

Situating constructional uninflectedness

Jenny Audring | DGfS 2023, AG8 *Uninflectedness*



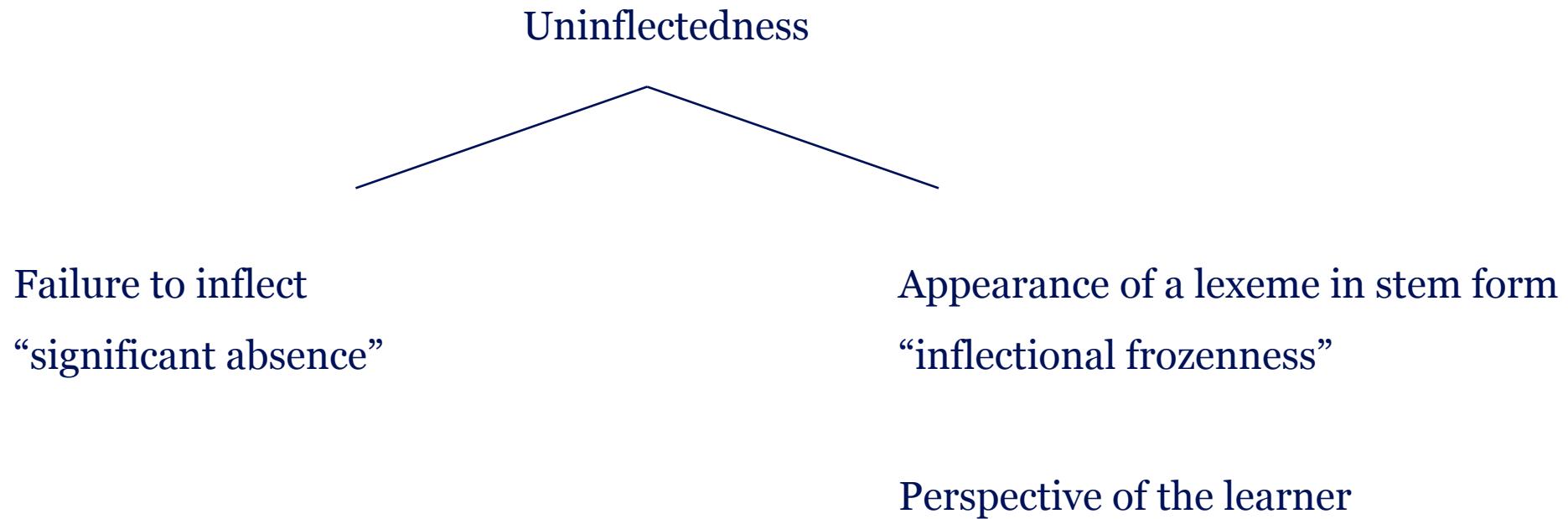
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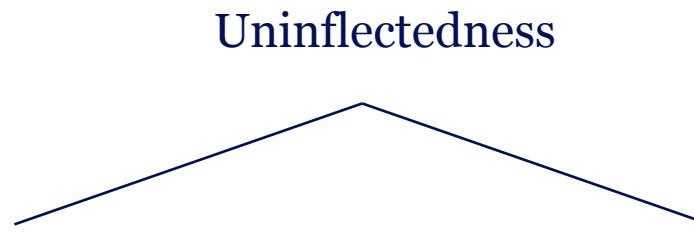
Uninflectedness: two perspectives



