Heinz Giegerich (University of Edinburgh)

How robust is the compound-phrase distinction? Stress evidence from bi- and tripartite constructions in English

In this paper I want to show that the stress criterion, commonly invoked in attempts to draw the compound-phrase distinction in English, is even less reliable than previously thought: it not only fails to correlate with other (semantic, syntactic) criteria for compound status (Bauer 1998, Giegerich 2004) but also draws on incomplete and deeply flawed generalizations regarding stress in compounds and phrases.

I show here that, contrary to perceived wisdom (Halle & Keyser 1971), Liberman & Prince 1977, Giegerich 1992, Liberman & Sproat 1992) and many others,

- NN compounds and phrases can have end-stress.
- NN compounds and phrases can have fore-stress.
- In tripartite – N[NN] and [NN]N – constructions, stress is not governed by the geometry of branching but by the same criteria as govern fore-stress and end-stress in bipartite NN forms.
- The criteria that govern stress in such forms are only partially related to the compound-phrase distinction.

This means that many NNN constructions previously thought to be and contain compounds may (instead or also) be or contain phrases, and that such constructions do not have a single, recurrent phonological form that might serve to distinguish compounds from phrases.

In turn this means that in English, the distinction between word and phrase, in particular that between N^0 and N', remains fuzzy. And if that distinction relates in any way to the functions of naming and describing respectively, then that distinction, too, needs to be revisited or abandoned.

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Gisela Zifonun & Lutz Gunkel (IDS Mannheim)

Classifying adjectives in European languages

Prototypical (general) names are morphologically simple lexical words that arbitrarily denote whatever they are conventionally taken to denote. Prototypical (general) descriptions in contrast essentially rely on compositional semantics in specifying their denotation and are thus as a rule syntactically complex. However, as complexitiy is a matter of degree so is compositionality, and thus it appears that in terms of form and meaning some descriptions are closer to names than others. Among syntactically complex head-attribute phrases adjective-noun syntagms involving a so-called classifying adjective (alias relational adjective, cf. Bally 1965, Dornseiff 1964) are of particular interest (e.g. ENG *solar energy*, FRN *énergie solaire*, POL *energia słoneczna*, HUN *politikai befolyás* 'political influence', GER *politischer Einfluss* 'ibid.'). First they are arguably – with the possible exception of N+N juxtapositions – that type of head-attribute phrases that involves the least degree of formal complexity. Second, they are close, if not identical, to regular compounds in terms of meaning composition. – In our talk we will discuss this type of construction adopting a comparative perspective on European languages and focussing in particular on English, German, French, Polish and Hungarian. Both German and Hungarian also make extensive use of N+N compounds and these are regularly found in competition with structures involving classifying adjectives (e.g. GER *Apfelbaum* 'apple tree', HUN *almafa* 'ibid.'). In contrast, possessive constructions involving a NP or PP hardly figure as classifying modifiers in these languages and can savely be treated as marginal cases (cf. Zifonun 2007). For French and Polish the converse holds true. In Polish we find possessive genitives (*kierowca samochodu* 'car driver'), in French *de/à*-PPs as classifying modifiers (*taches de soleil* 'sunspots'), while N+N compounds are extremely rare (*mode-homme* 'men's fashion'). English, in addition to a rich inventory of classifying adjectives, avails itself of both compounds and possessive PPs to express classifying modification (cf. Klinge 2007).

As regards meaning composition we argue that classifying adjectives are distinguished from qualifying adjectives in that they are not interpreted as ascribing some property to an entity denoted by the head noun. Rather, the overall meaning of an A+N syntagm involving a classifying adjective can more adequately be paraphrased as 'an N that is somehow related to whatever is denoted by "A"'. Thus, what compositional semantics contributes to the meaning of such a phrase is just that type of abstract relation (in addition to the lexical meaning of the noun and the adjective), and it is up to the speaker to consult his encyclopedic knowledge to figure out any more precise interpretation. Compositionality therefore plays a lesser role in determining the meaning of an A+N syntagm involving a classifying adjective than in determining that of a corresponding phrase involving a qualifying adjective, where the scope of possible interpretations is significantly tighter. On the other hand, as with compounds, if only to lesser degree, particular interpretations may become semantically dominant due to usualization, a process that ultimately leads to lexicalization. In both ways, classifying adjectives give rise to more "namelike" expressions than qualifying adjectives.

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Martin Schäfer (Universität Frankfurt/Main)

A-N Nominals between Naming and Description: Enlightenment from Mandarin?

German and Mandarin Chinese show interesting differences in their encoding of A-N nominal constructions. Both languages have essentially three different possibilities, cf. (1) for German and (2) for Mandarin (the three-way division here essentially follows Paul (2005)).

