

Zeitschrift für Wortbildung / Journal of Word Formation

**eine Open-Access-Zeitschrift /
an Open Access Journal**

1 / 2017

herausgegeben von / edited by

Petra M. Vogel, Elke Donalies, Ludwig M. Eichinger,
Mechthild Habermann, Jörg Meibauer,
Barbara Schlücker, Hans-Joachim Solms,
Pavol Štekauer und Salvador Valera Hernández

Zeitschrift für Wortbildung /
Journal of Word Formation

2017 • Jahrgang / Volume 1 • Heft / Issue 1

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**Petra M. Vogel • Elke Donalies • Ludwig M. Eichinger •
Mechthild Habermann • Jörg Meibauer •
Barbara Schlücker • Hans-Joachim Solms •
Pavol Štekauer • Salvador Valera Hernández (Hrsg. / eds.)**

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Zusammenbildungen / Synthetic Compounds

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Manuskripte sind an die federführende Herausgeberin unter petra.vogel@uni-siegen.de zu senden.

Redaktion: Dr. Carolin Baumann, Universität Siegen, Fakultät I, Germanistisches Seminar, Adolf-Reichwein-Straße 2, D-57068 Siegen, Tel.: +(49) (0)271/ 740-2924
E-Mail: ZWJW@germanistik.uni-siegen.de

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“Zeitschrift für Wortbildung / Journal of Word Formation” (ZWJW) is an open access and double blind peer reviewed international journal. ZWJW publishes papers on all aspects of word formation with respect to any language and linguistic field, e.g. morphology, syntax, lexicology, phonology, semantics, pragmatics, language history, typology, dialectology, language acquisition, language contact. The journal is published online and releases two issues a year. It contains original papers, reviews and general information such as announcements of conferences, meetings, workshops, etc. Special issues devoted to important topics in word formation will occasionally be published. Manuscripts are accepted in English, German, French and Spanish.

Please send your manuscript to the editor-in-chief petra.vogel@uni-siegen.de.

Editorial Assistant: Dr. Carolin Baumann, Universität Siegen, Fakultät I, Germanistisches Seminar, Adolf-Reichwein-Straße 2, D-57068 Siegen, Tel.: +(49) (0)271/ 740-2924
E-Mail: ZWJW@germanistik.uni-siegen.de

Website: www.peterlang.com/view/journals/zwjw/zwjw-overview.xml

ISSN 2367-3877

Peter Lang GmbH, Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften, Postfach 940225,
60460 Frankfurt, Telefon 069/7807050, Telefax 069/78070550.

Homepage: <http://www.peterlang.com>

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Editorial

Wir, die Herausgeberinnen und Herausgeber sowie die Kolleginnen und Kollegen des wissenschaftlichen Beirats, freuen uns sehr, Ihnen nach einer Planungsphase von rund 1½ Jahren nun gemeinsam mit dem Peter Lang Verlag das erste Heft der Zeitschrift für Wortbildung/ Journal of Word Formation (ZWJW) präsentieren zu können.

ZWJW ist die erste Zeitschrift, die sich ausschließlich dem Gebiet der Wortbildung widmet. Das Spektrum der Zeitschrift umfasst Wortbildungssphänomene in allen Sprachen und in allen linguistischen Bereichen, z.B. Morphologie, Syntax, Lexikologie, Phonologie, Semantik, Pragmatik, Sprachgeschichte, Typologie, Dialektologie, Spracherwerb und Sprachkontakt.

ZWJW ist eine internationale Open-Access-Zeitschrift mit einem Double-blind-Begutachtungsverfahren und erscheint mit zwei Ausgaben jährlich, jeweils zum 31.3. und zum 30.9. eines Jahres. Manuskripte können in Deutsch, Englisch, Französisch und Spanisch eingereicht werden, müssen aber ein englisches Abstract von maximal 350 Zeichen (inkl. Leerzeichen) enthalten.

ZWJW enthält Artikel, Rezensionen und Varia wie z.B. Tagungskündigungen oder Tagungsberichte. Sonderhefte zu wichtigen Themen der Wortbildung erscheinen in unregelmäßigen Abständen. Dies gilt bereits für das vorliegende erste Heft, das sich in drei Beiträgen mit Zusammenbildungen/Synthetic compounds beschäftigt und von Jörg Meibauer und Petra M. Vogel herausgegeben wird. Diese erste Ausgabe enthält noch keinen Rezensionsteil, aber die Zeitschrift wird mit den kommenden Ausgaben ihre definitive Form annehmen.

Unser besonderer Dank gilt allen Autorinnen und Autoren, die mit uns zusammen diese Zeitschrift jetzt gestalten und zukünftig gestalten werden. Mein persönlicher Dank gilt meinen Mitherausgeberinnen und -herausgebern sowie den Kolleginnen und Kollegen des wissenschaftlichen Beirats, die sich mit mir zusammen auf das ZWJW-Wagnis eingelassen haben. Wir freuen uns auf spannende Artikel, Tagungskündigungen und -berichte, Rezensionsbeiträge sowie allgemeine Anregungen und Verbesserungsvorschläge.

Siegen, im Februar 2017

Petra M. Vogel

Editor-in-Chief

petra.vogel@uni-siegen.de

Editorial

We, the editors and the members of the advisory board as well as the Peter Lang International Academic Publishers, are pleased to be able to present you with the first issue of the *Zeitschrift für Wortbildung/ Journal of Word Formation* (ZWJW) after a planning phase of 1½ years.

ZWJW is the first journal that focuses solely on word formation. It publishes papers on all aspects of word formation with respect to any language and linguistic field, e.g. morphology, syntax, lexicology, phonology, semantics, pragmatics, language history, typology, dialectology, language acquisition, language contact.

ZWJW is an open access and double blind peer reviewed international journal and releases two issues a year, on March 31st and September 30th, respectively. Manuscripts are accepted in English, German, French and Spanish; every manuscript must have an English abstract of max. 350 characters (including spaces).

ZWJW contains original papers, reviews and general information such as announcements of conferences, meetings, workshops, etc. Special issues devoted to important topics in word formation will occasionally be published and, in fact, this first issue, edited by Jörg Meibauer and Petra M. Vogel, focuses on *Zusammenbildungen/ Synthetic compounds* as its topic. This first edition does not contain a review section, but ZWJW will take on its definitive form with the coming issues.

Our special thanks go to all the authors who contribute to ZWJW now and in the future. My personal thanks go to my co-editors and the members of the advisory board who have joined me in venturing into the publication of ZWJW. We look forward to exciting papers, conference announcements/ reports and reviews as well as general suggestions and proposals for improvement.

Siegen, February 2017

Petra M. Vogel

Editor-in-Chief

petra.vogel@uni-siegen.de

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Vorwort

Als sich vor einigen Monaten abzeichnete, dass das erste Heft der Zeitschrift für Wortbildung/ Journal of Word Formation (ZWJW) im Frühjahr 2017 erscheinen würde, war schnell die Idee geboren, mit einem Themenheft zu starten, für das eine/r oder mehrere der Herausgeberinnen und Herausgeber der Zeitschrift verantwortlich zeichnen würden. Die Wahl fiel dann auf das Thema „Zusammenbildungen/ Synthetic compounds“ und wir beide übernahmen die Betreuung.

Zusammenbildungen sind seit den klassischen Arbeiten von Wilhelm Wilmanns, Otto Behaghel, Leonard Bloomfield und Hans Marchand ein kontrovers diskutiertes, deshalb aber auch umso spannenderes und ergiebigeres Thema. Im Zentrum stehen Konstruktionen, wie sie vor allem im Deutschen und Englischen vorzukommen scheinen, die aus mindestens drei Morphemen bestehen und theoretisch entweder als Komposition oder als Derivation auf der Basis einer phrasenartigen Konstruktion eingestuft werden können. Als prototypische Beispiele im Deutschen werden im Allgemeinen Fälle wie *Appetit+hemm+er* für den substantivischen und *blau+äug+ig* für den adjektivischen Bereich genannt. Unter der Annahme der prinzipiellen Binarität von Wortbildungsstrukturen kann das mittlere der drei Morpheme entweder dem linken oder dem rechten Teil zugeschlagen werden. Im ersten Fall würden sich Derivationen auf der Basis von phrasenartigen Konstruktionen oder „Wortgruppen“ (nicht Phrasen, denn *Appetit+hemm-* und *blau+äug* sind keine syntaktisch möglichen Phrasen) ergeben, im zweiten Fall Komposita mit einer Derivation als Determinatum. Die zweite Analyse ist auch problematisch, denn die Wortbildungen *Hemm+er* und *äug+ig* kommen nicht frei vor.

Derivation	[[Appetit+hemm] er]	[[blau+äug] ig]
Komposition	[[Appetit] [Hemmer]]	[[blau] [äugig]]

Man kann daraus durchaus schließen, dass die Zusammenbildung eine eigene Art der Wortbildung ist, d.h. weder auf Derivation noch auf Komposition zurückführbar, und dass eine ternäre (oder holistische) Analyse am angemessensten ist.

Ohne hier jetzt im Detail auf die verschiedenen Ansätze und ihre Gründe einzugehen, scheint die Tendenz im Allgemeinen in Richtung Analyse als Kompositum zu gehen, was im englischen Terminus „synthetic compound“ im Gegensatz zum deutschen Terminus „Zusammenbildung“ schon angelegt ist. In dem Zusammenhang kann man auch fragen, ob es des Zusatzes „synthetic“

noch bedarf, d.h., ob es weitere Spezifika bei diesen Komposita gibt zusätzlich zu der Tatsache, dass ihre Zweitglieder/ Köpfe zwar prinzipiell autonom möglich sind, meist aber nicht oder nur in sehr speziellen Kontexten vorkommen. Es ist in jedem Fall lohnend, hier genauer hinzusehen und die ganze Bandbreite an ähnlich gelagerten Fällen in einer Sprache zu betrachten und zu analysieren und möglichst auch weitere Sprachen und die diachrone Entwicklung miteinzubeziehen.

Wir freuen uns deshalb, hier drei Arbeiten präsentieren zu können, die die Thematik aus drei unterschiedlichen Blickrichtungen betrachten. Susan Olsen widmet sich erst der terminologischen Vielfalt, um dann am Beispiel deutscher und englischer Fälle für eine Kategorisierung als Komposita im Rahmen einer lexikalistischen Herangehensweise zu plädieren. Gianina Iordăchioaia, Artemis Alexiadou und Andreas Pairamidis beschäftigen sich in ihrem Beitrag mit englischen und neugriechischen Beispielen und fordern in Abhängigkeit von dem jeweiligen Typus eine Entscheidung für eine von drei Möglichkeiten. Martina Werner schließlich geht von einer Einordnung der betroffenen Konstruktionen als Derivationen aus und untersucht deren historische Entwicklung im Deutschen.

Mainz und Siegen, im Februar 2017

Jörg Meibauer und Petra M. Vogel

Preface

Some months ago, when it became clear that the first issue of the *Zeitschrift für Wortbildung/ Journal of Word Formation* (ZWJW) would appear in spring 2017, the idea was born to start with a Special Issue edited by members of the Editorial Board. We chose “Zusammenbildungen/ Synthetic compounds” as the topic for this Special Issue and began our editorial work.

Synthetic compounds have remained a controversial topic of morphological analysis since their first mention in the seminal works of Wilhelm Wilmanns, Otto Behaghel, Leonard Bloomfield and Hans Marchand. They are not only theoretically but also empirically challenging, even more so when you compare findings from different languages.

Typically, research focuses on morphological constructions that consist of at least three morphemes, not allowing a straightforward analysis as a compound or a derivation. Such cases are quite common in German and English, as well as in other languages. Typical examples in German are the noun *Appetit+hemm+er* and the adjective *blau+äug+ig*. If it is assumed that word structures are strictly binary, the morpheme in the middle of the whole construction, i.e., *hemm-* and *äug-*, respectively, can either be added to the first constituent, yielding a derivational analysis, or to the third constituent (which is a suffix), yielding a compound analysis. In the first case, we would assume a phrasal construction or “Wortgruppe” (‘word group’) as a base. The problem, however, is that we do not find freely occurring phrases like *Appetit+hemm-* and *blau+äug*. In the second case, we also face problems since we do not find word formations such as *Hemm+er* and *äug+ig*, except as a part of the whole construction.

derivation	$[[\text{Appetit}+\text{hemm}] \text{ er}]$ appetite+block+er 'appetite blocker'	$[[\text{blau}+\text{äug}] \text{ ig}]$ blue+eye+ig 'blue eyed'
compound	$[[\text{Appetit}] [\text{Hemmer}]]$	$[[\text{blau}] [\text{äugig}]]$

From this we may conclude that “Zusammenbildungen/ Synthetic compounds” constitute a separate, autonomous type of word formation, not being reducible to compounding or derivation, and that a ternary (holistic) analysis is called for.

Without going into further detail here, the majority of researchers tend towards a compound analysis, which is already suggested by the English term “synthetic compound”. In contrast, the German term “Zusammenbildung”

avoids the appeal to compounds and suggests the merging of the constituents. If a reduction to a compound analysis is feasible (despite the fact that the complex right-hand constituent is a potential but usually not factual word), we could do away with the attribute “synthetic”. In any case, it is a worthwhile enterprise to look closely at the whole spectrum of crucial cases within a given language, but also in comparison to other languages, diachronic developments, and language acquisition. Needless to say, modelling of the phenomena with respect to different theoretical approaches to word formation is an important task.

We are pleased to present three papers that deal with the topic from a number of angles. Susan Olsen goes into the variety of terminological traditions, and then develops a plea for a compound analysis from a lexicalist point of view, drawing on English and German examples. Gianina Iordăchioaia, Artemis Alexiadou, and Andreas Pairamidis analyse English and Modern Greek examples, distinguishing between three different types of synthetic compounds and claiming that the correct analysis is dependent on the specific type of synthetic compound. Finally, Martina Werner adds a historical dimension to the picture when she argues for a derivational analysis based on data from German.

Mainz and Siegen, February 2017
Jörg Meibauer and Petra M. Vogel

Beiträge / Papers

Susan Olsen

Synthetic compounds from a lexicalist perspective

Abstract: This article investigates the origin and history of the term synthetic compound and sketches its development up to present within a lexicalist framework of grammar as it applies to both denominal and deverbal constructions.

1. Introduction

The complex word-formations under discussion in this article have been of interest to linguists for a very long time. As the subject of study in early descriptive works on the Germanic languages, they were initially referred to as “Zusammenbildungen” (‘together formations’). This descriptive term allowed grammarians to focus on the complexity of their morphological structure, while remaining non-committal with respect to the question of their categorial status. The process of “Zusammenbildung” was variously defined as the interaction, simultaneous occurrence, coincidence or mixture of composition and derivation. Different views were proposed as to the nature of the interaction between these two major word-formation processes. As a result, a clear consensus was never reached on the question of whether “Zusammenbildungen” represent compounds or derivations; or whether they are to be seen as a separate category of complex words. Interestingly, this question persists up to this day and is currently subject to varying interpretations across the different theoretical approaches to word-formation.

This article traces the origin and history of the term synthetic compound in section 2, paying attention to its widening empirical circumference as linguistic theory matures. The question left open by pre-theoretical descriptive studies as to whether these morphological structures are best explained as derivations or as compounds is examined more closely in sections 3 through 5. Section 3 scrutinizes the arguments proposed for analyzing denominal synthetic compounds such as *open-minded* as derivations and then examines a view according to which they represent compounds. Sections 4 and 5 turn attention to deverbal synthetic compounds. Section 4 presents a lexicalist theory proposing a compound structure for formations of the type *book-reader*, accompanied by the assumption of argument inheritance. In section 5, a lexicalist theory is discussed that postulates a derivational structure for the same set of deverbal compounds to explain their verbal interpretation. Its predictions are compared with those of the composition hypothesis and in section 6 a view is sketched of deverbal synthetic compounds as genuine compounds with a relational

interpretation anchored in the semantic/conceptual content of the underlying verb. Section 7 summarizes the conclusions of the discussion.

The reasons for choosing a lexicalist framework as the basis for this discussion are both practical and theoretical. Practically, the volume contains other articles whose treatment of synthetic compounds is undertaken within a syntactically oriented view of word-formation so that, together, the articles of this volume provide a good sampling of competing theories represented in present-day linguistic discussion. More theoretically, lexicalism is an economical theory of word-formation, restricting itself to minimal assumptions about both the structure and processes that characterize complex linguistic expressions. However, as will be seen, even within this one theoretical framework, differing opinions as to the categorial nature and interpretative process of synthetic compounds exist.

2. The term synthetic compound

The complex words under consideration in this article were first brought to linguists' attention by early grammarians of the Germanic languages as "Zusammenbildungen", cf. Wilmanns (1896), Behaghel (1917), Kluge (1925), Henzen (1965), Erben (2006), among others. The term was at once descriptive and vague. Their formation seemed to be based on several lexemes that formed a word group. But in what sense is a "Zusammenbildung" such as, e.g., *Ge-setzgebung* 'legislation; lit. law giving' different from a "Zusammenrückung" ('conversion of a syntagma') like *Tunichtgut* 'ne'er-dowell', a univerbation like *Achtstundentag* 'eight-hour day' or a "Phrasenkompositum" ('phrasal compound') such as *Kopf-an-Kopf-Rennen* 'neck-on-neck race', cf. Fleischer and Barz (2012: 22–23, 87, 131)? Is it correct to assume that they are a linearization of morphemes? Or can they be explained as "Zusammensetzungen" ('compounds') like *Warenlieferung* 'merchandise delivery' or derivations such as *Aufstellung* 'assembly; lit. up+place+ung'?

To give an example of the divergence of opinions, Adelung (1782) considered "Zusammenbildungen" derivations. For him, the nominalizing suffix *-ung* allowed whole expressions to be transformed into a single word: *schadlos halten* 'lit. harmless hold' > *Schadloshaltung* 'indemnification'. For Paul (1920), "Zusammenbildungen" represented an intermediate class in which the processes of composition and derivation worked together to create a complex word from a syntactic group as in *Haussuchung* < *Haus+sueh+ung* 'house search; lit. house+search+ung'. And, although Wellmann (1975) considers structures like *Geldgeber* 'financial backer; lit. money giver' derivations from a word group (cf. *Geld geben* 'money (to) give'), he also refers to them as pseudo-compounds ('Scheinkomposita'). Cf. Leser (1990) for a detailed summary of these earlier discussions.

According to Leser (1990) and Neef (2015), the term synthetic compound can be traced back to a monograph by Leopold von Schroeder from (1874) dealing with nominal compounds in Greek and Latin. Von Schroeder was studying constructions like German *Machthaber* ‘power holder’ which appear to involve a synthesis of two formation processes: the first and second element form a compound (**macht+hab-* ‘to power-hold’), while the second and third appear to be a derivation (**Haber* ‘holder’). The peculiarity of this class of formations is that neither the first two elements alone nor the final two exist as words – a word arises only when all three elements occur together. For such formations, von Schroeder proposes the designation synthetic compounds (‘*synthetische Composita*’), cf. von Schroeder (1874: 206).

From here, the term synthetic compound was introduced into the English literature on word-formation by Bloomfield (1933). Comparing the independent agent noun [dme:'te:r] ‘tamer’ of Ancient Greek with its bound counterpart [-damo-], used only as a second member of a compound as in [hip'po-damo-s] ‘horse tamer’, Bloomfield drew a parallel to English *blacker* and *sweeper* (as in *blacker of boots* and *sweeper of chimneys*) and *bootblack* and *chimney sweep* where the deverbal forms *-black* and *-sweep* occur as agent-denoting nouns without an overt suffix only as the second member of a compound. Bloomfield’s point was that forms found in complex structures can carry “special features” when compared to their independently occurring counterparts. The denominal constructions *blue-eyed* or *snub-nosed*, for example, are not explainable in terms of *blue+eyed* or *snub+nosed* because **eyed* and **nosed* do not exist independently; rather, they must be analyzed as [[blue eye]+ed] and [[snub nose]+ed]. Due to the existence of this “special feature” in the word-formation, Bloomfield labeled such denominal forms synthetic compounds. Deverbal forms like *meat-eater* and *meat-eating* were considered semi-synthetic compounds because the words *eater* and *eating* exist alongside the compounds. The special (or synthetic) feature in this case is the word order: the object occurs before the verb (i.e. *meat-eat*) only when *-er* or *-ing* is affixed to the verb. Hence, for Bloomfield, the type *blue-eyed* was a synthetic compound, while *meat-eater* was a semi-synthetic compound, cf. Bloomfield (1933: 231–232).

Marchand (1969) incorporated the term synthetic compound into his comprehensive study of English word-formation. In doing so however, he returned to von Schroeder’s original sense of the term as it applied to deverbal cases like von Schroeder’s *Machthaber* and his own leadword *watchmaker* rather than to denominal constructions, as Bloomfield had defined the term. Marchand distinguished between synthetic (or verbal nexus) compounds that contained a deverbal final constituent and primary compounds that consist of two nominal constituents like *steamboat*. This dichotomy became well-established in the literature on compounding. Importantly, Marchand assumed that both types

of compounds, the primary *steamboat* and the synthetic *watchmaker*, display a compound structure at the morphological level, namely sb/ sb (or N+N in modern terminology), cf. Marchand (1969: 17–18). Denominal constructions like *blue-eyed* or his leadword *palefaced* are mentioned only briefly in a short paragraph in which he terms them “bahuvrihi adjectives” (Marchand 1969: 19). These were the formations subsumed under the term synthetic compound by Bloomfield who, paradoxically, did not actually analyze them as compounds. Like Bloomfield, Marchand analyses them as derivations (i.e. [[blue eye]+ed] and [[pale face]+ed]) and drops Bloomfield’s term semi-synthetic from the study of English word-formation as a designation for deverbal constructions, employing von Schroeder’s term synthetic compound in its stead.

Although using von Schroeder’s term synthetic compound, Marchand does not stick to the original limitation of the term. Von Schroeder applied it to constructions that display a “double synthesis” of composition and derivation in the sense of the “Zusammenbildungen” as in *Machthaber*. Marchand (1969: 16) distinguishes these constructions, which he exemplifies with *watchmaker*, from cases like *deer hunter*, *ballet dancer* and *cigar smoker*. In the first group, he terms the final constituent a “functional derivative”, explaining that **maker* is not a lexical item but expresses an underlying subject and predicate relation (*he makes*), while in the second group *hunter*, *dancer* and *smoker* are independent lexical items. Both groups, however, exemplify synthetic compounds for him; the lack of independent occurrence that was essential to the original definition, isn’t deemed important, cf. Marchand (1969: 17):

[...] as the underlying verbal nexus is clear in either type of verbal nexus combination – the one consisting of two independent lexical entities (*deer hunter*, *rope dancing*) and the other consisting of an independent first element plus a functional derivative as second element (*watchmaker*, *housekeeping*) – the lexical independence of the second word is a matter of secondary importance. Consequently all combinations containing as second elements deverbal derivatives whose verbal bases form a direct nexus with the first element of the combination will be called synthetic compounds.

Hence, Marchand, adopting von Schroeder’s term synthetic compound, extends the sense of the original coinage to include both the *watchmaker* and *deer hunter* type. This broader usage of the term has been carried over to current work.