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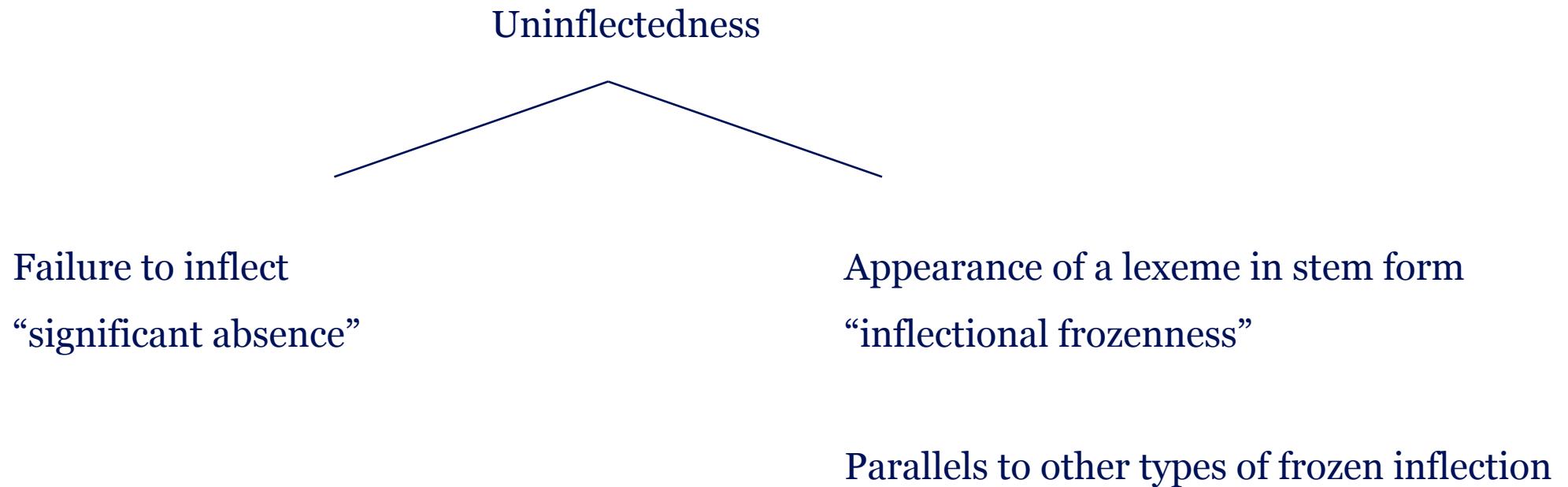


Failure to inflect
“significant absence”

Appearance of a lexeme in stem form
“inflectional frozenness”

Stem form involves knowledge
German *hoch* /ho:x/ ‘high’

Uninflectedness: two perspectives



Uninflectedness: types

Cutting the cake of uninflectedness (after Spencer 2020)

- (1) By motivation
- (2) By domain
- (3) By systematicity



Uninflectedness: types

(1) By motivation

Lexical uninflectedness

Russian *kenguru* ‘cangaroo’

Constructional/contextual uninflectedness

Mixed

Dutch *kwijt* ‘gone’, *onwel* ‘unwell’

Uninflectedness: types

(2) By domain

In morphology

- Compounding German *Weißwein* ‘white wine’
 - Derivation German *weißlich* ‘whitish’
 - Conversion Dutch *lach* ‘laughter’
 - Other (incorporation, ...) German *radfahren* ‘to bike’, *sauber machen* ‘to clean’

In syntax

- Verbal syntagms coverbs in light verb constructions
 - Other types predicative adjectives