(1)   a.   der   Schwarzspecht   [A N compound]
              the   black-woodpecker

       b.   der schwarze Specht   [phrasal A N modification structure]
              the black woodpecker

       c.   der schwarze Tod   [idiomatized phrasal A N modification structure]
              the black death

(2)   a.   hei1   ban   [A N compound]
              black   board

       b.   yi1-tiao2   hei1   gou3   [phrasal A N modification structure]
              1-CL   black dog
              'a black dog'

       c   yi1-tiao2   hei1   de   gou3 [phrasal A DE N modification structure]
              1-CL   black SUB dog
              'a black dog'   Note: *de* DE is a functional particle.
      For b,c, cf. (45) in Paul (2005)

In both languages, two of the three constructions are used for naming: In German, the compound and the idiomatic modification structure, in Mandarin, the compound and the phrasal A-N structure. Importantly, while in German the compound may or may not be semantically transparent, the phrasal structure never is, whereas in Mandarin, the compounds tend to be non-transparent and the phrasal A N structures are always transparent.
This leads to a straightforward line-up between structural complexity and naming vs description for Mandarin, whereas German presents a far less clear picture.

My paper investigates firstly whether the structural three-way division proposed for Mandarin can be maintained by taking a closer look at the data, especially with regard to the coordination test which is crucial for the phrasal A N vs A N compound distinction in Mandarin but has been argued elsewhere to reflect phonological and not syntactical processes (cf. the remarks in Giegerich (2004) in his discussion of English N-N compounds). Secondly, it investigates in how far the Mandarin and the German data can, despite their surface dissimilarity, be taken to reflect general principles in the mapping of semantics on syntax and morphology across languages.

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Alex Klinge (Copenhagen Business School)

Are Nominal Compounds a Purely Formal Affair? Evidence of the Role of Configurational Morphology in Germanic Nominal Compounding

Naming an entity is a semantic notion which is distinguishable from assigning a quality to an entity. When used as heads of noun phrases, Germanic nouns arguably have naming as their central semantic function. When used as heads of adjective phrases, Germanic adjectives arguably have assignment of a quality as their central semantic function. Naming must be ontologically prior to assigning because assigning presupposes an entity named to which a quality may be assigned.

Nouns and adjectives may however also be integrated into the naming function of the head of an NP through the process of morphological compounding. In this way subcategories of entities are named, as in the English, German and Danish A-N and N-N compounds in (1) and (2):

(1) *father* → *grandfather* (ENG)
    Vater → *Grossvater* (GE)
    far → *bedstefar* (DA)

(2) *spoon* → *teaspoon* (ENG)
    Löffel → *Teelöffel* (GE)
    ske → *teske* (DA)

The semantic notion of naming a subcategory has its clear formal correlation in morphological compounding. In contradistinction, the semantic notion of assigning a quality has its clear correlation in syntactic modification at the level of phrasal projection, as in (3).

(3) *a spoon* → *a large spoon*
    ein Löffel → *ein grosser Löffel*
    en ske → *en stor ske*

In (1) to (3) compounds and phrases are clearly formally distinguished, which means that naming a subcategory and assigning a quality are formally distinguishable in the contrast between compounds and phrases. This correlation cuts across the Germanic languages as a solid generalisation. The exception is English. The distinction between compounds and phrases is blurred. The following well-known English examples illustrate strings where an A-N sequence may either be interpreted in terms of naming a subcategory or in terms of assignment of a quality to an entity named by N.

(4) *musical instrument*
    criminal lawyer
    red wine

Both German and Danish make a clear distinction because there is a clear correlation between interpretation and formal realisation as compounds or phrases.

(5) *Musikinstrument* vs. *musikalisches Instrument*
    musikinstrument vs. *musikalsk instrument*

The problem posed by English is well-known and has been debated at least since Jespersen and important contributions have been made, such as the study by Levi (1978). The different strategies

used by English and German in (4) and (5) give rise to a range of questions. How do we represent the English examples in (4)? Why does English not make the same formal distinction between compounds and phrases as German and Danish?

In Klinge 2000 and 2005 I have argued that when English lost its configurational morphology in pre-N attributive position in NPs, it also lost the key formal distinction between syntactic attribution and morphological compounding. The consequence has been that Modern English has lost the clear formal distinction between naming and assignment. N-N constellations are no longer confined to forming compounds denoting subcategories, cf. *steel bridge* (cf. Giegerich 2004), and syntactic A-N constellations may be ambiguous between naming and assignment. The loss of configurational morphology will explain a range of idiosyncracies of English NP structure. In my talk I will present and discuss a range of central differences between NP structure in English and the other Germanic languages which may be explained in a straightforward manner on the basis of loss of configurational morphology.

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Phrasal words, compounds and phrases:
a constructionist perspective

The paper addresses the issue of distinguishing between lexical(naming)-constructions and syntactic(describing)-constructions from a Construction Grammar perspective (cf., a.m.o., Fillmore, Kay & O'Connor 1988; Goldberg 1995, 2006). As is known, in a constructionist framework there is no clear-cut division between lexical items and syntactic structures: the construction is the basic unit of linguistic analysis and the syntax-lexicon distinction is rather a matter of degree.