Adopting Marchand’s distinction between primary and synthetic compounds, Allen (1978) also understands the latter as differing from the former in having a deverbal element as a second constituent. Whereas Marchand (1969) considered only compounds containing derived heads ending in *-er* and *-ing*, Allen was instrumental in drawing attention to the fact that the class of synthetic compounds is actually larger than those derived only by these suffixes: it includes ones ending in the less productive suffixes *-age*, *-y*, *-ment*,

-ion, -ure, -ance, -al and *-Ø* as well, cf. *grain-storage, mail delivery, wedding announcement, cost reduction, shop closure, price maintenance, snow-removal* and *tax cut*, cf. Allen (1978: 157). Here again it is clear that the term synthetic compound is being used more broadly than in the original sense that applied to the “Zusammenbildungen” and that motivated von Schroeder’s term. Whereas Marchand used the notion “functional derivative” to account for the non-occurrence of **maker* vs. *watchmaker*, Allen explains the bound nature of **maker* by appealing to the transitivity of the underlying verb. Since *make* and *tell* are obligatory transitive verbs, their meaning is only complete when the logical object of the verb also accompanies the derived noun. This explains why **maker* and **teller* alone are not possible, whereas *story teller/ watchmaker* and *teller of stories/ maker of watches* are well-formed. *Read*, on the other hand, is only optionally transitive, so *reader* can occur alone or with an object: *book reader* or *reader of books*, cf. Allen (1978: 164–170).¹

At this point there was a consensus among linguists that, formally, deverbal structures like *watchmaker* and *story-teller* are compounds, and, semantically, their interpretation is based on the grammatical properties of the underlying verb. The ensuing discussion in the literature did not always adhere to Allen’s broader definition of the class of synthetic compounds: Roeper and Siegel (1978), for example, considered only suffixations in *-er, -ing* and verbal participles in *-ed/-en*. Although Selkirk (1982) espoused a larger data base similar to that of Allen, many authors like Lieber (1983), DiSciullo and Williams (1987), Fabb (1984) and Sproat (1985) were more concerned with the theoretical ramifications of the verbal meaning than with determining the exact empirical boundaries of the class. The understanding of the verbal nature of the meaning that characterized the class of synthetic compounds varied within the different theoretical approaches. As discussed by Selkirk (1982: 32–33), a compound structure is in principle ambiguous between a synthetic (or verbal) and non-synthetic (or primary) reading: *Tree eater* can have the synthetic interpretation ‘one who eats trees’ or allow a non-synthetic reading such as ‘eater (of sth.) in trees’. In defining the verb-dependent meaning of synthetic interpretations, Marchand (1969) appealed to the notion verbal nexus, Selkirk (1982) made reference to grammatical functions, Lieber (1983) to the theta grid of the underlying verb, Roeper and Siegel (1978) made use of subcategorization frames and Spencer (1991) predicate-argument relations, whereas the syntactically based approaches of Fabb (1984) and Sproat (1985) relied on the theta criterion. Although the definition is occasionally

1 Violations of this generalization occur, e.g., as a result of lexicalization: for instance, the noun *viewer* (cf. **he views*) has become specialized in its meaning ‘one who watches a TV program’. Especially nouns denoting professions allow the defocusing of the object: *announcer, builder, explorer, programmer, researcher*.

extended to include semantic relations as well as the thematic relations of the underlying verb (such as locative, manner, instrument, benefactor, cf., e.g., Miller (2014)), the definition of synthetic compounds as compounds whose interpretation is based on the argument structure of the underlying verb has remained stable in the literature. Often the term verbal compound is used and understood in the same sense as synthetic compound.

3. Denominal synthetic compounds

Recall that both Bloomfield and Marchand considered denominal formations like *blue-eyed*, *snub nosed*, *palefaced* and *knock-kneed* derivations, not compounds. Höhle (1982: 96–100) discusses similar patterns of word-formation in German, illustrated briefly in (1), defining them as complex words containing a compound that doesn't occur as a free word but only as part of another word. In (1), for example, the compounds **Dickhaut* and **Fünfachse* do not occur independently. Nevertheless, they serve as bases for nominal derivations in *-er* and the corresponding adjectives in *-ig*. The latter also gives rise to the compound *Fünfachslastzug*.

(1)	a.	Dickhäuter	'pachyderm; lit. thick+skin+er'
		dickhäutig	'having thick skin; lit. thick+skin+y'
		*Dickhaut	'thick skin'
	b.	Fünfachser	'lit. five+axle+er'
		fünfachsigt	'lit. five+axle+y'
		Fünfachslastzug	'five-axle truck'
		*Fünfachse	'lit. five+axle'

The productivity of these patterns poses a problem for a linguistic description. Höhle notes that the class of potential bases cannot be lexically listed, because it is open and the pattern is productive, especially with the suffixes *-ig*, *-lich*, *-isch* and *-er* (cf. *mehrgliedrig* 'multiple-membered; lit. multiple+member+y', *vielstimmig* 'polyphonic; lit. many+voice+y', *altsprachlich* 'classical; lit. old+language+ly', *südländisch* 'southern; lit. south+country+ish', *unterseeisch* 'submarine; lit. under+sea+ish', *Rechtshänder* 'right-hander', *Kurzflügler* 'short-winger', among many others). It gives rise productively to compounds as well: *Schönwetterperiode* 'good weather phase', *Vielvölkerstaat* 'multi-cultural state; lit. many+people+state', *Mehrfamilienhaus* 'multiple-family house'. Furthermore, similar AN compounds exist freely in the language, cf. *Kleinwagen* 'small car', *Trockeneis* 'dry ice', *Flachdach* 'flat roof'. So it is puzzling why these first constituents are restricted in their occurrence to the first position of more complex words. Höhle terms this puzzle "the distributional problem".

His analysis of the construction as derivational is illustrated in (2) with the example *langhaarig* ‘having long hair; lit. long+hair+y’. Recall that this is also the analysis of Bloomfield (1933) and Marchand (1969); newer proponents of this analysis are, among others, Plag (2003) and ten Hacken (2010). In all cases, the reason for the analysis is that this structure reflects the compositional structure of its meaning.

- (2) [[lang haar]+ig]

Leser (1990), on the other hand, rejects this analysis and considers the denominal structures compounds and not derivations, i.e.:

- (3) [[lang] [haar+ig]]

His reasoning is the following: First, gapping patterns indicate that (3), and not (2), is the correct constituent structure of *langhaarig*:

- (4) a. lang- oder kurzhaarig/ long or short-haired
 b. *langhaar- oder kurzhaarig/ *longhair or short-haired

Second, according to the regularities captured in the level-ordering hypothesis of Siegel (1974), Allen (1978), Kiparsky (1982), Selkirk (1982) among others, derivational morphology is divided into two levels defined by how the members of each level interact with phonological rules. Affixes of the first level can combine with one another (cf. *count+able+ity*) and affixes of the second level can also occur together (cf. *fear+less+ness*). Furthermore, a level 1 suffix can appear before a level 2 suffix (e.g., *creat(e)+ive+ness*), but a level 2 suffix cannot precede a level 1 suffix (**fear+less+ity*). Compounding belongs to level 2, while the suffixes that participate the synthetic construction mostly belong to level 1. This means that according to level-ordering generalizations, they should occur inside a compound, not outside of it. This speaks for analyzing *three-dimensional* and *langhaarig* not as [[three+dimension]+al] or [[lang+haar]+ig] parallel to (2), but as [three+[dimension+al]] and [lang+[haar+ig]] as in (3).

Third, the second constituents of denominal synthetic compounds easily form series. That is, second constituents such as *-farbig* ‘colored’, *-sprachig* ‘speaking’, *-wertig* ‘with ... quality’, *-mäßig* ‘according to’, *-artig* ‘in a ... manner’, *-förmig* ‘in the form of’ are the basis of very productive, open patterns. To take one example from Reis (1983: 118), *-sprachig* occurs in *englischsprachig* ‘English-speaking’, *einsprachig* ‘monolingual; lit. one+language+y’, *anderssprachig* ‘speaking a different language; lit. different+language+y’, *gemischtsprachig* ‘speaking mixed languages; lit. mixed+language+y’ and many more combinations. This type of series formation is not found with the first constituents, cf. **einsprach+X*, **einsprach+Y*. Finally, the informal

orthographical encoding of denominal synthetic compounds using abbreviations suggests that speakers are aware of their compound structure, cf. *4-lagig* ‘lit. 4+layer+y’, *2-deutig* ‘ambiguous; lit. 2+meaning+y’, *X-beinig* ‘having x-legs, knock-kneed’, cf. Leser (1990: 48–56).

Neither the analysis in (2), nor in (3), however, offers *per se* a solution to the distributional problem which was the motivating factor for the term “Zusammenbildung” and is central to its understanding. How are *scharfzüngig* ‘sharp-tongued’ and *blue-eyed* created when neither **Scharfzungel* **blue eye*² nor **züngig* **eyed* exist?

Leser attempts to solve the problem on the basis of his analysis in (3) by drawing on the pragmatic principle of informedness, cf. also Booij (2002) and Olsen (2014). Informedness rules against **züngig* and **eyed*, because having a tongue or eyes are inherent features of the referent which the adjective modifies, and hence uninformative. There is no reason to use such adjectives unless they contain more information. *Scharfzüngig* and *blue-eyed* do this, as do *long-legged*, *snub-nosed*, *left-handed* and the other formations. Often the redundancy-relieving information is provided by an expression of quantity, especially when a part-whole relation is suggested: **seaterl two-seater*, **car garage three-car garage*; **äugig/ einäugig* ‘*eyed/ one-eyed’, **seitig/ beidseitig* ‘*sided; lit. side+y’/ ‘both+side+y’, **Familienhaus* ‘family house’/ *Mehrfamilienhaus* ‘multiple-family house; lit. more+family+house’. *Bearded* obeys the principle of informedness because not all men wear beards, so the adjective ascribes a non-redundant property to its referent. And it is precisely forms like *bearded (man)* and *tailed (monkey)* that provide a clue as to the nature of the distribution problem. The morphology will create **legged* and **eyed* if it creates *bearded* and *tailed*. Once created, however, the use of these words is subject to pragmatic principles that apply to conversation, in particular the informedness condition. Thus, the analysis in (3) as compounds, together with the informedness principle restricting the use of denominal constructions produced by *-ed*, *-ig*, and the other suffixes, offers a solution to the distribution problem of the denominal synthetic structures.

2 Perhaps *blue eye* could be construed as a novel exocentric compound (cf. *Madeye* from Harry Potter), but what would it mean? – Someone (or sth.) having a blue eye? The implicit shift in an exocentric compound has an explicit counterpart in the suffix on the head of a denominal synthetic compound. Both processes give rise to a possessive meaning. Consequently, if an exocentric compound like *paleface* ‘someone possessing a paleface’ were to serve as the basis for a denominal synthetic compound, the resulting meaning for, e.g., *palefaced* would have to be, contrary to fact: ‘possessing someone who possesses a pale face’.

4. Deverbal synthetic compounds as compounds

As already mentioned, Allen (1978) explains the distributional problem of deverbal synthetic compounds by appealing to the idea that in non-lexicalized cases the transitive features of the verbal base also determine the distribution of the synthetic compound, cf. *she tells a story/ *she tells*, hence: *storyteller/teller of stories/ *teller*. The notion of argument inheritance plays a role in the subsequent discussions of synthetic compounds by Selkirk (1982), Olsen (1986), DiSciullo and Williams (1987), Bierwisch (1989), Leser (1990), Booij (2002), Plag (2003), Jackendoff (2009) and Lieber (2010), among others, as well. These linguists assume that a deverbal noun or adjective can inherit (a modified version of) the argument structure or theta grid of its verbal base and can assign an unsaturated, inherited role to its non-head constituent.

A particularly coherent version of the theory of argument inheritance for complex nominals has been proposed recently by Bierwisch (2015a). Bierwisch's theory is conceived within a lexicalist framework that makes minimal assumptions about syntax and semantics and whose focus is on the combinatorial processes of grammar and how they map meaning onto formal structure. The central idea is that the configurations of complementation and modification found in syntax also apply to lexical structures. More precisely, derivational suffixes enter into head-complement configurations, prefixes result in head-modifier configurations and the non-head constituent of compounds can be interpreted via complementation or modification.

In Bierwisch's Two-Level Theory of semantics, meaning is separated into two levels: a lexical-semantic representation (i.e. semantic form: SF) that captures the grammatically relevant, invariant aspects of meaning and a more highly articulated conceptual structure (CS) that is enriched by contextually relevant aspects of conceptual knowledge. SF, the level that is visible to grammar, is made up of a set of basic predicates with their arguments that combine in a hierarchical sequence:

$$(5) \quad [\text{protect}] \quad [V] \quad \lambda x \lambda y \lambda e [e : [y \text{ PROTECT } x]]$$

Argument structure (AS) is derived from SF by lambda abstracting over the variable positions and prefixing the lambda operators to the SF, creating a hierarchy of assignment from the lowest to the highest argument. The AS of a lexical item (i.e. its theta grid, theta roles) determines how it combines with other linguistic expressions. The highest (i.e. rightmost) argument in the grid of a verb or noun is referential, allowing, e.g., the verb *protect* in (5), to refer to an event. The next highest argument of the verbal AS is the designated (or subject) argument of the verb and the lower arguments are the internal arguments. Nouns don't have a designated argument but only a referential

argument, that accounts for the noun's ability to refer nominally to an event, and internal arguments, cf. *the protection of the store by its owner*.

Affixes have lexical properties like those of free lexemes and are subject to similar combinatorial processes. As bound morphemes, the sole argument in their AS selects a lexeme as their base. Since the argument of an affix is a lexeme, and not a complete phrase, the mode of combination is not functional application as in syntax, but functional composition which allows the affix to take over the unsaturated arguments of its base and project them onto its own derived AS.

For example, in (6) the nominal suffix *-ion* selects a verb by virtue of the c-selectional requirements on the lambda operator λv in its AS.³

(6)	$[-\text{ion}]$	$[\text{N}]$	λv	$[\text{v}]$
				$[\text{V}]$

Its SF is characterized by the variable “v” which is of the logical type proposition. Therefore, in combining with its verbal argument, the suffix *-ion* inherits the SF of the verb, also of the type proposition. This amounts to the substitution of the SF of the verb in (5) for the SF variable (= [v]) of the suffix. Thus, *-ion* takes over the meaning of the verb, but the result is now a nominal, not a verbal, entry. Hence, the highest argument of the derived noun in (7) has nominal reference; i.e. in its productive, compositional meaning *protection* is an event noun.

(7)	$[\text{protect-}\text{ion}]$	$[\text{N}]$	$\lambda x \lambda y \lambda e$	$[e : [y [\text{PROTECT } x]]]$
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In this conception, derivation consists of a morphological head combining with a lexical argument via functional composition which allows the unsaturated arguments of the base lexeme to be inherited by the derived word, accounting for the phenomenon of argument inheritance. Argument inheritance captures the relationship between the verb *protect* and its nominalization *protection*, cf. (8). Whereas the internal arguments of a verb are obligatory unless marked optional, those of a noun are always optional as indicated in (8b), where the noun *protection* is possible with or without the realization of the arguments inherited from *protect*.

3 The SF in (6) is simplified in several ways, e.g., the c-selectional feature [V] on the argument of *-ion* will have to be annotated with “address features” defining the subclass of verbs that can serve as its base, cf. Bierwisch (2015a: 1071–1072). This holds for the [V] argument of *-er* in (9a) as well as for the [V] argument of *-ee* in (31a).

- (8) a. The owner protected the shop.
 b. (the) protection (of the shop) (by the owner)

The agentive suffix *-er* also selects a verb as its lexical argument, as indicated by its lexical entry in (9a). However, its SF contains a neutralized event variable (= e') that absorbs the event variable of its verbal complement. Consequently, the event role of the verb (= λe) in (9b) is skipped over in the process of functional composition and not inherited by the derived noun *reader* in (9c).

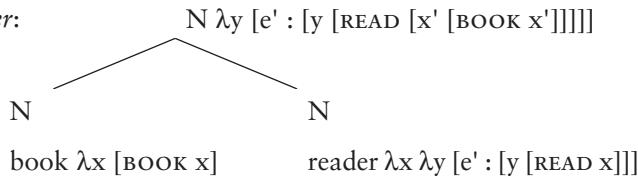
- | | | | |
|--------|-----------|-----|--|
| (9) a. | [-er] | [N] | $\lambda v [v \ e']$ |
| | | | [V] |
| b. | [read] | [V] | $\lambda x \lambda y \lambda e [e : [y \ [READ \ x]]]$ |
| c. | [read-er] | [N] | $\lambda x \lambda y [e' : [y \ [READ \ x]]]$ |

Whereas the verb *read* refers to an event of reading, the highest argument in the AS of *reader* is now λy which corresponds to the designated (or subject) argument of the verb. Hence, *reader* refers to the agent of the reading event. The internal argument λx of *reader* is open and can be assigned to an appropriate complement in the phrasal or word structure, cf. Bierwisch (2015a: 1073–1077).

- (10) a. the reader (of the book)
 b. the book reader

Turning to compounding, Bierwisch recognizes the two compound classes established by Marchand (1969): verbal (or synthetic) compounds in which the head assigns a theta role to the non-head (*book reader*, *tax reduction*) and primary compounds in which the initial constituent modifies the head (*dog food*, *beer bottle*). The interpretation of the synthetic compound *book reader* thus arises when the deverbal head *reader* assigns its inherited and yet unsaturated internal theta role λx to a “conceptual instance” of its non-head complement. Bierwisch binds the referential variable of the noun *book* with an appropriate operator, indicated as: $[x \ [BOOK \ x]] > [x' \ [BOOK \ x']]$. Theta assignment to the complement *book* amounts to the substitution of the SF $[x' \ [BOOK \ x']]$ for the variable x in the SF of *reader* as shown in (11). Since λy is the highest argument in the AS of *book reader*, it cannot be assigned, but will be bound by a referential operator determining the reference of the compound (Bierwisch 2015a: 1073, 1090).

- (11) *book reader*:



A deverbal event noun such as *protection* in (7), repeated here for convenience,

- (7) [protect-ion] [N] $\lambda x \lambda y \lambda e [e : [y [\text{PROTECT } x]]]$

possesses two unsaturated non-referential roles in its AS: λx corresponding to the internal argument (or object) of the verb and λy corresponding to its designated (or subject) argument. Either can be assigned to the non-head constituent of the compound, depending on semantic or pragmatic conditions involved, cf. the possible meanings of *police protection* ‘protection of the police’ or ‘protection by the police’.

This view of compound interpretation coincides to a large degree with that of Jackendoff (2009) who, working within his Parallel Architecture Framework and adopting his theory of Conceptual Semantics, also assumes two N+N compound schemas – an argument schema and a modifier schema. Jackendoff assumes, as does Bierwisch, that the argument schema has precedence over the modifier schema, cf. Jackendoff (2009: 122–123).

5. Deverbal synthetic compounds as derivations

A completely different view of synthetic compounding is presented in McIntyre (2014) who rejects the general existence of argument inheritance and accounts for the verbal readings of compounds like *record cleaner* by means of a derivational structure. In his theory, the morphological nonhead constraint (MNC) forbids the projection of arguments from a non-head to the derivation (apart from cases captured by the “unless” clause in (12), to be explained below), cf. McIntyre (2014: 130).

- (12) Morphological Nonhead Constraint

In a base-generated complex head [$Y^o XY$], X’s arguments cannot be realized outside [$Y^o XY$] unless Y realizes an argument of X or is otherwise sensitive to X’s argument structure.

In the compound structure shown in (13), the MNC prohibits the noun *cleaner* from inheriting the internal argument of its verbal base *clean* for assignment to *record*. The only possible interpretation of this structure according to McIntyre is that of a primary N+N compound like *record brush*.

- (13) *[_N [_N record][_N clean+er]]

In order to allow a verbal interpretation, the suffix *-er* must attach to a complex verb with a lexically incorporated noun. In this configuration, *clean* can assign its argument directly to *record*:

- (14) [_N [_V [_N record][_V clean]]] -er]

Hence, the derivational structure in (14) is the source of the verbal readings of *record-cleaner*, *paint-scraper*, *lawn-mower*, *can-opener*, *clothes-washer*, *polish-remover* and the like, permitted by the MNC, while the MNC at the same time excludes the realization of the verbal argument outside of the derived noun explaining the impossibility of **cleaner of records*, **scraper of paint*, **mower of lawns*, **opener of cans* and **remover of polish*. The “unless” clause of the MNC pertains to *-er* derivations with an eventive reading, cf. *Mary is a guitar tuner/ tuner of guitars*. McIntyre’s reasoning is the following: in order to get an eventive reading, *-er* must make reference to the initiator (or subject) argument of the verb. Therefore, the verbal argument structure must be active in these cases, although otherwise it is not. Thus, McIntyre assumes two *-er* suffixes, first an *-er^{Ev}* that realizes the initiator argument of the verb and licenses an eventive reading not subject to the MNC and, second, an *-er^{nonev}* with a functional or dispositional reading that falls under the MNC which prohibits argument inheritance from a non-head.

The problem with the postulation of complex verbs of the form NV on which the analysis in (14) is based is that the free generation of the combination NV is not possible in English, or in Germanic in general, cf. Wunderlich (1986: 243–251). Forms that appear to be NV compounds actually arise via backformation ((to) *window-shop* < *window-shopper*, (to) *babysit* < *babysitter*) or conversion (to) *shortlist* < *shortlist*, (to) *handcuff* < *handcuff*), cf. Selkirk (1982: 16–18), Booij (1988: 67), Lieber (1994: 3609), Plag (2003: 154–155) and Olsen (2014: 42), among others. Booij (1988: 67) gives further evidence against the assumption of complex NV verbs: the Dutch prefixal pattern exemplified by *aardappel+gevreet* ‘excessive eating of potatoes; lit. potato+ge-eat’ attests to a NN structure in which the final N is derived from a verb via prefixation, i.e. *ge+vreet*. A similar pattern exists productively in German, also denoting a repetition of the verbal activity, but in German the affix involved is a combination of prefix and suffix *Ge-* -e as in *Kartoffel+gefresse* ‘potato+ge+eat+e’, cf. Olsen (1991). The combination *Ge-* -e attaches to a verb to derive a noun (*frag-* ‘(to) question’ → *Gefrage* ‘excessive questioning’). If complex verbs of the form NV are freely created by the word-formation rules, why don’t they undergo *ge-/ Ge- -e* formation, yielding the forms Dutch *ge+aardappelvreet* or German *Ge+kartoffelfress+e*? These forms don’t occur.

The structure for German *Kartoffelgefresse* must be [_N [_N Kartoffel] [_N ge [_V fress]+e]], if *Ge-* -*e* is a circumfix or [_N [_N Kartoffel] [_N ge [_N [_V fress]+e]]] if the -*e* suffix first derives a noun to which *Ge-* is then prefixed. Either way, McIntyre's MNC should prohibit the argument realization from a non-head. However, McIntyre will surely argue that *Ge-* -*e* derivations are eventive and therefore not subject to the MNC.

