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IN RUSSIAN AND CZECHUNIVERSITY/UNIVERSITÉ UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTADEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED/
GRADE POUR LEQUEL CETTE THÈSE FUT PRÉSENTÉE M.A.YEAR THIS DEGREE CONFERRED/ANNÉE D'OBTENTION DE CE GRADE 1975 SPRINGNAME OF SUPERVISOR/NOM DU DIRECTEUR DE THÈSE DR. G. SCHAARSCHMIDT

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EDMONTON, ALTA

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
THE MORPHOLOGY OF NOMINAL DIMINUTION
IN RUSSIAN AND CZECH

by



HANA PETRUCHA

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF ARTS

IN

SLAVIC LINGUISTICS

OF SLAVIC LANGUAGES

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1975

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled The Morphology of Nominal Diminution in Russian and Czech submitted by Hana Petrucha in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

J. Schauder

Supervisor

Th. Smith

Rene LeDuc

Date: Spring 1975

ABSTRACT

Diminution is a morphological process in which suffixes are attached to noun stems. The suffixing process is accompanied by a change of meaning, i.e., the derived noun denotes a smaller or dearer person than the noun from which it is derived. As opposed to diminution, noun derivation in general (non-expressive derivation) is not accompanied by a shift of meaning which would resemble the diminutive shift of meaning.

Diminution is limited to nouns only, while other types of word formation occur in all parts of speech. Diminution uses the same means for deriving diminutives as word formation, i.e., suffixes. However, there is no change either in the gender or in the grammatical class of the derived noun. In the process of non-expressive derivation, either the gender or the grammatical class or both can differ in the derived noun as compared with these features in the non-derived noun.

The formation of diminutives is very frequent in Standard Contemporary Russian and Czech. Four very common suffixes, viz., -#K, -ik, -#C and -ic, are considered in this thesis in Standard Contemporary Russian and two suffixes, viz., -#K and -#C, in Standard Contemporary Czech. Diminution involving these suffixes can proceed in two stages, which are called first and second degree stages; or the suffixes can be called terminal and non-terminal diminutive suffixes. These are encountered in all genders. The method used in classifying the suffixes follows a descriptive framework, whereby allomorphs are assigned to appropriate morphemes in terms of their distribution and meaning. Second degree diminutive suffixes are combinations of terminal and non-terminal

diminutive suffixes.

The differences which exist in the formation of diminutives in the two languages are in the number of morphemes used. There is a greater variety in the morphemes available for diminution in Russian; i.e., terminal -#K, -ik, -#C and -ic versus the two morphemes used in terminal position in Czech; i.e., -#K, -#C. Also the number of allomorphs available differs.

The results obtained show a great similarity in the formation of diminutives on one hand a larger variety of means available for diminution in Russian. A simplification of the Russian diminutive system occurs in Czech.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to express her sincerest appreciation to the following persons for their assistance during the preparation of this thesis: Dr. G. Schaa-schmidt for his continuous guidance and assistance in the correction of linguistic details and suggestions for stylistic improvements, and Dr. T. Priestly for his advice and constructive criticism.

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to present a contrastive analysis of the morphology of diminutive noun suffixes in Russian and Czech. In previous research studies, the formation of diminutives has been discussed in a purely classificatory manner, whereas the function of the suffixes has never been studied thoroughly. On the whole, there are very few studies dealing with the contrastive analysis of diminutives in Slavic languages.

In general, diminution is a specific type of word formation. It is a derivational process which involves noun stems (lexical morphemes) and one group of word-formative suffixes, namely, diminutive suffixes. Diminution is distinguished from other types of word formation in that it indicates the manifestation of a special class within the class of derivatives. Diminution is related to word formation in the means used (suffixes) and in the fact that a certain change of meaning is produced.

If the forms "učitel'", "učitel'nica" are considered, the lexical meaning of the two differs; a new form is produced with its own precise meaning. The form "učitel'" refers to a male teacher or to a teacher whose sex is unidentified. The newly formed "učitel'nica" refers to female teachers only and has therefore a new meaning.

The forms "lámpa, lámpočka" are also lexically related. The former can mean either a lamp or a tube; the diminutive "lámpočka" can refer to either and can convey basically the meaning of a small lamp or a small tube. If "lámpočka" refers to a light bulb the formal meaning of diminution is lost. A light bulb may be small or large in relation to

other members of its class, but "small lamp" always contains the semantic feature of diminution.

Apart from certain lexical relationships which accompany diminution, there are purely morphological features which are characteristic of diminution; firstly, diminutive suffixes are attached to noun stems (lexical morphemes), and, secondly, no shift of gender occurs.

In the above discussion it can be seen that there are basically two types of problems in this area. The first problem is concerned with the morphology of diminutives, i.e., the way diminutives are attached to noun stems and what morphophonemic alternations occur. The second problem involves the semantics of diminutives, i.e., the various shades of meaning of diminution that are characteristic of the different suffixes. The problem of meaning will be touched upon only inasmuch as it can serve as a criterion for distinguishing the various diminutive morphemes.

The first chapter will be a short evaluation of the literature available on the subject of diminutives in Russian and Czech. The evaluation will be mainly concerned with the approaches of the authors.

Chapter II will be an analysis of diminutive suffixes which are used in derivational processes in Russian. Some diminutive suffixes will be excluded from the discussion in order to narrow down the area of research for the thesis. The problem of so-called "first" and "second" degree diminutives or terminal versus non-terminal diminutive suffixes will be introduced with regard to the morphological structuring of diminutives. Discussion will be restricted to -#K, -ik, -#C and -ic diminutive suffixes.¹

¹This order will be adhered to in all following chapters.

Chapter III will be concerned with the distributional analysis of diminutive suffixes in Czech. The diminutive suffixes -#K and -#C will be considered for both degrees and all genders.

Chapter IV will contain a line-by-line comparison of the allomorphs of the diminutive suffixes -#K and -#C which occur in Russian and Czech. It will also contain an enumeration of the morphemes occurring in Russian (-#K, -ik, -#C, -ic) and the ones occurring in Czech (-#K, -#C). The whole thesis is based on the assumption that the formation of diminutives is essentially the same in both languages; and that the semantic differentiations are similar in both languages. The goal of this thesis will be to demonstrate this and to explain differences between the two languages, e.g., the number of allomorphs of the suffix -#K.

The Russian data in this thesis has been transliterated from the standard orthography.¹ The reason for preferring the transliteration to a phonetic or phonemic transcription is that only the morphological structure of diminutives is being analyzed.

Stress variations which accompany the process of attaching diminutive suffixes in Russian constitute a problem in their own right and are therefore not treated in this thesis. However, since certain allomorphs can occur only when stressed (e.g., -ok, -ëk), stress must be taken into consideration in the specification of the environment of the suffixes. Stress is marked by an acute accent (') in the Russian examples.

Examples and data from Czech are given in the standard Czech

¹The transliteration is that employed for cyrillic alphabets as specified in the Style Sheet of the Slavic and East European Journal.

orthography. It will be noted that certain changes in vowel length accompany the process of attaching diminutive suffixes. A discussion of these changes is beyond the scope of this thesis. Length in Czech examples is marked by an acute accent (´), as in the standard Czech orthography.

CHAPTER I

PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON DIMINUTIVES IN RUSSIAN AND CZECH

1. General Evaluation of Works on Diminutives in Russian and Czech.

It can be seen from the bibliography that many scholars have devoted their time and effort to the study of diminutives. These works differ considerably in value. For this reason it was felt necessary to divide the bibliography into two parts.

The first part, named "Works Cited", contains studies which are of considerable importance to this thesis, and all of these studies are discussed in more detail in parts 2 and 3 of this chapter. The second part of the bibliography, named "Works Consulted", contains studies which are related to the problem of diminutives, but which have not contributed directly to this thesis. This part of the bibliography may be divided into several groups, which represent various approaches. Some authors (Cuřín, Gromova, Havelková, Straková, Šmilauer and others) concentrate on particular diminutives (several nouns with diminutive suffixes). The author does not attempt to include "his" diminutives into a larger overview nor consider their morphology; neither does he discuss the meaning of the diminutive noun in any but the most superficial terms.

Another group of authors (Lightner, Horálek, Townsend) discuss in their works a greater field of research than diminutives. These authors include diminutives because they follow some proposed pattern or support some proposed theory. Still other authors (Brence, Fáber, Mrázek,

Pavelka) concentrate on the meaning of the diminutive. Their research is mostly limited to a few specific words and can hardly be considered indispensable as far as this thesis is concerned.

In general the works consulted provide mostly general information and background reading; more valuable information and suggestion are contained in the first part of the bibliography.

2. Research on Russian Diminutives.

One of the oldest and most exhaustive studies undertaken on the subject of diminutive suffixes is contained in Alexander Belić's article.¹ In this work Belić treats diminutive and augmentative suffixes in all Slavic languages. The occurring suffixes are enumerated (for a complete list, see E. Popov).² Belić lists the allomorphs of the same suffix as independent units, -k for the masculine gender, -ka for the feminine and -ko for neuter. The above could all be listed as one -k suffix with the appropriate gender marker, and Belić should have at least pointed out the relationship between the above suffixes. This lack of cross-reference occurs in his treatment of suffixes as well.

