, there is a preponderation of the usage with one

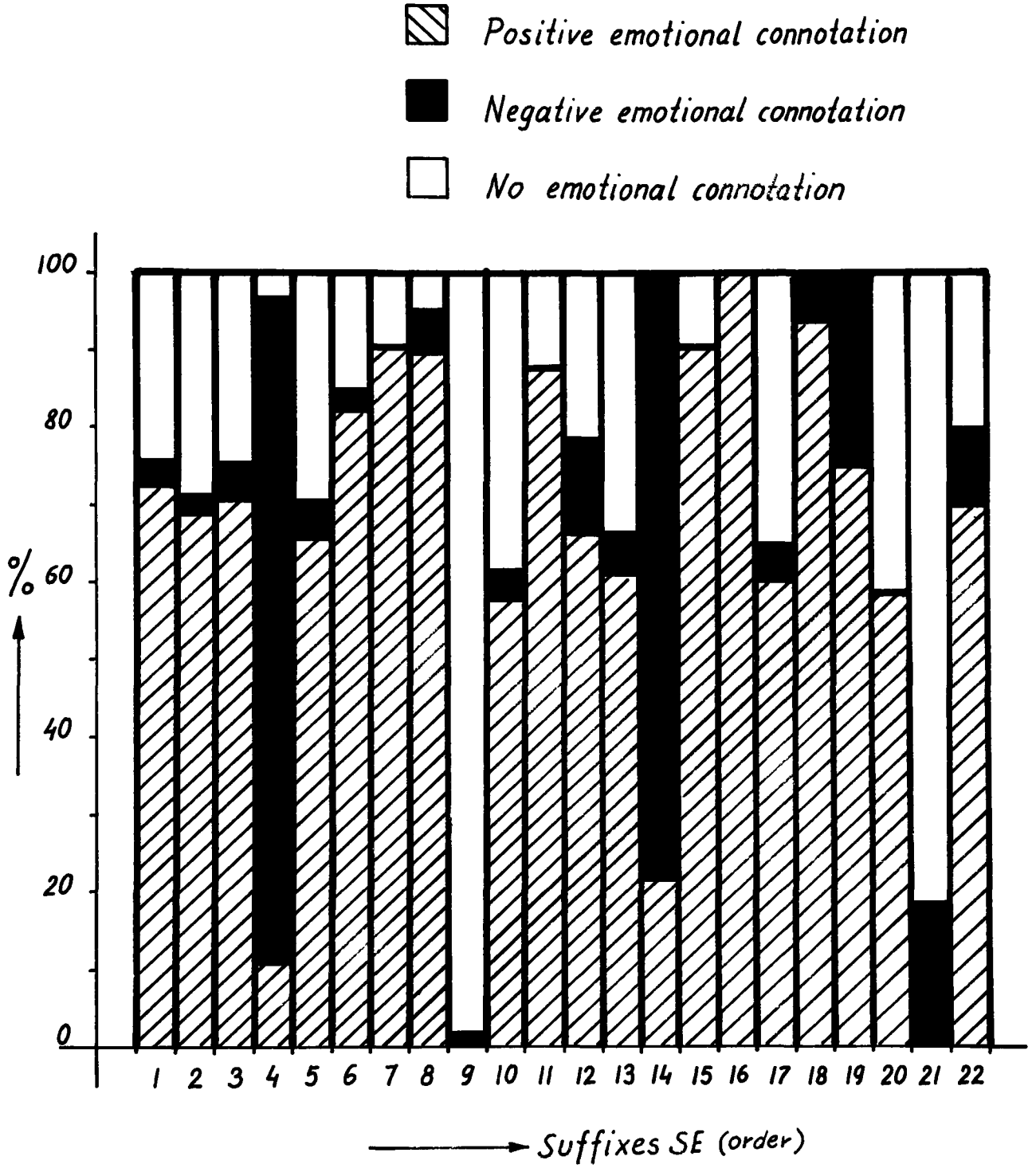

Figure 22:- Contextual Possibilities of Suffixes SE

connotation only, e.g. suffix -iščˇ-. In the other cases the suffixes are able to appear as neutral and also with an emotional connotation, represented by a similar number of forms, e.g. -ink-, -onoček-, etc.