Uninflectedness: types

(3) By systematicity

Systematic/productive

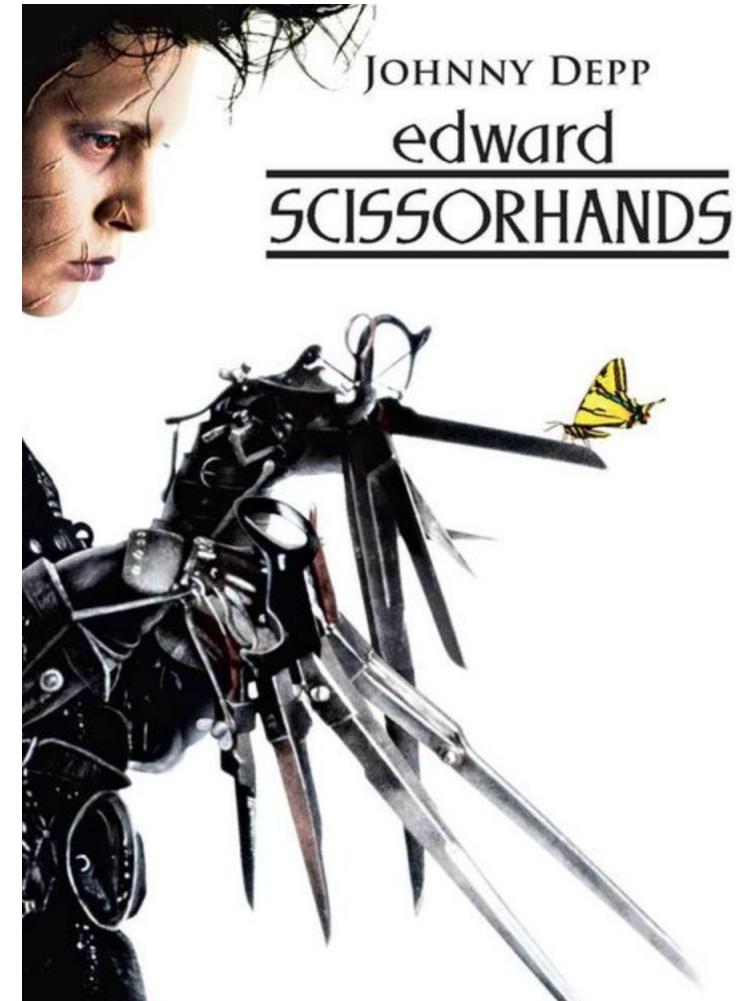
compounds $[[X_{\text{stem}}][Y]]_Y$

Group-forming

Incidental

Lexicalized

Unique



Uninflectedness: types

(3) By systematicity

Systematic/productive

compounds $[[X_{\text{stem}}][Y]]_Y$

Group-forming

Russian uninflected nouns

Incidental

Lexicalized

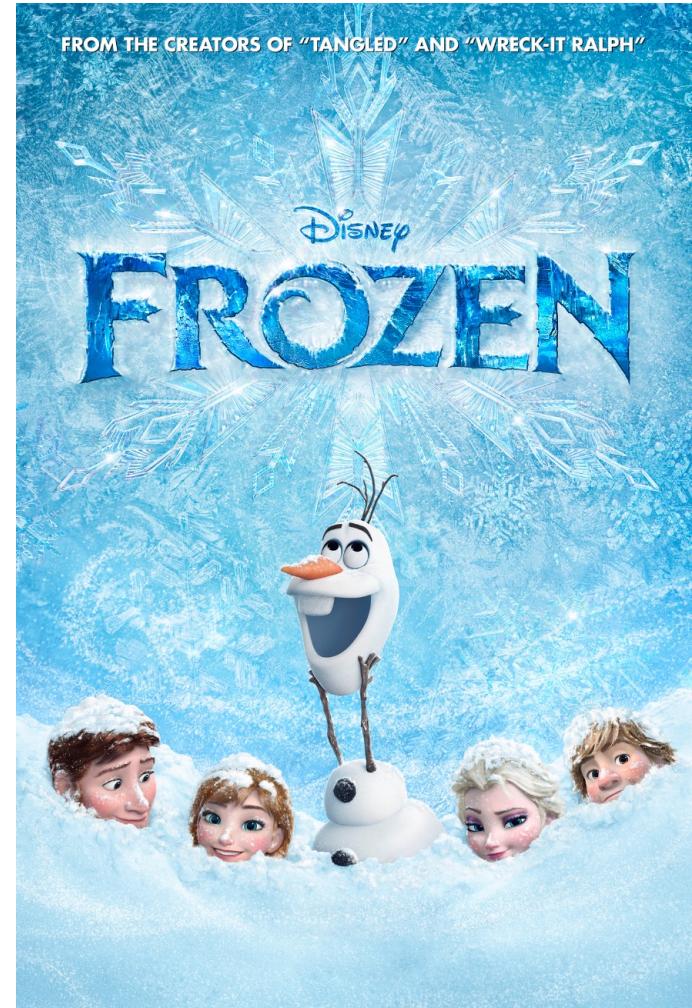
Dutch *met X aan de **haal** gaan* ‘to run away with X’

Unique

reckless, werewolf

Frozen inflection

- Uninflectability as construction-dependent morphology (“frozen inflection”)
- Parallels to other types?
- Specific inflected form
- Infinitive or participle