The suffixes are also specified in the article with reference to their meaning, but there is no attempt made to show a semantic inter-relationship among them. The main drawback in Belić's article would

¹Alexander Belić, "Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der slavischen Deminutiv- und Amplifikativsuffixe," Archiv fuer slavische Philologie, Berlin, 1901, pp. 134-207.

²Elizabeth A. Popov, The Semantic Structure of the Russian Diminutives, Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 1967, pp. 4-6.

appear to be the failure to identify any systematic relationship.

Two articles concerning diminutive suffixes have been written by A. Dement'ev.¹ Both articles are mainly concerned with the meaning of diminutive suffixes. Dement'ev establishes several categories of meaning. The basic distinctions in nuances are: diminutive-affectionate, affectionate, approximation, irony and weakened meaning of the underlying noun. In the second part of each of Dement'ev's articles there is a change in approach and a few selected suffixes are systematically treated. This part might be called an attempt at a morphological evaluation. It must be mentioned that only the masculine gender is considered. Some points concerning the distribution of the suffixes are mentioned.

A much more detailed study of diminutives is found in Stankiewicz's dissertation.² Suffixes are divided into simple and compound classes. This had not been done previously by any of the above-considered authors.

The following suffixes are listed: Simple: -#k
-ik
-#c
-ic

Compound suffixes - secondary: -#k--#k
-#k--ik
-#č--ik
-ik--#k
-ič--#k

¹ A. Dement'ev, "Umen'sitel'nye slova v russkom jazyke," Russkij jazyk v škole, Vol. 5, 1953, pp. 5-11; and

id., "Zametki po russkomu slovoobrazovaniju," Učennye zapiski kujbyševskogo pedagogičeskogo instituta, Vol. 13, 1955, pp. 233-54.

² Edward Stankiewicz, Declension and Gradation of Russian Substantives in Standard Contemporary Russian, The Hague, Mouton, 1968.

-iŝ--#k
 -uŝ--#k
 -in--#k
 -on--#k
 -on'--#k

- tertiary: -on--#k--#k
 -uŝ--#k--#k

From the table it can be seen that primary suffixes contain one simple component, while secondary suffixes are composed of two components and tertiary of three.

One of the claims Stankiewicz makes is that secondary suffixes are attached to primary suffixes. This, then, develops into a problem of arranging the compound suffixes into components. Consider, as a concrete example, the word "ruka"; the first degree diminutive formed with the suffix #k is "ručka"; the second degree diminutive of the same root will be "ručka". In the example "ručka", -#k- is the primary suffix; in "ručonka" -on is the primary suffix and -#k- the secondary. If other examples are considered ("syn, synok, synoček"; "bereg, berežok, berežoček"), a consistency in the ordering appears. In the feminine gender this consistency becomes even more obvious: "kniga, knižka, knižečka"; "reka, rečka, rečuška, rečen'ka".¹ In all the stated examples the first degree diminutive is formed with the suffix -#k and the second degree with a combination of two -#k suffixes (except "rečuška, rečen'ka"). In the combining process the first degree diminutive suffix follows the second degree diminutive suffix. Stankiewicz does not attempt to explain the apparent inconsistency which appears to develop from his sentence, "the compound suffixes consist of sequences of two or three simple

¹Stankiewicz, p. 99.

suffixes."¹ As the ordering of suffixes seems to be a major problem, this will be treated in greater detail in Chapters II and III of this thesis.

An introductory and very general approach to diminutives has been taken by Bratus.² The writer enumerated diminutive suffixes by degree and explained the degrees of diminutiveness. The idea of diminution is partially explained by means of standard English and dialectal English examples. There is no attempt to perform a morphological analysis of the suffixes.

The following suffixes are quoted:

first degree:	-ka
	-ik
	-čik
	-ok/-ek
	-eco/-ice
	-ec
	-enok/-onok/-enyš
	-ica
	-inka
	-yš
	-ko/-iko
	-ca
second degree	-en'ka
	-on'ka
	-uška/-juška
	-uško/-juško
	-uša/-juša
	-yško/-iško
	-iško
	-aška
	-onka/-énka

¹Stankiewicz, p. 102.

²B. Bratus, The Formation and Expressive Use of Diminutives, Cambridge, University Press, 1969.

third degree: -očka/-ečka
 -ička
 -oček/-eček
 -onoček/-enoček/-onočka/-enočka
 -inočka
 -išečka/-išečko/-yšečka/-jušečka
 -uročka/-ulen'ka

If this list is compared with Stankiewicz's the first apparent difference is that in the latter the suffixes are cited with regard to morphological principles which the writer wants to illustrate.

Stankiewicz's list is therefore shorter and more economical. Bratus's list, on the one hand, is a pure enumeration of suffixes. Newly listed are the following: -enok, -enyš, -yš, -enka, -juška, -uša -juša, -aška, -inočka, -išečka, -išečko, -yšečka, -jušečka, -uročka, -ulen'ka.

An approach very similar to Bratus' is taken by the Academy Grammar.¹ The chapter about word formation deals with suffixes used for derivation of new expressions. Diminutive suffixes are included among others. The division of derivational suffixes into groups is based on the meaning of the newly formed expression. The list of diminutive suffixes is somewhat shorter than Bratus' since morphological alternations of consonants are considered.

A different approach to diminutives is taken by E. Popov.² Her thesis approaches some diminutive suffixes from a semantic point of view. Popov attempts to establish the difference in meaning caused by different diminutive suffixes; therefore, she ascribes meaning to suffixes and illustrates it with examples. Her terminology and nuances of meaning

¹Grammatika sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo jazyka, Moscow, Akademija nauk SSSR, pp. 129-38.

²Elisabeth A. Popov, The Semantic Structure of the Russian Diminutives, Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford, 1967.

will be considered in later chapters.

3. Research on Czech Diminutives.

The amount of literature written on diminutives in Czech is smaller than in Russian. There is a complete lack of a morphological study of diminutives, as well as a semantic evaluation. A syntactic approach to diminutives has not been attempted in either Russian or Czech. The majority of works written on diminutives in Czech are general introductions to the problem which attempt to explain the nature of diminution.

An extensive list of diminutive suffixes of Czech is given by Belić.¹ The following suffixes are included:

-k suffixes: -ik, -yk
 -ak
 -ek
 -ka
 -ko
 -ičko
 -átko
 -enka
 -áček
 -íček
 -ičko
 -eček
 -ečko
 -ečka

-c suffixes: -ica
 -ec
 -ce
 -enee
 -ička
 -eček
 -ečko

¹Alexander Belić, "Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der slavischen Deminutiv- und Amplifikativsuffixe," Archiv fuer slavische Philologie, Berlin, 1901, pp. 154-73.

-isko suffix:	-isko
-t suffix:	-outky
-ch suffixes:	-ouš -oušek -uška
-l suffixes:	-ula -el
-n suffixes:	-na -inka -izna
-g suffix:	-ha
other suffix:	-da

This list of suffixes does not give any information about degrees of diminutivity, relationship between suffixes, or the meaning of the suffixes.

A more recent study of the same problem by Neščimenko¹ attempts to consider diminutives with respect to derivational morphology. The title, which suggests a detailed morphological and semantical study, is misleading. A general introduction to word formation is followed by a superficial study of classification of diminutive suffixes. The suffixes are divided into two grades. The greatest disappointment in regard to the promising title is the division of suffixes into genders with no cross-reference among the individual allomorphs. As a morphological investigation of diminutives, the article does not contribute very much.

¹G. P. Neščimenko, "Zakonomernosti slovoobrazovanja, semantiki i upotreblenija suščestvitel'nyx s suffiksami sub"ektivnoj ocenki v sovremennom češskom jazyke, Issledovanija po češskomu jazyku, Moscow, Akademija nauk, 1963, p. 105.

A quantitative study of diminutives has been undertaken by L. Doležel.¹ The study is a frequency count of diminutive suffixes in Czech. This approach has not been taken by any previous researcher of the problem. The frequency of occurrence is, however, not directly related to my thesis.

The literature on diminutives in both languages concentrates on discussing diminutives in general. There are some attempts at classifying the suffixes, but there is a clear lack of systematic semantic or morphological approaches.

¹Lubomír Doležel, "Jména zdobnělá," Tvoření slov v češtině, Praha, Československá akademie věd, 1967, pp. 494-530.

CHAPTER II

A DISTRIBUTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE DIMINUTIVE SUFFIXES IN RUSSIAN

The chief morphological means available for diminution in Russian is the suffix *-#K*, which very well exemplifies the general morphology of diminution. This suffix is a morpheme which may occur in more than one single phonemic shape. A single shape of a morpheme is a morph as in our case, *-ok*, *-ëk*, *-ek* or *-k*.¹ Morphs which are representations of the same morpheme are called allomorphs.

In addition to diminution, the morpheme *-#K* is used for other kinds of derivation in Russian. An example may be the usage of the suffix *-ok* when deriving a noun from a verb stem.

verb: ²	noun:
igrát'	igrók
xodít'	xodók
katát'sja	katók
ostát'sja	ostátok

The above examples illustrate a shift from verbs to nouns, which is a shift of lexical classes. The same suffix may also be used for shifts within one lexical class.