Under this view, "intermediate" phenomena between syntax and the lexicon are quite expected. Compounding is a well-known case in point (e.g. English *truckdriver*, German *Haustür* lit. house+door 'front door', Spanish *sordomuto* lit. deaf+mute 'deaf-mute'). However, in various languages we find a number of other multi-word strategies, whose study is less established than that of word-formation, but whose function is to "name" entities precisely like traditional morphological mechanisms. We will refer to these units as "phrasal words". Some examples of nominal phrasal words (hence phrasal nouns) in Romance languages are given in (1):

(1)   a. Spanish [N Adj] *luna nueva* lit. moon new 'new moon'
        b. Italian [N *da* N] *camera da letto* lit. room from bed 'bedroom'
        c. French [Adj N] *premiere violon* lit. first violin 'first violin'
        d. Portuguese [N *de* N] *cadeira de rodas* lit. chair of wheels 'wheel chair'

Generally speaking, the phrasal nouns in (1) (as many other phrasal words) follow the syntactic rules of the language, e.g. [N P N] constructions follow the regular pattern for nouns modified by a PP. This notwithstanding, these items have a clearly lexical, "naming" function and give rise to multi-word lexemes, not syntactic phrases.

The constructionist perspective adopted here allows us to classify quite straightforwardly phrasal words as both phrases and lexemes, since constructions are technically defined as conventionalized associations of a form and a meaning (cf. e.g. Booij 2002, 2005, 2007; Masini 2007, in preparation). On the one hand, this preserves the notion of word, as advocated in Booij (2007); on the other, it allows us to classify phrasal words on a par with morphological complex words and to speak of a wider family of "lexical constructions" that act as naming strategies and therefore differ functionally from syntactic constructions.

Of course, this also entails that phrasal words are not "canonical phrases". Indeed, they are more restricted syntagmatically and paradigmatically and tend to display peculiar properties. Let us take for instance the Italian phrasal noun *casa di cura* lit. house of cure 'nursing home': its constituents cannot be singularly modified by an adjective (2a) nor substituted by near-synonyms (2b), and the second noun cannot be preceded by a determiner (2c)

(2)   a. **una casa **accogliente** di cura* lit. a home cosy of cure 'a cosy nursing home'
        b. **una **abitazione** di cura* lit. a dwelling of cure
        c. **una casa **della** cura* lit. a home of.the cure

In the paper we will go deeper into the analysis of the formal constraints on phrasal words, and lexical constructions in general, in Italian and other languages. In particular, we will explore the hypothesis, already hinted at in other works, that the input constituents of lexical constructions tend to display a low or null referential force and, consequently, a reduction of grammatical contextual features (cf. e.g. Dahl 2004, Simone 2007). Also, we will show how these properties can be formalized in a constructionist approach in order to keep lexical and syntactic constructions

separate. Finally, the preference of Romance languages for phrasal naming strategies is compared with the tendencies displayed by other languages such as Germanic languages and Russian.

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Livio Gaeta (Università di Napoli)

Naming instruments as agents: a typological investigation

There is a considerable literature on supposed patterns of meaning extension based on semantic universals which are held to be motivated by general metaphoric and/or metonymic processes. How far such semantic universals and the predictions based upon there are in fact supported by the empirical evidence is not clear. One famous example is the supposed conceptual contiguity between instruments and companions, which has been claimed to underly an alledgedly universal pattern of meaning extension fairly widespread cross-linguistically. Far from being universal, Stolz (2001) has shown that the pattern has to be considered as language-specific and areally-determined. Similar conclusions hold true for the supposed universal overlapping between the conceptual domain of heat and anger (cf. Gevaert 2005).

In the same vein, a concepual contiguity between instruments and agents has often been claimed, which should be responsible for universal patterns of meaning extension occurring in many languages (cf. Booij 1986 for Dutch, Panther and Thornburg 2002 for English, Ischtuganowa 2004 for German, etc.). On the basis of a large language sample (cf. Gaeta 2007), the aim of this paper is to verify this alledged universal pattern of meaning extension, which has been claimed to be active not only in cases of suffixation (e.g. Italian *-tore* '-er', in *giocatore* 'player' and *frullatore* 'mixer'), but also in compounding (e.g. It. *portalettere* 'mailman' and *lanciarazzi* 'flare gun').

On the one hand, it must be stressed that such a pattern of meaning extension may have different interpretations depending on where polysemy is supposed to apply: at the level of the single word formation rule, at the level of the single complex word, or at the level of the single lexical unit (cf. Rainer 2005). In this light, it is not obvious that the meaning extension affects to a similar extent derivatives, compounds and complex syntactic units. On the other, different mechanisms operating in the single languages may lead to an apparently similar meaning extension (cf. Gaeta in press).