Closer inspection reveals several other problems with a theory in which argument inheritance is banned in general, but permitted as an exception clause in the MNC. First, McIntyre's theory characterizes "eventive" -*er* derivations like *story teller* as structurally ambiguous. In principle they could arise on the basis of the structure in (15), because the MNC will not prohibit argument inheritance when the derivation is eventive. Or they could arise on the basis of the structure in (16) that gives rise to *record cleaner* and the compounds listed above, which is what McIntyre actually assumes, cf. McIntyre (2014: 135).

- (15) [_N [_N story]][_N tell-*er*]]
- (16) [_N [_V [_N story]][_V tell]]] -*er*]

Allowing the theory to harbor this ambiguity is uneconomical. But the assumption of two distinct -*er* suffixes (-*er*^{Ev} and -*er*^{nonEv}) is not only uneconomical, it more importantly misses the true generalization involved in these patterns. The consequence of the MNC is that other deverbal affixes besides -*er*^{Ev} and -*er*^{nonEv} will also have to be multiplied. Take, for example, derivatives in -*ant* whose agentive readings allow the realization of an object, cf. *the defendant of the claim*, *the inhabitant of the cave*, *the attendant of the cars*, *the contestant of the result*, *the occupant of the house*, but whose instrument readings don't: **the suppressant of appetite*, **the repellent of mosquitoes*, **the dispersant of oil*, **the pollutant of water*, **the irritant of skin*. Looking beyond deverbal derivation, the MNC would also incorrectly ban argument inheritance in deadjectival constructions, cf. *completeness of the report*, *equality of women*, *familiarity with the proposal*, *likelihood of failure*, which are not eventive.

Finally, Reis' (1983) argument concerning series formation by repeating a constituent, discussed with regard to denominal synthetic compounds in section 2, applies equally well here. A whole series of formations occur ending in the constituent -*maker* such as *peacemaker*, *troublemaker*, *homemaker*, *noise-maker*, *matchmaker*, *clockmaker*, *shoemaker*, *glassmaker*, *dressmaker*, *basket maker* and so on or ending in -*killer* in *weed killer*, *bee killer*, *spark-killer*, *man-killer*, *cow killer*, *lady-killer* as well as in -*breaker* in *law-breaker*, *promise-breaker*, *heartbreaker*, *safe-breaker*, *peace-breaker*, *strike-breaker*, *house-breaker*, *leave-breaker* and many others. This shows that speakers treat

maker, *killer* and *breaker* as constituents. Furthermore, gapping patterns like that shown in (17) speak for the compound structure [[profit] [seek+er]] as well.

- (17) a. revenge- and profit-seeker
 b. *revenge-seek- and profit-seeker

In Bierwisch's (2015a) theory, argument inheritance is the default case – it occurs systematically as the result of the combination of an affix with its base. Because the base is a lexeme with unsaturated arguments, combination is only possible via functional composition with concomitant argument inheritance. Hence the productive, regular meanings of deverbal or deadjectival nominals will always be “eventive” in McIntyre's sense. Instrumental nominals like *coffee grinder*, *milk steamer*, *lawn mower*, *record cleaner*, etc., that figure as the default case in McIntyre's theory and on which he bases his assumption that argument inheritance is not generally allowed, are meanings that have most likely undergone a meaning transfer from the regular agentive meaning. Within Bierwisch's framework, when the suffix *-er* combines with a verb like *clean*, *cleaner* with the regular meaning shown in (18c) results:

- (18) a. [-er] [N] $\lambda v [v e']$
 [V]
 b. [clean] [V] $\lambda x \lambda y \lambda e [e : [\text{ACT } y [\text{CAUSE } [\text{BECOME } [\text{CLEAN } x]]]]]$
 c. [clean-er] [N] $\lambda x \lambda y [e' : [\text{ACT } y [\text{CAUSE } [\text{BECOME } [\text{CLEAN } x]]]]]$

This SF contains an event in which an agent is active and underlies the use in (19a):

- (19) a. She is an oven cleaner/ a cleaner of ovens by profession.
 b. She purchased an expensive oven cleaner/ *cleaner of ovens.

It is possible that the instrument reading in (19b) arises when the reference is shifted from the agent that carries out the activity to the instrument used in the activity. Jackendoff (2009: 125) expresses the difference between an agent and an instrument reading in the following way, cf. (20). The agent noun *bus driver* in (20a) is a compound made up of two nouns (= N₁N₂). The N₂ *driver* is profiled in the meaning following “=” and indexed via α to be the

argument that carries out the occupational (= occ)⁴ activity of driving a bus. The meaning of the instrumental noun *hair dryer*, on the other hand, is more indirect: the complex N₂ is broken down into the constituents *dry₂* and *-er₃*. *-er₃* is interpreted via the index α as the profiled entity X that serves as the argument of *with* in the proper function (= pf) of the verbal base *dry*, indicating that the denotation of *hair dryer* is an X with which a person dries hair.

- (20) a. $\text{bus}_1 \text{ driver}_2 = \text{driver}_2^\alpha; [\text{occ} (\text{drive} (\alpha, \text{bus}_1))]$
 b. $\text{hair}_1 \text{ dry}_2\text{-er}_3 = X_3^\alpha; [\text{pf} (\text{dry}_2(\text{person}, \text{hair}_1, \text{with } \alpha))]$

Bierwisch (1989: 42–47) discusses regular meaning shifts observed in deverbal event nouns in which the reference shifts from the event to the result, the instrument, or even the location of the event. For example, *building/ seepage* can refer to the event or to the result of the event, *examination/ transmission* to the event or the means of the event and *perforation/ pavement* to the event, the result or the location of the event. Perhaps in order to attain an instrument reading, the SF of *cleaner* in (18c) can be shifted in reference from the agent to the instrument with which the agent carries out the activity. Bierwisch's (1989) solution was to use templates to effect such shifts. The templates were prefixed to the SF representation of the derived noun and added a new variable in a result, instrument or location relation to the event expressed by the underlying verb thereby absorbing the verb's own event variable. Bierwisch refrained from an exact formulation of such templates, giving only hints at their possible representation. Perhaps such a shift could be accomplished by expanding the representation in (18c) by means of the prefix underlined in (21) that adds a new referential entity z to the SF of *cleaner* as the instrument of the event. The problem with the template solution is that the template would have to block all the arguments of the verb (notated in (21) as "e", y' and x'" indicating the "neutralization" of the variables):

- (21) [clean-er] [N] λz [[z INSTR e'] : [e' : [ACT y' [CAUSE [BECOME [CLEAN x']]]]]]]

In Jackendoff's representation (20b), one could argue that the instrument is too deeply embedded to allow access to the verbal argument structure – in

4 Occ(uperation) is one of the action modalities that differentiates possible readings of an agentive nominal according to Jackendoff (2009: 119–120). *Violin player* can refer to the activity as an occupation or a habit. Or it can denote an ability or refer to a specific instantiation. The action modality is formalized as an operator on a “profiled action”, i.e. in (21a) that of driving.

fact it is an argument of the predicate *with* and not the verb. Perhaps the arguments of *clean* then are inaccessible to the instrument noun *cleaner* because the instrument isn't part of the verbal meaning but is imposed on it or integrated into it as an external entity.

However, a more attractive solution is proposed in Bierwisch (2015b). Bierwisch (1983) recognized that words are powerful symbols in that they don't just pick out a single concept, but often refer to a family of related concepts. The alternation between different concepts was termed "conceptual shifts". For instance, *book* (as well as other related words like *novel*, *letter*, *newspaper*, *map*, etc.) can refer to a physical object (= (22a)) or to the information structure (= (22b)). These different ontological concepts are mutually incompatible; they arise by means of coercion when a meaning must be adjusted to fit a particular context; i.e. *book* in the sense of an information structure cannot lie on a table, cf. Bierwisch (2015b: 1110):

- (22) a. The book is on the table.
- b. The book was heavily criticized in the press.

Drawing on Pustejovsky's (1995) and Jackendoff's (2002) "dot" notation, Bierwisch (2015b: 1110) subsumes these different types under a single SF. The dot notation indicates that the different senses are alternatives that occur under different contextual conditions:

- (23) [physical object • information structure]

For instance, the word *player* might be ambiguous in this sense between an agent and an instrument meaning (which Bierwisch terms personal and non-personal agent), cf. (24). Hence, *player* could have the dot object structure of (25), listing its ontologically distinct possibilities of reference, cf. Bierwisch (2015b: 1120).

- (24) a. The piano player was late/ ??out of order.
- b. The record player is out of order/ ??late.

- (25) [personal agent • non-personal agent]

If in a context like (24a) the reading is fixed to a personal agent, it refers to a different concept from the non-personal agent in (24b) and is incompatible with it. This conceptual difference manifests itself in that the different conceptual objects are subject to different conditions and behave in different ways. In readings fixed to a personal agent, for example, the action can be

construed as a habit (*gambler*), a profession (*preacher*) or a single instance (*onlooker*), cf. Rainer (2015: 1310). These readings are not possible when the meaning is fixed to a non-personal agent. Instrument (or non-personal agent) nouns are much simpler conceptually; they denote entities created for the purpose of potentially carrying out an action but, in contrast to personal agent nouns, don't presuppose that the action is actually carried out, cf. Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1992) and McIntyre (2014).

What is relevant to the present discussion is that, when such a coercion takes place, and *player* is fixed to non-personal agent, the regular inheritance of arguments is blocked that accompanies personal agents (*player of the piano*/ **the player of the record*). Fanselow (1988) and Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1992) have also discussed the opacity of arguments with instrument nouns. Fanselow (1988: 106) notes that even in the case of simplex (i.e. undrived) nouns, those denoting agents allow the construal of an activity that will support the inference of an affected object, cf. (26). However, simple nouns denoting instruments prohibit such an inference, as the examples in (27) show.

- (26) a. the pilot of the 747
 - b. the author of the novel
 - c. the poet of the verse
 - d. the tailor of the suit
 - e. the thief of the diamonds
- (27) a. *the airplane of the letters
 - b. *the pen of the article
 - c. *the chisel of the statue
 - d. *the filter of the coffee
 - e. *the brush of the clothes

Consequently, the correct generalization is that argument inheritance is the default case, but is blocked under certain conditions, i.e. when a noun is coerced to an instrument reading. This was also seen with the alternate meanings of nouns in *-ant* in section 3. When their meaning expresses a (chemical) instrument, argument realization is no longer possible, cf. *an attendant of cars*/ **a suppressant of appetite*.

McIntyre reverses this generalization using the MNC to block argument inheritance in general: instrument nouns like *record cleaner*, not agent nouns like *book-reader*, are the default case in his framework. In order to get the argument interpretation in a compound (cf. *record cleaner*), McIntyre assumes

that exceptional NV verbs, that do not occur freely, form the base of the *-er^{nonEv}* suffix: [N [V [N record]] [V clean]] -er].⁵

Under the assumptions underlying Bierwisch's lexicalist theory, argument inheritance is a central feature of derivational morphology. A regular deverbal agent noun like *reader* inherits the modified AS of the verb *read* and can assign its unsaturated internal argument to *book* in the noun phrase *reader of the book*. Instrument nouns, not agentive nouns, are the exceptional case. Apparently their conceptual make-up entails a concrete entity with a specific purpose but lacks the presupposition of the implementation of an activity. Hence, argument inheritance is blocked with instrument nouns so that the arguments of the underlying verb cannot be realized syntactically. Note that a similar blocking of arguments is found with other types of transferred or lexicalized (i.e. non-compositional) meanings as well, cf. *game-changer*/ **changer of games*, *skyscraper*/ **scraper of skies* or the clear shift in meaning from a person who discloses a scandal to the regular agentive meaning in *whistle-blower*/ *blower of whistles*.

Upon this background, a question remains: if such derivations can't realize their arguments in syntax, why can they realize their arguments in a compound? Obviously, they can't; their arguments are blocked. However, there is another mode of interpretation for compounds. All researchers have acknowledged a class of non-verbal or primary compounds. Rather than falling back on Jackendoff's (2009: 122) modifier schema or Bierwisch's (2015a: 1093) compound template to explain this class, the following discussion will assume the version of the modification template for compounds proposed in Olsen (2004, 2012) and Bücking (2010), cf. also Dowty (1979). This template, shown in (28), is an extended version of the template for intersective modification in syntax as proposed by Higginbotham (1985) in that it includes an underspecified relation R that mediates between the external variables of the conjoined predicates P and Q. The relation R is an open parameter at the level of SF that mediates between the two predicates on which the compound is based, thus capturing the principled variability of compound meaning. By leaving the relation between the two predicates open at the level of grammar, the template allows the relation to be spelled

5 Other linguists who have assumed a complex NV as the derivational base of *-er* are Lieber (1983), Booij (2005, 2010) and Gaeta (2006, 2010). Lieber (1994, 2004), however, has since rejected her original analysis, arguing that complex NV verbs are not productive and therefore shouldn't serve as the basis of a productive word-formation pattern. Booij, on the other hand, who originally rejected this analysis in his (1988, 2002) works using the same argument as Lieber, has recently found it compatible with his framework of construction morphology, cf. Booij (2009: 212–214).

out in accordance with contextual or conceptual factors that become relevant at the level of conceptual structure.

(28) Modification template

$$\lambda Q \lambda P \lambda x [P(x) \& R(v, x) \& Q(v)]$$

For example, the SF representation of the compound *snowman* in (29) will contain the underspecified relation R, capturing the ambiguity typical of primary compounds: a snowman could in principle refer to a ‘man made of snow/ who shovels snow/ who sculpts snow/ who delivers artificial snow’, etc. At the level of CS, the relation R that connects *man* with *snow* can be fixed to the relevant specification, perhaps as MADE_OF, i.e. [y MADE_OF x]. The external variable of the predicate SNOW (= v) in the template can be identified with the internal variable of the MADE_OF relation in CS:

(29) *snowman*

- a. SF: $\lambda x [\text{MAN}(x) \& R(v, x) \& \text{SNOW}(v)]$
- b. CS: R = MADE_OF ([x MADE_OF y])
- c. CS: v = y

As the previous discussion has shown, the interpretation of the instrumental compound *oven cleaner* cannot be based on the inactive AS of the head, but its meaning constitution can be accommodated by the modification template. The relation between the instrumental *cleaner* and *oven* that becomes semantically prominent upon use of the compound is the semantic/ conceptual relation CLEAN that is inherent to *cleaner*. Recall that SF forms an interface between the conceptual and linguistic systems in that it reduces the information contained in the more highly articulated conceptual structure to the aspects that are relevant to grammar. Hence the CLEAN relation (i.e. [x CLEAN y]) is shared by both CS and SF, and the most plausible interpretation of the external variable of OVEN is to identify it with the internal variable of the CLEAN relation that is conceptually prominent in *cleaner*. Since the internal arguments of a noun are optional and can be dropped, *cleaner* will enter the modification template as a one-place predicate substituting for the predicate variable P:

(30) *oven cleaner*

- a. SF: $\lambda x [\text{CLEANER}(x) \& R(v, x) \& \text{OVEN}(v)]$
- b. CS: R = CLEAN ([x CLEAN y])
- c. CS: v = y

Hence, *snow* and *oven* are modifiers, and not arguments, of the head. (More discussion of this idea will follow in section 6.) Hence, instrument compounds like *oven cleaner* pattern with primary compounds in being interpreted via the modification template because they lack a basis for theta assignment. The AS of the agentive derivative *reader*, on the other hand, is not blocked, but inherited, so *reader* can assign its internal argument to either the first constituent of a compound or to its complement in a noun phrase that it heads in syntax, i.e. *book reader/ reader of books*. With argument inheritance blocked in the case of an instrumental head, **cleaner of ovens* is not possible.

The defining feature of derivation in Bierwisch's lexicalist theory is argument inheritance: in all regular cases of deverbal (and deadjectival) derivation the complex word will inherit (a modified version of) the AS of its base. The discussion here has argued that argument inheritance is blocked when the derived AS subsequently is coerced into a reading that distances it from an activity. Hence, deverbal instrument nouns cannot realize arguments of their parent verb in syntax, nor can nouns that have been shifted in other ways, cf. *this thriller is a real nail-biter/ *biter of nails*. The compounds *oven cleaner* and *nail biter* are possible, however, under the assumption that the modification template in (28) applies to them. Hence, their interpretation will arise on the basis of an extended concept of modification in which a salient relation mediates between the external arguments of the combining predicates in the same manner as for other non-verbal (or primary) compounds.

6. A single class of compounds?

The distinction between synthetic (or verbal) and primary (or root) compounds has been central to the study of compounds since Marchand (1969). However, there are indications that the two classes can and, perhaps, should be reduced to a single class whose interpretation is accomplished via the modification template in (28). Fanselow (1985) and Jackendoff (1999, 2002, 2009) have provided arguments that compounds are different in nature from derivations in that the latter, but not the former belong to grammar. In the history of language evolution, their argument goes, compounds originated outside of grammar in a protolanguage that was a precursor to modern grammar. Compounds contain combinations of words that are conceptually motivated and are similar in this sense to other non-grammatical phenomena like the two-word combinations of children in an early stage of language acquisition, the combinations of symbols by chimpanzees, the speech of Broca agrammatics or of adults like Genie who were not exposed to linguistic input in their childhood years as well as “home sign” by deaf children of non-signing parents and the steady state of second language acquisition by immigrant learners. Hence, rather than assuming that two classes of compounds exist,

differentiated by the possibility/ impossibility of assigning a theta role to the non-head, Olsen (2012) postulates that compound interpretation is generally the result of modification. Bierwisch (2015a) was aware of this possibility and attempted to rule it out by stipulating that argument assignment has preference over modification: the modification template comes into play only when argument assignment isn't possible, either because the head doesn't have an AS or because contextual or conceptual information renders its use implausible. This stipulation is necessary in order to keep the two classes of verbal and primary compounds distinct, cf. Bierwisch (2015a: 1093):

It is an interesting, and in a way natural, consequence of the compound template that its unrestricted application would allow for the complete elimination of the systematic difference between the different types of compounds, turning all complements into modifiers. [...] By means of appropriate interpretative values for R, each complement in an argument-structure compound can be interpreted as a modifier. Intuitively, wine drinker is a type of drinker, hence the object modifies the head. More explicitly, the semantic relation of an argument to its head can by definition be taken as a possible value for R, relating the complement to the designated position in the head's AS.

Bierwisch therefore postulates a minimal effort principle that gives argument satisfaction precedence over modification: "Deviate from the simplest, most direct value for an open variable only on explicit demand", cf. Bierwisch (2015a: 1093).

However, other evidence in addition to the facts surrounding instrument nouns as heads of compounds suggests that modification rather than theta assignment is the key to compound interpretation. For instance, many event nouns derived from obligatorily transitive verbs can assign either their internal or external argument to their first constituent in a compound. *Police protection*, for example, can mean 'protection of the police' or 'protection by the police'. The fact that the latter is actually preferred in this case demonstrates that theta assignment cannot proceed as it does in syntax, i.e. strictly from lowest to highest argument in the AS hierarchy, otherwise only the former meaning should be possible. This clearly shows that the interpretation of compounds can't depend on theta assignment as defined in syntax. Rather, it appears to be guided by considerations of contextual or conceptual plausibility and, hence, falls into the more liberal domain of modification.

A further piece of evidence in favor of modification over theta assignment pertains to suffixes like *-ee*, *-able* and *-en* that absorb not only the event variable of the verbal base to which they attach, but also its external variable. In a compound like *Reagan appointee*, for instance, the first constituent must be a modifier; it cannot be a complement because the only argument in the AS of the derivative is the referential argument. The derivation of *appointee* is shown in (31):

- (31) a. [-ee] [N] $\lambda v [v \ y' \ e']$
 [V]
 b. [appoint] [V] $\lambda x \lambda y \lambda e [e : [y \ [\text{APPOINT } x]]]$
 c. [appoint-ee] [N] $\lambda x [e' : [y' \ [\text{APPOINT } x]]]$

The suffix *-ee* combines with its verbal argument via functional composition in the course of which the event and external variables (*e* and *y*) of the verb are absorbed and, hence, not inherited by *appointee* in (31c), cf. the treatment of *readable* in Bierwisch (2015a: 1075–76). The referential argument of *appointee* correlates with the internal object of *appoint* so that *appointee* refers to the one who is appointed. With the external (or subject) position of *appoint* blocked, there is no theta role to assign to *Reagan*. However, an agentive interpretation can arise by means of an inference in CS licensed by the R variable of the modification template, yielding the interpretation ‘one who is appointed by Reagan’.

- (32) a. SF: $\lambda x [\text{APPOINTEE}(x)^6 \wedge R(v, x) \wedge \text{REAGAN}(v)]$
 b. CS: $R = \text{APPOINT} ([y \ \text{APPOINT } x])$
 c. CS: $v = y$

A division has now come to light in the lexical system between derivation and composition. Grammatical processes play a central role in derivation: lexical suffixes select arguments via their own AS and enter into a head-complement relation with the lexeme they select. Compounds, however, are not subject to strict grammatical principles, but are based on an extended notion of modification. In this connection, Gleitman and Gleitman (1970), Ryder (1990) and Jackendoff (2009) have brought to attention the observation that, in isolation of context, linguistically untrained speakers will overlook grammatical principles like headedness and simply search for a semantically plausible interpretation for a compound. Hence, one finds interpretations like the following for novel compounds:

- (33) a. *giraffe land* ‘a giraffe on land’
 b. *bird-house glass* ‘birdhouse made of glass’

Consequently, a principled difference between the levels of phrasal and word structure becomes apparent when studying compounds as depicted in the

6 Again, *APPOINTEE(x)* is an abbreviation for the one-place predicate $\lambda x [e' : [y' \ [\text{APPOINT } x]]]$ that substitutes for the predicate variable *P* in the modification template.

foregoing discussion. This conclusion is strengthened when considering the default interpretation of compounds that arises when the underspecified variable R in the compound template is assigned the identity relation. The identity relation is characteristic of the coordinative interpretation found in coordinative-appositive compounds like *artist-poet*. If R is assigned the value “=” in (34b), the CS representation identifies the external variables of the two predicates (cf. (34c)) yielding the meaning in (34d), i.e. ‘artist and poet’.

- (34) a. SF: $\lambda x [\text{POET}(x) \ \& \ R(v, x) \ \& \ \text{ARTIST}(v)]$
 b. CS: $R = =$
 c. CS: $v = x$
 d. CS: $\lambda x [\text{POET}(x) \ \& \ \text{ARTIST}(x)]$

This representation is similar to that assigned to intersective modification in syntax: a *blue book* is something that is a book and blue:

- (35) $\lambda x [\text{BOOK } x] \ \& \ [\text{BLUE } x]$

Hence, coordinative-appositional compounds are the most syntax-like of all compound structures. Nevertheless, coordinative-appositional compounds are subject to conceptual restrictions that don’t apply to coordinative appositions in syntax as the difference between (36a) and (36b) documents.

- (36) a. NP: Henry Kissinger, diplomat and lightning rod, returns to the corridors of power.
 b. N: *The diplomat-lightning rod returns to the corridors of power.

In the coordinative-appositional NP in (36a), the second predicate is understood metaphorically. A metaphor shifts an object from a source domain onto a target domain, i.e. from the domain of animate beings into the domain of inanimate objects. This is possible for a second conjunct in a conjoined syntactic NP. But a complex concept as the denotation of a word is subject to the restriction that it pick out a coherent individual from a single domain, cf. Olsen (2004). The compound N in (36b) violates this conceptual restriction and consequently is ruled out as a possible word. So, even in default cases of modification, compounds are subject to conceptual restrictions that do not apply to phrasal syntax. Hence, there is a principled divide between compound structures and syntactic phrases. Consequently, the lexical system encompasses two different domains: derivation belongs to grammar in that it makes crucial use of the grammatical notions argument structure, argument inheritance, head and complement, whereas the simple adjunction structures

of compounds rely for their interpretation on modification alone, supplemented by conceptual inferences.