¹Cf. G. Schaarschmidt, A Manual in Contrastive Linguistics: The Structure of Russian and English, Part I, Phonemics and Morphophonemics, University of Alberta, 1966, p. 56.

²Grammatika sovremennogo russkogo jazyka, p. 51.

noun:

éda
klassifikácia
publikácia
organizácia

noun:

edók
klassifikátor
publikátor
organizátor

Derivations formed with an intervening derivative suffix are from the same lexical class (input and output are nouns) and of the same gender.

For example:

basic noun:

sbór
ključ
kúst
čaj

derived noun:

sbór-n-ik
ključ-n-ik
kust-ár-n-ik
čaj-n-ik

In general, however, the characteristic feature of diminution is the retention of the gender of the basic noun without including an intervening derivational suffix, as in the following examples:

sýn
durák
dólg

syn-ók
durač-ók
dolž-ók

From the previous examples and observations it is possible to see the morphological characteristics which apply to diminution.

1. diminution is a subclass of word formation;
2. diminution uses the same suffixes as other classes of word formation;
3. diminution preserves the gender of the underlying noun;
4. the suffixes used for diminution are always attached directly to the stem before any inflectional suffixes are added.

From a semantic point of view, derivation in general yields a specific kind of change in meaning.

The Russian diminutive suffixes may be either simple (first

degree) or compound (second degree). The former occur singly, while the latter occur in combination with some other diminutive suffix. The simple diminutive suffixes are represented here as -#K, -ik, -#C, and -ic. Arguments will now be presented for distinguishing these four morphemes in Russian in the simple diminutives.

1. The suffixes -#K and -ik.

The -#K diminutive suffix occurs as a simple suffix in the following shapes: -ok, -ëk and -ek in the masculine gender and -k in the feminine and neuter genders. As there seem to be three variants of the same suffix in the masculine gender, their distribution will have to be established. The suffix -ek does not occur stressed in diminutive derivation. The suffixes -ok and -ëk occur only stressed.

If the observations by Klagstadt are considered, an important criterion for assigning the suffixes -ok, -ëk to -ek is obtained.¹ Klagstadt gives a list of suffixes among which -ek, -ëk and -ok occur. All three of these suffixes participate in the phonemically conditioned vowel-zero alternation while the suffix -ik does not.² The conditioning factor for the alternation is stress. There are two types of stress:

1. no stress on vowel alternation with zero;
2. stress on vowel alternation with zero.

¹H. L. Klagstadt, Vowel-Zero Alternation in Contemporary Standard Russian, Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard, 1954.

²The vowel i does not take part in any vowel-zero alternation except in the numeral *odin*, *odna*.

Examples:

1. čelověček, G. Sg. čelověčka
 platóček, G. Sg. platóčka
 úlička, G. Pl. úliček
2. berežók, G. Sg. berežká
 cvetók, G. Sg. cvetká
 ugol'ěk, G. Sg. ugol'ká

The fact that the suffixes -ok, -ěk and -ik can be divided into two groups according to their different stress patterns serves as one basis for arguing that the suffixes -ik and -ek, -ěk, -ok represent two distinct morphemes. Popov states: "Obviously -ok, -ek are conditioned by stress they cannot both occur with the same basic form."¹

Semantically the suffix -ik adds emotional colouring to the underlying noun. This nuance in the suffix is not represented as strongly in either -ek, -ěk or -ok. According to Dement'ev the suffix -ik has a fuller diminutive meaning which allows for the disregarding of second degree diminutives.² Popov¹ and Potixa³ present similar arguments.

¹E. A. Popov, The Semantic Structure of the Russian Diminutives, p. 30.

²A. A. Dement'ev, "Umen'sitel'nye slova v russkom jazyke," Russkij jazyk v škole, Vol. 5, 1953, pp. 5-11.

³Z. A. Potixa, "Sovremennoe russkoe slovoobrazovanie," Prosveščenie, 1970, pp. 247-52.

Examples of -ik diminutives are as follows:¹

basic form	diminutive form	usage in sentence or phrase
dožd'	doždik	Těplyj doždik.
nóż	nóžik	Peročinnyj nožik.
nós	nósik	Čajnik s otbitym nosikom.
slón	slónik	Čajnik s otbitym nosikom.
topór	topórik	Derevjannyj slonik.
zájac	zájčik	On postukival toporikom.
živót	živótik	Po stene i potolku zabégali zajčiki.
		Nadorvat' životik.

Diminutives formed with the suffixes -ok, -ěk and -ek also express a weaker diminutive meaning, as seen in the following examples:

býk	byčók	S byčkom u menja neladno,
cvět	cvetók	noga čisto puzyr' delalas',
čelovék	čeloveček	ne možet byčok idti.
dólǵ	dolžók	Cvetok zasoxšij, bezuxrannyj,
górod	gorodók	zabytyj v knige.
jazýk	jazyčók	Potom javilsja čeloveček s
piróg	pirožók	gazetoj i sel na skamejku.
platók	platoček	Kniga-kartočnyj dolžok.
sýn	synók	Provincial'nyj gorodok.
uzel	uzelók	U neě zloj jazyčok.
úgol'	ugolěk	Voz'mite eščě pirožka.
		Ne šmygaj nosikom, no dobud'
		platoček iz karmana.
		Synok požaluj.
		Knížki v uzelke.
		On vidit ugolěk.

Furthermore, the suffix -ik can occur only as a final member of a cluster of diminutive suffixes. This behaviour differentiates the suffix from the allomorphs of the -#K diminutive suffix.

The feminine and neuter genders have only two variants of the -#K diminutive suffix, namely, -k and -ěk. According to Popov, diminutive forms are most frequent in the feminine gender.² When the allomorph -k

¹ Here and elsewhere, the Russian examples are mostly modified from the examples of E. A. Popov.

² E. A. Popov, The Semantic Structure of the Russian Diminutive, p. 12.

precedes the gender marker -a the syllable is never stressed.

Examples of -k diminutives in feminine nouns are as follows:

dóč'	dóčka	Ona rodila dočku.
doróga	doróžka	Na polu kovrovye dorožki.
golová	golóvka	Golovka gvozdja.
kníga	knížka	Istrepannaja knížka.
lávka	lávčka	Ona priseła na lavočku.
ruká	ručka	Detskaja ručka.
sumá	sumka	Pletěnaja sumka dlja proyizii.
trubá	trubka	Dlinnaja trubka.
žila	žilka	Krov' zaigrala po žilkam.

The -ek allomorph occurs in the G. Pl. of such nouns (e.g., dóček, doróžek, etc.).

In the neuter gender the suffix -#K appears before the gender marker -o, which is also unstressed in this circumstance, just as in the feminine examples. The number of morphemes which attach the suffix -k in the neuter gender is relatively small in comparison to the masculine and the feminine genders.

Examples of -k diminutives in the neuter nouns are as follows:

oknó	ókoško	Pod okoškom kogo-to ždala.
ózero	ozěrko	Malen'koe ozěrko.
úxo	úško	Šepnu vam na uško.

Again the -ek allomorph occurs in the G. Pl. forms.

2. The suffixes -#C and -ic.

The following shapes of diminutive suffixes based on -#C have been encountered: -ec in the masculine gender and -c in the feminine gender (before the desinence -a) and neuter gender (before the desinence -o or -e).

From the meaning of the suffixes one may say that -ec and -c belong to one morpheme; the different gender markers in the neuter gender are results of stress shifts.

Examples of -#C diminutive suffixes are as follows:

Masculine:

brát
lár'
naród
óbráz

brátec
lárec
naródec
obrazéc

Vreš' bratec.
Kovannyj larec.
Sibirskie narodcy.
Ukažite nam, otečestva otcy,
kotorych my dolžny prinjat'
za obrazcy.

Feminine:

dvér'
lén'
sól'

dvérca
lénca
sól'ca

Pečnye dverca.
Čelovek s lencojs.
Posyp sol'cojs.

Neuter:

dérevo

derevcó

kolenó
kopyto
ózero

kolénce
kopytce
ozercó

Derevcó menjaet svoi listy s
každoju vesnoju.
Vykinut' kolence.
Kozlěnok stal na kopytca.
Travjanistyje luga s množestvom
nebol'six lužinok, ozerec i
ručejkov.

The suffix -ic had to be excluded from the above group. The structure of this morpheme can be compared to -ik in that both morphemes lack allomorphs which are used in all genders. There is also a difference in meaning between -#C diminutives and -ic diminutives similar to that between the -#K and -ik morphemes.

Examples of -ic diminutives are as follows:

Feminine:

část'
déva.
sestrá
kóža
vodá

častica
devica
sestrica
kožica
vodica

Mel'čajšaja častica pyli.
On poljubil devicu iz rabyn'.
Moja sestra Ljubočka.
Kožica jabloka.
Vypit' vodicy.

Neuter:

imenie

imen'ice

pis'mó

pis'mecó

Ona priobrela nebol'soe
imen'ice.
Sostav'te poxval'noe pis'meco.

plát'e
stixotvorénie

plát'ice
stixotvorén'ice

Na plat'ice č. esnye uzory.
Prelestnoe stixotvoren'ice.