In short, Table 106 and Figure 22 prove that we are dealing with basically two types of suffixes:

a) Mono-functional--carrying one connotation only,

and

b) Multi-functional--carrying from two to three types of connotation.

In order to establish whether a suffix belongs to the group a or b, the percentage of its maximal occurrence with the particular connotation was counted with regard to the total number of contextual possibilities. (See Table 106, column 8.)

Column 8 of Table 106 sums up the data arranged according to the expressive function of individual suffixes.

Mono-functional suffixes are arbitrarily defined as those which are used in 100% to 80% of their contextual possibilities with only one of the three above mentioned connotations (neutral, positive, negative).

Monofunctional Suffixes

1) With neutral emotional connotation:

-iščˇ-	98.5%
-in-	81.8%

2) With positive emotional connotation:

-ek-	82.0%	-oček-	90.5%	-ušk-	89.7%
-oček-	87.9%	-ečk-	90.7%	-en'k-	100.0%
-on'k-	93.8%	-onočk-	100.0%	-ašk-	83.3%
-in'k-	100.0%	-išek-	83.3%	-iček-	100.0%
-išečk-	100.0%	-ušečk-	100.0%	-ušek-	100.0%
-us'a-	100.0%	-ašen'k-	100.0%	-enok-	100.0%
-ul'a-	100.0%				

3) With negative emotional connotation:

-išk-	86.3%
-čonk-	80.0%
-ošk-	100.0%

Multifunctional Suffixes

1) With maximal neutral emotional connotation:

None

2) With maximal positive emotional connotation:

-k-	73.4%	-ok-	68.8%	-ik-	70.7%
-čik-	65.8%	-ec-	57.3%	-ic-	66.3%
-c-	60.9%	-onoček-	60.0%	-onok-	75.3%
-ink-	58.3%	-ičk-	70.0%	-an'k-	75.0%

3) With maximal negative emotional connotation:

-onk-	78.9%

4) With two maxima:

-eš̆k- 40.0% negative and neutral connotations.

-ejk- 50.0% negative and neutral connotations.

-aš̆a- 50.0% positive and negative connotations.

5) With equal values for all three connotations:

-enok- 33.3%

The quantitative data concerning the expressive connotation of nouns SE and the classification into Monofunctional and Multifunctional suffixes based on them, are not presented here as facts.

As I have mentioned in the introductory part of this chapter, the expressive connotation marked by the authors of the "Academic Dictionary" has more or less an arbitrary character, and my results should therefore be considered as tentative.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The thesis deals mainly with proportional relations within the system of Russian nouns with suffixes of subjective evaluation (N_{SE}), i.e., suffixes with different expressive characteristics.

As a source of material, I used the most extensive single language dictionary Slovar' sovremennogo russkogo iazyka in 17 volumes, Academy of Sciences, 1954-1959, from which 3576 nouns with suffixes SE were obtained and processed on a computer. The nouns SE were arranged into four groups:

1. Masculines (N_{SE}^{M})
2. Feminines (N_{SE}^{F})
3. Neuters (N_{SE}^{N})
4. Pluralia Tantum (N_{SE}^{PL})

Each of the four sets of nouns was observed first from the point of view of one variable, i.e. the suffix SE. The proportional relations among the suffixes SE characterize the macrostructure of the system of N_{SE}^{M}, N_{SE}^{F}, N_{SE}^{N} and N_{SE}^{PL}.

The suffixes SE were distributed according to their formal and expressive features into three subgroups:

Primary-- one consonant, minimum degree of expressivity, e.g., -ka.

Secondary-- two consonants, higher degree of expressivity, e.g., -očka.

Tertiary-- three consonants, highest degree of expressivity, e.g., -ošečka.