7. Summary

This article has shown that the original mystique surrounding the very productive pattern of formations that became known as synthetic compounds has not diminished in the least up to the present day. Once linguists attempted to go beyond a description of the phenomenon and aim at an explanation for synthetic compounds in terms of a comprehensive theory of grammar, it immediately became evident that these formations sit at the interface between the core principles of grammar and conceptual reasoning. The arguments presented in this article have suggested that both denominal and deverbal synthetic compounds exemplify genuine compound structures. Furthermore, compounding differs from derivation in that it is not subject to strict grammatical principles as derivation is, but reflects semantic, pragmatic and conceptual factors. No stipulations were appealed to in this discussion; the relevant structures and interpretations arise on the basis of the lexical properties of lexemes and affixes, their modes of combination as well as on general principles of pragmatic use such as the informedness condition, salient relations between concepts and the need for a word structures to be interpretable as coherent concepts.

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Prof. Dr. Susan Olsen
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
Philosophische Fakultät II
Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik
Unter den Linden 6
D-10099 Berlin
susan.olsen@rz.hu-berlin.de

Gianina Iordăchioaia, Artemis Alexiadou, Andreas Pairamidis

Morphosyntactic sources for nominal synthetic compounds in English and Greek¹

Abstract: We analyze English and Greek nominal synthetic compounds like *truck driver* and *truck driving* from a syntactic perspective couched within Distributed Morphology. We derive the main differences between the two languages from the different morphosyntactic status of the non-head nouns, which are roots in Greek but categorized words in English.

1. Introduction

In this paper we examine synthetic compounds focusing on N-N compounds headed by deverbal nouns that involve suffixes such as *-al*, *-ance*, *-er*, *-ion*, *-ing*, or *-ment* and whose interpretation can be retrieved from the corresponding verb phrases, as in (1).² While *er*-nouns denote external argument participants of the event, the others denote the event.

- (1) window cleaner (to clean windows); drug trafficking (to traffic drugs); car registration (to register cars); child abandonment (to abandon a child); house rental (to rent houses); aircraft maintenance (to maintain aircrafts); energy storage (to store energy)

All head nouns illustrated in (1) may appear in isolation outside compounds, but there are cases as in (2), from Olsen (2015), where the head is not used as a lexical noun, or if it is, it acquires a specialized meaning slightly different from the one in the compound. In a similar vein, *stealer* is lexically blocked by *thief*, but may appear in compounds like *scene stealer* (see Embick and Marantz 2008 for discussion and further references).

1 We hereby acknowledge two research grants from the German Research Foundation (DFG), which supported the study reported here: Project B1, *The form and interpretation of derived nominals*, within the Collaborative Research Center (SFB) 732 at the University of Stuttgart, and grant AL554/8-1 for Alexiadou. We are also grateful to our reviewers and the editors of this special issue for insightful feedback and stimulating criticism.

2 We leave out compounds headed by *-ee* nouns, such as *city employee* (Lieber 2004), since an incorporation-based analysis has never been proposed for them and they have been argued not to exhibit a real argumental non-head (Bobaljik 2003), which means that they qualify as root compounds.

(2) housekeeper vs. ??a keeper; watchmaker vs. ??a maker

Most of the debate on the structure of synthetic compounds revolves around this issue. Do synthetic compounds first involve compounding and then derivation, or first derivation and then compounding? The two analyses are schematically illustrated in (3). (3a) represents what we call the *Synthetic Compound (SC) Approach* and (3b) the *Root Compound (RC) Approach*. The first analysis assumes a special status for SCs, in that they have a different make-up from that of root compounds, while the second argues that synthetic and root compounds are derived by similar morphosyntactic mechanisms, possibly, with a difference in interpretation that can be traced back to the base verb for SCs.

- (3) a. $[[[truck]_N + [drive]_V] + \text{-er}]_N$ (SC-Approach)³
 b. $[[truck]_N + [[drive]_V + \text{-er}]_N]_N$ (RC-Approach)

Proponents of the SC-Approach use the resemblance to verb phrases visible in (1) to argue that the first step in the derivation of SCs is the formation of a compound out of a verb and its internal argument, to which then a derivational suffix is attached (see, among others, Roeper and Siegel 1978, Grimshaw 1990, Ackema and Neeleman 2004, and Harley 2009). The technical implementation has taken different shapes, but an important claim is that the internal argument is morphosyntactically incorporated into the verb (see Harley 2009). This accounts for the fact that the non-head in synthetic compounds is typically interpreted as the internal argument of the base verb (cf. (1)). Under this view, SCs inherit some event structure from the verb, albeit a defective one, since a compound can accommodate only one (bare) argument, unlike the verbs and their corresponding Argument Structure Nominals (ASNs) illustrated in (4). In view of this reduced event structure, the non-heads of SCs can only be interpreted as the internal/ lowest argument of the verb (see the First Sister Principle in Roeper and Siegel 1978 and the thematic hierarchy in Grimshaw 1990).⁴

3 We use the following abbreviations: ADJ = adjectival suffix, COLL = collective, GEN = genitive, IND = indicative, LE = linking element, N = noun, NZ = nominalizer, PROG = progressive, V = verb, VZ = verbalizer, 3S = third singular subject agreement.

4 Manner adjuncts as in participle-based SCs like *fast-acting*, *well-built* would also count as modifying some low event structure, but here we focus on the nominal SCs.

- (4) a. The parents abandoned the child.
 b. the parents' abandonment of the child (ASN)
 c. child abandonment (SC)

Although this analysis accounts for the argumental interpretation of the non-head in SCs, it predicts N-V compound verbs that incorporate internal arguments to be possible, which is contrary to fact: cf. **to child abandon*, **to housekeep*, **to watchmake*.⁵ In addition, as one reviewer notes, it cannot account for the fact that the head noun preserves its specific suffix, even though this suffix is not particularly productive (e.g., *-ance* in *maintenance*).

The RC-Approach in (3b) avoids these problems by arguing that there is nothing special in the structure of SCs as such, they are just root N-N compounds whose interpretation is particularly influenced by the deverbal nature of the head. The argument interpretation of the non-head is retrieved by the deverbal noun head from the base verb via various mechanisms of argument inheritance (e.g., Selkirk 1982, DiSciullo and Williams 1987, Lieber 2004, Olsen 2015; cf. Lieber 2009, for an overview). This type of analysis has a less straightforward account for the observation that the default argument is the internal/ lowest one in the event structure of the verb: while purported external argument readings may be available for some well-established compounds as in (5), these are limited in number. In addition, not all deverbal nouns that appear in SCs are attested as lexical nouns (cf. (2)), which makes the hypothesis that two independent nouns form a root compound together hard to maintain.

- (5) student evaluation, teacher recommendation, police questioning

In a more recent approach, which we call the *Root-Root (RR-) Approach*, Borer (2013) offers an analysis between the two in (3), as given in (6). She argues that there is no event or correlated verb in the structure of SCs (contra (3a)). Her crucial argument is the existence of idiomatic compounds as in (7), which lack a VP with the corresponding interpretation. This observation also challenges the RC-approach in (3b), since the noun heads in (7) are lexically unavailable on the idiomatic interpretation of the compound (cf. *#writer*, *#lifter*, *??monger*).

5 Note, however, that from a morphological point of view, it is not unusual to propose virtual but unattested words that are required by various derivations (see McIntyre 2016 for a recent discussion and references).

- (6) $[[\sqrt{face} + \sqrt{lift}] + er]_N$
- (7) a. typewriting typewriter #to write (a) type
 b. facelifting facelifter #to lift (a) face
 c. warmongering warmonger(er) *to monger (a) war

Borer argues that SCs behave just like RCs, but to account for their idiomatic readings, she proposes the structure in (6), in which two uncategorized roots, e.g., *face* and *lift* are put together into a compound root *facelift* and receive a free interpretation from the encyclopedia. This may be close to an argumental relation as in (1), but it doesn't have to. To eliminate the possibility of deriving compound verbs from such compound roots, Borer claims that they are bound roots in English and, consequently, must be accompanied by a nominalizing suffix such as *-er*, *-ing* and others. There are several shortcomings that this analysis presents for the study of SCs in our view and we address them in Section 3.

Although SCs especially of the type in (2) received special attention as early as in Bloomfield (1933) and more extensively in Marchand (1969) (see Olsen 2015, for further references), the major debate arose after Chomsky's (1970) discussion of lexicalist vs. syntactic approaches to word formation. SCs were subsequently used to argue in favor of one or the other theoretical trend. In this paper, we abstract away from this framework-related controversy and aim at a better understanding of the empirical picture from a comparative perspective by looking at data in English and Greek and weighing the theoretical claims that have been made.⁶ We pursue a syntactic analysis within the framework of Distributed Morphology (DM; cf. Halle and Marantz 1993 and more recent developments), which allows us to capture the diversity of SCs in English and Greek. Drawing on the differences between English as a word-based language and Greek as a stem-based language, we argue that what we call SCs correspond to three distinct morphosyntactic patterns, to which one may add some clear root compounds headed by deverbal nouns such as those in (5), which correspond to (3b). Importantly, in our understanding, SCs have a special status, like in theories that posit (3a), and this is given by the internal argument relation between the non-head and the head

6 Interestingly, various arguments from the approaches considered here have been formalized in both lexicalist and syntactic approaches. For instance, while syntactic approaches have generally aimed to argue for the presence of event structure and grammar in SCs, Borer (2013) heavily relies on the contribution of the encyclopedia in compound roots and denies any compositional structure in SCs. This comes close to lexicalist analyses, if we correlate the encyclopedia with the lexicon. By contrast, the lexicalist account in Grimshaw (1990) specifically argues for the presence of event/ argument structure in SCs.

of the SC. In the interest of space, we focus here on SCs and the analyses in (3a) and (6), and leave root compounds as in (5) with the analysis in (3b) for another endeavor. In our study we rely on data from referenced literature, from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) for English, and a magnitude estimation test designed for Greek N-V compounds.

We first show that the standard incorporation-based SC-analysis in (3a) applies to Greek SCs. In support of (3a), Greek has argumental [N+V]_v compounds (e.g., *emodotó* ‘to blood.give’, *musikosinthéto* ‘to music.compose’, see Ralli 2013), unlike English. Second, we argue that Borer’s (2013) analysis applies only to English SCs like *babysitter*, *facelifter*, which have back-formed verbs (cf. *to babysit*, *to facelift*), but not to those like *truck driver*, which lack such verbs (cf. **to truck drive*). The main difference is that in the former the non-head is not an argument of the head, while it is in the latter. Third, the difference between English *truck driver* and Greek *emodótis* ‘blood donor’ is that only the latter involves morphosyntactic incorporation. This originates in a morphological difference between the two languages, namely, while English is word-based, Greek is stem-based. This means that *emo* is a morphosyntactically incorporated root in *emodótis* ‘blood donor’, while *truck* is an independent word that is only semantically incorporated in *truck driver*. While morphosyntactically incorporated arguments will also be semantically incorporated, English SCs prove that the reverse does not hold. In our analysis, this comes out by assuming a structure similar to (3a) for Greek SCs, where we have clear morphosyntactic incorporation, and one closer to (3b) for English SCs. Importantly, however, unlike in RC-approaches, in our analysis, English SCs embed event structure from which the non-head originates as an argument and this is what makes these compounds different from root compounds as in (3b). We obtain three different patterns that derive what we call ‘synthetic compounds’ in the two languages and we will see that our DM-based approach turns out very useful in allowing us to capture various subtleties among these subclasses.

The paper is organized as follows. We start by presenting the Greek data in Section 2, which gives us a clear picture of the typical properties of SCs that involve morphosyntactic incorporation. In Section 3 we continue with the investigation of English, where we think that the picture is complicated by the fact that, as a word-based language, English does not present the characteristics of morphosyntactic incorporation in the structure of SCs, making it hard to distinguish them from root compounds. While we show that Greek SCs largely correspond to a structure as in (3a), for English there are two subclasses of SCs: root-root compounds of the type in (6) and SCs without incorporation. In Section 4 we present our conclusions.

2. Greek synthetic compounds

In this section we investigate Greek SCs in our attempt to achieve a better understanding of their morphosyntax in comparison to those in English. As we will see, Greek morphology allows distinctions that are more subtle or even absent in English.

Greek essentially differs from English in its rich inflectional system, which makes it a stem-based language in Ralli's (2013: 13) terms. With the exception of some Latinate bound roots such as *mit* in *submit*, *permit*, or *sist* in *persist*, *insist*, for English the distinction between root, stem, and word is futile, and this has important effects on the structure of SCs, as we will show in Section 3. By contrast, the distinction is very solid in Greek. In general, Greek words are bimorphemic, i.e., the root plus some inflection. Roots can never surface as words. In compounds, the distinction between stem and word becomes evident in the stress pattern. For instance, the word *spíti* 'house' bears a stress at the penult and the inflectional morpheme *i* for nominative, singular, and neuter. If it heads a compound as in *kuklóspito* 'doll house', the stress moves to the antepenult, signaling a compound made up of two stems (Ralli 2013). Compounding also leads to a change in the declension class, cf. the endings *-i* vs. *-o* in *spíti*.

SCs in Greek are head final, as in English, don't allow recursion, and form a single stress domain. While stress may not reliably distinguish compounds from ordinary NPs in English (see Plag 2006), it is crucial for the distinction between different types of compounds and phrases in Greek. According to Ralli (2013), Greek SCs inherit their stress from the head:

(8)	<u>kapn-o-kaliérgia</u>	kapn-o- <u>kaliergitís</u>	(cf. <i>kapnós</i> ; <i>kaliérgia</i> ; <i>kaliergitís</i>)
	tobacco-LE- cultivation	tobacco-LE- cultivator	tobacco; cultivation; cultivator

Unlike in English, SCs in Greek include a semantically empty linking element, which marks compounding in general and is realized as /o/. Ralli (2013: 59) convincingly distinguishes the linking element from the inflectional endings of the non-head: see (8). Interestingly, besides SCs, Greek may also form what we call "analytic compounds" as in (9), which are closer to phrases and ASNs (see Alexiadou 2017, Ntelitheos to appear for reasons to consider these compounds). By contrast to SCs, analytic compounds are left-headed, allow recursion, and form two stress domains, pointing to two words in their make-up. Their non-heads bear genitive case.

- (9) *kalergitís/ kaliérgia* *kapnón*
 cultivator/ cultivation tobacco.GEN
 ‘cultivator/ cultivation of tobacco’

Ralli (2013) speaks of morphological compounding for SCs and syntactic compounding for analytic compounds. In our approach, the difference lies in the complexity of the pieces that make up the compound, in particular, the morphosyntactic status of the non-head, which is a root in the former, but a word (i.e., a morphosyntactic phrase) in the latter. Although we do not aim to address analytic compounds here, this distinction is relevant for our comparison to English, where the non-head in SCs has the status of a morphosyntactically independent word, more precisely, a nP (i.e., a root categorized as a noun by some suffix under n).

For the sake of the comparison between the two types of languages we will often speak of *roots* and *words*. *Root* is a term that straightforwardly finds its place in DM on its traditional understanding as the minimal part of a word contributing lexical meaning. The term *word* will be used with reference to spell-out, namely, a word corresponds to some functional projection that can be realized on its own. Words have to be at least as small as categorized roots within DM. For nouns, the smallest word would be a nP. Other phrases above nP and below DP (e.g., ClassifierP, NumberP) might also be spelt out as words, and we will see that the non-heads in Greek analytic compounds represent such cases.

2.1. Subclasses of Greek synthetic compounds

Greek SCs present one strong argument for an SC-approach of the type in (3a) – namely, they build N-V verbal compounds of the kind we only rarely find in English. There are three classes of SCs in Greek: i) SCs that do not have any N-V compounds; ii) SCs that build back-formed N-V compounds; iii) SCs with independent N-V compounds.

First, like English (cf. *watchmaker* – **to watchmake*), Greek has SCs that we can call “frozen”, since they do not allow N-V compounds and most of them do not even allow event-denoting SCs, as in (10) (see Kriaras 1969, Anastasiadi-Simeonidi 2002, Kechagias 2005).

- | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| (10) a. <i>anthopólis</i> | * <i>anthopolο</i> | * <i>anthopolisi</i> |
| flower seller | to flower-sell | flower selling |
| b. <i>anemodíktis</i> | * <i>anemodikto</i> | * <i>anemodiksi</i> |
| wind pointer/ vane | to wind-point | wind pointing |

Second, again like English (cf. *babysitter – to babysit*), Greek has SCs that build back-formed N-V compounds, as illustrated in (11). Other examples are *xartodetó* ‘to paper-bind’ from *xartodétis* ‘paper binder’ or *daniodotó* ‘to loan-give’ from *daniodótis* ‘loan giver’.

(11) a.	vivliodétis	vivliodesía	vivliodetó	(cf. déno)
	book binder	book binding	to book-bind	to bind
b.	forokléptis	foroklopí	forokleptó	(cf. klévo)
	tax evader	tax evasion	to tax-evade	to steal

As Ralli (2013: 227) notes, we know that these N-V compounds are back-formations, because they essentially differ from the lexical verb in morphology and stress pattern if we compare the third and fourth columns in (11). Thus, *vivliodetó* can only be back-formed from *vivliodétis*, since the lexical verb *déno* is obviously not present in this N-V compound.

Third, unlike English, Greek shows cases of SCs where an N-V compound co-exists in parallel with the nominal SC, as in (12) (cf. Ralli 2002, Anastasiadi-Symeonidi 2002).

(12) a.	krasopótis	krasopótis	krasopíno	(píno)
	wine drinker	wine drinking	to wine-drink	to drink
b.	thiriodamastís	thiriodamasmós	thiriodamázo	(damázo)
	beast tamer	beast taming	to beast-tame	to tame

Unlike in (11), where the N-V compound doesn’t include the lexical verb, in (12) it is clear that the latter is part of the compound. A magnitude estimation test revealed various degrees of acceptability among different ‘unestablished’ N-V compounds. On a scale from 1 (good) to 7 (bad), *pliroforiodotó* ‘to information-give’ received the score 1.6, *musikosinthéto* ‘to music-compose’ – 1.9, *emodotó* ‘to blood-give’ – 2.9, *trofosalégo* ‘to food-collect’ – 3.9, *xartokóvo* ‘to paper-cut’ – 4.6, *aftokinitokataskevázo* ‘to car-construct’ – 5.4, and *grammatokomízo* ‘to letter-convey’ – 6.4. We also find variation among speakers, which shows the potential of these compounds to get established and confirms the productivity of this compound pattern.

Besides the N-V compounds corresponding to nominal SCs, Greek also presents some for which nominal SCs are more restricted, as illustrated in (13).

- (13) a. plakostróno *plakostrótis plakóstrosi
 to plate-lay plate layer plate laying
 b. afalodéno *afalodétis ??afalodesía
 to navel-bind navel binder navel binding

The data in (13) further enforces the claim that Greek can form synthetic N-V compounds, as predicted by the SC-analysis in (3a) above, a matter we address in more details below. In preparation of our analysis, which follows (3a), we note that some SCs have both back-formed and independent N-V verbs without any meaning differences, as pointed out by Ralli (2002) and Anastasiadi-Symeonidi (2002) and exemplified in (14). These cases of free variation indicate that the structures of the two types of N-V compound must be similar with only small differences, which we will capture in our analysis in Section 2.4.

- (14) a. xartopézo (< pézo) – xartopektó (< xartopéktis)
 to card-play (to play) to card-play (card player)
 b. xartodéno (< déno) – xartodetó (< xartodétis)
 to paper-bind (< to bind) to paper-bind (paper binder)

2.2. In favor of morphosyntactic incorporation in Greek synthetic compounds

We typically speak of incorporation in cases such as (15) from the Chilean language Mapudungun (see Baker 2009: 149). In (15b) the nominal root *waka* ‘cow’ corresponding to the DP argument *tachi pu waka* ‘the cows’ in (15a) combines with the verb to form what looks like a verb compound and is a near-paraphrase of (15a). This verb compound behaves like a single morphological object – a verb, so *waka* has incorporated into the verb in (15b). There are several degrees of incorporation that languages display and we refer the reader to Baker (2009) for a recent overview. Here we focus on the characteristics of Greek SCs that point towards an analysis in terms of incorporation.

- (15) a. *Ni chao kintu-le-y* *ta-chi pu waka.*
 my father seek-PROG-IND.3sS the-ADJ COLL cow
 ‘My father is looking for the cows.’
 b. *Ni chao kintu-waka-le-y.*
 my father seek-cow-PROG-IND.3sS
 ‘My father is looking for the cows.’

There are three important morphosyntactic properties of Greek SCs that speak for incorporation and, implicitly, for an analysis as in (3a): i) non-heads in SCs are roots and, thus, morphosyntactically dependent, ii) SCs have limited productivity, which indicates a purely morphological process, and iii) their non-heads realize the internal argument both in SCs and N-V compounds, which supports the presence of some event/ argument structure.

First, following Baker's (1988, 2009) syntactic approach to incorporation as head-movement, the simplest heads that incorporate into other heads should be bare roots.⁷ As Ralli (2013: 133–134) also observes, non-heads in SCs disallow both derivational and inflectional suffixes. A derived noun like *player* is not possible in a compound as in (16a). Such nouns are categorized words and have to be part of analytic compounds, as in (16b) (cf. (9)).

(16) a. *	<i>peh-t-o-timoría</i>	vs.	b. <i>timoría</i>	<i>pek-t-ón</i>
	play-NZ-LE-punishment		punishment	play-NZ-GEN

Therefore, non-heads in Greek SCs cannot be morphologically complex, they must be roots. As a stem-based language, Greek does not allow roots to surface as words, where it essentially differs from English (cf. Section 3). The obligatory presence of the linking element /o/ and the absence of any inflectional marking for a declension class (cf. Ralli 2013) enforces the idea that non-heads in Greek SCs are roots, which are morphosyntactically incorporated.

Second, it has long been argued that at the interface between morphological and syntactic processes, word formation that is closer to morphology is more restricted than that closer to syntax (see, most notably, Ackema and Neeleman 2004; cf. Ralli 2013). Morphosyntactic incorporation of roots per se should be closer to morphology and this is confirmed by the limited productivity we find in Greek SCs. Although SCs are productive as a word formation process in Greek in that new SCs are constantly produced (Ralli 2013), there is limited productivity on non-heads for the different noun heads. Even for SCs that build (back-formed or independent) N-V compounds, we cannot freely insert lexical nouns as non-heads, as illustrated in (17) (cf. the N-V compounds in (11a) and (12b)).

7 There is an ongoing debate as to whether ‘incorporated NPs’ that restrictedly allow simple modifiers in some languages should be analyzed as head-movement: see Baker (2009) and references therein. This question does not arise for Greek SCs, since their non-heads are unquestionable roots. For English, we will see in Section 3 that non-heads may be morphologically complex, and we will propose an alternative analysis.