In summary, the following suffixes occur in simple diminutives in Russian. As the same suffixes occur also as the final member of compound diminutives they will be referred to as terminal diminutive suffixes.

1. The morpheme -#K can occur as a terminal member with the following variants:
 - k occurs before a vowel;
 - ëk occurs under stress after stems ending in x or in a palatalized consonant (as indicated by a stem final j or ' in the non-diminutive form of the stem);¹
 - ok occurs under stress after all other stems;
 - ek occurs elsewhere.
2. The morpheme -ik occurs in this one shape in the masculine and neuter genders only.
3. The morpheme -#C occurs as -c before a vowel and as -ec elsewhere.
4. The morpheme -ic occurs in this one shape in the feminine and neuter genders only.

It will be noted from the examples given in previous sections (pp. 18-20) that stems ending in velar consonants exhibit a morphophonemic alternation to the effect that g, k, x are replaced by ž, č, š (e.g., bérég-berežók, čelovék-čelovéček, úxo-úško).

¹ Since before the allomorph -ëk a stem final j or ' (soft sign) disappears in the orthography (e.g., puzyr'-puzyrëk, ručej-ručëk), the non-diminutive form of the stem must be examined to determine the status of the stem final consonant. Note also that stem final x changes to š before a diminutive suffix, as stated in the text above.

Exampl es:

stem:

1. -#K:

líp-a

zólot-o

podúx-a

lýk-o

dúb

piróg

ručěj

ogón'

čelovek

2. -ik:

škáf

slovár'

plec-ó

first degree diminutive:

líp-#K-a

k

lípka

zolut-#K-o

k

zólotko

podux-#K-a

k

podúška

lyk-#K-o

k

lýčko

dub-#K

+ stress

ok

- pal.

dubók

pirog-#K + stress

ok

- pal.

pirožok

ručej-#K + stress

ek

+ pal.

ručěek

ogon'-#K + stress

ek

+ pal.

ogoněk

čelovek-#K - stress

ek

+ pal.

čeloveček

škaf-ik

škáfik

slovar'-ik

slovárik

plec-ik-o

plečikó

3. -#C:

sól'

sol'-#C-a^csól'ca

ózer-o

ozér-#C-o^cozercó

brát

brat-#C^{ec}brátec

óbráz

obraz-#C^{ec}obrazéc

4. -ic:

čast'

čast'-ic-a^{ic}častica

sestr-á

sestr-ic-a^{ic}sestríca

The compound suffixes which occur in Russian most frequently are combinations of the aforementioned simple suffixes. Since we referred to simple diminutives as terminal suffixes, compound diminutives will be referred to as non-terminal suffixes. The simple suffix -#K is usually the basis for a compound suffix of the structure -#K-#K. The surface outcome is the following suffixes: -oček, -eček in the masculine gender and -očk, -ečk and -eček in the feminine and neuter genders.

Examples of -#K-#K diminutives are as follows:

Masculine:

béreg

berežóček

dúb

duboček

Stanovilsja že molodoj
nevol'nik na kruten'kij
berežóček.
Zanočuem pod syrym dubom,
dubočkom zelenym.

lěd	ledóček
nós	nosóček
ogón'	ogoneček
syn	synóček

Feminine:

bába	bábočka
jáma	jámočka
kníga	knížečka
máma	mámočka
pápa	pápočka
skamějka	skameečka
trubá	trúbočka

Neuter:

město	městečko
okno	okošečko
plémja	plěmečko
vremja	vremečko

Pesoček sypletsja a ledóček
lomitsja.
I nosili molodye nosočki v
polosku.
Ogoneček voskryval.
U neě odin synóček.

Stala tut babočka kričat'.
Umil'nye jamočki propali na
ščekax.
On pokopalsja v knižečke,
razgladil straničku.
Milaja mamocha.
Papochka, kak on tebja unizil.
Sela na skameečku.
Zakurit' svoju malen'kuju
trubočku.

Vybrali dlja otдыхa udobnoe
mestečko.
Kassa s okošečkom.
Ty, dvorjanskoe plemečko.
Nu i vremečko bylo.

The meaning of compound suffixes is different from the meaning of the basic noun and is also different from the noun with a simple diminutive suffix attached.

Another possible combination of single suffixes which form a compound suffix -čik, which occurs in the masculine and (in one example only) in the neuter, is analyzed as a combination of the suffixes -#K and -ik.

Examples of the -čik diminutives are as follows:

báran	baránčik	Malen'kij barančik.
pakét	pakétčik	Paketčik papiros.
stakan	stakančik	Stakančik vody.
kolesó	kolésčiko	Malen'koe kolésčiko.

A noun which takes as a simple diminutive suffix an allomorph of -#C forms the compound suffix by adding an allomorph of the simple suffix -#K. The surface outcome of this combination of suffixes is identical with the surface outcome of -#K-#K. There should be a slight

difference in meaning between the two, however. The only example available occurs in the neuter gender: the compound diminutive slovéčko is derived from the simple diminutive slovcó, which contains the suffix -#C and not -#K.

The simple suffix -#K is also used for forming compound suffixes of nouns with their simple diminutives in -ic. Examples of -ic-#K diminutives are as follows:

časť	časťička
kosá	kosíčka
sestrá	sestrička

Každýj čas unosit častičku
bytija.
Volosy eě byli zapleteny v
kosičku.
Lisička-sestrička.

In summary the following non-terminal suffixes occur in Russian:

1. The suffix -#K occurs as a non-terminal member in the following shapes:

-č occurs before -ik

-eč occurs after all stems ending in j or ' and if unstressed after velar stems (see example 1 on p. 24)

-oč occurs elsewhere;

2. The suffix -#C occurs as -eč;

3. The suffix -ic occurs as -ič.

It should be remembered that -ik does not occur as a non-terminal suffix.

Examples:

stem:

1. -#K-ik

škáf

slovár'

second degree diminutive:

škaf-#K-ik

č ik

škáfčik

slovar'-#K-ik

č ik

slovárčik

2. -#K-#K

ogón'

kníg-a

lýk-o

čelovék

podúx-a

líp-a

zólót-o

dúb

píróg

3. -#C-#K

slóv-o

4. -ic-#K

čast'

sestr-á

ogon'-#K-#K

eč ek

ogoněček

knig-#k-#K-a

eč k

knížečka

lyk-#K-#K-o

eč k o

lýčečko

čelovek-#K-#K

eč ek

čelovečeček

podux-#K-#K-a

eč k

podúšečka

lip-#K-#K-a

oč k

lipočka

zolot-#K-#K-o

oč k

zolotočko

dub-#K-#K

oč ek

dubóček

pirog-#K-#K

oč ek

pirožóček

slov-#C-#K-o

eč k

slověčko

čast'-ic-#Ka

ič k

častíčka

sestr-ic-#K-a

ič k

sestríčka

CHAPTER III

A DISTRIBUTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE DIMINUTIVE SUFFIXES IN CZECH

As in Russian the chief morphological means used for diminution in Czech is the suffix -#K. The suffix -#K occurs in all genders; it occurs in the following forms: -ek, -ík in the masculine gender and -k or -ek in the feminine and neuter genders.

1. The suffix -#K.

The allomorphs -ek and -ík and -k appear to be in complementary distribution. The conditioning for complementary distribution in the case of -ík and -ek is not as clear as in the case of the Russian allomorphs -ok, -ök, -ek. However, since there are only very few exceptions to the statement of distribution of these two morphs, set out below, and since they have the same meaning as far as the degree of diminution is concerned, it would seem preferable to view them as allomorphs of the same morpheme.

As stress is fixed in Czech, it plays no role in the derivation of diminutive expressions. The vowel preceding the suffix seems to be important. If the vowel is a so-called fleeting vowel (present in a cluster of consonants in the nominative case of masculine nouns and missing in oblique cases) the noun attaches the diminutive suffix -ík.

Examples of -ík diminutives are as follows:

pytel (Gen. Sg. pytle)	pytlík
uhel	uhlík
uzel	uzlík
orel	orlík

1 ohen'
pes
ret

ohník
psík₁
rtík

The last two nouns add the suffix -ík if the vowel which they contain is viewed as fleeting; if the vowel is permanent the nouns add the suffix -ek, and lengthen the stem vowel, but there is no apparent difference in meaning; e.g., ~~řet~~, rtík, pes, psík versus rétek, pejsek. This adds evidence to the validity of the above distribution statement.

The occurrence of -ík after consonant clusters in the above examples is paralleled by its occurrence after consonant clusters in nouns without the so-called fleeting vowel. These are always monosyllabic stems which have a final consonant cluster of resonants and obstruents in any sequence. Examples are as follows:

čert
kmo^{tr}
pu^{dl}
ví^{tr}
že^{br}

čertík
kmo^{tr}ík
pu^{dl}ík
vě^{tr}ík
že^{br}ík

The suffix -ík is also used with monosyllabic stems which end in ň, š, ž, ě, and bisyllabic stems ending in j. Examples as follows:

ků^ň
ko^š
nů^ž
po^{koj}

koⁿík
ko^šík
no^žík
po^{koj}ík

There are two exceptions to the above rule. The noun stupeň is not monosyllabic, but its diminutive suffix is ík or -ek; the same is true for the noun kříž, where the forms křížek, křížík are in free variation.