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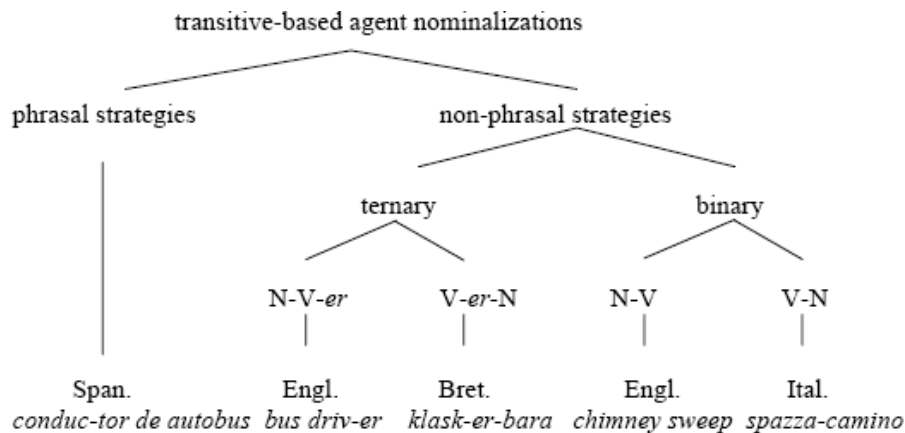
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Volker Gast (Freie Universität Berlin)

How to say 'the *x* who *V*s *N*s': transitive-based agent nominalizations in comparative perspective

While only little variation can be observed in the expression of deverbal agent nominalizations without an explicit specification of the object (*drink-er, writ-er,* etc.), European languages differ considerably in the way such nominalizations are expressed when the object is made explicit. In contemporary European languages there are three major types: (i) lexicalized phrasal expressions (e.g. Spanish *conduc-tor de autobus*, lit. 'driv-er of bus'), (ii) (ternary) synthetic compounds of the form N-V-*er* (Engl. *bus driv-er*), and (iii) (binary) V-N compounds (e.g. Ital. *spazza-camino*, 'chimney sweeper', lit. 'sweep-chimney'). More patterns can be found when minor and extinct European languages are taken into consideration. Breton has ternary compounds in which the verb precedes the noun (e.g. *klask-er-bara*, lit. 'seek-er-bread'; cf. Pilch 1996: 77). Ancient Greek had V-N compounds of the Italian type (e.g. *fere-nik-os*, 'victory bringer', lit. 'bring-victory-INFL'), but prevalent was a type of compound in which the noun precedes the verb (e.g. *anthropo-fag-os*, 'man eater', lit. 'man-eat-INFL'). This latter type of compound is also relatively common in Latin, though it is restricted to a closed set of verbs, which could thus be regarded as derivational suffixes (e.g. -*fer* as in *fructi-fer*, 'fruit-bringer', lit. 'fruit-bring', -*ger* as in *armi-ger*, 'weapon carrier', lit. 'weapon-carry'). Binary agent nominalizations of the N-V-type are also attested in earlier stages of Germanic (cf. Kastovsky 1968), and traces of it have even been preserved in Modern English, e.g. *chimney sweep*.

The types of 'strategies' described above can be classified as shown in the following diagram:

Given this range of variation, the question arises of what determines the availability of specific strategies in particular languages, and whether there are any correlations between the existence of specific types and other properties of the languages in question. There are two major parameters which seem to allow for such generalizations: (i) the degree of 'synthesis' (phrasal > ternary > binary), and (ii) the order of verb and object (cf. Bork 1990 and Gather 2001, among others). While neither parameter seems to allow for robust generalizations when taken by itself, combining the two dimensions of classification may deliver more promising results. For instance, while it would be premature to say that the order of verb and object within compounds correlates with the order of verb and object in clause structure (Modern English constitutes a counter-example), this generalization does seem to hold for the most synthetic types, i.e. binary compounds. Strategies associated with a low degree of synthesis seem to reflect the order of head noun and genitive, rather than the one of verb and noun, in clause structure. On the basis of such a purely synchronic

comparison, I will also address the question of possible and impossible historical developments in the domain of investigation.

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AN-compounds and AN-phrases in their onomasiological context.
A case study from Dutch.

