AGENT SUFFIXES IN NAMES OF PROFESSION IN OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC

14th International Morphology Meeting
Budapest , May 13-16, 2010

Enrique Santos Marinas
Universidad Complutense de Madrid

1. Correspondence between OCS and Greek suffixes

	-eus	-tēs	-os	-ōnēs	Compounds	TOTAL
-nikŭ	4 (2 CA)	7 (6 CA)	7 (6 CA)	-	6 (4 CA, 1 CACO)	24 (18 CA)
-tel'ĭ	1 (CA)	5 (CA)	1 (CA)	-	2 (1 CACO)	9 (7 CA, 1 CACO)
-ĭcĭ	1	3 (2 CA, 1 CO)	-	1 (CO)	2 (CACO)	7 (2 CA, 2 CO, 2 CACO)
-ar'ĭ	1	-	-	1	4 (2 CA)	6 (2 CA)

2. Correspondence between OCS suffixes and their lexical base

	Nominal base	Adjectival base	Verbal base	TOTAL
-nikŭ	15 (14 CA)	4 (1 CA)	6 (2 CA, 1 CACO)	24 (18 CA) + mǫčenikŭ-martys
-tel'ĭ	-	-	9 (7 CA, 1 CACO)	9 (7 CA, 1 CACO)
-ĭcĭ	-	-	7 (2 CA, 2 CO, 2 CACO)	7 (2 CA, 2 CO, 2 CACO)
-ar'ĭ	6 (2 CA)	-	-	6 (2 CA)

3. Nouns in -tel'ĭ (Verbal base)

dĕlatel'ĭ "worker"	dĕlati "to work, to do"	ergatēs	ergazomai "to work, to do"
tęžatel'ĭ "farmer"	tęžati "to do a heavy work"	geōrgos	gē + *orgos "land + worker"
prositel'ĭ "beggar"	prositi "to ask"	prosaitēs	pros-aiteō "to ask in addition"
svętitel'ĭ "priest"	svętiti "to consecrate" < svętŭ "sacred"	hiereus	hiereuō "to sacrifice" < hieros "sacred"
mǫčitel'ĭ "torturer"	mǫčiti "to torture"	vasanistēs	vasanizō "to torture"
učitel'ĭ "teacher"	učiti "to teach"	didaskalos	didaskō "to teach"
zakonoučitel'ĭ "law teacher"	zakonŭ + učiti "law + to teach"	nomodidaskalos	nomos + didaskō "law" + "to teach"
žętel'ĭ "reaper"	žęti "to reap"	theristēs	therizō "to reap"
dĕlitel'ĭ "divider of the inheritance"	dĕliti "to divide"	meristēs	merizō "to divide"

4. Nouns in -ĭcĭ (Verbal base)

lovĭcĭ "hunter"	loviti "to hunt"	halieus "fisherman"	halios "belonging to the sea"
svirĭcĭ "flutist"	svirati "to play flute"	aulētēs	auleō "to play flute"
sopĭcĭ "flutist"	soti "to play flute"	aulētēs	id.
zaimodavĭcĭ "money lender"	zaimŭ + dati "loan + to give"	danistēs	daneizō "to lend"
mĭzdoimĭcĭ "tax collector"	mĭzda + imati "salary + to take"	telōnēs	telos "tax"
bogoslovĭcĭ "theologue"	bogŭ + sloviti "God + to speak"	theologos	theos + logizomai "God + to think"
četvritovlastĭcĭ "tetrarch"	četvrĭtŭ + vlasti "fourth + to rule"	tetraarchēs	tetartē + archeuō "fourth + to rule"

5. Nouns in -nikŭ with verbal base

naslĕdĭnikŭ "heir"	na-slĕditi "to follow"	klēro-nomos	klēro-nomeō "to inherit, to divide in parts"
nastavĭnikŭ "master"	na-staviti "to instruct"	epistatēs	ef-istemi "to place/stand above"
zasĕdĭnikŭ "spy"	za-sĕdĕti "to seat behind"	enkathetos	en-kathiēmi "to fall onto"
pristavĭnikŭ "steward"	pri-staviti "to add, to place by"	epitropos	epi-trepō "to turn round"
četvritovlastĭnikŭ "tetrarch"	četvrĭtŭ + vlasti "fourth + to rule"	tetraarchēs	tetartē + archeuō "fourth+ to rule"
naimĭnikŭ "hired worker"	na-jęti "to hire"	misthios/ misthōtos	misthos "salary"