Frozen inflection: types

Cutting the cake of frozen inflection

- (1) By motivation
- (2) By domain
- (3) By systematicity



Frozen inflection

(1) By motivation

Lexical frozenness

Pseudo-participles

German *angeboren* ‘innate’, *entlegen* ‘remote’, *zerknirscht* ‘remorseful’
(Fleischer, Barz & Schröder 2012: 378)

$[[N][V]]_v$

Dutch *buikspreken* ‘to ventriloquize’, German *bergsteigen* ‘to mountain-climb’

Dutch *hersenspoelen/ gehersenspoeld* ‘to brainwash/brainwashed’
(Booij to appear)

Constructional frozenness

Frozen inflection

(2) By domain

In morphology

- Compounding *broad-shouldered, bad-mannered*
 - Derivation German *Gefangenschaft* ‘imprisonment’, *Bekanntschaft* ‘acquaintance’,
Wissenschaft ‘science’, *Leidenschaft* ‘passion’
 - Conversion German *das Lachen* ‘the laughter’, *der Angestellte* ‘the employee’
 - Imperatives German *Aufpassen/Aufgepasst* ‘Attention’

In syntax

Frozen inflection

(2) By domain

In syntax

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| - Verbal syntagms | Periphrasitic constructions with Ptcp or Inf Dutch <i>komen aan-X_{Inf/Ptcp}</i> ‘to come X-ing’ (Booij & Audring 2007) |
| - Other types | English <i>all X-ed out</i> (Hugou 2013) Dutch prohibitive infinitives: <i>Niet uit het raam leunen</i> ‘Don’t lean out of the window’ (van Olmen 2010) |

Frozen inflection

(3) By systematicity

Systematic/productive

Inf > N conversion (*das Lachen* ‘the laughter’)

Group-forming

Pseudo-participles (*angeboren* ‘innate’)

Incidental

Lexicalized

sich gebauchpinselt fühlen ‘to feel flattered’, *writ large*
flabbergasted

Unique

Parallels

- Parallel types

Motivation

Domain

Systematicity

- Specific parallels

Periphrasis

Conversion

Imperatives

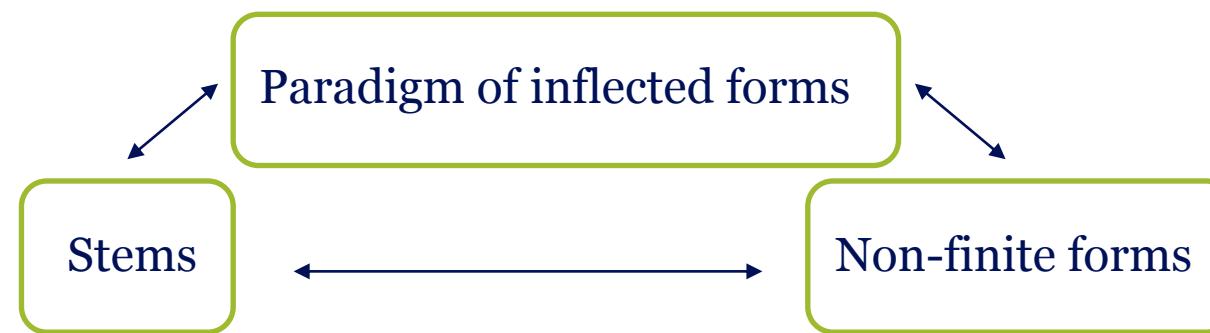


Parallels

- Periphrasis: stems (Japanese LVCs), infinitives (German future) or participles (German perfect)
- Conversion: stems (Dutch *de lach*), infinitives (German *das Lachen*) or participles (German *der Angestellte*)
- Imperatives: stems (*Pass auf!*), infinitives (*Aufpassen!*) or participles (*Aufgepasst!*)

Conclusions

- Uninflectedness as construction-dependent morphology (“frozen inflection”)
- Shifted focus from the absence of inflection to the presence of a stem
- Procedural > declarative perspective
- Interesting parallels
- Questions



References

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Vielen Dank!



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