As in many other languages, syntactic A-N phrases in Dutch are used to describe some property 'A' of an entity 'N':

> (1) Parijs is een *grote stad*
> 'Paris is a big city'

If we do not just want to describe entitities with particular properties, but *name* them, there are at least two different construction types available:

- a lexicalized AN-phrase, with prominent stress on the noun, as in:

> (2) Op haar 18e verliet ze de boerderij van haar ouders en vertrok ze naar de *grote 'stad*
> 'When she was 18 she left the farm of her parents for the big city'

- an AN-compound, with prominent stress on the (non-inflected) adjective, as in:

> (3) Parijs is een echte '*grootstad*
> 'Paris is a real metropolis'

We will first describe the particular characteristics of these two naming strategies, comparing both to their English and German equivalents. Then we will focus on what could be called the *onomasiological context*. Two types of context should be distinguished here, and both deserve more attention in studies of word formation or naming in general:

(a) the (non-linguistic) context of the naming activity itself

In Dutch some lexicalized phrases as in (2) can take an indefinite article: <u>een</u> *harde schijf* ('hard disk'), <u>een</u> *vrije dag* (day-off). But many lexicalized phrases regularly or even exclusively take a definite article: <u>de</u> *grote vakantie* (summer holidays), <u>het</u> *witte doek* (silver screen). They are used for more or less unique reference in a particular context. If reference is considered to be genuinely unique in a widely accepted context of interpretation, phrases of this type are treated as proper names: <u>de</u> *Grote Beer* (Great Bear), <u>de</u> *Stille Oceaan* (Pacific Ocean), <u>het</u> *Laatste Avondmaal* (Last Supper).

(b) the (linguistic) context of the complementary or competing naming strategies

Apart from AN-compounds and lexicalized AN-phrases, Dutch has many more strategies for naming entities with specific properties, such as metaphoric use of a word (*ezel* 'donkey' for a stupid person), conversion (*alternatief* 'alternative' for an alternative possibility), affixation (*volwassen-e* 'adult'), etc. Systematically taking into account this onomasiological context can be a powerful heuristic device when looking for restrictions on the productivity of AN-compounds and lexicalized AN-phrases in any language.

Susanne Borgwaldt (Technische Universität Braunschweig)

New names for new things

Productivity, one of the defining features of human language (Hockett, 1960), encompasses language users' ability to create new words, such as new names for new concepts.

Novel objects can for example be described by phrases that specify the object's salient features or its presumed function. Novel hybrid objects, objects that are composed of two identifiable parts, might also elicit novel nominal compounds, concatenations of the labels for the object's compenents in languages that employ compounding as a means of word formation.

Nominal compounding is one of the most basic word formation processes, and as such generally favoured over derivational processes (Mühlhäusler, 1986). Especially in Germanic languages, compounding is quite frequently employed, allowing for a variety of relations between the compound's parts (Downing, 1977), and enriching the languages' vocabularies with *lexicalized compounds,* such as *butterfly,* as well as with *novel compounds*, ad-hoc coinages, such as *paper fly,* that are created effortlessly on the fly by language users.

Using hybrid picture stimuli, that is, digitally manipulated photographs depicting hybrid objects composed of two equally salient components, this study investigates labelling choices among German adults, exploring the influences of response mode, i.e. oral or written production, age and education on production patterns. The study is part of a larger research project that aims to explore linguistic, cognitive and developmental aspects of novel object processing in a broader range of languages and populations.

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Spanish phrasal compounds in a typological perspective

In line with all the other Indo-European languages, Spanish basically employs four different linguistic strategies[1] according to which new words and expressions can be formed:

1. Coinage of new **independent** words based on the phono-tactic rules of already existing Spanish words
2. Loans from foreign languages
3. Word-making by derivatives
4. Combinations of existing words

In this paper I will present a linguistic-typological analysis of the central factors that determine nominal composition in Spanish of the type *barco de guerra* (war ship), *venta de cerveza* (beer sale) etc., i.e. phrasal nominal compounds with the structure [N1 prep. N2].

The paper will be divided in three main parts:

I
The first part discusses the empirical observation that composition in the form of phrasal nominal compounds constitutes the most important language strategic resource for creating new lexical units in modern Spanish. It is suggested that this preference for phrasal composition at the expense of the other word formation strategies can be explained with point of departure in the assumptions that (i) the derivational system has a limited potential of meaning creation, and that (ii) the other compositional procedures suffer from a notorious inadequacy in terms of being able to establish lexical hierarchies.

II
Focus in the second part of this paper will be on the typological difference between endocentric (Germanic) and exocentric (Romance) languages and its influence on word formation.

The endocentric languages tend to encode the relations between entities by the use of lexically contentful and specific verbs, whereas the entities themselves in these languages generally are denoted by abstract and lexically underspecified nouns. The exocentric languages, on the other hand, have a complementary lexical structure in the sense that Romance nouns are specific and concrete in nature, while their lexically underspecified verbs establish abstract relations between the entities

Based on this postulated lexical complementarity between the two major word classed in the Romance and the Germanic languages, I will argue in favor of the hypothesis that the structure of Danish compounds is analogous to the structure of Spanish derivations, whereas Spanish [N1 prep. N2]-structures are created in a syntactic phrase formation operation. Due to their semantically non-