6. Nouns in -nikŭ with nominal base

skǫdĭlĭnikŭ "potter"	skǫdĭlĭ "tile"	kerameus	keramos "tile"
pĕnęžĭnikŭ "money-changer"	pĕnędzĭ "money"	kermatistēs	kerma "money"
razboinikŭ "robber"	razboi "robbery"	lēstēs	leia "booty", lēstĕia "robbery"
vĕstĭnikŭ "messenger"	vĕstĭ "message"	angelos	angelia "message" < angellō
sŭvĕtĭnikŭ "member of council"	sŭvĕtĭ "council"	bouleutēs	boulē "council"
trŭžĭnikŭ "money-changer"	trŭgŭ "market place"	kollybistēs	kollybos "courtyard, square"
vratĭnikŭ "doorkeeper"	vrata "gate"	thyrōros	thyra + ouros "door + keeper"
dvĭrĭnikŭ "doorkeeper"	dvĭrĭ "door"	thyrōros	id.
gostinĭnikŭ/gostĭnikŭ "innkeeper"	gostĭ "guest"	pandocheus	pandokeuō "to lodge"
kŭnižĭnikŭ "scholar, scribe"	kŭnigy "letters, book, Scriptures"	grammateus	grammata "letters, Scriptures"
zakonĭnikŭ "law-teacher"	zakonŭ "law"	nomikos	nomos "law"
bezakonĭnikŭ "law-breaker, criminal"	bez-zakonŭ "without law"	anomos	a-nomos "without law"
sŭtĭnikŭ "centurion"	sŭto "hundred"	hekatontarchos	hekaton + archeuō "hundred + to rule"
tysǫštĭnikŭ "chiliarch"	tysǫšti "thousand"	chiliarchos	chilias + archeuō "thousand + to rule"
dlŭžĭnikŭ "debtor"	dlŭgŭ "debt"	ofeiletēs	ofeilē "debt"

7. Nouns in -nikŭ with adjectival base

obĭštĭnikŭ "partner"	obĭštĭ "common"	koinōnos	koinos "common"
svęštenikŭ "priest"	svęštenŭ "consecrated"	hiereus	hiereuō "to sacrifice" < hieros "sacred"
mǫčenikŭ "martyr"	mǫčenŭ "tortured"	martys	-
učenikŭ "disciple"	učenŭ "taught"	mathētēs	manthanō "to learn"