- (17) a. vivliodétis xartodétis *tetradiodétis
 book binder paper binder notebook binder
- b. thiriodamastís *alogodamastís
 beast tamer horse tamer

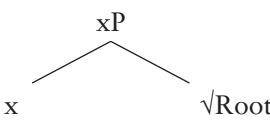
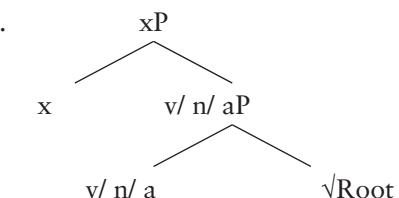
This limited productivity of SCs reinforces our observation that these compounds represent cases of incorporation of roots in ways that will become clear in Section 2.4.

Third, in line with incorporation-based analyses, non-heads in Greek SCs act as arguments of the base verbs. This is evidenced by the fact that neither SCs, nor their N-V corresponding verbal compounds allow the realization of a phrasal argument next to the incorporated one. This holds both for independent and back-formed verbs in (18a) and (18b).

- (18) a. I Maria thiriodamazi (**to alogo*).
 the Mary beast-tames the horse
- b. I Maria daniidotise (**mia periusia*).
 the Mary loan-gave a fortune

2.3. Background on Distributed Morphology (DM)

We assume a DM view on word formation, according to which language has atomic, non-decomposable elements, called *roots*, which combine with the functional vocabulary to build words. Roots are category-neutral and receive a category by combining with category-defining functional heads like n, v or a(djective) (Arad 2005, Embick 2010, Marantz 2013a). Thus, roots are lexically underspecified – the same root may, in principle, combine with any lexical category. There are two cycles of word-formation (Marantz 2013a), i.e. two levels at which a categorizing affix can appear: the root cycle and the outer cycle. Affixation at the root cycle leads to word formation out of roots, as in (19a), while affixation at the outer cycle, which is above a categorizing affix, involves word formation out of words, as in (19b).

- (19) a. 
 b. 

The two processes have different properties. First of all, a locality condition requires that roots receive an interpretation when they combine with the first category-assigning head at cycle (19a). Once this interpretation is assigned, it is carried along throughout the rest of the derivation (see Arad 2005, Embick 2010). According to Marantz (2013a), an element derived by (19a) has the following two properties (among others): 1) it may receive an idiosyncratic meaning as the result of the root appearing in the context of that particular morpheme x ; 2) it exhibits reduced productivity, i.e., some roots are more natural than others with that morpheme x . Second, by contrast to (19a), if a morpheme x is merged above a category-determining morpheme as in (19b), we obtain an element that 1) has a compositional meaning predicted from the fixed interpretation of the stem (i.e., vP, nP, or aP in (19b)), and 2) exhibits apparent complete productivity (i.e., no sensitivity to particular stems).

To take an example, the roots *clums* and *malic* are idiosyncratic in forming adjectives, as they require different morphemes: *-y* and *-ous*. We have *clumsy* and *malicious*, but not **clumsous* or **malicy*. These are instances of word formation from roots as in (19a). But once they are categorized as adjectives, they can both combine with *-ness* to form deadjectival nouns, following (19b): *clumsiness* and *maliciousness*. Adjectival formation with *-y* and *-ous* is only restrictedly productive, since these suffixes are sensitive to particular roots, but noun formation with *-ness* is fully productive, since *-ness*, in principle, attaches to any adjective.

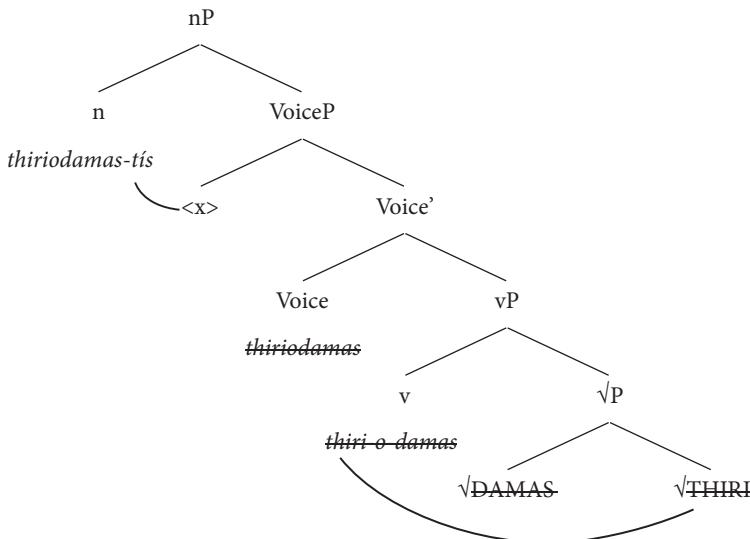
2.4. A DM-analysis for Greek synthetic compounds

Following our arguments above, we offer here an incorporation-based analysis for Greek SCs. For the third class, which builds independent N-V compounds, as in (12), the verb within the N-V compound is identical to the corresponding lexical verb. This means that the verbal root is categorized as a verb before the nominal root incorporates into it, as in (20). By contrast, back-formed N-V compounds from the second class of SCs given in (11) involve a new verb form. To account for this we take the verbal root in the latter to incorporate the nominal root before the whole complex root is categorized as an N-V compound verb, as in (21) below.

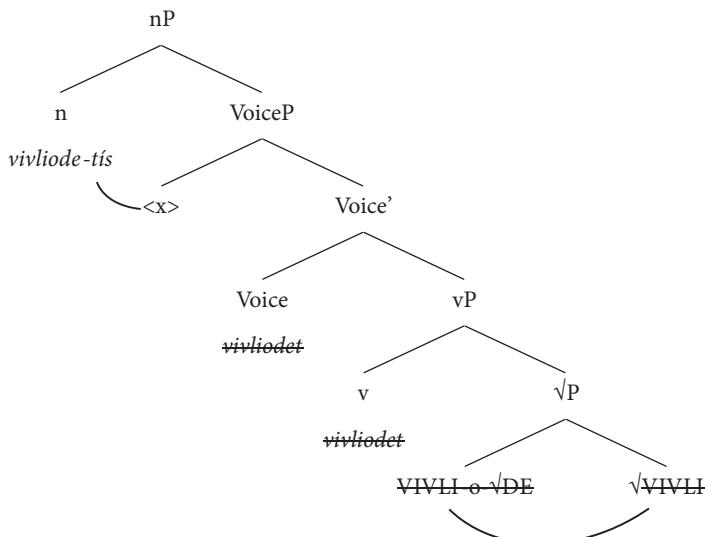
In both (20) and (21) we start with two roots – let us call them the verbal and the nominal root – of which the latter is an internal argument of the former (see Harley 2009, 2014). This relies on the intuition that the lexical semantics of a verbal root is in close relationship with its internal argument, by contrast to the external argument, which is more independent and is realized in a different projection VoiceP (see Marantz 1984, Kratzer 1996). In (20) the verbal root is categorized as a verb, forming the stem *damas* for the lexical verb *damazó* ‘to tame’ and then the nominal root *thiri* ‘beast’ moves to v and incorporates into

it, forming the N-V compound *thiriodamázo*, a vP. In (21), the incorporation of the nominal root happens before the categorization of the verbal root. Here, we essentially have a root incorporation analysis as in Harley (2009) for English (cf. Michelioudakis and Angelopoulos 2013). Following Ralli (2013), the linking morpheme -o has no syntactic status, it is simply a phonological reflex.

- (20) *thiriodamastís* ('beast tamer'); *thiriodamazo* ('to beast tame')



- (21) *vivliodetís* ('book binder'); *vivliodetó* ('to book bind')



For Greek, this analysis perfectly captures the intuition that back-formed N-V compounds do not involve a lexical verb, but just a ‘verb stem’ in Ralli’s (2013) terms. In our terms, this is the verbal root *de* from the verb *déno* ‘to bind’, which never gets categorized as a lexical verb on its own, but only as a N-V compound: in (21), the whole complex becomes a v. The morphological information that realizes the categorizer v consists of the special stress pattern and the new declension that the verbal root acquires in back-formations: cf. *vivliodetó* ‘to book-bind’ vs. the lexical verb *déno* ‘to bind’ (cf. Panagiotidis, Revithiadou, and Spyropoulos to appear). In (20) the verb within the N-V compound *thiriodamázo* ‘to beast-tame’ has the same declension and stress pattern as the lexical verb *damázo* ‘to tame’ (cf. (12)).

In conclusion, the difference between back-formed and independent N-V compounds that correlate with SCs in Greek lies in the lower level of the structure, below the vP. The structure that follows is identical in both: a nominalizing suffix *-tís* ‘-er’ or some eventive nominalizer. Any analysis of nominalizations could apply without special consequences on the profile of SCs. In (20) and (21) we illustrate the *-er* suffix, which we take to bind the external argument variable *<x>* introduced by the Voice projection, following Schäfer (2008) (cf. Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou, and Schäfer 2016 on VoiceP, and Alexiadou and Schäfer 2010 on *-er* nominals). Importantly, our incorporation-based analysis correctly accounts for the fact that the non-head in SCs and their N-V correlates is an internal argument, at the same time capturing the differences between the two types of N-V compounds. Moreover, the crucial piece of our account is the root status of the non-head, which accounts for the fact that Greek SCs do not allow any derivational or inflectional suffixes on non-heads, but also for the limited productivity of SCs. As shown in Section 2.3, in DM, structure above the categorizing node should be more productive than structures that involve roots. In this respect, we can interpret the limited productivity of Greek SCs as an idiosyncrasy of the non-head roots: some can undergo incorporation, but others cannot, depending on the encyclopedia and use of world knowledge. As we will see, the opposite holds for English synthetic compounds.

A final note is in order. As mentioned above, the first class of Greek SCs does not build N-V compounds. The question arises as to how those would be analyzed, since our analysis predicts N-V compounds. We think that these compounds are historically somewhere between the two structures in (20) and (21): they used to be like in (20) and are on their way to become like (21). As Lujan (2015) shows, Ancient Greek had incorporation-based N-V compounds, many of which are not available in Modern Greek anymore (e.g., *moshopio* ‘to calf-make’, *karykopio* ‘to sauce-make’, *theronomeo* ‘to beast-feed’). These were independent formations as in (20). The examples in

(22) show Modern Greek SCs that used to have an N-V compound that is not available anymore (see also Pompei and Grandi 2012).

- | | | |
|---------|-------------------------------|---|
| (22) a. | gelotopios (Modern
Greek) | gelotopio (Ancient/ *Modern Greek) |
| | laughter-provoker | to laughter-provoke |
| b. | ikodespotis (Modern
Greek) | ikodespoto (Medieval/ *Modern
Greek) |
| | host (lit. ‘house ruler’) | to house-rule |

What this shows is that most likely many of these SCs in Modern Greek must have had independent N-V compounds at earlier stages of the language, which came out of use, and back-formations have not been developed yet, but might appear in the future. In support of an analysis as in (21), note that the example in (23) includes the verbalizer *-is* and yet, the corresponding N-V compound is not available. (23b) shows that *-is* forms verbs from adjectives in Greek (see Alexiadou 2009, Anagnostopoulou and Samioti 2014).

- | | | |
|---------|---|---------------------------|
| (23) a. | <i>ial</i> -o -kathar-is-tiras | * <i>ialokatharistiro</i> |
| | glass LE clean-VZ-er | to glass-clean |
| b. | katharo ‘clean’ – kathar-iz-o ‘to clean’ – kathar-iz-meno ‘cleaned’ | |

Furthermore, remember that Modern Greek also presents the opposite pattern, i.e., N-V compounds including a lexical verb for which the correlate nominal SCs have disappeared or may be formed restrictedly as in (13). These compounds are captured by the analysis in (20) and show us that historical change applies in both directions.

3. English synthetic compounds

With this picture of Greek in mind, let us now have a look at English SCs. Most importantly, English does not productively build N-V compounds. There are a few back-formations noted already in Marchand (1969), but although they are made up of a noun and a verb, the noun is not an internal argument of the verb, but a modifier. In (24) only *to brainwash* and *to babysit* retain some flavor of an argumental relation inside the compound. Yet, these can realize a phrasal internal argument, as illustrated by the examples in (25), taken from COCA.

- (24) to stage-manage, to tape-record, to vacuum-clean, to brainwash, to proofread, to ghostwrite, to spoon-feed, to babysit, to color code
- (25) a. Teresa **babysits** a set of twins.
 b. We used to think that they brainwashed the **uneducated**.

This evidence speaks against an incorporation-based analysis of the type in (3a) and reformulated in (20) and (21), for English SCs, especially in the context of a language like Greek, where this analysis is well motivated. On the basis of data as in (7) above, Borer (2013) proposes the analysis in (6), in which a compound root is first formed and interpreted depending solely on the encyclopedia and context. While Borer uses this analysis for all SCs in English, we would like to argue here that it only applies to SCs that build back-formations. More precisely, among Borer's 'idiomatic' SCs of the kind in (7), we differentiate two subclasses: i) SCs that build back-formations and ii) SCs that do not. The former are analyzed as root-root compounds, while the latter receive an analysis as in SC-approaches.

3.1. Two classes of English synthetic compounds

The difference between the two classes of compounds we propose here is best illustrated by comparing Borer's examples *facelifter/ facelifting* and *warmonger/ warmongering*. There are two crucial differences between these types of compounds.

First, while *facelifter* may build a back-formed N-V verb *to facelift* in contexts such as (26a), this is not possible for *warmonger*. The only verb associated to the latter that we find in the NOW (News on the Web) corpus, for instance, is *to monger* itself as in (26b) (contra Borer's (7c)). (26a) additionally shows that the verb *to facelift* behaves just like the back-formations in (25), in that *face* is not an argument anymore, *the Figo* plays that role instead.

- (26) a. Ford recently **facelifted** the Figo with 140 changes.
 b. He never **mongered** war since it is fought with guns.

Second, SCs with back-formed N-V verbs are not productive on their non-heads. While we have *to facelift* from *facelifter*, we do not have **to eyelift* or **to noselift* from *eye lifter* and *nose lifter*. This is in accordance with a RR-analysis as in (6), since we expect compound roots to be idiosyncratic and unproductive (see (19a)). By contrast, SCs that do not build back-formed N-V verbs, such as those headed by *monger* and even *lifter*, combine with various non-heads, including morphologically complex nouns (examples from COCA):

- (27) a. eye/ nose/ bottom/ disposition/ confidence/ pressure lifter
 b. cheese/ fish/ war/ fear/ conspiracy/ publicity monger

In line with the DM assumptions in (19b), we take productivity to correlate with the presence of compositional functional structure in the make-up of SCs such as (27). For our analysis, this means that *facelifter* is derived by means of a RR-account, as in (28), while *eye/ nose lifter* and *war/ fear monger* are typical SCs in English, which include the categorized lexical verb and its argumental relation with the non-head (see the discussion on (30) below).

- (28) [_{nP} *facelift-er* [_{VoiceP} <X> *facelift*] [_{vP} *facelift*] [/ $\sqrt{\text{FACE}}$ / $\sqrt{\text{LIFT}}$]]

A few remarks are in order with respect to (28). First, unlike in Borer (2013), we need not speculate that N-V compounds are bound roots in English, because the compounds we analyze under (28) do build N-V compounds, as predicted.⁸ Second, this analysis also predicts that no categorized verbs or nouns should be part of such compounds, that is, no derived non-heads and no heads based on derived verbs with suffixes such as *-ize* or *-ify* should be available. As far as we can tell, this prediction is borne out. The standard back-formations from SCs involve two simple roots (e.g., *babysit*, *facelift*, *brainwash*). We take these RR-compounds to instantiate a typical pattern of creating compound verbs in English, in which the left member modifies the right member, in the spirit of, e.g., *to ninja walk* (see Marantz 2013b and Rimell 2012 for discussion).

Let us now concentrate on the English SCs illustrated in (27). As shown there, they allow morphologically complex non-heads in the shape of derived nouns; even compound words are possible, as illustrated in (29). Interestingly, this also applies to heads like *maker* that are unnatural on their own (cf. (2)), so they cannot be analyzed as root compounds.

- (29) season ticket holder, air traffic controller, flight data recorder, child care provider, science fiction writer, ice cream maker, documentary film maker, sports car maker

⁸ We might add that, independently of this, Borer's (2013) claim that N-V compounds are bound roots seems rather unfounded and controversial. As we noted in our comparison to Greek, English is a word-based language and has very few bound roots, usually of foreign origin. By contrast, SCs are fully productive. Within this background it seems contradictory to claim that English should productively derive bound roots for SCs only.

In Borer's analysis (6) (which correlates with our (28)), these cases remain unaccounted for and so do SCs headed by nouns based on derived verbs such as *tax simplification* or *data standardization*. In our terms, these show that in the structure of these compounds both heads and non-heads are categorized by functional structure, so a RR-analysis cannot do justice to them.⁹ A difference from Greek that becomes crucial in this context is that non-heads in English SCs are not roots, but necessarily words. The same holds for the base verb. Let us summarize the properties of English SCs of the second class.

First, as shown above, their non-heads express internal arguments: the base verbs and the non-heads can be used in a verb-argument relationship as illustrated in (1) and this holds even for more idiomatic SCs like those headed by *monger*, for which a corresponding verb was created later than the compound (e.g., (26b)). Second, they are fully productive; new SCs can always be built on the basis of a noun head, as in (27). Third, they involve categorized heads and non-heads. To account for these properties, we propose the structure in (30).

- (30) [nP [nP *disposition*] *lift-er* [VoiceP <x> *lift* [vP *lift* [V^{LIFT} [nP *disposition*]]]]]

In (30), which presents the formation of the SC *disposition lifter*, *disposition* is a categorized noun, a nP, which appears as the internal argument of the verb *to lift*, originating as the complement of the verb's root, just like in the Greek structures in (20) and (21). The difference is that the non-head *disposition* is a noun and not a root. Like in (20), the verbal root gets categorized as a vP and we obtain the structure for a VP *lift disposition*. Next, unlike in Greek (20), in (30) the non-head does not incorporate into the verb. What happens is that the verb gets nominalized by the suffix *-er* and the noun *disposition* moves to the Spec nP of the nominalized structure. This way, we correctly exclude the derivation of independent N-V compounds in English, which are available in Greek (20) and (21).

Three important questions arise at this point: i) why doesn't the non-head incorporate into the verb in English, just like in Greek?; ii) why does it have to move?; iii) why doesn't the non-head in Greek SCs undergo the same kind of movement as in English?

⁹ Harley's (2009) analysis with root-incorporation cannot account for these facts either, although this analysis recognizes the internal argument interpretation of the non-head (unlike Borer 2013).

3.2. Against incorporation in English synthetic compounds

The first two questions are closely related. For Greek, we argued that incorporation is motivated primarily because the non-head is a root and, consequently, has a dependent morphological status, which is well accounted for by head-movement and incorporation into the verb or the verbal root. In English, the non-head is a categorized noun. Roots in English are often words, but, most importantly, SCs may include morphologically complex non-heads, which cannot be roots (see also McIntyre 2016). Thus, morphosyntactic incorporation is not motivated in English.

However, non-heads in English SCs present some *semantic* evidence for incorporation, which must be the reason why they have been analyzed as cases of incorporation before. Two properties are relevant: i) they do not introduce a discourse referent and ii) they are number-neutral. In (31), we see that non-heads of SCs cannot be referred back anaphorically, by contrast to bare nouns, which also lack an overt determiner.

- (31) a. He is a driver of trucks_i who takes good care of them_i.
- b. *He is a truck_i driver who takes good care of them_i.

In (32) the verb *collect* requires a plural internal argument. But inside the synthetic compound the bare non-head *stamp* can satisfy this requirement of the base verb.

- (32) John collects stamps/ *a stamp. He is a stamp collector.

In Farkas and De Swart (2005), number-neutrality is a manifestation of semantic incorporation, which is not identical to morphosyntactic incorporation. While the latter entails the former, the reverse does not always hold. We saw above that non-heads in SCs may be morphologically complex, which speaks against morphosyntactic incorporation. The semantic effects that correlate with semantic incorporation can be derived from the bare nP status of non-heads in (30) – namely, they lack any functional projections that could host semantically relevant inflection. In particular, the lack of reference illustrated in (31) proves that a DP cannot be available, while the number neutrality in (32) shows that no NumberP is present. With this observation we can answer our second question: why the non-head has to move. If the non-head were a DP, it would either receive accusative case from the verb, or genitive case from the nominalization (like in ASNs such as in (4b)). But as a nP, the non-head cannot be marked for case and is illicit in this argumental position (cf. Longobardi 1994), so it has to move. Our proposal that it moves to the Spec nP position resonates well with two previous approaches to related

phenomena. On the one hand, it resembles Marchis Moreno's (2015) analysis of thematic relational adjectives, whose non-heads are also taken to originate as argumental bare nouns that move to Spec NP and whose adjectival realization is argued to be only a spell-out matter. Interestingly, constructions with thematic relational adjectives in Romance languages, where they are more common than in English, often correspond to English SCs, as illustrated in (33). Our approach in (30) conveniently captures the similarity between the two constructions.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| (33) a. Spanish | b. Romanian |
| <i>producción petrolera</i> | <i>consum alcoolic</i> |
| production oil.ADJ | consumption alcohol.ADJ |
| 'oil production' | 'alcohol consumption' |

On the other hand, the movement of the non-head to Spec NP also accounts for the internal cohesion of SCs, namely, that no modifiers can intervene between the non-head and the head. In (30), there is no intermediate level between the n head and its Spec that a modifier could adjoin to. In this respect, this analysis reminds of Koopman and Szabolcsi's (2000) and Massam's (2001) analysis of 'pseudo-incorporation', where apparent cases of (semantic) incorporation are taken to involve phrasal movement to a Spec position.

3.3. Roots and words in English and Greek compounds

The answer to the third question – why Greek non-heads do not move to Spec NP – is straightforward. As argued above, non-heads in Greek SCs are roots and, consequently, morphosyntactically dependent. They are not categorized words to build phrases that move to a Spec position; they can only move as (root) heads to incorporate into the verb. The Greek compounds that come closer to English SCs in this respect are the analytic compounds as in (9) and (16b), whose non-heads are categorized as nouns and act as words. However, these non-heads in Greek seem to be more complex than NP projections, since they bear genitive case. Importantly, they are not number-neutral. As (34) shows, in the analytic compound, *stamp* must be in the plural, which contrasts with English (32).

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (34) <i>silektis</i> | <i>gramatosimon/ *gramatosimu</i> |
| collector | stamp.GEN.PL/ stamp.GEN.SG |

Alexiadou (2017) argues that non-heads in analytic compounds are NumberPs in Greek. So the difference between the non-heads of English SCs and

non-heads in Greek analytic compounds is that the former are smaller in structure, simple nPs, while the latter are more complex, NumberPs, and may be marked for case.

In conclusion, it turns out that Greek does not use simple categorized nPs in (analytic or synthetic) compounds of the kind that English has in SCs. We think that this is due to the more fundamental difference between English and Greek pointed out in Section 2 – namely, that the former is a word-based language and the latter a stem-based language, cf. Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2015). As such, non-heads in English SCs are words which are morphosyntactically more independent than the root non-heads in Greek SCs (see (30) vs. (20)/(21)). And yet, they are less independent than the word non-heads in Greek analytic compounds, which carry number inflection and may receive genitive case (see (34)). To become a word, a Greek root must acquire some minimal inflectional morphology, in our case, number, which for an English root is not necessary, it suffices to have a noun categorizer. Thus, the morphosyntactic complexity of non-heads in English SCs lies between the roots and the simplest words in Greek.