Masculine nouns which have on the surface feminine endings also take the diminutive suffix -ík. The same is true for masculine nouns which are formed with the derivative suffix ář or ař. Examples are as follows:

Czech.

¹ Examples are based on my own knowledge as a native speaker of

táta
kalendář
stolař
vladař
sadař

tatík
kalendářík
stolařík
vladařík
sadařík

The above rules would account for all occurrences of the suffix *-ík* in the data, except for *chlapík*, *lesík*, *nosík*, *hošík*. These are exceptions.

The noun *chlap* has two possible diminutives *chlápek* or *chlapík*. These are semantically different. There could be a rule for the rest of the exceptions, but it would be very artificial.

The diminutive suffix *-ek* is attached to all nouns not mentioned previously. There are three exceptions: *les*, *nos*, *hoch*. Examples of *-ek* diminutives:

míč (Gen. Sg. *micku*)
papír
pruh
pávouk
obchod
kartáč
kočár

míček
papírek
proužek
pavouček
obchůdek
kartáček
kočárek

The above examples exhibit vowel lengthening or changes in the vowel quality. Normally, the vowel preceding the suffix changes if originally short, e.g., *obchod* *obchůdek*, *list* *lístek*, etc.

Examples of *-ík* diminutives in masculine nouns are as follows:

beran
děd
dům
hoch
hrách
kartáč
klíč
sníh
svetr
osel
pás
pokoj
šplhoun
talíř
verš
vzor

beránek
dědek
domek
hošík
hrášek
kartáček
klíček
snížek
svetřík
oslík
pásek
pokojík
šplhounek
talířek
veršík
vzorek

Na louce se pásal beránek.
Dědek se belhal ke škole.
Domek stál na kopci.
Hošík se usmíval.
Na zahradě roste hrášek.
Kartáček na zuby byl nepoužit.
Ivaně se klíček líbil.
Napadal čerstvy snížek.
Svetřík ležel na stole.
Oslík několikrát zahýkal.
Pásek ležel na židli.
Pokojík byl velmi útulný.
Martínek je šplhounek.
Talířek stojí na polici.
Veršík byl velice dobře přednesen.
Vzorek leží před ní.

In the feminine gender the most common allomorph of the -#K diminutive suffix is -k, which precedes the gender marker in the nominative case. As in Russian, the allomorph -ek occurs in the Gen. Pl. of feminine and neuter nouns (e.g., babek, dírek, klubek, etc.). Examples of -#K diminutives in feminine nouns are as follows:

bába	babka	Babka běžela do kostela.
díra	dírka	Dírka byla vyspravená.
figura	figurka	Figurka Ivana vyvolávala smích.
kniha	knížka	Knížka leží na stole.
květina	květinka	Květinka je uvadlá.
mouka	moučka	Bramborová moučka se zřídka používá.
nádoba	nádobka	Nádobka na mýdlo.
ovce	ovečka	Ovečka se pásla.
povinnost	povinnůstka	Nepříjemná povinnůstka.
strana	stránka	Stránka byla založena.
žába	žábka	Žábka skáče z kamene na kámen.

Examples of -#K diminutives in neuter nouns are as follows:

dláto	dlátko	Dlátko leželo na lavici.
jádro	jadérko	Jadérko vypadlo z jablka na podlahu.
klubko	klubičko	Klubičko vlny dráždilo kočičku.
líce	líčko	Její líčko bylo zrudlé hněvem.
mléko	mlíčko	Napij se mlíčka.
písmeno	písmenko	Věříš všemu do posledního písmenka.
zrno	zrnko	Nikde nebylo ani zrnka prachu.

There are fewer examples available in the neuter gender than in the masculine and feminine. The suffix is attached in the same manner as in the feminine gender. The meanings of the allomorphs of the -#K diminutive suffix seem to correspond.

2. The suffix -#C.

The diminutive suffix -ic occurs in the feminine gender only. Masculine nouns take either the -ec or the -c suffix, depending on the phonological environment: the allomorph -ec occurring in final position and -c before a vowel (as in the oblique cases). As this is a matter of

the distribution of the suffixes and there is no evident difference in meaning, the three suffixes -ic, -ec and -c are analyzed as allomorphs of the morpheme -#C. This morpheme is not used with neuter nouns.

Examples of -#C diminutives in masculine nouns are as follows:

prapor	praporec (Gen. pl. praporce)	Praporec vlál ve větru.
rám	rámec	V rámci našich možností.
vál	válec	Parní válec připravoval povrch pro silnici.
zvon	zvonec	Zvonec kláštera vyzváněl.

Examples of -#C diminutives in feminine nouns are as follows:

hvězda	hvězdice	Uprostřed stadionu byla vytvořena cvičícími hvězdice.
konev	konvice	Konvice byla plná vody.
ružě	ružice	Větrná ružice se točila po větru.

In summary the following suffixes occur in first degree diminutives in Czech:

1. The morpheme -#K can occur as a terminal member with the following variants:

- ík occurs after any of the following:
 - the derivative suffix -ař/-ář
 - monosyllabic stems ending in the palatal consonants ň, š, ž, ě
 - bisyllabic stems ending in j
 - clusters of resonants and obstruents in any sequence
 - stems which exhibit the fleeting vowel
 - masculine nouns with feminine endings;

-k occurs elsewhere before a vowel;

-ek occurs elsewhere.

Exceptions: nos, les, hoch.

Free variation: stupeň, kříž, chlap.

2. The morpheme -#C can occur as a terminal member in the following shapes:

-ic occurs with feminine nouns;

-ec occurs in final position with masculine nouns;

-c occurs elsewhere.

From previous examples it will be noted that stems ending in velar consonants exhibit a morphophonemic alternation as was the case in Russian.

Examples:

stem	first degree diminutive
1. -#K:	
báb-a	báb-#K-a k <u>babka</u>
dlát-o	dlát-#K-o k <u>dlátko</u>
mouk-a	mouk-#K-a k <u>moučka</u>
knih-a	knih-#K-a k <u>knížka</u>
mlék-o	mlék-#K-o k <u>mléčko</u>
kalendář	kalendář-#K ik <u>kalendářík</u>
les	les-#K ík <u>lesík</u>
hoch	hoch-#K ik <u>hošík</u>
kůn'	kůn-#K ik <u>koník</u>
koš	koš-#k ík <u>košík</u>

núž

núž-#K

ík

nožík

děšť

děšť-#K

ík

dešťík

čert

čert-#K

ík

čertík

kmoťr

kmoťr-#K

ík

kmotřík

pavouk

pavouk-#K

ek

pavouček

rám

rám-#K

rámek

2. -#C:

hvězd-a

hvězd-#C-a

ic

hvězdice

rám

rám-#C

ec

rámec

The compound diminutive suffixes are combinations of simple diminutive suffixes. The following forms of compound suffixes occur in Czech: -eček, íček in the masculine gender; ečka, ička in the feminine; and ečko, íčko in the neuter gender.

Masculine nouns form the non-terminal suffix from the -#K diminutive; the surface form of -#K (non-terminal) is -íč or -eč. The distribution is the same as in the case of the terminal suffix in the masculine gender.

Examples of -#K-#K diminutives in the masculine gender are as follows:

anděl	andíleček	Z kostelního stropu se dívalo mnoho andílečků.
dům	domeček	Domeček stál na stráni.
kalendář	kalendáříček	Kalendáříček visel příliš vysoko.
košík	košíček	Košíček na ovoce stál v koutě.
list	lísteček	Lístečky padaly ze stromu.
rámeček	rámeček	Rámeček na obraz byl zakoupen.
větr	větríček	Foukal příjemný větríček.
uzel	uzlíček	Šel s uzlíčkem přes rameno.
žebř	žebříček	Žebříček stál u zdi.

Masculine nouns also form the non-terminal suffix from the -#C diminutive. The results of the -#C-#K and -#K-#K strings are identical. An example of -#C-#K diminutives in the masculine gender is as follows:

hrad hradeček Hradeček je malý.

Feminine nouns, which have the second degree diminutive -ička can have the non-terminal part of this suffix based on the diminutive suffix -#C; this would explain the length of the suffix. Other feminine nouns have the surface occurrence of -ěčka, which can be seen as based on the -#K diminutive suffix.

Examples of -#C-#K diminutives in the feminine gender:

bába	babička	Babička koupala vnoučátko.
cesta	cestička	Cestička byla vyšlapaná.
kráva	kravička	Kravička se pásla.
lampa	lampička	Lampička stála na stolku.
perla	perlička	Na čele mu stály perličky potu.
tvář	tvářička	Svítily se mu tvářičky.
žába	žabička	Žabička skákala z kamene na kámen.

Examples of -#K-#K diminutive suffixes in the feminine gender are as follows:

kniha	knížečka	Knížečka ležela na stole.
část	částička	Částička prachu.
chvil	chvilčka	Chvilčka štěstí.
figura	figurečka	Na rámu je figurečka.

In the neuter gender the combination of -#K-#K can occur, as we had no occurrence of the simple diminutive suffix -#C. The distribution

of the allomorphs *-eč* and *-ič* which occurred in the masculine gender does not seem to apply. There are however only two nouns which can take *-ičko* only (*autíčko*, *očíčko*). All other neuter nouns take the *-eč* allomorph and alternately *-ič*, in free variation.