Each of the four sets of nouns was characterized by the following data:

1) Number of Base forms:

$B^{M} = 1070$ $B^{F} = 1183$ $B^{N} = 136$ $B^{PL} = 74$

2) Number of nouns SE formed by primary suffixes:

$N_{SE}^{M} = 1357$ $N_{SE}^{F} = 1082$ $N_{SE}^{N} = 139$ $N_{SE}^{PL} = 61$

3) Number of nouns SE formed by secondary suffixes:

$N_{SE}^{M} = 352$ $N_{SE}^{F} = 433$ $N_{SE}^{N} = 76$ $N_{SE}^{PL} = 38$

4) Number of nouns SE formed by tertiary suffixes:

$N_{SE}^{M} = 20$ $N_{SE}^{F} = 16$ $N_{SE}^{N} = 4$ $N_{SE}^{PL} = 1$

5) Total number of nouns SE for each group:

$N_{SE}^{M} = 1729$ $N_{SE}^{F} = 1528$ $N_{SE}^{N} = 219$ $N_{SE}^{PL} = 100$

The detailed results of the macrostructure of nouns SE can be found in tables 20, 46, 74, 97 and figures 7, 12, 16, 20 displaying the distribution of the relative frequencies of each of the N_{SE}^{M}, N_{SE}^{F}, N_{SE}^{N} and N_{SE}^{PL}. From these resulting data we obtain the following information:

1) The proportion between the total number of nouns SE and the number of their Base forms for each of the four sets

(index of derivativity):

$$\frac{N_{SE}^{M}}{B^{M}} = 1.62 \qquad \frac{N_{SE}^{F}}{B^{F}} = 1.29 \qquad \frac{N_{SE}^{N}}{B^{N}} = 1.61 \qquad \frac{N_{SE}^{PL}}{B^{PL}} = 1.35.$$

The index shows how many derivatives are formed in average from one Base form. Feminine nouns with the lowest value are suprisingly the group with the most limited derivatory power.

2) The proportions between primary, secondary and tertiary suffixes:

Masculines, Neutres and Pluralia tantum display proportionally decreasing values for the quantity of nouns SE formed by primary, secondary and tertiary suffixes. It is expected that the nouns SE with primary suffixes, will have maximal occurrence since their meaning, diminuation or augmentation, accompanied by slight emotive coloring would be appropriate in the most linguistic contexts. Feminine nouns, however, derivate from the expected pattern by forming majority, i.e. 433 derivates with the secondary suffixes. From the semantic point of view they apparently tend to display greater increase in size and/or stronger emotional symptoms than the other groups.

3) The usage of individual suffixes (their productivity):

a) The most used primary suffixes:

Masculines	Feminines	Neuters	Pluralia tantum
-ok x_i=386	-ka x_i=1003	-ice x_i=56	-ki x_i=33
F_i^M=28.4%	F_i^F=92.5%	F_i^N=40.3%	F_i^{PL}=56.9%

b) The most used secondary suffixes:

Masculines	Feminines	Neuters	Pluralia tantum
-išk̆o x_i=105	-očka x_i=148	-išk̆o x_i=45	-išk̆i x_i=22
F_i^M=29.8%	F_i^F=34.6%	F_i^N=59.2%	F_i^{PL}=55%

c) The most used tertiary suffixes:

Masculines	Feminines	Neuters	Pluralia tantum
-onoč̆ek x_i=15	-ušečka x_i=4	-ečuško x_i=1	-onočki x_i=1
F_i^M=75%	F_i^F=25%	F_i^{PL}=25%	F_i^{PL}=100%

The set of feminine nouns differs from the other sets in its unusually high occurrence of primary suffix -ka which forms 92.5% of all primary derivatives. Usually the values of most productive suffixes varies between 59%-25%. The similar case could be observed in masculine and pluralia tantum sets of tertiary formations where the masculine suffix -onoček forms 75% of all cases and the pluralia tantum -onočki 100%. The very low actual occurrence of tertiary formations definitely distorts the above mentioned proportional relations.