4. Conclusion

In this paper we offered a syntactic analysis of Greek and English SCs, by focusing on fundamental morphological differences between the two languages, which we find reflected in the behavior of their SCs. We evaluated the three previous approaches to SCs on the background of these data and argued that an analysis that involves morphosyntactic incorporation, as proposed by SC-approaches, is entirely motivated for Greek, where non-heads in SCs are morphosyntactically dependent roots. In English, non-heads in SCs are words, which makes the incorporation analysis untenable. The reduced productivity of Greek SCs is again explained by the root status of their non-heads. In DM, roots are taken to behave idiosyncratically, so it is expected that some roots will form compounds with incorporation, while others will not. The non-head in English SCs is a categorized word allowing productive SC formation. We have related this contrast to a typological difference between Greek and English, as stem-based, respectively, word-based languages. While incorporation of an argument into a verb may appear in both types of languages, these would differ in how incorporation is morphosyntactically realized. Namely, stem-based languages make incorporation visible in the morphosyntax and incorporated roots can be recognized as such (see Greek SCs). This does not apply to word-based languages, where a semantically incorporated argument may be a morphosyntactically independent word (see English SCs).

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Dr. Gianina Iordăchioaia
Universität Stuttgart
Philosophisch-Historische Fakultät
Institut für Linguistik: Anglistik
Keplerstraße 17
D-70174 Stuttgart
gianina@ifla.uni-stuttgart.de

Prof. Dr. Artemis Alexiadou
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin & Leibniz-Zentrum Allgemeine
Sprachwissenschaft (ZAS)
Unter den Linden 6
D-10099 Berlin
artemis.alexiadou@hu-berlin.de

Andreas Pairamidis
Universität Stuttgart
Philosophisch-Historische Fakultät
Institut für Literaturwissenschaft: Digital Humanities
Herdweg 51
D-70174 Stuttgart
andreas.pairamidis@ilw.uni-stuttgart.de

Martina Werner

Zur Entwicklung der synthetischen Komposition in der Geschichte des Deutschen

Abstract: The article delineates the development of nominal synthetic compounding in the history of German. In particular, it is attested an enhancement of the morphological structure which correlates with a morphological intersection of determinative compounding happening from Early New High German onwards.

1. Forschungsrelevanz und methodologischer Rahmen

Die synthetische Komposition (oft auch gefasst als Rektionskomposition, Zusammenbildung) ist ein übereinzelsprachlich weit verbreiteter Wortbildungstyp, so etwa im Englischen *wood cutter*, *nut cracking* oder im Deutschen *Hundehaltung*, *Flaschensammler*, *dreilagig* (zur Wortartenbeteiligung aus typologischer Sicht vgl. Lieber 2005). Aufgrund ihrer strukturellen Ambiguität werden synthetische Komposita als Produkte der Morphologie oder aber der Syntax klassifiziert (vgl. etwa Booij 1988, Leser 1990, Lieber 2004, Borer 2013 u.v.a.; einen Forschungsüberblick bietet Gaeta 2010). Ausgehend von dieser Grundüberlegung soll mit Verweis auf das Zusammenspiel von Morphologie und Syntax (sog. Morphosyntax) im vorliegenden Beitrag¹ der Betrachtungsschwerpunkt auf die Frage nach einer diachronen Entwicklung der synthetischen Komposition im Deutschen gelegt und möglichen Bezügen zwischen dieser und verwandten Wortbildungstypen nachgegangen werden. Unter synthetischen Nominalkomposita² werden dabei in der vorliegenden, theoretisch-korpusgestützten Untersuchung in Übereinstimmung mit Gaeta 2010 solche Bildungen verstanden, die eine Nominalisierung mit deverbaler Basis mit einer zugrundeliegenden Argumentstruktur³ aufweisen wie im Falle von *Hunde-fütter-ung*, *Holz-verarbeit-ung*, *Lampen-herstell-er*, *Wein-verkost-er*.

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- 1 Der vorliegende Beitrag ist entstanden im Rahmen des Projekts „Diachronie des substantivierten Infinitivs im Deutschen“, gefördert vom FWF, Projektnummer V-347.
 - 2 Für die Unterstützung beim Finden von Belegen danke ich Hannes Pirker, Verena Bock und Daniela Fasching (ACDH).
 - 3 Dies umfasst insbesondere diachron im Grunde auch die deadjektivischen Konsituenten, deren Valenz auch in einigen Nominalisierungen des Gegenwartsdeutschen sichtbar wird (wie etwa in *Plug-and-Play-Fähigkeit*). Da jedoch die meisten sog. relationalen, d.h. valenzfähigen Lexeme (Terminus nach Lühr 2004), verbal

Sowohl synchron als auch diachron ist die Abgrenzbarkeit der synthetischen Komposition zu verwandten Wortbildungstypen im Deutschen jedoch durchaus kontrovers, was diachron u.a. auf die Beleglage zurückzuführen ist, da bereits im Ahd. Determinativkomposita, synthetische Komposita und Suffixierungen mit einfacher Basis (wie bspw. ahd. *bellunga* ‚Bellen‘, *zuiualunga* ‚Zweifeln‘, *lērāri* ‚Lehrer‘) bezeugt sind. Innerhalb der germanischen Sprachen gibt es in Bezug auf die synthetische Komposition strukturelle Parallelen zum Deutschen, so im Gotischen *lubjaleis* ‚giftkundig‘, *seinaigairns* ‚selbstsüchtig‘, wörtl. ‚sich selbst liebend‘, *launawargs* ‚undankbar‘, wörtl. ‚der jmdn. um den Lohn bringt‘ (Beispiele aus Lühr 2004: 8); ebenso bspw. im Altenglischen wie etwa bei *aðbryca* ‚Eidbrecher‘ u.a. (Beispiel aus Chapman 1980: 19). Bereits Grimm (1826: 619) sah daher die „Zusammenbildung“ des Deutschen aus der „eigentlichen“ (d.h. morphologisch/ aus der Determinativkomposition) und aus der „uneigentlichen“ Komposition (d.h. syntaktisch mit dem Argumentnomen im Genitiv oder Akkusativ (vgl. hierzu auch Wilmanns 1896: 520–535) motiviert. Sprachtypologisch jedoch setzt die Existenz der synthetischen Komposition nicht die Existenz der Determinativkomposition (bzw. umgekehrt) voraus, was mit Blick auf die slawischen Sprachen deutlich wird: In diesen Sprachen ist die synthetische Komposition, nicht aber die Determinativkomposition überaus produktiv (vgl. das Russische, Polnische, Slowakische u.v.a.), was zeigt, dass beide Wortbildungstypen voneinander unabhängig existieren.

Gemeinhin wird synchron der Terminus „synthetische Komposition“ als eine Wortverbindung aus drei Morphemen ($S_1+S_2+S_3$) gefasst, bei der weder S_1+S_2 , noch S_2+S_3 selbstständig vorkommen: Eine Bildung wie *Vogelfänger* ist demnach strukturell ambig, entweder ist sie als eine synthetische Komposition ‚jmd., der Vögel/ einen Vogel fängt‘ oder aber eine Determinativkomposition ‚Fänger von Vögeln/ eines Vogels‘ (vgl. Wilmanns 1896: 3; 512–531) zu fassen. Durch die gerade genannte Definition sind Phrasenkomposita (vom Typ *Fünf-Jahres-Plan*) von synthetischen Komposita nicht abzugrenzen (vgl. Neef 2015 zum Vorschlag einer Parallelisierung beider Typen). Im Gegensatz zu den Phrasenkomposita besitzen synthetische Komposita nach der diesem Beitrag zugrundeliegenden Definition jedoch zum einen ein relationales (Terminus

sind und diachron ein Großteil der deverbalen Adjektivsuffigierungen (bis auf *-bar*) durch die Partizipialbildung ersetzt wurden (wie *tröstlich* durch *tröstend*, *wohnhaft* durch *wohnend*, *kleidsam* durch *kleidend*; zur Diachronie vgl. Thomas 2002 zum Fnhd.), wurde der Betrachtungsschwerpunkt im vorliegenden Beitrag auf Verben gelegt. Nicht-verbale Elemente, d.h. Adjektive (wie *abhängig*, *fähig*) oder Nomina (wie *Ton* wie in *Grünton*, *Drittel* wie in *Gewinndrittel*), mit relationaler Struktur wären daher in einer eigenen Studie zu untersuchen. Soweit sich jedoch Bezüge zu synchron produktiven Mustern ergaben, wurde versucht, diese in der vorliegenden Untersuchung mitzuberücksichtigen.

nach Lühr 2004), d.h. valenzerzeugendes Lexem (insbesondere Verben), zum anderen ein Suffix, welches aufgrund der Zuweisung der morphosyntaktischen Eigenschaften als Kopf fungiert. Das Kriterium einer notwendigen Basenzusammengesetztheit der synthetischen Komposition in dem Sinne, dass das Zweitelement (Typ: **Hemmer* in *Appetithemmer*) nicht alleine belegbar ist (Typ: ?*Heber*, ?*Löscher*, aber *Wagenheber*, *Feuerlöscher*, vgl. etwa Neef 2015) ist m.E. jedoch kein exklusives Kriterium für die synthetische Komposition, da auch zu einfachen Basen zwar Nominalisierungen existieren können (wie *Lehrer*, *Stopper*), aber nicht müssen (wie ?*Telefonierer*, ?(Herum)lieger, ?*Anschauer*). D.h. Nominalisierungsrestriktionen sind morphologietheoretisch nicht notwendigerweise an das Vorhandensein einer Argumentstruktur gekoppelt. Darüber hinaus ist bei der synthetischen Komposition besonders die Rolle der morphologischen Produktivität der Suffixe von Bedeutung für die Musterbildung: Es sind besonders die reihenbildenden Suffixe (vgl. hierzu Draeger 1996), die musterbildend sind, was abermals auf die Nähe zur Suffigierung hinweist. Aus den genannten Gründen erscheint im vorliegenden Beitrag als Definition für die synthetische Komposition das eingangs dargestellte Kriterium ‚Vorhandensein einer Argumentstruktur‘ + Suffix formal am geeignetsten für die Untersuchung diachroner Entwicklungen. Davon ausgehend soll im vorliegenden Beitrag der Frage nachgegangen werden, ob sich auf formaler Ebene in Bezug auf die jeweiligen, im Gegenwartsdeutschen produktiven Suffixe unterschiedliche Entwicklungslinien beobachten lassen und inwieweit sich Bezüge zur Determinativkomposition im Sinne einer Zu- oder Abnahme morphologischer Kreuzungs- oder aber Reduktions-/ Angleichungsprozesse zugunsten eines Wortbildungstyps (vgl. Abschnitt 7) beobachten lassen.

Speziell für das Deutsche ist die Frage nach einer diachronen Entwicklung von Interesse, insbesondere da sich insgesamt eine diachrone Zunahme synthetischer Komposita belegen lässt (zum Forschungsüberblick vgl. exemplarisch zum Suffix *-er* Scherer 2005: 112–119; 142–144). Ein weiterer Grund ist, dass das Deutsche im Vergleich zu den meisten anderen germanischen Sprachen (mit Ausnahme vielleicht des Isländischen, trotz dessen stark sprachnormativ geprägten Wortbildungprodukten, vgl. die Lehnübersetzungen) komplexe morphologische Strukturen aufweist wie die folgende (Wort des Jahres 2016 in Österreich): *Bundespräsidentenstichwahlwiederholungsverschiebung*. Wie an diesem Beispiel ersichtlich ist die rekursive Strukturbildung des Deutschen in Bezug auf die Nutzung eines deverbalen Nomens selbst (wie *Stichwahl*) als Argumentnomen (wie bei *Stichwahl-Wiederholung*) bzw. – wie im Fall der Analyse als Determinativkompositum – des Erstelements (wie *Wiederholungs-verschiebung*) ein Spezifikum, welches morphologische Komplexifizierung (im Sinne einer Zunahme an synthetischen Strukturen, zum Hintergrund vgl. Wurzel 1996) zur Folge hat, da deverbale Konstituenten ihrerseits wieder Argumente zu sich nehmen können. Bei der strukturellen

Komplexifizierung der Nominalmorphologie des Deutschen spielt also die synthetische Komposition eine tragende Rolle, so dass die Untersuchung ihrer diachronen Entwicklung unmittelbar an diese synchron beobachtbare und bislang nicht gelöste, typologische Besonderheit des Deutschen geknüpft ist.

2. Methodologischer Rahmen

Aufgrund der in der Literatur uneinheitlichen Befunde wurden im vorliegenden Beitrag selbst Stichproben genommen, und zwar zu den im Mhd. und Folgeepochen produktiv (Draeger 1996) gewordenen Suffixen *-āri* (nhd. *-er*), *-heitī* (nhd. *-heit* sowie *-keit*, *-igkeit*) und *-ungo/-ungā* (nhd. *-ung*).⁴ Das daneben produktive Suffix nhd. *-erei* (ebd.) gilt als im Ahd. noch nicht produktiv, hier lassen sich auch keine Belege finden. Die in den jeweiligen Sprachstufen produktiven Suffixe sollen zudem, soweit für die Gegenwartssprache und ihre Entwicklung von Bedeutung, ebenfalls berücksichtigt werden.

In dem vorliegenden Beitrag wird dabei der Fokus der Betrachtung insbesondere auf innermorphologische Entwicklungsschritte gelegt, d.h. in Bezug auf die Derivation auf die Frage der Produktivität der Suffixe, der Komplexität der Basen und beteiligter Wortarten, die Integriertheit eines Wortbildungsprodukts oder einer bestimmten syntaktischen Markierung (wie die Negationspartikel *nicht*) in andere Wortbildungstypen, so z.B. die Fähigkeit derivierter Nomina, als Erselement von Komposita zu fungieren (Typ: *?Husterei-Peinlichkeit*), oder die Fähigkeit zur Nominalisierung von Verben mit Negationspartikel (wie in *nicht husten* → (das) *Nicht-Husten* vs. *?Nicht-Husterei* vs. *??Nicht-Regal*). Dabei wird ein dynamisches Sprachverständnis zugrunde gelegt, demzufolge gegenwärtssprachlich-synchrone Strukturen sich aus der Diachronie in einer Weise herausgebildet haben müssen, die mithilfe von gängigen Theorien zu sprachlichem Wandel (wie die Grammatikalisierungstheorie) beschreibbar ist (zu Details vgl. Werner 2016a, dort Abschnitt 1 und 3).

Zur Skizzierung der Diachronie der synthetischen Komposition wurden mittels sprachstufenspezifischer, korpusgestützter Stichproben folgende Korpora nach den im Gegenwartsdeutschen produktiven (im Sinne von Draeger 1996) Suffixen, jeweils entsprechend ihrer Lautgestalt (so z.B. nhd. *-er*, aber mhd. *-ærel-er*), beforscht, aus denen in einem weiteren Schritt deskriptive Generalisierungen für den vorliegenden Beitrag abgeleitet wurden: für das Ahd. das Korpus *Deutsch Diachron Digital* (DDD, siehe *deutschdiachrondigital.de*),

4 Produktive Suffixe sind also aufgrund ihrer Reihenbildung anderen, restriktionsreicherchen Suffixen hinsichtlich der Fähigkeit zur Musterbildung bzw. Wortbildungstyp-Entwicklung überlegen (vgl. auch Werner 2012, Kap. 5 und 6 zum Zusammenhang von Produktivität von Suffixen und ihrer Bedeutung für den Aufbau von morphosyntaktischer Musterbildung).

für das Mhd. das Datenmaterial aus Lexer (vgl. <http://woerterbuchnetz.de/Lexer/>, 01.12.16), zum Fnhd. (*Bonner Frühneuhochdeutsch Korpus*, siehe korpora.org, 01.12.16), zum frühen Nhd. das *Austrian Baroque Corpus* (ABaC:us, siehe <https://acdh.oeaw.ac.at/abacus>, 01.12.16) und das *Deutsche Text Archiv* (DTA 1488–1927, abrufbar unter dwds.de, 01.12.16) sowie zum Nhd. und Gegenwartsdeutschen das DWDS Kernkorpus (vgl. dwds.de, 01.12.16). Für das 21. Jahrhundert wurde zusätzlich das *Austrian Media Corpus* (AMC) des ACDH (siehe <http://www.oeaw.ac.at/acdh/de/amc>) hinzugezogen. Insbesondere zu älteren Sprachstufen wurde zusätzliche Evidenz durch Belege aus historischen Wörterbüchern bereitgestellt, so zum Ahd. Schützeichel (2006) und das *Chronologische Wörterbuch des Deutschen*, um eine möglichst umfangreiche Belegbreite zu gewährleisten.

Im Folgenden wollen wir uns in die Diachronie begeben und dort die jeweiligen Sprachwandelschritte dokumentieren, aus welchen in einem nächsten Schritt Generalisierungen in Bezug auf eine mögliche Dynamik der synthetischen Komposition abgeleitet werden.

3. Althochdeutsch

Besonders für das Ahd. ist die Frage nach der Distribution der synthetischen Komposition von Bedeutung, da in dieser Sprachstufe zwei „Schichten“ von Suffixen existieren: auf der einen Seite die ältere Schicht der Suffixe (wie *-nissa*, *-i*, *-ida*), welche länger und umfangreicher integriert sind in die Sprache in dem Sinne, dass sich zu ihnen ungleich häufiger Nominalisierungen mit komplexen Basen finden lassen; auf der anderen Seite gibt es die ‚jüngere‘ Schicht von Suffixen, die in den Folgeepochen produktiv wurden, jedoch im Ahd. noch überwiegend oder ausschließlich mit einfachen Basen auftreten (so z.B. bei *-heit*). Die Entwicklung verlief also stets von einfachen zu komplexen Basen (vgl. z.B. Scherer 2005, Meibauer 2003, Werner 2012: 151 u.v.a.). Die Ursache hierfür ist, dass die Selektionsprinzipien der Suffixe dies noch nicht zulassen, d.h., die Suffix(oid)e sind noch monolexikalisch. Erklärbar ist dies mit Blick auf die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Suffixe: Demnach waren zunächst alle Suffixe des Deutschen in ihrer Entwicklungsgeschichte denominal (im weiten Sinne des Terminus), so bei bspw. *-er* zuerst Bildungen wie *Gärtner* (zu *Garten*) oder *Schüler* (zu *Schule*) und erst in der Folge deverbale Bildungen wie *Lehrer*, *Bohrer* oder *Hopser*; ebenso bspw. bei *-ung* zuerst *Stallung* (zu *Stall*) oder – im Gegenwartsdeutschen nicht mehr belegbar – ahd. *lustunga* (vgl. nhd. *Lust* ‚Begierde, Sehnsucht‘, erst in der Folge, allerdings auch bereits in ahd. Zeit, deverbale Bildungen wie *Drehung*, *Umfahrung*, *Bestätigung*. Erst sekundär entwickelte sich also die Fähigkeit zur Nominalisierung von verbalen Konstituenten, und zwar über die Suffigierung von bereits (i.d.R. null-)suffigierten, deverbalen Bildungen vom Typ *Schlag*, *Schlaf* (Werner 2012, Kap. 5). Unter

dem Aspekt morphologischer Komplexifizierung ist dies parallel zu der über-einzelnsprachlichen Tendenz der sekundären Nominalisierung von relationalen Lexemen wie insbesondere Verben (N → Nicht-N, vgl. Iacobini 2000). Vor diesem diachronen Hintergrund wird erklärlich, warum sich im Vergleich zu späteren Sprachstufen eher wenig suffigierte Nominalisierungen mit komplexer Basis belegen lassen.

Auch die belegten Bildungen weisen dabei einige Besonderheiten auf: In der Regel handelt es sich um usualisierte Bezeichnungen aus dem religiösen oder alltäglichen Bedeutungsbereich (wie etwa *kirihwīhī* ‚Kirchweihe‘). Der Ad-hoc-Charakter der Bildungen muss daher in weiten Teilen zumindest bezweifelt werden. Auch finden sich Beispiele mit adjektivischen Erstelementen, die jedoch, wie auch die jeweilige Korpusglossierung des DDD Ahd. vorschlägt, strukturell ohne weiteres als reine Determinativkomposita einzustufen sind wie ahd. *ebenewigkeit* ‚Gleichewigkeit‘ oder *wólawilligkeit* ‚Wohlwollen‘ oder *adalsangāri* ‚edeler, berühmter Sänger‘. Strukturell ambig sind Bildungen wie *burgwahtil/ burgwahtāri* ‚Burgwächter‘, ebenso *burghalto* wörtl. ‚Burghalter‘, ‚Burgwächter, Burgschützer‘, da diese gleichermaßen als Determinativkomposita oder als synthetische Komposita einzuordnen wären.⁵ Entsprechende Bildungen mit älteren Suffixen liegen bspw. vor bei *kirihwīhī* ‚Kirchweihe, Kirchweihfest‘ oder *werltzierda* ‚Schmuck der Welt‘. Insgesamt finden sich von der älteren Bildungsschicht (für Maskulina auf -o wie in *becko* ‚Bäcker‘; für Neutra und Feminina auf -nissa, nhd. ererbt als -nis) einige Bildungen mit komplexer Basis mit einer großen Varianz an lexikalischen Elementen, so dass die Annahme einer prinzipiellen Bildungsmöglichkeit auf formaler Ebene hier formal plausibel scheint.

Parallel dazu finden sich auch einzelne Belege mit jüngeren Suffixen, die einzig die Interpretation als synthetisches Kompositum nahelegen: entweder aufgrund des Vorhandenseins einer Argumentstruktur wie *luggiskribāri* ‚Lügenschreiber‘ (> *lukki* ‚Lüge, Täuschung‘); oder mit kausativer Semantik wie *huormachungo* ‚Kupplerei‘ bzw. *huormahhāri* ‚Kuppler, Zuhälter‘. Morphologisch auffällig ist, dass die Mehrheit der mutmaßlichen synthetischen Komposita unabhängig von ihrer Kopf-Wortart (d.h. als N und A) zwar mit

5 Hier könnte auch konventionalisierter Gebrauch vorliegen (wie auch im Fall von ahd. *erdbibunga* wörtl. ‚Erdbebung‘). Für diese Interpretation spricht formal einerseits die Suffix-Variation wie im Falle von *burgwahtil/ burgwahtāri*, bei der sich alte (hier -il) und neue (hier -āri) Kodierungsform überlagern, und andererseits die Tatsache, dass die ermittelten Belege häufig derselben Konstituentenfamilie zuzuordnen sind, d.h. entweder dasselbe Erstelement (wie im Fall von *burg-*) oder dasselbe Zweitelement aufweisen wie im Fall *-bigengo* bei *akarbigengo*, auch: *ackarbigengāri*, wörtl. ‚Ackerbesteller, -betreuer‘, ‚Bauer‘ oder *lantbigengo* ‚Landbewohner‘ (ChWdW9: 337).

unterschiedlichen Suffixen (wie *-o*, *-āri*, *-unga*), jedoch zuweilen mit derselben Basis (vgl. *nōtnumft-āril/-ig/līhho*) belegbar ist bzw. teilweise die Basis sogar selbst (vgl. die morphologische Analyse in ahd. Wörterbüchern wie etwa bei Schützeichel 2006) als komplexes Verb existiert (wie bei *heil(i)scouwōn* neben den Nomina *heil(i)scouw-āri/-ida/-unga*).⁶

Zusammenfassend lässt sich damit festhalten, dass viele der in Korpora zum Ahd. ermittelbaren Belege nicht immer eindeutig als synthetische Komposita zu klassifizieren ist, da strukturelle Parallelen zu anderen Wortbildungstypen, insbesondere zur Determinativkomposition (vgl. Abschnitt 1), vorliegen. Gleichzeitig finden sich jedoch auch Beispiele, die eine Interpretation als synthetisches Kompositum zulassen (wie im Fall von *huormahhāri* ‚Kuppler‘, *brantskurgāri* ‚Brand-, Feuerschürer‘ oder *seitspilāri* ‚Saitenspieler, Spieler eines Saiteninstruments‘). Auch ein Blick in die bereits zu Beginn des Abschnitts angesprochene adjektivische Wortbildung scheint ebenfalls die Existenz einiger synthetischer Komposita, wenn auch sehr vereinzelt, zu stärken, denn es finden sich auch hier Belege wie *zītfristīg* ‚vergänglich‘ (ohne **fristīg* oder **zītfrist*), ebenso *einliutīg* ‚übereinstimmend, einhellig‘ (ohne **liutīg* bzw. **einliut*) oder *bruodersleggi* ‚brudermörderisch, -mordend‘.