Examples of *-#K-#K* diminutive suffixes in the neuter gender are as follows:

auto	autíčko	Ivánek si hrál s autíčkem.
jezero	jezířečko	Jezířečko leželo v úžlabince.
místo	místečko	Nikde nebylo ani místečka.
okno	okénečko	Okénečko bylo otevřené.
zrno	zrněčko	Zrněčko pravdy.

In summary, the following non-terminal suffixes occur in Czech:

1. The suffix *-#K* occurs as a non-terminal member in the following shapes:
 - ič* in the masculine gender in the environment in which the suffix *-ík* occurred;
 - ič* in the neuter gender in the forms *autíčko*, *očíčko*;
 - eč* occurs elsewhere.
2. The suffix *-#C* occurs in the following variants:
 - ič* in the feminine gender;
 - eč* in the masculine gender.

The surface outcome of the non-terminal diminutive suffix *-#K* and *-#C* in the masculine gender is identical; the sequence *-eček* is ambiguous as far as its origin is concerned. As in the few examples no lengthening occurs it can be used as evidence that these forms (*hradeček*, *koneček*) are secondary diminutives.

Examples:

stem

second degree diminutive

1. -#K-#K

vítr

 vítr-#K-#K
 íč ek
větríček

uhel

 uhel-#K-#K
 íč ek
uhlíček

ohně'

 ohně'-#K-#K
 íč ek
ohníček

pokoj

 pokoj-#K-#K
 íč ek
pokojíček

táta

 tata-#K-#K
 íč ek
tatíček

truhlář

 truhlář-#K-#K
 íč ek
truhlaříček

rám

 rám-#K-#K
 eč ek
rámeček

stůl

 stůl-#K-#K
 eč ek
stoleček

knih-a

 knih-#K-#K-a
 eč k
knížečka

figur-a

 figur-#K-#K-a
 eč k
figurečka

míst-o

 míst-#K-#K-o
 eč k
místečko

měst-o

 měst-#K-#K-o
 eč k
městečko

2. -#C-#K

hvězd-a

hvězd-#C-#K-a

ič k

hvězdička

konev

konv-#C-#K-a

ic k

konvička

hlav-a

hlav-#C-#K-a

ič k

hlavička

hrad

hrad-#C-#K

eč ek

hradeček

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION: A COMPARISON OF THE DIMINUTIVE SUFFIXES IN RUSSIAN AND CZECH

In comparing Russian and Czech in the variety of allomorphs and morphemes of the -K and -C group, it will be advantageous to make a line-by-line comparison of them.

A. Terminal suffixes:

The following table of occurring terminal suffixes can be constructed:

Russian				Czech			
Morpheme	m	f	n	Morpheme	m	f	n
-#K	-ek -ok -ök	-k	-k	-#K	-ek -ik	-k	-k
oblique cases:	-k	-ek	-ek	oblique cases:	-k	-ek	-ek
-ik	-ik	--	-ik				
-#C	-ec	-c	-c	-#C	-ec	-ic	--
oblique cases:	-c	-ec	-ec	oblique cases:	-c	-ic	--
-ic	--	-ic	-ic				

The overall impression from the table is the greater simplicity of the scheme in Czech than in Russian. In Czech the number of occurring morphemes is two as compared to four in Russian. The number of possible allomorphs is five in Czech as compared with eight in Russian. In general this variety of allomorphs in Russian is caused by the differentiation of palatalized vs. non-palatalized consonants as well as the

stress variations. Both of these factors are not present in Standard Contemporary Czech.

1. The suffix -#K.

If the -#K diminutive suffixes are compared it is evident that there is a greater number of allomorphs available in the masculine gender of Russian nouns. Each one of the allomorphs occurs in a different environment (-ok after non-palatal consonants and under stress, -ëk after palatals under stress and -ek elsewhere). The degree of diminutivity expressed by these three variants is the same; berežók, goróšek, ogonëk all have different allomorphs of the -#K diminutive suffix but the meaning of "smallness" or "deariness" is expressed in approximately the same degree in all three nouns.

The morpheme -#K has two allomorphs in Czech in the masculine gender, viz., -ek and -ík. The distribution of these two allomorphs is different from the one in Russian. Unlike in Russian, where the shape of the occurring allomorph is determined by a combination of stress and the nature of the stem final consonant, the distribution of -ek and -ík depends upon the nature of the stem final consonant or consonants. As in Russian, there is no apparent difference in the meaning of these allomorphs.

The -#K allomorph for the neuter and feminine genders have only one variant in the nominative case in both Russian and Czech, viz., -k. In the Genitive Pl., where no case ending follows the allomorph, -ek is used in both languages. The distribution of these allomorphs is the same in Russian and Czech.

2. The suffix -ik.

The Russian diminutive suffix -ik does not have a correspondence among the suffixes occurring in Czech. As this suffix is more intense in the meaning of diminutivity than the suffix -#K, a correspondence might be established between the Russian -ik and the compound suffix -#K-#K occurring in Czech. Consider the following examples: Russ. gvózdik, Cz. hřebíček; Russ. dómik, Cz. domeček; Russ. pakétik, Cz. balíček.

In his research on diminutives in Czech, Neščimenko¹ claims that second degree diminutives are the most stable members of the derivation. This stability of second degree diminutives in Czech and the intensity of -ik diminutives in Russian are comparable.

3. The -#C suffix, the -ic suffix.

Among the other diminutive suffixes there is, as can be seen from the table, more complexity in Russian. There are two morphemes, -#C and -ic, present in Russian, and these have three separate allomorphs. There is a difference in meaning between the morphemes -#C and -ic. Within the morpheme -#C similar rules for the distribution of allomorphs apply as in the case of -#K, but the number of possible allomorphs in the masculine gender is limited to one. The Russian morpheme -ic does not occur in the masculine gender.

In Czech the allomorphs -ec and -ic can be grouped together as being in complementary distribution because there is no instance of

¹ Neščimenko, "Deminutivnye, derivacionnye cepočki v češskom jazyke," Voprosy jazykoznanija, 1970, Vol. 6, pp. 46-59.

overlap. The meaning of the two suffixes is identical. Furthermore, these suffixes are no longer productive in Czech.

B. Non-terminal suffixes:

A similar comparison can be drawn between the non-terminal suffixes of Russian and Czech:

<u>Russian</u>				<u>Czech</u>			
Morpheme	m	f	n	Morpheme	m	f	n
-#K	-eč̣	-eč̣	-eč̣	-#K	-eč̣	-eč̣	-eč̣
	-oč̣	-oč̣	-oč̣		-ič̣	--	-ič̣
	-č̣						
-#C	-eč̣	--	--	-#C	-eč̣	-ič̣	--
-ic	--	-ic	-ic				

In Russian there are more possibilities of allomorphs occurring in the non-terminal suffix. The allomorphs of -#K are in complementary distribution; i.e., -č̣ occurs before -ik; -eč̣ occurs after palatals and -oč̣ occurs elsewhere.

The allomorphs of the morpheme -#C and -#K are identical in the masculine gender in Czech. The difference in length in the allomorph -ik in the feminine gender as compared to the allomorph -í̇k in the masculine gender causes the distinction between the two non-terminal morphemes.

C. Compound suffixes:

The combinations of non-terminal and terminal suffixes which occur in Russian and Czech can be tabulated as follows:

<u>Russian</u>				<u>Czech</u>			
Morphemes	m	f	n	Morphemes	m	f	n
	-oček	-očka	-očko		-eček	-ečka	-ečko
-#K-#K	-eček	-ečka	-ečko	-#K-#K	-íček		-íčko
-#K-ik	-čik	--	-čiko	--			
-#C-#K	--	--	-ečko	-#C-#K	-eček	-ička	--
-ic-#K	--	-ička	--				

The above table is a natural correlate of the previously given tables on pages 38 and 41. The contrasts between the Russian and Czech systems have been mentioned with the appropriate tables. On the whole, the model of Czech diminutives is a simpler system as opposed to the Russian model. The number of morphemes in the diminutive suffixes in terminal position has been reduced from four in Russian to two in Czech; in non-terminal position, there are three morphemes in Russian in comparison to two in Czech. The non-terminal distribution of morphemes applies to compound suffixes.

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APPENDIX

I. RUSSIAN DATA

1:1 #k diminutive suffixes

1:2 Masculine gender

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss*
béreg	berežók	berežóček	bank
bóg	božók	-	god
býk	byčók	-	bull
cár	carék	-	czar
cvét	cvetók	cvetóček	flower
čeln	čelnók	-	boat
-	čulók	čulóček	stocking
dén	denék	deněček	day
dólg	dolžók	-	debt
dóm	domók	-	house
drúg	družók	-	friend
dúb	dubók	-	oak
durák	duračók	-	fool
gláz	glazók	-	eye
gólub'	golubók	-	pigeon

*Only base forms are translated into English, as there are no exact equivalents of expressive derivatives.