4) The range of derivational means, i.e. whether the sets of nouns SE tend to have a great number of productive suffixes SE or whether it is limited to only a few choices:

Comparing the four sets of nouns SE we find it useful to observe the following data:

a) Number of suffixes occuring in all derivatives within each set N_{SE}^M (table 20), N_{SE}^F (table 46), N_{SE}^N (table 74), N_{SE}^{PL} (table 97).

b) The way how the suffixes participate in the derivation from the point of view of their productivity. N_{SE}^M (figure 7), N_{SE}^F

(figure 12), N_{SE}^{N} (figure 16), N_{SE}^{PL} (figure 20).

Masculine nouns SE are formed by 41 suffixes. The most used suffixes are the primary suffixes -ok, -ik, -čik, -ek, -ec and the secondary suffix -išk-, together representing 77.2% of the whole population. Remaining suffixes fall within the final 22.8%. Apparently, the secondary and even more the tertiary suffixes do not belong to the productive means of derivation within the set of N_{SE}^{M}.

Feminine nouns SE are formed by 38 suffixes. Their proportional relation is even more asymmetrical than that of N_{SE}^{M}. The nouns with only two suffixes -ka and -očka represent 80% of all derived feminine forms. Suffix -ka with its occurrence in 65.6% of all feminine formations is apparently the only productive primary suffix. The first productive secondary suffix is -očka, representing 9.7% of the population N_{SE}^{F}.

Neuter nouns SE are formed by 21 suffixes. The values are arranged in the usual assymmetric way. The variability of values, however, is much smaller than in preceding sets N_{SE}^{M} and N_{SE}^{F}.

Forms with the suffixes -ice, -iško, -ce, -ko, -co, -ečko represent 80.2% of all derivations.

After the relatively exceeding values for -ice (25.5%), -iško (20.5%) and -ce (16.0%), the curve in Figure 16 shows a rapid decrease, starting with suffix -ko (15.0%) and continues towards the lowest values 0.5% for the least productive

secondary suffixes -ičko, -ačko, -eška, -očka, -atko and all tertiary suffixes.

Pluralia tantum SE are formed by 18 suffixes. Two suffixes -ki and -iški cover 58% of all cases. Tertiary suffixes represent 1% of all derivatory means only.

Subsequently, each of the four sets of nouns SE were observed with regard to their Base forms, i.e. the nouns without the suffix SE from which the nouns SE are formed. The combinations of nouns SE formed from one common Base form by the different suffixes SE represent the microstructure of the system of N_{SE}.

The Base forms belonging to each of the four sets-- N_{SE}^{M}, N_{SE}^{F}, N_{SE}^{N} and N_{SE}^{PL} were subdivided according to the number of nouns SE which they were able to form. Therefore we had, for example, Base forms forming one N_{SE} only, Base forms forming two N_{SE}, etc. The highest number of nouns SE formed by a Base form was eight, found among feminine Base forms, masculine and pluralia tantum Base forms formed six and neuter Base forms five.

The results of the microstructure of nouns SE are expressed by a statistical description of the combinatorial variations of the Base forms, i.e. each of the Base forms belongs to a particular combinatorial type. For example, a Base form belonging to a combinatorial type Xxx is able to form three nouns SE--one with a primary suffix and two with secondary suffixes, etc.

Microstructure then characterizes each of the N_{SE}^{M}, N_{SE}^{F}, N_{SE}^{N} and N_{SE}^{PL} according to:

1) The number of different combinatorial types:

$N_{SE}^{M} = 24$ $N_{SE}^{F} = 23$ $N_{SE}^{N} = 12$ $N_{SE}^{PL} = 11$

2) The number of Base forms belonging to each of the combinatorial types:

Masculine Base forms enter in 93% of all cases five types of formations: X (one primary suffix) ... in 69.5%

Xx (one primary one secondary suffix) ... in 8.2%

XX (two primary suffixes) ..... in 7.1%

x (one secondary suffix) ..... in 4.6%

XXx (two primary, one secondary suffix) . in 3.6%

Feminine Base forms favor three combinatorial types only, representing 92.6% of the whole set.