Empirisch festzuhalten bleibt, dass innerhalb der Suffixe erhebliche Diskrepanzen in Bezug auf die Bildungswahrscheinlichkeit eines synthetischen Kompositums bestehen: So sind nicht nur die „älteren“ Suffixe hier die plausibleren Kandidaten aufgrund ihrer morphologischen Fähigkeit zu komplexen Basen, was die „jüngeren“ Suffixe erst später entwickeln; auch haben entgegen dem Gegenwartsdeutschen nicht alle Suffixe verbale Basen. Hier ist insbesondere *-heit* zu nennen, welches erst ab spätahd. (Willmanns 1896: 388) bzw. anderen Meinungen zufolge ab mhd. (Oberle 1990: 77) Zeit die Fähigkeit zur Partizipalnominalisierung entwickelt. Demzufolge ist das vollständige Fehlen entsprechender Belege mit komplexer Basis im Ahd. formal begründet. Die quantitative Heterogenität der jeweiligen Suffixe ist jedoch auch für künftige Forschung untersuchenswert, da sich daraus u.U. wichtige Rückschlüsse in Bezug auf die Genusgrammatikalisierung der einzelnen, erst seit dem Nhd. zunehmend genusspezifizierten Suffixe ableiten lassen.⁷ Die in

6 Inwieweit das Verb vereinzelt auf einer ggf. synchronen Rückbildung (auch: Transposition) aus einem Nominalisierungsmuster mit komplexer Basis beruht (vergleichbar mit komplexen Verben des Gegenwartsdeutschen wie *notlanden* aus *Notlandung*), muss hier mit Verweis auf die Notwendigkeit weiterer Forschung zum Einfluss der Rückbildung in der Diachronie zurückgestellt werden.

7 Dies gilt auch im Hinblick auf die Frage, inwieweit bei der Unproduktivwerdung eines suffixalen Musters (wie bei *-ung*, vgl. Demske 2000) bzw. dessen Ablösung durch die Infinitivnominalisierung hier die neuen Kodierungsprozesse (in diesem Fall die grammatische Transposition, vgl. Vogel 1996) die Fähigkeit zur Nominalisierung komplexer Basen von dem „Vorläufermuster“ (hier: *ung-Ns*) erben oder

diesem Abschnitt angestellten Aussagen zur Produktivität der synthetischen Komposition im Ahd. müssen jedoch vorläufig bleiben, nicht nur aufgrund der niedrigen Frequenz, die Idiomatisierung nicht ausschließt, sondern auch, da empirische Daten mehr Aufschluss über eine begrenzte Produktivität geben könnten. Zusammenfassend ist für das Ahd. jedoch formal von prinzipieller Produktivität auszugehen.

4. Mittelhochdeutsch

Neben ererbten Bildungen wie *ërt-bidemunge* ‚Erdbeben‘ finden sich hier synthetische Komposita mit unterschiedlichen Suffixen, insbesondere und im Gegensatz zum Ahd. mit „jüngeren“ Suffixen wie *bogezihære* ‚Bogenspanner, Bogenschütze‘, *rëht-verkëre* ‚Rechtsverdreher‘, *här-vlëhterinne* ‚Haarflechterin‘ oder *bluot-spüunge* wörtl. ‚Blut-Speisung‘, also ‚Blutspeien‘.

Parallel zum Ahd. sind jedoch auch im Mhd. noch nicht alle in der Folge produktiven Suffixe als Konstituenten von synthetischen Komposita belegbar. Dies gilt überwiegend für das Suffix *-heit/-keit* sowie *-erei*. Zu *-heit/-keit* wäre ein einziges mögliches Gegenbeispiel ein Beleg wie *sin-irrekeit* ‚Sinnverirrung‘, obgleich hier auch die Interpretation als Determinativkompositum möglich und aufgrund des einmaligen, nicht reihenbildenden Auftretens der suffixalen Bildung auch plausibler wäre; das Suffix *-heit/-keit* wird im vorliegenden Beitrag daher als nicht produktiv für die synthetische Komposition für das Mhd., auch aufgrund des Fehlens weiterer Belege, eingeordnet. Erklärbar ist dies mit Blick auf die Basendiachronie: So nominalisiert das Suffix im Ahd. Adjektive und Substantive, erst ab spätahd. Zeit (Wilmanns 1896: 388) allmählich Partizipia II (Typ: mhd. *verdrozzenheit*). Da die Fähigkeit zur Ableitung komplexer Basen die Nominalisierungsfähigkeit einfacher Basen desselben Suffixes (hier: Verben/ Partizipia II) voraussetzt und sich hier das Suffix *-heit* erst allmählich entwickelt, erklärt dies die niedrigfrequente bzw. fehlende Beleglage

ob sie parallel zur Produktivwerdung aller Suffixe zunächst Simplizia und erst in der Folge komplexe Basen transponieren. Frühe Belege aus dem Mhd. von nominalisierten Infinitiven sind gemäß Literatur (vgl. z.B. Kloocke 1974) dabei stets rückführbar auf Verben, nicht aber auf VPs. Auch nach eigenen Stichproben aus mhd. und fnhd. Sprachmaterial scheinen sich diese Befunde zu bestätigen: Suffixale Prinzipien der Basenselektion, d.h. die Fähigkeit zur Nominalisierung komplexer Basen, werden bei der Produktivwerdung neuer morphologischer Prozesse nicht „vererbt“. Damit verhalten sich in der Diachronie neue morphologische Prozesse wie neue Wortbildungsmuster wie die der Ablösung von alten durch neue Suffixe. Prinzipien der Basenselektion scheinen also nur bedingt „vererbbare“. Dies passt zu der Beobachtung, dass alle „jüngeren“ und im Gegenwartsdeutschen produktiven Suffixe zunächst denominal waren und die Fähigkeit zur Nominalisierung von Verben erst diachron entwickelten (Werner 2012: Kapitel 5).

von *-heit*. Da sich das Suffix *-keit* ebenfalls im Mhd. über eine Reanalyse aus *-ig* und *-heit* erst entwickelt (Wilmanns 1896: 383), erklärt dieser Umstand die fragliche Beleglage des Morphems nhd. *-keit*. Der einzige Beleg wäre vielleicht *rede-spræchigkeit* ‚Redegewandtheit‘, eine Nominalisierung zum Adjektiv *rede-sprechic*. Das Zugrundeliegen einer Argumentstruktur wäre hier also durch das Adjektiv gegeben, ist jedoch aufgrund der mutmaßlichen Idiomatisierung der Bildung nicht eindeutig feststellbar.

Das zweite Suffix, welches zur Bildung synthetischer Komposita im Mhd. noch nicht produktiv ist, ist das Suffix *-(er)ei*, da dieses ab dem 13. Jh. erst allmählich über Entlehnung aus dem Französischen produktiv wird (Schröder 1938). Die wenigen Belege mit zusammengesetzter Basis lassen sich aufgrund des Fehlens einer Argumentstruktur allesamt als Determinativkomposita klassifizieren, vgl. *liut-priesterie* ‚Pfarrei, Wohnung des Weltgeistlichen, Weltpriesters‘ sowie *kirch-diuberîe* (auch: *kirch-diube*) ‚Kirchendiebstahl, Diebstahl in der Kirche‘.

Damit lässt sich zusammenfassen: Im Mhd. ist von einer Produktivität des Wortbildungsmusters auszugehen, auch wenn ähnlich zum Ahd. immer noch starke Unterschiede zwischen den einzelnen Suffixen existieren: So sind von den im Gegenwartsdeutschen noch (teil-)produktiven Suffixen insbesondere die Suffixe *-er* und *-ung* produktiv, während für die Suffixe *-heit/-keit* und *-(er)ei* keine Belege gefunden werden konnten. In Bezug auf die im Mhd. für die synthetische Komposition noch nicht produktiven Suffixe ist also eine spätere Produktivwerdung anzunehmen, ein Aspekt, dem im Folgenden nachgegangen wird.

5. Frühneuhochdeutsch und frühes Neuhochdeutsch

Im Fnhd. und frühen Nhd. werden die bisher beobachtbaren Tendenzen fortgesetzt, hier insbesondere bei *er*- und *ung*-Nomina. Neben der bis dahin etablierten Existenz von Nomina auf *-ung* und *-er* kommt zunehmend auch das nun deverbale Suffix *-erei* mit komplexen Basen (Typ: *Kelchreuberey*), denen eine Argumentstruktur zugrunde liegt, vor. Für *-heit/-keit* lassen sich im Bonner Fnhd.-Korpus sowie im DTA keine eindeutigen Belege anführen: Erste, wenn auch spärliche Belege lassen sich ab dem 14. Jh. finden, ab dem 16. Jh. jedoch scheint das Muster etabliert, was insbesondere aufgrund des Ad-hoc-Charakters und des teils metaphorischen Gebrauchs der Bildungen zu erkennen ist wie bei *zungentrescherey* oder *wirbelwenderey*. Da bisher v.a. Berufsbezeichnungen auf *-er* dominierten (wie noch *Papiermacher*, *Steinhauer*, *Kohlbrenner*, *Brillenmacher*) lässt sich ab dem 17. Jh. bei allen Suffixen, insbesondere jedoch bei den frequent vertretenen, immer mehr ein Ad-hoc-Charakter der Bildungen (wie auch bei *Schlüsseltrager*) feststellen, was einerseits semantisch an dem teils metaphorischen Gebrauch (wie bei *Zungenwascher*,

Menschen=Fischer oder *Eysen=Fresser*) abzulesen ist, andererseits auch durch formale Variationsprinzipien wie der Koordination des Erstelements (wie bei *Sib-- vnd Wannen--machern*, 17. Jh., Graphie nach dem Original) festzustellen ist, so dass insgesamt von einer Etabliertheit des Wortbildungstyps gesprochen werden kann. Dies wird innermorphologisch durch die Tatsache gestützt, dass auch nicht-native Elemente als Argumentnomen fungieren können wie bei *Nativität=Steller* (17. Jh.). Im Vergleich zu früheren Sprachstufen, so könnte man sagen, lassen sich ab fnhd. Zeit weniger formalisierte Verwendungen feststellen, während in ahd. und mhd. Zeit vermehrt noch usualisierte Bildungen wie Berufsbezeichnungen, Handwerkszunftcharakterisierungen und konventionalisierte Tätigkeitsbeschreibungen dominieren. Dieser Effekt dürfte maßgeblich durch die Textsorten bzw. die Überlieferungssituation der älteren Sprachstufen bedingt sein.

In Bezug auf morphologische Komplexität lässt sich, wie bereits von der Literatur festgestellt, ein zunehmender Ausbau der Erhöhung der morphologischen Struktur beobachten (speziell zum Suffix *-er* vgl. Meibauer 2003: 160–162, Scherer 2005: 162–163). Suffixspezifische Restriktionen deverbaler Nomina (insbesondere bei nhd. *-heit* und *-erei*) werden weiter abgebaut. Vereinzelt finden sich daneben Lexikalisierungen mit Argumentstruktur wie *Regentauglichkeit*. Parallel dazu nimmt der Suffixreichtum zu deverbalen Adjektiven wieder ab (vgl. hierzu Thomas 2002), da an diese Stelle einerseits die Gerundive (Partizip Präsens wie in *heimfahrendes Kind*, Partizip Perfekt *heimgefahrenes Kind* und Partizip Futur mit Notwendigkeitssemantik wie in *heimzufahrendes Kind*) treten, andererseits sich das Suffix *-bar* in der Funktion der Fähigkeitssemantik exklusiv herausgrammatikalisiert. Infolgedessen nehmen die *-heit*-Nominalisierungen ab fnhd. Zeit allmählich zu, während die *-keit*-Nominalisierungen produktiv ausschließlich ab nhd. Zeit (ab dem 18. Jh.) zu *-bar*-Adjektiven gebildet werden (Typ: *Temperurmessbarkeit*, *Nonnenehrbarkeit*). Die dritte Variante *-igkeit* wiederum bildet im Nhd. ausschließlich Neubildungen zu desubstantivischen *-haft*-Adjektivierungen (wie in *Studentenhaftigkeit*, *Professorenhaftigkeit*)⁸, so dass entsprechende Bildungen aufgrund des Fehlens eines deverbalen Kopfes im vorliegenden Beitrag nicht von Bedeutung sind.

6. Neuhochdeutsch und Gegenwartsdeutsch

Im Nhd. und Gegenwartsdeutschen finden sich neben ererbten Bildungen (Typ: *Brötchenbäcker*) auch mutmaßliche Neubildungen wie bspw. *Morphiumvergiftung* (19. Jh.), was für eine kontinuierliche Produktivität des

⁸ Zur Distribution der Suffixe *-heit*, *-keit* und *-igkeit* im Gegenwartsdeutschen vgl. Oberle 1990.

Wortbildungsmusters spricht. Insbesondere die zuvor morphologisch restriktionsreicheren Suffixe *-heit*, *-keit* und *-erei* zeigen ab dem 19. Jahrhundert in Analogie zu den anderen Nominalisierungssuffixen die Fähigkeit zu einer komplexen Basenstruktur wie bspw. *Hörnerträgerei*, *Bartkratzerei*, *Grillenfängerei*, *Silbenstecherei*, *Planmacherei*, *Perlenfischerei* und, v.a. ab dem 20. Jh., auch *-heit* wie bei *Heimatverbundenheit*, *Machtversessenheit*, *Augenaufgerissenheit*. Wie bereits im vorherigen Abschnitt erwähnt, finden sich ab dem 18. Jh. nach eigenen Erhebungen auch vereinzelt *-keit*-Nominalisierungen zu deverbalen *-bar*-Adjektiven (wie bei *Körperentzündbarkeit*, *Weizenträgbarkeit*, *Nervenreizbarkeit*).

6.1. Allgemeine Charakteristika

Ein erster, mit dem adjektivischen Charakter der gerade diskutierten Basen verbundener Aspekt ist der der Negation: Die attributiv verwendbaren Perfektpartizipien (Typ: *gemähter Rasen*) können auch mit dem Präfix *un-* negiert werden (wie in *ungemähter Rasen*). Eine Konsequenz dieser Entwicklung ist im Nhd., dass diese negierten Partizipien im Gegenwartsdeutschen nun auch mit dem Suffix *-heit* nominalisiert werden können wie in *Unbefangenheit*, *Unausgeschlafenheit*, *Ungebrochenheit*. Da Partizipien morphosyntaktisch auf verbale Basen zurückzuführen sind, lassen sich im Gegenwartsdeutschen auch Nominalisierungen mit der verbalen Negationspartikel *nicht* finden wie *Nicht-Ordnung*, *Nicht-Säuger*, was anhand der gefundenen Belege nur bei propositionalen Lexemen (wie Suffigierungen, Transpositionen wie *Nicht-Sein*), nicht aber bei substantivischen Elementen natürlichsprachlich i.d.R. möglich ist (vgl. ??*Nicht-Telefon*, ??*Nicht-Tisch*, ??*Nicht-Lampe*). Keine Ausnahmen zu dieser Regel stellen hingegen relationale Lexeme wie Herkunftsbezeichnungen (wie *Nicht-Italiener*), aber auch Determinativkomposita mit phrasal-prädikativem Erstelement (wie *Nicht-Waren-Bereich*, Bereich, der nicht für die Waren ist‘) dar.

Weitere Besonderheiten sind, dass nicht-lexikalisierte Diminutiva wie in *Grüppchenbilderei*, *Kernchenverkäufer*, *Klümpchenbildung* als Argumentnomen belegbar sind und dass sogar ganze Verbalkomplexe nominalisiert werden können, z.B. mit einem Modalverb, wie bei *Punk-wichtig-finden-Müsserei*. Da Diminutiva mit Ausnahme von Lexikalisierungen wie *Mädchen* – *Mädcheninternat* nicht als Erstelemente zu Determinativkomposita fungieren können (Wilmanns 1896: 510) und die Nominalisierung eines Verbalkomplexes mittels Suffix eindeutig auf eine VP-Basiertheit verweist, lässt sich damit zeigen, dass synthetische Komposita, trotz aller zunehmenden Tendenz der zunehmenden Kreuzung mit der Determinativkomposition (vgl. im Folgenden), als eigener Wortbildungstyp im Sinne einer Suffigierung mit komplexer Basis gemäß der Tendenz der zunehmenden Basenkomplexifizierung weiter folgt.

Im Gegensatz dazu begegnen im Nhd. v.a. ab dem 19. Jahrhundert morphologische Besonderheiten, die insbesondere mit der gerade angesprochenen, zunehmenden Kreuzung mit der Determinativkomposition zu tun haben. Diese sollen im Folgenden aufgrund des großen Formenreichtums eingehender betrachtet werden, der im Nhd. im größeren Stil beginnt und sich seit dem Gegenwartsdeutschen (ab 1950) in Bezug auf die morphologische Vielfalt geradezu explosionsartig entfaltet. Die Uneinigkeit im Hinblick auf die Klassifikation der synthetischen Komposition im Deutschen als Suffigierung bzw. als Determinativkomposition, die gegenwärtig auch in einigen Einführungsbüchern zur Morphologie des Deutschen herrscht, speist sich also aus sprachrealen Ursachen.

6.2. Beziehe zur Determinativkomposition

Da die im Folgenden dargestellte Entwicklung des morphologischen Formenreichtums der synthetischen Komposition und ihre Beziehe zur Determinativkomposition in früheren Sprachstufen nicht annähernd im selben Maße zu beobachten ist, liegt die Annahme eines ab nhd. Zeit stattfindenden Sprachwandels nahe, für dessen Ursachen neben morphologischen auch syntaktische Gesichtspunkte in Frage kommen (vgl. Abschnitt 7). Für die Determinativkomposition selbst lassen sich dabei parallel, aber unabhängig von der Entwicklung der synthetischen Komposition (obwohl sicher bezogen darauf), formale Entwicklungsschritte beobachten, die die Annahme eines morphologischen Sprachwandels im Sinne einer Grammatikalisierung der Determinativkomposition rechtfertigen (zu Details vgl. Werner 2016a). Da auch die Entwicklungsschritte der synthetischen Komposition insbesondere mit Blick auf die Entwicklung von deverbalen aus ursprünglich denominalen Suffixen (vgl. Abschnitt 1) einer eigenen Entwicklungslogik unterliegen, scheint die Annahme begründet, dass sowohl die Entwicklung der synthetischen Komposition als auch die Kreuzung beider Kompositionstypen nicht willkürlich, sondern entwicklungslogisch regelgeleitet erfolgt. Dabei wäre morphologietheoretisch von einer kopfbezogenen Entwicklung auszugehen, bei der die strukturellen Konfigurationen der synthetischen Komposition (VP-Basiertheit) im Laufe der Sprachgeschichte auf die der Determinativkomposition (NP-Basiertheit) und umgekehrt „übertragen“ werden (vgl. auch Baché 2012: 39–41), im Sinne einer Reanalyse des Kopfes des jeweiligen Wortbildungstyps (im Sinne einer Änderung der Konstituentenstruktur) zu der des jeweils anderen. Im Falle der Reanalyse der synthetischen Komposition als Determinativkomposition wäre dies also bspw. von *Kinderbetreu-ung* zu *Kinder-betreuung* sowie im umgekehrten Fall wäre dies also von *Kinder-betreuung* zu *Kinderbetreu-ung*. Aus Sicht der synthetischen Komposition deuten die Befunde also auf Reanalyseprozesse zugunsten der Determinativkomposition hin, wie im Folgenden

dargelegt wird. Zudem kann es allerdings auch zur Integration determinativ-kompositioneller Strukturen innerhalb des Argumentnomens kommen, wie zunächst im Folgenden ausgeführt wird.

Die ersten Fälle der Verschränkung mit der Determinativkomposition finden sich (im Folgenden stets aus Sicht der synthetischen Komposition mit deverbalem Kopf) bei synthetischen Komposita mit komponiertem Argumentnomen wie bei *Branntweinbrennerei* (als Vorgangsbezeichnung), *Weidenstrauchpflanzung*, *Kammgarnspinnerei*, *Baumwoll(en)spinnerei*, *Kuriositäten-Liebhaber*, *Goldleisten-Macher*. Dem zusammengesetzten Argumentnomen kann auch ein substantiviertes Adjektiv zugrunde liegen wie im Fall von *Kriegskrankenpflegerei*. Die Modifikation von Argumentnomina wird gemäß Beleglage strukturell ab dem 19. Jh. möglich und zwar zunächst über die pränominale Modifikation (im Sinne einer Determinativkomposition des Argumentnomens). So etwa auch synchron wie bei [Nuss-Nougat-Creme]-Ablehner oder [[Ex-[Rot-Kreuz]]-[Bezirksstellen]]leiter oder [Braut-Make-up-]Beratung. Im Gegensatz dazu tritt die postnominale Modifikation erst im 20. Jh. auf in Bildungen wie [Kurzurlaub-in-Österreich]-Anbieter oder [Heizöl-extra-leicht]-Abnehmer. Wie bereits im Fnhd. (vgl. vorheriger Abschnitt) ist die Koordination von Argumentnomina weiterhin möglich wie bei *Eltern-Schüler-Lehrer-Befragung*, *Schülerinnen-Direktor-Vater-Rauferei* oder *Weihnachts-Silvester-Faschings-Völlerei*.