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[1] These strategies can be divided into a large number of different subcategories, which will not be commented here. Moreover, the process by which an already existing word is ascribed a new meaning, such as for example *paloma/halcón* 'dove/hawk' whose secondary meaning is "for or against war" (Alvar Ezquerra 1995:17), is sometimes considered a fifth word formation strategy. However, this aspect of meaning construction is not taken into consideration in this paper.

specific nature, Danish nouns, when acting as heads in compounds, are reduced positionally and prosodically so that they resemble suffixes, cf. the following examples:

Spanish	**Danish**
puente – pont**aje**	bro – bro**penge** (bridge – bridge toll)
olmo – olm**eda**	elm – elme**lund** (elm – elm grove)
diente – denta**dura**	tand – tand**sæt** (tooth – set of teeth)
petróleo – petrol**ero**	olie – olie**handler** (oil – oil dealer)
escribir – escrit**orio**	skrive – skrive**bord** (write – writing desk)

Contrary to this, no particular intonation contour or compound stress pattern can be registered in Spanish, where compound stress pattern cannot be systematically distinguished from phrasal stress in regular NPs. Also in contrast to the Germanic languages, the Romance languages do not dispose of special liaison forms, or linking vowels or consonants, of the modifying noun which could reveal the compound nature of the word constellation in question. This is a direct consequence of the fact that Romance languages predominantly show phrasal structure in their compounds.

III

Finally, the last part of the paper extends the typological perspective even further in that it explores the observation that there exists a significant correlation between language type and nominal incorporation. Briefly, the lexically heavy Spanish nouns seem relatively reluctant to incorporate both on the sentence level and the phrasal level, while the underspecified Danish nouns are very open to this lexico-syntactic integration process.

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Kristel Van Goethem (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)

A comparative study of A-N compounds and lexicalized A-N phrases in Germanic and Romance languages

In the literature on Germanic languages, it has been pointed out that syntactic A-N phrases may have the same naming function as A-N compounds. However, these languages may show particular preferences for the one or the other naming strategy. For instance, De Caluwe (1990: 16) and Booij (2002: 316) claim that whereas in German A-N compounding is very productive, it is unproductive in English, which uses A-N phrases for the same function (e.g. *Festplatte – hard disk; Schnellzug – fast train*). Dutch seems to be in-between and makes use of both strategies (cf. *harde schijf, sneltrein*).

The central aim of my paper is to situate French on this morphology-syntax continuum. It will be shown that French presents both possibilities, the morphological and the syntactic naming strategy (cf. *un grand-père* 'a grandfather' vs *une grande surface* 'a supermarket'). There is, however, a strong preference for lexicalized A-N phrases (Gross 1988, 1996). This can be illustrated by the fact that even when both German and Dutch use A-N compounds, French – like English – generally opts for the syntactic strategy to name the same entities:

German	Dutch	English	French
Kleingeld	*kleingeld*	*small coin*	*petite monnaie*
Schnellverkehr	*snelverkeer*	*fast traffic*	*circulation rapide*
Neujahr	*Nieuwjaar*	*New Year*	*nouvel an*
Altniederländisch	*Oud-Nederlands/ Oudnederlands*	*Old Dutch*	*ancien néerlandais*

Hüning (2004, 2007) argues that the German preference for compounds can be related to its high degree of formal variation in A-N phrases: the complex system of inflectional morphology applying to German A-N phrases makes it impossible to establish univocal form-meaning pairs of this kind, which is a necessary condition of naming strategies. As a consequence, German seems to be constrained to make use of invariable compounds. The loss of inflection in Dutch and English, by contrast, allows these languages to make use of lexicalized A-N phrases with a naming function.

Like German, French is characterized by a developed inflectional system, but nevertheless strongly prefers lexicalized A-N phrases. At first sight this is in conflict with Hüning's hypothesis. However, taking a closer look at the facts, one notices that French inflectional morphology is not a true obstacle for the formation of lexicalized A-N phrases with a fixed form and meaning. Contrary to German, French does not present case inflection according to the syntactic function of the A-N phrase; only gender and number inflection applies. Moreover, gender inflection is not relevant, since adjectives in lexicalized A-N phrases always combine with the same noun and hence always denote the same gender (e.g. *un disque dur, une grande surface*), and number inflection should not constitute an obstacle for an unambiguous interpretation, since it also applies to compounds.

In sum, since French A-N phrases do not show much formal variation, French does not need to make use of the morphological naming strategy and prefers lexicalized A-N phrases over A-N compounds. In my paper, I will provide more evidence for Hüning's claim in showing that even in A-N compounds French sometimes eliminates formal variation (cf. *un nouveau-né, une <u>nouveau-née</u>* 'a newborn baby', *des <u>nouveau-nés</u>* 'newborn babies').

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'Naming' in Spanish Food Market: the Role of Analogy

In this paper we explore a new point of view with regard to previous research and studies on *Naming*. As it is known, this is a field dealing with the creation of company, product and brand names.