8. Nouns in -ar'ĭ (Nominal base)
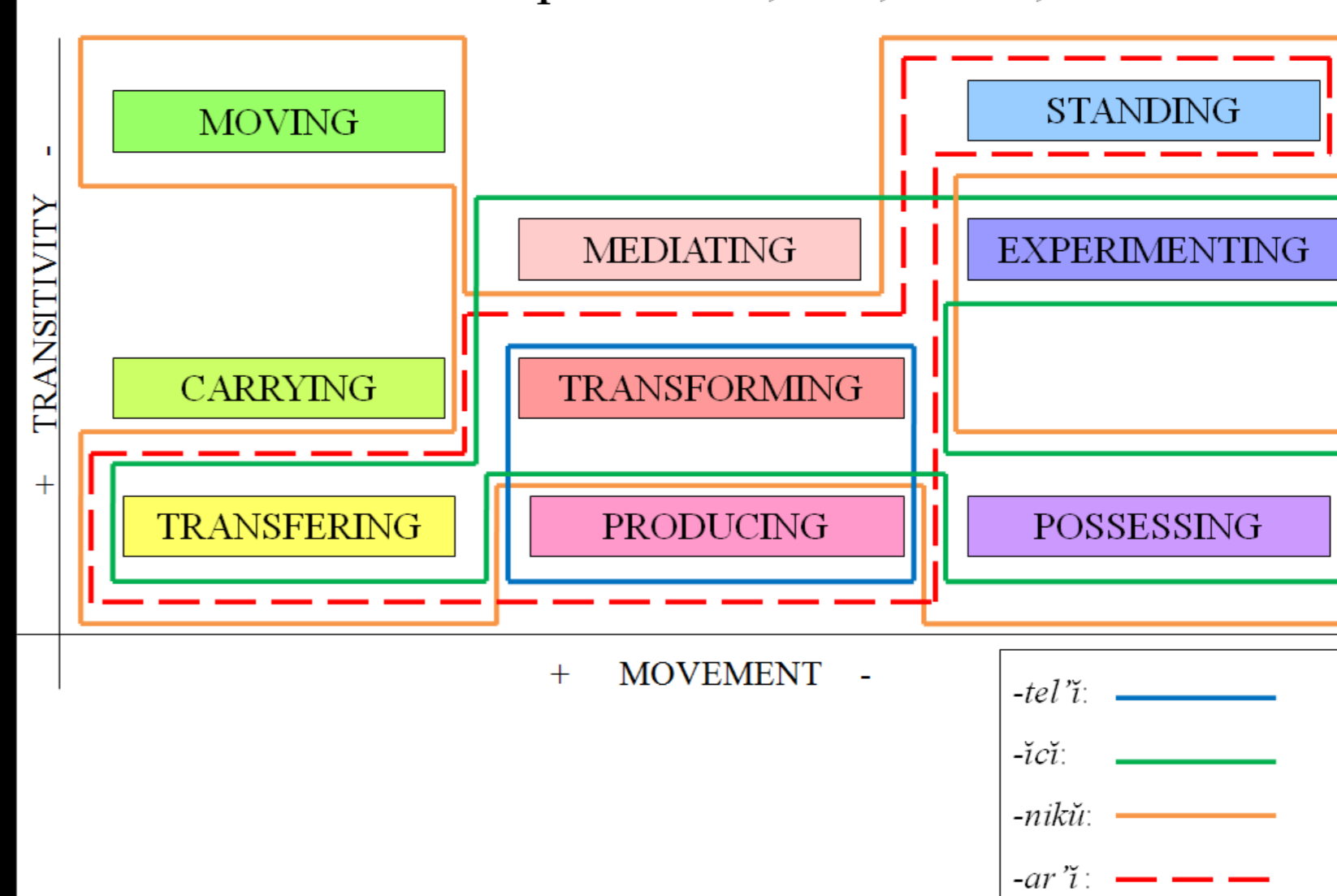
vinar'ĭ "vine dresser"	vino "wine"	ampelourgos	ampelos + *orgos "vine + worker"
rybar'ĭ "fisherman"	ryba "fish"	halieus "fisherman"	halios "belonging to the sea"
mytar'ĭ "tax collector"	myto "pay, tax"	telōnēs	telos "tax"
vrĭtogradar'ĭ "gardener"	vrĭtogradŭ "garden"	kēpouros	kēpos + ouros "garden + keeper"
vratar'ĭ "doorkeeper"	vrata "gate"	thyrōros	thyra + ouros "door + keeper"
ključar'ĭ "key keeper"	ključĭ "key"	kleidofylax	kleis + fylax "key + keeper"

9. Correspondence between types of action and OCS and Greek suffixes

		-eus	-tēs	-os	-ōnēs	CO	Subtotal	Total
PRODUCING	-tel'ĭ (V.)	-	2 (CA)	-	-	1	3	4
	-ar'ĭ (N.)	-	-	-	-	1	1	
TRANSFORM.	-nikŭ (N.)	1 (CA)	-	-	-	-	1	9
	-tel'ĭ (V.)	1 (CA)	3 (CA)	1 (CA)	-	1 (CACO)	6	
	-ĭcĭ (V.)	1	-	-	-	-	1	
	-ar'ĭ (N.)	1	-	-	-	-	1	
MEDIATING	-ĭcĭ (V.)	-	2 (CA)	-	-	-	2	2
TRANSFERING	-nikŭ (N.)	-	2 (CA)	1 (CA)	-	-	3	6
	-ĭcĭ (V.)	-	1 (CO)	-	1 (CO)	-	2	
	-ar'ĭ (N.)	-	-	-	1	-	1	
MOVING	-nikŭ (V.)	-	-	-	-	1	1	1
STANDING	-nikŭ (N.)	-	2 (CA)	-	-	2 (CA)	4	9
	-nikŭ (V.)	-	1 (CA)	2 (1 CA)	-	-	3	
	-ar'ĭ (N.)	-	-	-	-	2 (1 CA)	2	
EXPERIMENT.	-ĭcĭ (V.)	-	-	-	-	1 (CACO)	1	1
POSSESSING	-nikŭ (N.)	2 (1 CA)	-	2 (CA)	-	2 (CA)	6	9
	-nikŭ (V.)	-	-	-	-	1 (CACO)	1	
	-ĭcĭ (V.)	-	-	-	-	1 (CACO)	1	
	-ar'ĭ (N.)	-	-	-	-	1 (CA)	1	
NOT AGENT	-nikŭ (N.)	-	1 (CA)	-	-	-	1	6
	-nikŭ (A.)	1	1	1 (CA)	-	-	3 + martys	
	-nikŭ (V.)	-	-	1	-	-	1	

N.B.: CA = Calque, CO = Compound word

Semantic Map of -tel'ĭ, -ĭcĭ, -nikŭ, -ar'ĭ