Ab dem 20. Jh. finden sich auch metasprachliche Einheiten in der Funktion als Argumentnomen (wie Zitate, Interjektionen, vgl. hierzu Wiese 1996, anders hierzu Meibauer 2003), deren Wortartstatus als Nominalität über Transposition zustande kommt, vgl. etwa *Wartelisten-grün-hinter-den-Ohren-ha-ha-ha-Anfänger*, *Niemand-kommt-ungestraft-davon-Angstmacherei*, *Sich-selbst-auf-später-Vertrösterei*, *Spaß-an-der-Freude-Verspieltheit*, *Allzeit-und-überall-Erreichbarkeit* in Analogie dazu *Spielen-wir-Passion-für-die-ganze-Familie-Bravheit*. Die jeweilige Monosemierung, d.h. ob eine Analyse als synthetische Komposition oder als Determinativkomposition zugrunde zu legen ist, erfolgt kontextuell. Der strukturelle Grund hierfür ist – aus Sicht der Köpfigkeit der Wortarten – dem hybriden Charakter der Partizipien und Adjektive geschuldet, die zwischen Nominalität (d.h. Referenzerzeugung über Nominalisierbarkeit sowie Attribuierbarkeit) und Verbalität (verstanden als propositionserzeugende Elemente) anzusiedeln sind. Im Grunde handelt es sich bei den metasprachlichen Einheiten um hin zu Nominalität transponierte XPs wie *Haltet-den-Dieb-Schreierei*, *Was-wäre-wenn-Spielerei*, *Friher-war-alles-besser-Suderei*, *Wer-hat-die-Story-als-Erster-Befangenheit*. Folglich sind entsprechende Bildungen strukturell ambig, d.h. also als Determinativkomposita oder als synthetische Komposita klassifizierbar.

Die ursprünglich auf den im weiten Sinne nominalen Bereich begrenzte Determinativkomposition mit substantivischen (und adjektivischen) Köpfen

wird im Bereich der deutschen Nominalmorphologie also über die janusgesichtigen Adjektive und Partizipien zunehmend mit der propositionserzeugenden synthetischen Komposition (mit verbalen/ partizipialen und eben teils adjektivischen Basen) verzahnt. Damit ist die Unterscheidung zwischen Erstelement (> Modifikation) und Argumentnomen (> synthetische Komposition) zunehmend neutralisiert, so bspw. auch bei anderen transponierten Elementen wie *Ich-Bezogenheit*, *Alt-gegen-Jung-Ausspielerei* und eben auch bei Idiomen wie *Löcher-in-den-Bauch-Fragerei*, *Spreu-vom-Weizen-Trennerei*, *Auflagen-in-die-Höhe-Treiberei*, *Wir-sind-füreinander-Bestimmtheit*, *Frau-am-Steuer-Ungeheuer-Voreingenommenheit*.

Vor diesem Hintergrund lässt sich vorläufig zusammenfassen: Durch die Ambiguität in Bezug auf Köpfigkeit bei Adjektiven und Partizipien (Verbalität vs. Nominalität) greifen die deklinierenden und die konjugierenden Wortarten, jeweils überführt in Nomina über Nominalisierungssuffixe, ineinander, was zu verschiedenartigen strukturellen Ambiguitäten innerhalb der Nominalmorphologie und insbesondere zur Erhöhung der Komplexität der Wortstruktur (auch: Erhöhung der Wortlänge) führt. Da strukturelle Ambiguität per se stets ein Fenster für Sprachwandel ist, wird die Zukunft des Deutschen, so lässt sich an dieser Stelle bereits allgemein schlussfolgern, sehr spannend, da verschiedene Umkodierungsprozesse (d.h. motivierte Formdifferenzierungen oder motivierte Formzusammenfälle im Sinne von Synkretismen) zu erwarten sind.

Doch auch aus argumentstruktureller Sicht lassen sich einige Generalisierungen ableiten, da im Nhd. die Nominalisierungen ihrerseits auch als Argumentnomina belegt sind und somit, so könnte man aus Sicht der synthetischen Komposition formulieren, in dieser Funktion möglich werden: So finden sich zwar Nomina agentis und instrumenti, allerdings keine semantisch komplexesten Nomina acti (Vorgangsbezeichnungen, vgl. Werner 2012, Kap. 5) auf -er als Argumentnomina (Typ: **Bluthusterübung*) im Gegenwartsdeutschen. Als Ursache lässt sich u.U. angeben, dass diese expliziten Suffigierungen ebenso wie die Nullsuffigierungen keine Argumente zu sich nehmen (vgl. Alexiadou, Haegeman, and Stavrou 2007: 538–541). Diese Beobachtung lässt sich jedoch m.E. auch in gewisser Weise um die *erei*-Nomina erweitern, denn sobald letztere als Argumentnomen fungieren, kommt es stets zu einer semantischen Reduktion auf eine Argumentstelle einer übergeordneten Proposition (im Sinne von *coercion*) wie bei *Schweißerei-Besitzer* (zum Verb *besitzen*). Anders ist dies jedoch bei den *ung*-Nomina: Deverbale *ung*-Nominalisierungen können sogar ihrerseits als Erstelemente zu Determinativkomposita fungieren und dabei selbst modifiziert sein wie im Fall von *Mund-zu-Mund-Beatmungsübung*. Daraus lässt sich folgern, dass einzige die *ung*-Nominalisierung rekursive Strukturen aufzubauen imstande ist, sowohl für die Determinativkomposition als auch für die synthetische Komposition, was für eine hohe Grammatikalisiertheit des Wortbildungsmusters spricht.

Bei (seltenen) Fugenelementschwankungen derselben beteiligten Lexeme wiederum kann von zwei konkurrierenden Wortbildungsmustern ausgegangen werden, wobei die interfigierte Form (wie *Richtung-s-weisung*) die Determinativkomposition und die nicht-interfigierte Form (wie *Richtung-weisung*) die synthetische Komposition darstellt (zu Details vgl. Werner 2016b: 98–99). Dies befindet sich in Übereinstimmung mit Fuhrhops (2000) Theorie der Morphologisierung, der zufolge Fugenelemente die Abgrenzbarkeit der Konstituenten der Determinativkomposition anzeigen.⁹ Die starke Überlegenheit der *s*-Fuge favorisiert demzufolge die Analyse als Determinativkomposition, was zu den gleich im folgenden Abschnitt festgestellten Generalisierungen anschlussfähig ist.¹⁰

7. Zusammenführung und Schlussfolgerungen

Vor dem Hintergrund der beobachteten Entwicklungen lassen sich damit einige generelle Charakterisierungen in Bezug auf die Diachronie der synthetischen Komposition herausarbeiten: Da sich im Ahd. und Mhd. nur synthetische Komposita mit einfachem, d.h. nicht-modifiziertem Argumentnomen, finden lassen, lässt sich schlussfolgern, dass die morphologische Etabliertheit der synthetischen Komposition erst ab fnhd. Zeit und deutlich ab dem 20. Jh. zunimmt, was anhand der zunehmenden Reihenbildung der Suffixe und der zunehmenden Kreuzung mit der Determinativkomposition zu ersehen ist. Damit stellt sich die Frage nach der grammatischen Ursache dieser Entwicklung. Ein derivationsmorphologischer Grund ist auszuschließen, da selbst die Suffixe der „jüngeren“ Schicht des Ahd. im Gegensatz zu der „älteren“ Schicht der Suffixe zurückhaltend sind in Bezug auf die Nominalisierung (und Adjektivierung) komplexer Basen. Da derivationsmorphologische Gründe entfallen, ist der Blick auf basenstrukturelle Gründe zu richten: einmal aus syntaktischer Sicht (siehe a) und einmal aus innermorphologischer Sicht (siehe b).

9 Seltene Fälle von *-en-* statt *-s-* (wie bei *Minderheiten-abstimmung*) sind vor diesem Hintergrund als Pluralmorpheme zu interpretieren (zum Ndl. vgl. parallel dazu Booij 1992: 8–9) und stützen damit die vorliegende Analyse als synthetische Komposition, da Erstelemente von Determinativkomposita nicht notwendigerweise kompatibel mit dem Konzept von Pluralität sind (wie bei *Hühnerei*, vgl. Wegener 2005).

10 Im Gegensatz dazu stehen Nominalisierungen mit Fugenelementen wie bei *Arbeitszufriedenheit*, *Weisungsgebundenheit* der Analyse als Argumentnomen entgegen. Auch kann ein einzelnes Wort seinerseits lexikalisiert sein (wie bspw. bei *Meinung*), so dass die Prozesslesart nicht mehr verfügbar ist (*, Vorgang des Meinens'). In diesem Fall wird die Bildung ebenfalls als Determinativkomposition, d.h. mit Fugen-*s*-, realisiert wie in *Meinungsverschiedenheit* (anstelle von **Meinung-verschiedenheit*).

a) Vor dem Hintergrund sprachgeschichtlicher Entwicklungen, so könnte man in Bezug auf die Zunahme der Komplexifizierung annehmen, ist der Blick womöglich auf die Konstituentenserialisierung, speziell auf die Herausbildung von OV im Deutschen zu richten. Die Herausbildung synthetischer Komposita ist zwar bereits ab ahd. Zeit angelegt, wie jedoch anhand des morphologischen Musterreichtums und der suffixalen Musterbildung zu erkennen, ist eine Etabliertheit der synthetischen Komposition v.a. ab fnhd. Zeit zu beobachten. Aus syntaktischer Sicht ist dies parallel zur Entwicklung der OV-Struktur im Deutschen. Damit wäre die Zunahme des morphologischen Musterreichtums der synthetischen Komposition im Deutschen bzw. die Etablierung insbesondere, wenn auch nicht ausschließlich, in der zunehmenden Profilierung der OV-Struktur begründet. Alternative syntaktische Ansätze einer sprachtyp-unabhängigen, stets linksoperierenden Inkorporierung (vgl. z.B. Rivet 1999) sind damit nicht falsifiziert. In Anbetracht der Formenvielfalt und abnehmender semantischer Formalisierung (widergespiegelt in Herkunfts- und Berufsbezeichnungen, vgl. Abschnitt 3 und 4) ab dem Nhd. liegt jedoch der Verdacht eines zusätzlichen Einflusses der Serialisierungsstruktur auf die synthetische Komposition nahe. In diesem Zusammenhang ist vielleicht unter phrasenstrukturellen Gesichtspunkten auch zu erwähnen, dass selbst für den (nominalen) Bereich der Determinativkomposition einzig die OV- (d.h. Rechtsköpfigkeit), nicht aber die VO-Struktur (d.h. Linksköpfigkeit) als notwendige Bedingung für die nominale Komplexifizierbarkeit gilt (vgl. Haider 2001). Vor diesem Hintergrund ist die Erhöhung der Komplexität der nominalen Basenstruktur durch eine Kreuzung der seit dem Ahd. sukzessive ausgebauten (vgl. Werner 2016a) Determinativkomposition mit der parallel dazu komplexer gewordenen Suffigierung, aus der die synthetische Komposition sich entwickelte, zu interpretieren. Mögliche Parallelisierungen beider Wortbildungstypen (vgl. Abschnitt 6) ab fnhd. Zeit könnten somit nicht nur innermorphologisch, sondern auch syntaktisch (mit-)motiviert sein, was durch weitere Untersuchungen aufschlussreich zu untersuchen wäre. Neben dieses syntaktische Argument ist jedoch mit Blick auf die synchrone Kreuzung mit der Determinativkomposition gleichsam ein morphologisches zu stellen, womit wir zum nächsten Punkt kommen.

b) Um zurück zur eingangs erwähnten *Bundespräsidentenstichwahlwiederholungsverschiebung* zu kommen, einem Beispiel, welches ins Englische schwerlich mit **Federal president runoff election repetition delay* übersetzbare wäre: Die Unterschiede zwischen beiden Sprachen existieren aus guten, strukturellen Gründen: Die Erhöhung der innermorphologischen Komplexität der Nominalstruktur des Deutschen ist nämlich zwei Faktoren zu verdanken, die beide mit der Integration relationaler (d.h. valenzerzeugender, vgl. auch Abschnitt 1), d.h. aus synchroner Sicht insbesondere verbaler, Konstituenten in synthetische Strukturen zu tun haben, und zwar einmal „rechts“ (beim Kopf,

d.h. bei der Entwicklung deverbaler Suffixe und daraus einer Argumentstruktur) und einmal „links“ (d.h. beim Erstelement der Determinativkomposition). Zum einen ist dies („rechts“) dem Ausbau der Entwicklung und dem Ausbau der deverbalen Suffigierung hin zu synthetischen Komposita mit Argumentstruktur (vgl. Abschnitt 1) geschuldet; zum anderen („links“) ist dies rückführbar auf den Ausbau des V+N-Musters der Determinativkomposition seit dem Ahd. Letzteres kam über die Reduktion ehemaliger deverbaler Nominalisierungen auf den jeweiligen Verbstamm zustande wie in mhd. *slahte hus* wörtl. ‚Schlachtungshaus‘ zu *slabt hus* ‚Schlachthaus‘. Derselbe Vorgang wiederholte sich in nhd. Zeit *Betretungsverbot* → *Betretverbot* (zu Details vgl. Werner 2016b). Der Vergleich mit dem Englischen ist auch hier aufschlussreich: Die synthetische Komposition existiert trotz VO (linksköpfige VP to *crack nuts*, aber bei der Derivation rechtsköpfig wie in *nutcracker*). V+N-Nomina sind im Englischen jedoch selten und werden i.d.R. mit V-ing+N-Komposita wiedergegeben (dt. *Gehhilfe*, engl. *walking aid*, aber dt. *Schwimmschule*, engl. *swimming school*, vgl. Gast 2008). Nominalisierungen konnten generell nicht von Anfang an als Erstelemente von Determinativkomposita fungieren und mussten erst etwa ab mittelenglischer Zeit integriert werden (vgl. Kastovsky 2007). Die Aufhebung dieser Restriktion ist damit strukturell parallel zur Integration der *ung*-Ns in spätmhd./fnhd. Zeit; was jedoch beide Sprachen unterscheidet, ist die fehlende Reduktion der *ing*-N-Erstelemente auf den Stamm im Englischen (daher *walking aid*/ **walk aid*) im Gegensatz zum Deutschen (*Gehhilfe*). Die Kreuzung beider Wortbildungsmuster setzt jeweils eine fortgeschrittene Grammatikalisiertheit voraus, deren Ergebnisse nur vor dem Hintergrund der Diachronie transparent werden. Aber auch aus synchroner Sicht lassen sich neue Strukturen finden, deren Formenreichtum (vgl. Abschnitt 6) in diesem Beitrag auf Basis salienter Beispiele lediglich skizziert werden konnte und sich damit Perspektiven für weitere Forschung ergeben.

Vor diesem Hintergrund ist weitere Forschung in diesem Bereich daher unabdingbar, einerseits auch in Bezug auf weitere Nominalisierungsmuster (bspw. die Zirkumfigierung wie bei *Nüsse-ge-ess-e*), andererseits auch, um der morphologietheoretischen Frage einer möglichen Auflösung der synthetischen Strukturen im Sinne eines sprachtypologisch angenommenen Synthese-Analyse-Zyklus (im Sinne Wurzels 1996) näher zu kommen. Auch hier sind durch den Sprachvergleich mit nah verwandten (wie Englisch, Niederländisch) und nicht verwandten Sprachen hochrelevante Erkenntnisse für die Morphologie-theorie zu erwarten.

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Dr. Martina Werner

Austrian Center for Digital Humanities

Abt. „Variation und Wandel des Deutschen in Österreich“

Sonnenfelsgasse 19

A-1010 Wien

martina.werner@univie.ac.at

Varia / Miscellaneous

Tagungsbericht / Conference report

„Historische Wortbildung. Theorie – Methoden – Perspektiven“ (Münster, 25.–26.11.2016)

Am 25. und 26. November 2016 fand am Germanistischen Institut der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität die vom Autor dieses Berichts organisierte Tagung „Historische Wortbildung. Theorie – Methoden – Perspektiven“ statt.¹ Dabei sollte vor allem die diachrone Wortbildungsforschung zum Deutschen Berücksichtigung finden, eine Forschungsrichtung also, die nach wie vor eine Forschungslücke darstellt. Die heute zur Verfügung stehenden synchronen Beschreibungen der Wortbildung früherer Sprachstufen sowie die Digitalisierung historischer Textbestände und deren Implementierung in komplexe Datenbanken (z. B. des Deutschen Textarchivs², des Altdeutschen Referenzkörpers³, etc.) bieten der diachron-historischen Wortbildungsforschung neue Möglichkeiten, die es nun zu nutzen gilt.

Das übergreifende Ziel der Tagung bestand entsprechend darin, die Diachronie als Hauptdesiderat der historischen Wortbildungsforschung mit nationalen und internationalen Forscher/innen unterschiedlicher methodisch-theoretischer Ausrichtung zu bearbeiten. Dabei ging es darum, den derzeitigen Status Quo der diachron-historischen Wortbildung auszuleuchten und aktuelle Forschungsergebnisse zusammenzutragen. Entsprechend des Tagungsmottos „Theorie – Methoden – Perspektiven“ stand grundsätzlich die Frage im Mittelpunkt, mit welchen Methoden Wortbildungswandel modelliert werden kann und welche Rolle dabei sprachsystematische, kognitive und soziolinguistische Faktoren spielen. Des Weiteren sollte die Tagung ein Forum zur Vernetzung und zur Entwicklung von zukünftigen Forschungsfragen bieten.

Das Tagungsprogramm beinhaltete insgesamt sechzehn Vorträge, die von 19 Beiträger/innen erarbeitet wurden. Aus Platzgründen ist an dieser Stelle weder die Nennung aller Vortragstitel noch eine umfängliche Besprechung ihrer Inhalte möglich. Doch sollen im Folgenden wenigstens alle Beiträger/innen der Tagung genannt werden. Danach wird auf der Grundlage der Vortragsinhalte grob skizziert, welche Schwerpunkte und Desiderata sich für die aktuelle diachron-historische Wortbildungsforschung ergeben.

1 Die Tagung wurde durch die Fritz Thyssen Stiftung und die Universität Münster gefördert.

2 <http://www.deutsches-textarchiv.de/>

3 <https://korpling.german.hu-berlin.de/annis3/ddd>

Beiträger/innen (in der Reihenfolge ihrer Vorträge): Martin Hilpert (Neuchâtel), Britta Weimann (Luxemburg), Svetlana Petrova (Wuppertal), Natalia Pimenova (Moskau), Markus Denkler (Münster), Kristin Kopf (Mainz), Stefan Hartmann (Hamburg), Kristian Berg (Oldenburg), Luise Kempf (Mainz), Stefanie Dipper (Bochum), Elena Smirnova (Neuchâtel), Lisa Dürker (Hamburg), Renata Szczepaniak (Hamburg), Christine Ganslmayer (Erlangen), Peter O. Müller (Erlangen), Franziska Buchmann (Oldenburg), Judith Rixen (Münster), Mirjam Schmuck (Mainz), Alexander Werth (Marburg).

(Früh)neuhochdeutscher Fokus: Möchte man die Beiträge der Tagung auf einem Zeitstrahl der deutschen Sprachgeschichte einordnen, so wurden in den meisten Fällen Daten aus der (früh)neuhochdeutschen Periode zugrunde gelegt. Dies dürfte wohl damit zusammenhängen, dass gerade hierzu jüngst große digitale Textkorpora veröffentlicht wurden, die nun der Forschung zur Verfügung stehen. Nur in geringem Maße waren hingegen die früheren Phasen der deutschen Sprachgeschichte repräsentiert. Lediglich die Vorträge von Svetlana Petrova zur Entwicklung der Partikelverbkonstruktionen und Natalia Pimenova zu Entwicklungstendenzen der Adjektiv- und Verbalabstrakta bezo gen auch das Althochdeutsche mit ein.

Produktivität: Die Produktivität in der diachronen Wortbildung und die methodische Frage nach ihrer Messung bildeten einen klaren Schwerpunkt. Gleich vier Vorträge befassten sich schwerpunktmäßig mit diesem Thema: Kristin Kopf, Luise Kempf, Stefan Hartmann und Kristian Berg stellten insbesondere quantitative Methoden zur Produktivitätsmessung auf der Grundlage (früh)neuhochdeutscher Korpora vor, wobei die Anzahl an Hapax Legomena und Neubelegen in einem diachronen Korpus zentrale Rechengrößen darstellten. Kristian Berg ergänzte zudem das Konzept der Produktivität durch den Faktor der Lebensdauer von Wortbildungssprodukten.

Methodisch-theoretische Ausrichtung: Nahezu alle Vorträge basierten auf der Grundlage von aufwendigen Korpusanalysen. Für eine Modellierung von Wortbildungswandel auf gebrauchsbasierter bzw. konstruktionsgrammatischer Grundlage wurde insbesondere von Martin Hilpert und Stefan Hartmann plädiert. Generell stand in den Vorträgen fast ausschließlich sprachsystematische Ansätze im Mittelpunkt, wobei aber durchaus auch außersprachliche Faktoren, wie beispielsweise die Geografie, in die Betrachtungen einbezogen wurden, so in den Beiträgen von Britta Weimann zur historischen Wortbildung des moselfränkisch-luxemburgischen Raumes und Mirjam Schmuck/ Alexander Werth zur onymischen Movierung. Soziolinguistische Faktoren der diachronen Wortbildung fanden im Beitrag zur historischen Fremdwortbildung von Christine Ganslmayer und Peter O. Müller Beachtung.

Perspektiven: Hierzu kann festgehalten werden, dass insbesondere auf dem Gebiet der älteren Sprachstufen großer Nachholbedarf besteht. Die nun zur

Verfügung stehenden Referenzkorpora zum Alt- und Mittelhochdeutschen, die im Vortrag von Stefanie Dipper (Bochum) vorgestellt wurden, bieten sich zur Durchführung korpusbasierter diachroner Studien an. In der Abschlussdiskussion wurde zum derzeit vorherrschenden quantitativ-aggregativen Paradigma der diachronen Wortbildungsforschung angemerkt, eine differenzierte Analyse der Quellen nicht aus den Augen zu verlieren.

Um Nachhaltigkeit zu gewährleisten, wird vom Organisator der Tagung gemeinsam mit Christine Ganslmayer ein Sammelband herausgebracht, der voraussichtlich 2018 erscheinen wird. Für die Zukunft besteht außerdem der Wunsch, in regelmäßigeren Abständen Tagungen oder Workshops zur historischen Wortbildung abzuhalten.

Dr. Christian Schwarz
Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität
Germanistisches Institut
Abteilung für Sprachwissenschaft
Stein-Haus, Schlossplatz 34
48143 Münster

Tagungsankündigung / Conference Announcement

Word-Formation Theories III & Typology and Universals in Word-Formation IV

Main organizers:

Livia Körtvélyessy and Pavol Štekauer, P.J. Šafárik University, Košice, Slovakia

Call for Papers:

Another edition of a twin conference concentrates on two areas of research: word-formation theories and word-formation typology/ universals. Papers discussing any aspect of these general areas are most welcome.

Plenary speakers (in alphabetic order):

Balthasar Bickel, University of Zurich

Dirk Geeraerts, KU Leuven

Nicola Grandi, University of Bologna

Bernd Heine, University of Cologne

Susan Olsen, Humboldt University, Berlin

Frans Plank, Konstanz University

Special event:

A workshop ‘Revisiting paradigms in word-formation’ will be organized by Aleksandra Bagasheva and Jesus Fernandez Dominguez.

Deadlines:

Submission of abstracts: 31 March, 2018

Notification of acceptance: 10 April, 2018

Submission of a registration form: 30 April, 2018

Abstracts (max. 200 words) should be emailed to livia.kortvelyessy@upjs.sk

