

FORMATION OF DENOMINATIVE ADJECTIVES IN OLD EAST SLAVIC

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The paper intends to show that formation of denominative adjectives in OESl is regulated, on the one hand, by the degree to which the noun stem involved denotes a prototypical possessor, and, on the other, by the degree of definite or individual personal reference characteristic of the adjective-forming suffix itself.

The genitive of possession and possessive adjective are attested in complimentary distribution in early Slavic. If a head noun has a modifier consisting of a single item, this modifier usually takes the form of a denominative adjective. If the modifier is itself modified – it adopts the form of a noun in a genitive case.

The nouns/noun stems examined in this paper may be defined as forming a continuum from POSSESSOR to POSSESSED. They thus form a hierarchy according to the varying degree of prototypicality. The principal morphological feature of the most prototypical possessor nouns is the ability of their stems to form individual personal adjectives. Those gravitating towards the POSSESSED pole are most often used in OESl in the form of adnominal genitive case of a noun.

Suffixes themselves can be arranged into a hierarchy regulated by lexical features Proper, Personal & Mature. However, morphological features (declensional membership) of the nominal stem may play a decisive role in their compatibility with certain suffixes, particularly *-ov-* and *-in-*. Conversely, morphological features sometimes rank lower than lexical. This is suggested by such formations as *Iudovъ* ‘of Judas’, as well as by the productivity of the suffix *-bŋ-* with stems denoting kinship and clan terms, irrespective of their declensional membership.

Although the selection of a particular suffix tends to be controlled by the morphological and lexical features of the nominal stem, there is no strict correlation with a certain lexical or even morphological type of nominal stem among these adjective-forming suffixes.

Phonological features, such as stem-final consonant or the syllabic composition of the nominal stem, may have been initially relevant for the formation of adjectives with the help of the suffixes **-j-* and *-bj-*. Stems ending in a labial or nasal consonant tend to combine with the suffix **-j-*, while dental stems rarely do. Stems of adjectival origin ending in *-k-/-c-* also show a preference for this suffix (which can be interpreted both as a lexical and a phonological feature). Finally, referential features (Definite/Indefinite) are also prominent in the hierarchical organization of these suffixes. Thus, adjectives with *-bšk-* hardly ever have definite reference.