X ..... in 68.7%

x ..... in 15.1%

Xx ..... in 8.8%

The rest of combinatorial types range between 1.4%-0.1%.

Neuter Base forms share the same type of structures with the feminine Base forms. The usage of combinatorial types, however, is distributed more evenly.

X ..... in 63.2%

x ..... in 17.6%

Xx ..... in 7.3%

The rest of formations range between 2.9%-0.7%.

Pluralia tantum Base forms use practically two combinations only.

X ..... in 50%

x ..... in 24%

Since the total amount of formations is 74, the rest of combinatorial types is negligable.

3) The type of suffixes representing each of the combinatorial types:

(See tables: Table 31 for N_{SE}^{M}, Table 60 for N_{SE}^{F}, Table 84 for N_{SE}^{N}, Table 104 for N_{SE}^{PL}).

Finally, in chapter IV the nouns SE were observed from a qualitative point of view, i.e. according to their expressive connotation. The codes marking expressive connotation were arranged into four groups:

1) Nouns with neutral emotional connotation.
2) Nouns with positive emotional connotation.
3) Nouns with negative emotional connotation.
4) Nouns with positive and negative emotional connotation.

After observing the data concerning the usage of individual suffixes in the four above mentioned contextual possibilities, we concluded that we are dealing with two basic types of suffix:

a) Mono-functional--carrying one connotation only.
b) Multi-functional--carrying from two to three types of connotation.

The thesis attempted to establish the quantitative as well as the qualitative relation within a particular language class (nouns SE) by studying the data obtained from

a dictionary, i.e. the data that are constant, and therefore can be considered as the characteristics of the language system.

One further suggestion for future research emerges from this study. Attempts should be made to obtain and process the data on the occurrence of nouns SE in speech or text.

The above mentioned methods complement each other and only their joint results can ensure the complete quantitative description of the particular language category.

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ABSTRACT

DERIVATIONAL PATTERNS OF RUSSIAN NOUNS
WITH SUFFIXES OF SUBJECTIVE EVALUATION

The proportional study of the system of Russian nouns with suffixes of subjective evaluation (N_{SE}) was undertaken with material excerpted from Slovar' sovremennogo russkogo iazyka in 17 volumes, Academy of Sciences.

The nouns SE were first subdivided into four groups:

1. Masculines (N_{SE}^{M})
2. Feminines (N_{SE}^{F})
3. Neuters (N_{SE}^{N})
4. Pluralia Tantum (N_{SE}^{PL})

Each of the nouns SE was identified as a derivate of a particular Base form, i.e. the noun without a suffix SE and therefore without any expressive characteristics.

The proportional relationship within the system of nouns SE can be studied from two different aspects: macrostructure and microstructure.

1. Characteristics of the Macrostructure

The nouns SE are observed from the point of view of one variable, i.e. the suffix SE. Each set of N_{SE}^{M}, N_{SE}^{F}, N_{SE}^{N} and N_{SE}^{PL} is characterized by the following data:

a) The proportions between the total number of nouns SE and the number of their Base forms (index of derivativity).

b) The usage of individual suffixes (their productivity).

c) The proportions between primary, secondary and tertiary suffixes.

d) The ratio of productive suffixes to the non-productive suffixes used for derivation.

2. Characteristics of the Microstructure

The nouns SE were studied with regard to their Base forms, i.e. we observed the combinations of nouns SE formed from one common Base form.

The results were expressed by statistical description of combinatorial types to which each of the Base forms belongs in the following way:

a) The number of different combinatorial types.

b) The number of Base forms belonging to each of the combinatorial types.

c) The type of suffixes representing each of the combinatorial types.

In addition to this completed quantitative analysis, the nouns SE were also observed from the point of view of

their expressive connotation. We concluded that there are basically two types of suffix:

a) Mono-functional--carrying one expressive connotation only.

b) Multi-functional--carrying from two to three different types of connotation.