We start by analyzing the Spanish Food Market in terms of the so-called *analogy-based model* (Rainer 2003, Becker 2003, Booij 2007). First, we describe some idiosyncratic patterns used by the copy-writers for creating new names in the area of food products (i.e. *MásVital*: <Adv+N$_A$>$_N$). Second, we analyze the import of analogy in the production and perception of neologisms. This last issue leads us to pursue a paradigmatic approach in which the relation of the new form with other existing words plays a crucial role. We look at the words stored in the lexicon and from here we extract different *exemplar-based models*. Following Rainer 2003, we assume that the neological formation is in need of a particular linking element, what is called the *leader base*. That is, we consider that the lexicon is organized in sets of morphological families (Hall & Baayen 2005). Take, for example, the following product names: *Danacol, Benecol, NATURcol.* These words refer to products from different Spanish brands which are all specifically conceived to avoid unsuitable cholesterol levels, as the *–col* morpheme (a clipping from Sp. *colesterol*) shows. This naming strategy allows us to process the food products into different categories.

Summing up, in this paper we intend to demonstrate how the analogy –both semantic and formal– between the neologism and already existing words is directly responsible for its integration in the lexicon. Furthermore, we believe that word association is proved to be an effective procedure for word formation, not only from a psycholinguistic perspective but also from a pragmatic point of view (cf. the Relevance Theory of Sperber & Wilson 1986, 2004).

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Ana Stulic (Université Bordeaux 3)

A discourse perspective on naming strategy :
The case of Spanish *lo que* clause

In this paper, I propose to discuss a usage of a complex syntactic structure in Spanish, namely the nominalised relative clause marked for neuter gender or *lo que* clause. Present in medieval Spanish documents, *lo que* clause has been ever since a very productive pattern for denoting discourse entities and its usage has been extended to other functions. It belongs to a series of nominalised relative clauses that have a same construction pattern:

pronominal element marked for gender [*lo / el / la / los / las*] + subordinate element [*que*] + predication

The predication of the internal structure of *lo que* clause is such that an entity denoted by the whole structure is interpreted as an argument of that predication (predication of restrictive relative clause). On the other hand, the construction as a whole can occupy the place of a nominal element in some other construction. The gender expressed by pronominal element determines the type of entity the structure refers to. The masculine and feminine forms *(el, los, la, las)* refer either to entities of masculine or feminine natural gender or to entities previously mentioned by a noun of masculine or feminine gender. No nouns are of neuter gender in Spanish and therefore *lo que* clause refers to an abstract entity, which made this structure very productive, as it can be used to name entities for which no name is available.

Although the present day structure of *lo que* clause, given here in broad lines, is already present in medieval Spanish, its usage in discourse organisation has changed considerably over time. It seems that in medieval Spanish the structure has mainly an anaphoric function, it names an entity which takes part in an action or a process previously mentioned in discourse, while later the structure has extended to non-anaphoric usage. I offer a diachronic description of the usage of *lo que* clause and I will argue that the main changes observed in the usage of *lo que* clause are related to the discourse status of entities which are denoted. In this perspective, I relate the concepts of naming and describing to the role *lo qu*e clause has in information structure organisation. The study, based on historical analysis of usage in two digital corpora of Spanish (*Corpus del español*, M. Davies,13th - 20th century, 100 million word; CORDE, RAE, from the origin of Spanish to 1975), is not in itself contrastive, but it is meant to serve as a point of departure for comparison to similar structures in other languages.

Geert Booij (Universiteit Leiden)

When phrases are used as names: formal properties of lexical phrases

Phrases can be used as either descriptions or as names of subclasses of entities, actions or properties. This has implications for our view of the lexicon, and for the form of these phrases. As to the lexicon, phrases will have to be listed in the lexicon since they are conventionalized expressions for denoting categories. A classic example are AN phrases in Dutch exemplified by trhe phrase *rode wijn*, a particular type of wine. The same naming function is performed in German by the compound *Rotwein*, thus providing a simple illustration of the potential functional similarity of (certain types of) phrases and complex words.

New names can be created through borrowing, the formation of new words, the formation of acronyms (which may turn a description into a name), semantix extension mechanisms (metaphor, metonymy, semantic concentration), and by coining certain types of phrases.

Dutch has a number of formal types of phrases with a specific naming function: AN phrases (with non-projecting nouns), bare nouns used in particular syntactic structures such as coordination (N *en* N as in *vader en moeder*), and PP's (P N, *op school*), pseudo-incorporation (*piano spelen, aardappels schillen*), and 'un-inflected' A + N (*een taalkundig medewerker*). Related Germanic languages such as English and Frisian make also use of phrasal structures referred to as 'genitive compounds' (English *women's magazine*, Frisian *koken-s-door* 'kitchen door') for the creation of classifying expressions. In sum, there are correlations between the naming function of a linguistic expression, and its form.