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
górod	gorodók	-	town
goróx	goróšek	-	pea
gréx	grešók	-	sin
grib	gribók	-	mushroom
jazyk	jazyčók	-	tongue
krúg	kružók	-	circle
kulák	kulačók	-	fist
kúst	kustók	kustóček	bush
kumán	kumanék	-	friend
lěd	ledók	ledóček	ice
lés	lesók	lesóček	forest
líst	listók	-	leaf
loskút	loskutók	loskutóček	rag
lúg	lužók	lužóček	meadow
mólot	molotók	-	hammer
nógot'	nogotók	-	finger nail
nós	nosók	-	nose
óbraz	obrazók	-	picture
ogón	ogonék	ogonéček	fire
órden	ordenók	-	order
oréx	oréšek	-	nut
óstrov	ostrovók	-	island
páren'	parenék	-	fellow
petúx	petušók	-	cock

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
piróg	p-	-	tart
-	platok	platóček	scarf
pórox	porošók	-	dust
puzýr'	puzyrék	-	bubble
róg	rožók	-	corner
rót	rotók	-	lip
ručej	ručéek	-	tributary
sapóg	sapožók	-	slipper
starík	staričók	-	old man
stíx	stišók	-	poem
svíst	svistók	-	whistle
sundúk	sundučók	-	box
sýn	synók	synóček	son
šág	šažók	-	step
tabún	tabunók	-	head
úgol	ugolók	-	corner
úgol'	úgolek	-	coal
uzél	uzelók	-	bundle
vólos	volosók	-	hair
zúb	zubók	-	tooth
zvón	zvonók	zvonóček	bell
ženíx	ženišók	-	groom

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
1:3 Feminine gender			
bába	bábka	bábočka	old woman
bednijága	bednjážka	-	poor fellow
beséda	besédka	-	conversation
blóxa	blóška	-	flea
blúza	blúzka	-	blouse
borodá	boródka	-	beard
bumága	bumážka	-	paper
čáša	čáška	časěčka	cup
déva	dévka	dévočka	girl
djádja	djád'ka	-	uncle
doróga	dorózka	-	way
doč'	dóčka	-	daughter
dugá	dúžka	-	arch
dýra	dýrka	-	hole
el'	ělka	ěločka	fir tree
figúra	figúrka	-	figure
golová	golóvka	-	head
góra	górká	-	hill
gorst'	górstka	górstočka	handful
grúppa	grúppka	-	group
istórija	istórijka	-	story
jáblonja	jáblon'ka	-	apple tree
jáma	jámka	jámočka	pit

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
kárta	-	kártočka	card
kníga	knížka	knížečka	book
kartína	kartínka	kartínočka	picture
kómnata	kómnatka	-	room
koróna	korónka	-	crown
koróva	koróvka	-	cow
korzína	korzíanka	-	basket
kóška	kóšečka	-	cat
króvat'	krovátka	-	bed
krýša	krýška	krýšečka	roof
kvartíra	kvartírka	-	flat
lávka	lávočka	-	store
lénta	-	léntočka	ribbon
lípa	lípka	lípočka	lime tree
-	lódka	lódočka	boat
lóšad'	lošádka	-	horse
-	lóżka	lóžečka	spoon
lysína	lysínka	-	bald spot
minúta	minútka	-	minute
mogíla	mogílka	-	grave
morščína	morščínka	-	wrinkle
nit'	nítka	-	thread
nóga	nóżka	-	leg
ovcá	ověčka	-	sheep

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
pálka	páločka	-	cane
pelerína	pelerínka	-	pelerine
pésnja	pésenka	-	song
podkóva	podkóvka	-	horse shoe
poljána	poljánka	-	clearing
pólka	póločka	-	shelf
podúxa	podúška	podúšečka	pillow
pružína	pružínka	-	spring
ptíca	ptíčka	-	bird
rabóta	rabótka	-	work
rámka	rámočka	-	frame
reká	rečka	-	river
rubáxa	rubáška	rubášečka	shirt
ruká	ručka	-	hand
rýba	rýbka	-	fish
set'	sétka	-	net
skobá	skóbka	-	staple
sobáka	sobáčka	-	dog
stranica	stranička	-	page
súma	súmka	súmočka	bag
šéja	šejka	-	neck
šljápa	šljápka	-	hat
ščeká	ščéčka	-	cheek
-	ščetka	ščetocka	brush

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
šúba	šúbka	-	overcoat
tetrád'	tetrádka	-	notebook
tětja	tětka	-	aunt
travá	trávka	-	grass
trúba	trúbka	trúbočka	horn
úlica	úlička	-	street
-	verěvka	verěvočka	rope
žená	žénka	-	wife
žerd'	-	žérdočka	pole
žíla	žilka	-	vein

1:4 Neuter gender

jábloko	jábločko	-	apple
lýko	lýčko	-	bast
óblako	óblačko	-	cloud
okno	okóško	okóšečko	window
ózero	ozérko	-	lake
uško	uško	-	ear
zóloto	zólotko	-	gold

1:4 - suffixes

1:5 -ik in the masculine gender

avtomobil'	-	avtomobil'čik	car
barán	-	baránčik	ram
bukét	bukétik	-	bunch

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
cyét	cvétik	-	flower
čas	časik	-	hour, time
dóm	dómik	-	house
dožd'	dóždik	dóždiček	rain
fonár	fonárik	-	lantern
gvozd'	gvózdik	-	nail
kalendár	kalendárik	-	calendar
komár	komárik	-	mosquito
kot	kótik	-	cat
kovér	kóvrik	-	carpet
krest	kréstik	-	cross
kust	kústik	-	bush
mjač	mjáčik	-	game
most	móstik	-	bridge
nos	nósik	-	nose
nož	nóžik	-	knife
pakét	pakétik	pakétčik	parcel
pálec	pál'čik	-	thumb
rot	rótik	-	lip
raz	rázik	-	one time
sad	sádik	-	orchard
slon	slónik	-	elephant
slovár'	slovárik	-	dictionary
stakán	-	stakánčik	glass

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
stul	stúlik	-	chair
šar	šárik	-	ball
škaf	škáfik	škafčik	cupboard
topór	topórik	-	axe
vint	víntik	-	screw
zub	zúbik	-	tooth
1:6 -ik in the neuter gender			
licó	líčiko	-	face
plečó	pléčiko	-	shoulder
kolesó	kolésiko	-	wheel
1:7 #C diminutive suffixes			
1:8 Masculine gender			
brat	brátec	-	brother
moróz	morózec	-	frost
óbraz	obrazéc	-	figure
xleb	xlébec	-	bread
1:9 Feminine gender			
dver'	dvér'ca	-	door
sol'	sól'ca	-	salt
1:10 Neuter gender			
dérevo	dérevce	-	wood
kolenó	kolénce	-	knee

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
kopyto	kopýtce	-	hoof
ózero	ozercó	-	lake
polenó	polénce	-	log
sálo	sál'ce	-	fat
télo	tél'ce	-	body

1:11 -ic suffixes

1:12 -ic in the feminine gender

čast'	častíca	častíčka	part
déva	devíca	-	girl
sestrá	sestríca	sestríčka	sister
vodá	vodíca	-	water
kníga	knižíca	-	book
metél'	metélica	-	storm

1:13 -ic in the neuter gender

máslo	maslice	-	butter
pi	pis'meco	-	letter
pí'le	plátice	-	dress
sobranie	sobranice	-	meeting
zдание	zdánice	-	building

II. CZECH DAT

2:1 #K d... suffixes

2:2 Masculine gender

anděl	andílek	andíleček	angel
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Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
-	balík	balíček	parcel
beran	beránek	beráneček	ram
brouk	brouček	-	beetle
čert	čertík	čertíček	devil
člověk	človíček	-	man
člun	člunek	čluneček	boat
děd	dědek	dědeček	grandfather
děšť	deštík	deštíček	rain
dům	domek	domeček	house
dub	doubek	doubeček	oak
dráp	drápek	drápeček	claw
drob	drobek	drobeček	crumb
háček	háček	-	hook
holub	holoubek	holoubeček	pigeon
hoch	hošík	hošíček	boy
hrách	hrášek	-	pea
hřib	hříbek	hříbeček	mushroom
chlap	chlapík	chlapíček	man
chlév	chlívek	chlíveček	stall
chlup	chloupek	chloupeček	hair
chudák	chudáček	-	poor fellow
jazyk	jazyček	-	tongue

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
kalendář	kalendářík	kalendáříček	calendar
kalich	kalíšek	-	glass
kámen	kamének	kameneček	stone
kartáč	kartáček	-	brush
klíč	klíček	-	key
klobouk	klobouček	-	hat
kluk	klouček	-	boy
kmotr	kmotřík	kmotříček	godfather
-	knedlík	knedlíček	dumpling
kocour	kocourek	-	cat
kočár	kočárek	-	cart
kohout	kohoutek	-	cock
koláč	koláček	-	cake
kruh	kroužek	-	circle
kůň	koník	koníček	horse
koš	košík	košíček	basket
kožich	kožíšek	-	fur
krajíc	krajíček	-	slice
krk	krček	-	neck
krók	kruček	-	step
kříž	křížek	křížeček	cross