Semantic extension phenomena strengthen the idea of the special nature of phrasal naming expressions. For instance, semantic concentration is not only found with compounds (as in *scharrelkip - scharrelvlees* (where *scharrel-* acquired the meaning 'free range, eco-'), but also with NPs (*onbespoten groente > onbespoten restaurant, onbespoten mensen*) where *onbespoten* acquired the meaning 'eco-'.

In my talk, I will give detailed analyses of a number of these types of expressions, and the implication of their existence for our view of the relation between syntax and the lexicon. I will argue that a construction grammar approach will provide adequate tools for dealing with these expressions and their naming function.

Finally, I will illustrate and discuss the conventional differences in the use of these naming strategies between linguistic communities and subcommunities (German, Northern Dutch, Southern Dutch).

Sebastian Bücking (Universität Tübingen)

How Do Phrasal and Lexical Modification Differ? –
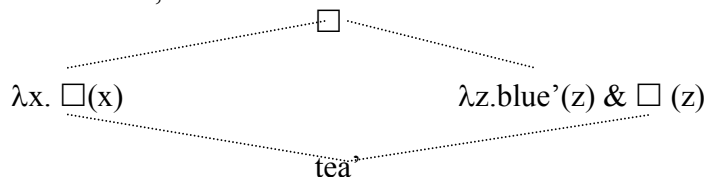## Contrasting Adjective-Noun Combinations

1. Introduction

Examples like German *wilde Ehe* (‚concubinage') challenge the split between the naming function of compounding as opposed to the descriptive force of syntax (cf. Call for Papers). However, contrasting AP+N and A+N constructions in German, I argue for crucial differences in the compositional mechanisms at stake: Whereas in case of phrasal AP+N the complex meaning is computed by functionally applying the meaning of A to the meaning of N, in case of A+N compounds the meaning of N is associated with A via a lexical morpho-semantic interface rule introducing a free variable. This analysis provides evidence for a principled split between syntactic and lexical modification responsible for the correlation between syntax and „describing" on the one and morphology and „naming" on the other hand.[2]
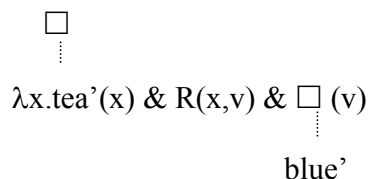
2. Analysis and Data

Combining Egg's (2006) underspecified semantic representations (consisting of λ-term-fragments, unknown parts of them called „holes" (= □) and dominance relations correlating fragments and holes) with Maienborn's (2003) split between internal and external modification, I will show that compositional rules map phrasal AP+N to representations as (1), A+N counterparts though to (2):

(1) *blauer Tee* ‚blue tea':

$$\lambda x.\, \Box(x) \qquad\qquad \lambda z.\text{blue'}(z)\ \&\ \Box(z)$$

$$\text{tea'}$$

(2) *Blautee* ‚blue-tea':

$$\lambda x.\text{tea'}(x)\ \&\ R(x,v)\ \&\ \Box(v)$$

$$\text{blue'}$$

The free R-relation in (2) allows for a flexible meaning contribution of A in case of A+N; the dominance relations enforce identifying the properties A and N with the topmost hole as an integrated whole. For AP+N however, both fragments are independent while their semantic relation is fixed due to direct functional application.

These ingredients account for constraints on comparatives in A+N compounds, cf. (3), near equivalence of AP+N and A+N in case of descriptive A and subtle contrasts in negative contexts

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[2] Being aware of a significant overlap, I argue for a basic form-function fit making A+N more suitable to „naming" than AP+N.

and with „incompatible" attribution, cf. (4) and (5).[3] Further evidence for the proposed split is drawn from the observation that A+N compounds prosodically prefer end-stressed A.[4]

(3)   #Billigerwein (vs. Billigwein / Billigstwein)
        cheaper-wine (vs. cheap-wine / cheapest-wine)
(4)   Dies ist kein Blautee / #kein blauer Tee, obwohl er blau ist.
        this is not blue-tea / not   blue tea, although it blue is
(5)   Dies ist ein roter Blautee / #ein roter blauer Tee.
        this is a   red blue-tea / a   red blue tea

Returning to the question at the outset, I argue that „naming" necessarily involves an integrative force readily available in case of A+N. „Describing" on the contrary corresponds to a bipartite processing at hand in the given AP+N computation.[5]

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[3] I chose a non-existent combination in order to avoid effects triggered by lexicalisation. Due to existent forms like *Grüner Tee* / *Grüntee* (‚green tea'/ ‚green-tea') analogies to lexicalized AP-N vs. A-N are balanced.

[4] See Motsch (1999), Fleischer & Barz (1992) for these characteristics.

[5] Note that this account leaves room for „naming" via syntax: if integration is accomplished independently, syntactical units can also function as „names". Form and interpretation of A+N however prefigure that function.