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
květ	kvítek	kvíteček	flower
les	lesík	-lesíček	forest
leták	letáček	-	brochure
letohrad	letohrádek	letohrádeček	summer palace
list	lístek	lísteček	leaf
lupen	lupínek	lupíneček	leaf
míč	míček	-	ball
mlýn	mlýnek	mlýneček	mill
mozek	mozeček	-	brain
mrzák	mrzáček	-	cripple
most	můstek	můsteček	bridge
nos	nosík	nosíček	nose
napínák	napínáček	-	tack
nůž	nožík	nožíček	knife
obchod	obchůdek	obchůdeček	store
oblak	obláček	-	cloud
oblouk	oblouček	-	arch
obraz	obrázek	obrázeček	picture
ohně	ohník	ohníček	fire
ořech	oříšek	-	nut
ostrov	ostrůvek	ostrůveček	island
orel	orlík	orlíček	eagle

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
palouk _q	palouček	-	clearing
panák	panáček	-	figure
papír	papírek	papíreček	paper
paroh	parůžek	-	horn
pás	pásek	páseček	belt
park	parčík	-	park
pavouk	pavouček	-	spider
pazour	pazourek	pazoureček	claw
pes	psík	psíček	dog
plamen	plamínek	plamíneček	flame
pokoj	pokojík	pokojíček	room
potok	potůček	-	stream
pramen	pramínek	pramíneček	source
prach	prášek	-	dust
pruh	proužek	-	strip
provaz	provázek	provázeček	string
pták	ptáček	-	bird
pudl	pudlík	pudlíček	poodle
puchýř	puchýřek	-	blister
-	puntík	puntíček	dot
pupen	pupínek	pupíneček	bud
pytel	pytlík	pytlíček	sack
rám	rámek	rámeček	frame
řetěz	řetízek	řetížeček	chain

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
strom	stromek	stroměček	tree
strýc	strýček	-	uncle
střevíc	střevíček	-	shoe
střep	střípek	střípeček	splinter
stupen'	stupínek	stupíneček	step
svaz	svazek	svazeček	bundle
syn	synek	syneček	son
šat	šátek	šáteček	cloth
-	špalík	špalíček	log
šroub	šroubek	šroubeček	screw
sešit	sešitek	sešiteček	note book
schod	schůdek	schůdeček	step
sklep	sklípek	sklípeček	cellar
skřivan	skřivánek	skřiváneček	lark
slavík	slaviček	-	nightingale
slinták	slintáček	-	bib
sud	soudek	soudeček	barrel
táč	tácek	-	tray
talíř	talířek	talířeček	plate
táta	tatík	tatíček	father
ubožák	ubožáček	-	poor fellow
ubrus	ubrousek	ubrouseček	cloth
uhel	uhlík	uhlíček	coal
uzel	uzlík	uzlíček	bundle

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
vák	váček	-	sack
válec	váleček	-	roller
večer	večírek	-	evening
vítr	větrík	větríček	wind
vlas	vlásek	vláseček	hair
vlk	vlček	-	wolf
vrták	vrtáček	-	drill
vzduch	vzdoušek	-	air
vzor	vzorek	vzoreček	pattern
-	zadek	zadeček	hind part
záhon	záhonek	záhoneček	bed
zajíc	zajíček	-	hare
zámek	zámeček	-	lock
zvon	zvonek	zvoneček	bell
zub	zoubek	zoubeček	tooth
žebř	žebřík	žebříček	ladder
žlab	žlábek	žlábeček	groove

2:3 Feminine gender

bába	babka	babička	grandmother
beseda	besídka	besídečka	talk
blána	blanka	blanička	membrane
blecha	bleska	-	flea
blůza	blůzka	bluzička	blouse

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
bota	botka	botička	shoe
brada	bradka	bradička	chin
bouda	budka	boudička	hut
bylina	bylinka	bylinečka	herb
cesta	-	cestička	way
část	částka	částečka	particle
dcera	dcerka	dcerečka	daughter
deka	dečka	-	cover
deska	-	deštička	board
díra	dírka	dírečka	hole
figura	figurka	figurečka	figure
halena	halenka	halenečka	blouse
hlava	hlávka	hlavička	head
hodina	hodinka	hodiňečka	hour
hrst	hrstka	hrstečka	handful
hrouda	hrudka	hroudečka	clod
chvilé	chvilka	chvilečka	moment
jablon'	jablon'ka	-	apple tree
jáma	jamka	jamička	pit
jedle	-	jedlička	fir tree
karta	kartka	kartička	card
klec	klička	-	cage
kniha	knížka	knížečka	book
kobliha	kobližka	-	cake

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
kobyła	kobyłka	kobylečka	mare
-	kočka	kočička	cat
komora	komůrka	komurečka	room
korouhev	-	korouhvička	banner
koruna	korunka	korunečka	crown
košile	košilka	košilečka	shirt
kůže	kožka	kůžička	skin
kráva	kravka	kravička	cow
kudrlina	kudrlinka	-	wave
kytice	kytička	-	flowers
láhev	-	lahvička	bottle
lampa	-	lampička	lamp
lan'	lan'ka	-	doe
lat'	lat'ka	-	lath
lavice	lavička	-	bench
lednice	lednička	-	fridge
lípa	lipka	lípečka	lime tree
lod'	lod'ka	lodička	boat
lopata	lopatka	lopatečka	shovel
louka	loučka	-	meadow
louže	-	loužička	puddle
lysina	lysinka	lysinečka	bald spot
lžice	lžička	-	spoon
máma	mamka	maminka	mother

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
motyka	motyčka	-	hoe
mouka	moučka	-	flour
mříž	mřížka	-	bar
nádoba	nádobka	nádobička	container
nádrž	nádržka	-	reservoir
nit'	nitka	-	thread
obruč	obroučka	-	band
opice	opíčka	-	ape
otep	otýpka	-	bundle
ovce	ovečka	-	sheep
ledvina	ledvinka	-	kidney
police	polička	-	shelf
pavučina	pavučinka	-	cobweb
pentle	-	pentlička	ribbon
perla	-	perlička	pearl
pila	pilka	pilečka	saw
píšťala	píšťalka	píšťalička	whistle
plěna	plenka	plenička	dipper
podkova	podkúvka	podkuvečka	horse shoe
poklice	poklička	-	cover
postava	-	postavička	figure
postel	postýlka	-	bed
příhrada	příhrádka	příhrádečka	compartment
pumpa	-	pumpička	pump

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
punčocha	punčoška	-	stocking
putna	putýnka	putýnečka	kit
roura	rourka	rourečka	pipe
ruka	ručka	ručička	hand
ruže	-	ružička	rose
ryba	rybka	rybička	fish
řeka	říčka	-	river
sestra	-	sestřička	sister
sít'	sít'ka	-	net
skála	skalka	skalička	rock
sklenice	sklenička	-	glass
skřín'	skřín'ka	-	cupboard
skulina	skulinka	-	slot
skupina	skupinka	-	group
slabost	slabůstka	-	weakness
slza	-	slzička	tear
stuha	stužka	stužtička	ribbon
světnice	světnička	-	room
sýkora	sýkorka	-	tit
šablona	šablonka	-	pattern
šn'úra	šn'úrka	šn'urečka	lace
taška	taštička	-	bag
teta	tetka	tetička	aunt
tráva	travka	travička	grass

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
trouba	trubka	trubička	pipe
tvář	-	tvářička	face
tyč	tyčka	-	stick
ulice	ulička	-	street
věž	vížka	věžička	tower
vidlice	vidlička	-	fork
výbava	-	výbavička	equipment
záclona	záclonka	záclonečka	curtain
zahrada	zahrádka	zahrádečka	garden
zástěra	zástěrka	-	apron
závora	závorka	závorečka	bracket
zpráva	-	zprávička	news
žába	žabka	žabička	frog
židle	-	židlička	chair
žíla	žilka	žilečka	vain
žena	žínka	-	wife
žláza	žlázka	žlázička	gland
2:4 Neuter nouns			
auto	-	autíčko	car
bidlo	bidélko	-	crossbar
dílo	dílko	dílečko	work
dláto	dlátko	dlátečko	chisel
hrdlo	hrdélko	-	throat
jádro	jadérko	jadérečko	core

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
jezero	jezířko	jezířečko	lake
kladivo	kladívko	kladívečko	hammer
klubko	klubíčko	-	ball of wool
kolo	-	kolečko	wheel
koleno	kolínko	kolínečko	knee
kopyto	kopýtko	kopytečko	hoof
lano	lanko	lanečko	rope
líce	líčko	-	face
město	-	městečko	town
místo	-	místečko	place
oko	očko	očíčko	eye
okno	okénko	okénečko	window
péro	pérko	péřečko	feather
poleno	polínko	polínečko	log
prkno	prkénko	-	board
rameno	ramínko	ramínečko	shoulder
sklo	-	skélko	glass
semeno	semínko	semínečko	seed
zrno	zrnko	zrnéčko	grain
žebro	žebírko	žebířečko	rib

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
2:5 #C suffixes			
2:6 Masculine gender			
hrad	hradec	hradeček	castle
prapor	praporec	praporeček	banner
-	věnec	věneček	wreath
2:7 Feminine gender			
hvězda	hvězdice	hvězdička	star
pánev	pánvice	pánvička	pan
pokladna	pokladnice	pokladnička	strong box
ruže	ružice	ružička	rose