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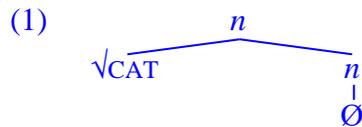
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SLAVIC COMPOUNDS AND ACATEGORIAL ROOTS
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1. INTRODUCTION: THE ISSUE OF ACATEGORIAL ROOTS

Within DM as a framework, there is broad consensus that **roots are acategorial** (Josefsson 1995, 1997, 1998, 2001, Marantz 1997, 2001, Arad 2003, Embick and Marantz 2006, Embick and Noyer 2007, Acquaviva 2009, Harley 2014, Haugen and Siddiqi 2013, among many others)

Lexical roots become nouns, verbs or adjectives in syntax as a result of merger with *n*, *v* or *a* functional heads, which can be phonologically null and whose grammatical content defines a nominal, verbal or adjectival domain:



Thus in DM roots have

- no morphosyntactic category
- no gender or declension/conjugation class (Acquaviva 2009, following Harris 1996, though with caveats, for Harris roots have a category)
- no phonology
- for some researchers (e.g., Pfau 2000, 2009, Acquaviva 2009, Harley 2014), no meaning

“On their own, roots are unpronounceable. It is “words”—roots combined with nominal, adjectival, or verbal features—that we pronounce. Roots also lack a fixed or precise semantic interpretation. It is only in the specific environment of certain morphemes that they acquire an actual interpretation as nouns or verbs. The root $\sqrt{\text{hammer}}$, for example, is assigned an interpretation of a manner verb when embedded in a verbal environment, and an interpretation of an instrument used for hammering when embedded in a nominal environment.” (Arad 2003:10)

Similar approach in Borer 2005a, b

Harley 2009, De Belder 2011, 2017, Steddy 2019, etc., vs. Nóbrega 2020: compounding may involve acategorial roots

This talk: does it really?

- morphologically robust languages like Russian (R) and Serbo-Croat (SC) provide better evidence because there one can see if something has a category
- R and SC compounds at least distinguish between verbal and nominal stems

If the option of acategorial compounding is available, why do R and SC avoid it?

2. COMPOUNDS AS EVIDENCE FOR THE LACK OF CATEGORY

De Belder 2011, 2017: a subtype of Dutch primary compounds involves an acategorial non-head

Steddy 2019: an acategorial non-head yields a non-compositional relationship between the two members of the compound

3. RUSSIAN AND SERBO-CROAT INFLECTED COMPOUNDS

Like Polish (Szymanek 2009), neither Russian nor Serbo-Croat have phrasal compounds: the first member (M_1) and the second member (M_2) are always **syntactic heads rather than phrases**

Two parameters of variation:

- (i) **interfixed** (vowel-linked) or **non-interfixed**
- (ii) **exocentric, parasynthetic, or endocentric**

As we will see, all these types involve lexical categorization:

- explicit: the choice of the linking vowel is determined by the lexical category of the first member of the compound
- implicit: non-interfixed compounds are constructed with nominal stems only

All these types can give rise to (semi)compositional as well as idiomatic interpretation

3.1. Parasynthetic compounds

Parasynthetic (aka suffixed) compounds combine compounding with derivation:

- (2) a. churchgoer: [[church-go]-er] or [church-[go-er]]
- b. horse racing
- c. breathtaking

Their internal structure is subject to debate

In Slavic languages parasynthetic compounds are just as productive and also based on regular morphology:

- (3) a. *oč-e-vid-ac* ‘witness’ ← *oči* ‘eyes’ + *-vid-* ‘see.ROOT’ + *-ac-* (-er.AGT) SC
- b. *viš-e-bož-ac* ‘polytheist’ ← *-viš-* ‘higher’ + *bog* ‘god’ + *-ac-* (-er.AGT)
- c. *sam-o-dovolʹ-n-yj* ‘smug’ ← *sam* ‘self’ + *-dovolʹ-* ‘satisfied.ROOT’ + *-n-* ‘-y’ R
- d. *odn-o-obraz-ie* ‘uniformity’ ← *-odīn-* ‘one’ + *-ob.raz-* ‘image.ROOT’ + *-ij-* ‘-ness’

All parasynthetic compounds are interfixed

The lexical categories of M₁ and M₂ seem rather free:

- M₁ can be a noun (3a), an adjective (3b), a numeral (3c), or a pronoun (3d)
- M₂ can be a verbal (3a, c), a nominal (3b) or an adjectival (3c) root

Yet they are not acategorial

3.2. V₁ compounds

M₁ can be a verbal stem, productively in Serbo-Croat, non-productively in Russian:

- (4) a. *seci-kesa* ‘cut-purse’ ← *-sek-* ‘cut.ROOT’ + *kesa* ‘purse’ SC
- b. *perekati-pole* ‘tumbleweed’ ← *-pere.kat-* ‘roll over.ROOT’ + *pole* ‘field’ R

The linking vowel [i] here is actually the imperative suffix -i-: it follows the theme vowel (and so the verbal stem) in Russian, it creates forms clearly distinct from 3SG or bare root in Serbo-Croat:

See Vinogradov 1999, Tolstaya 2020 for Russian V₁-compounds, Progovac 2006 for Serbo-Croat ones

- (5) a. *guli-a-j-* *gorod* R
 wander-TH-IMP town
 a wagon-fort, a siege-tower
- b. *der-i-* *koža* SC, Progovac 2006
 rip.IMP skin
 a person who rips you off

NB: In Serbo-Croat cf. *derati*.INF, *dere*.PRES.3SG, *der*.ROOT, as in *oblak-o-der* ‘skyscraper’

So if M₁ is verbal, it must bear clearly verbal morphology

And even if it is not the imperative, the choice of the vowel clearly juxtaposes [-V] in M₁

Apparently roots that are used to form verbs cannot be used as M₁ in compounds

3.3. Non-V₁ compounds

If M₁ is a noun (6), an adjective (7), a numeral (8), or a pronoun (3d), it is followed by a linking vowel [o] (turning to [e] after palatalized consonants (3a,b)).

Such interfixed compounds can be null-derived or parasynthetic (containing a suffix):

- (6) M₁ is a noun...
- a. *krv-o-tok* ‘bloodstream’ ← *-krv-* ‘blood’ + *-tok-* ‘stream’ SC
- b. *volk-o-dav* ‘wolfhound’ ← *-volk-* ‘wolf’ + *-dav-* ‘press.ROOT’ R
- which can be plural:
- c. *ljud-o-žder* ‘cannibal’ ← *ljudi* ‘people’ (sg: *čovjek* ‘man’) + *-žder-* ‘devour’ SC
- d. *oč-e-vid-ec* ‘witness’ ← *oči* ‘eyes’ + *-vid-* ‘see.ROOT’ + *-ec-* (-er.AGT) R
- (7) M₁ is an adjective...
- a. *plav-o-ok* ‘blue-eyed’ ← *plav* ‘blue’ + *ok(o)* ‘eye’ SC
- b. *razn-o-obraz-n-yj* ‘varied’ ← *-razn-* ‘different’ + *-ob.raz-* ‘image.ROOT’ + *-n-* ‘-y’R
- which can be a comparative or even an adverb (very rare)
- c. *viš-e-bož-ac* ‘polytheist’ ← *-viš-* ‘higher’ + *bog* ‘god’ + *-ac-* (-er.AGT) SC
- d. *skor-o-xod* ‘footman’ ← *-skor-* ‘fast’ + *-xod-* ‘go.ROOT’ R
- (8) M₁ is a cardinal
- a. *jedn-o-rog* ‘unicorn’ ← *jedan* ‘one’ + *rog* ‘horn’ SC
- b. *odn-o-obraz-ie* ‘uniformity’ ← *-odñ-* ‘one’ + *-ob.raz-* ‘form.ROOT’ + *-ij-* ‘-ness’R
- (9) M₁ can even be a functional adjective/pronoun/quantifier
- a. *mnog-o-storon-n-ij* ‘multifaceted’ ← *mnogo* ‘many’ + *storona* ‘side’ + *-n-* ‘-y’ R
- b. *sam-o-ljub-ie* ‘amour-propre’ ← *sam* ‘self’ + *-ljub-* ‘love.ROOT’ + *-ij-* ‘-ness’ R

For all non-verbal M₁, the linking vowel is [o] (except when there is none, see below)

The only exceptions are when the linking morphology is more specifically nominal:

- (10) Linking can be done by case
- a. *brat-u-čed* ‘nephew’ ← *brat* ‘brother’ + *-u* (DAT) + *čedo* ‘child’ SC
- b. *Bog-u-mil* ‘Bogumil’ (proper name, lit., ‘God-pleasing’) ← *bog* ‘god’ + *-u* (DAT) + *mil* ‘pleasant’
- obligatorily for some numerals in Russian
- c. *tri-ox-nog-ij* ‘three-legged’ ← *tri* ‘three’ (GEN: *tr’ox*) + *noga* ‘leg’ + *ø* ‘-y’ R
- d. *p’at-i-nog-ij* ‘five-legged’ ← *p’at’* ‘five’ (GEN: *p’ati*) + *noga* ‘leg’ + *ø* ‘-y’

So when M₁ is [-V], it is flagged by the linking vowel

This [±V] juxtaposition clearly shows that M₁ is not devoid of lexical category

See Borer 2015 for evidence that the [±V] contrast may be universal and Gouskova 2021 for its relevance for the affixes-as-roots hypothesis

3.4. M₂ as a root

M₂ in compound nouns can be either a noun or a verb:

- (11) a. *jedn-o-rog* ‘unicorn’ ← *jedan* ‘one’ + *rog* ‘horn’ noun, SC
- b. *nos-o-rog* ‘rhinoceros’ ← *nos* ‘nose’ + *rog* ‘horn’ R

- (12) a. *ljud-o-žder* ‘cannibal’ ← *ljudi* ‘people’ + *-žder-* ‘devour’ verb, SC
 b. *sam-o-gon* ‘moonshine’ ← *sam* ‘self’ + *-gŭn-* ‘chase.ROOT’ R

Irrespective of whether the resulting noun contains a nominalizing suffix:

- (13) a. *oč-e-vid-ac* ‘witness’ ← *oči* ‘eyes’ + *-vid-* ‘see.ROOT’ + *-ac-* (-er.AGT) SC
 b. *viš-e-bož-ac* ‘polytheist’ ← *-viš-* ‘higher’ + *bog* ‘god’ + *-ac-* (-er.AGT)
 c. *mⁱas-o-rub-k-a* ‘meat grinder’ ← *mⁱaso* ‘meat’ + *-rub-* ‘chop.ROOT’ + *-k-*_{DIM} R
 d. *verti-xvost-k-a* ‘a flirt’ ← *verteti* ‘to turn’ + *xvost* ‘tail’ + *-k-*_{DIM}

Can M₂ here be a root?

For: the verbal theme is absent (yet it is also absent in deverbal nouns formed with the same suffixes outside of compounds):

The suffix *-ec-* is not productive outside of compounding in Russian, but *-k-* is

- (14) a. *kupec* ‘merchant’ ← *kup-i-ti* ‘to buy’ (if the theme were retained: **kuplec*)
 b. *rubka* ‘chopping’ ← *rub-i-ti* ‘to chop’ (if the theme were retained: **rubika* or **rubl’ka*, though phonology can be also made to force *rubka*)

Both suffixes are category-neutral outside compounds:

- (15) a. *bel-ac* ‘white person’ ← *bel* ‘white’ SC
 b. *bor-ac* ‘fighter’ ← *boriti se* ‘to fight’
 c. *bosan-ac* ‘Bosnian’ ← *Bosnia* ‘Bosnia’
 (16) a. *zel’ion-k-a* ‘brilliant green’ (a disinfectant) ← *zel’ionyj* ‘green’ R
 b. *protir-k-a* ‘wiping out’ ← *protirati* ‘to wipe clean’
 c. *ruč-k-a* ‘a handle’ ← *ruka* ‘a hand’

Even with null-derived compounds the corresponding covert deverbal suffix (which is what triggers the ablaut in yer-containing stems) is available:

- (17) a. *gon* ‘rut’, GEN.SG: *gona* ← *gnati* ‘to chase’ ([[gŭn-a_{TH}]-t_{INF}]) ‘to chase’ R
 b. *zakat* ‘sundown’ ← *zakatiti* ([[za_{PFX}.kat_V]-i_{TH}]-t_{INF}]-s^{ja}_{REFL}]) ‘to roll behind’
 c. *ispad* ‘disorderly conduct’ ← *izpadati* [[[iz_{PFX}-pad_V]-a_{TH}]-t_{INF}]) ‘to fall out’ SC

Such deverbal compounding always yields masculine nouns of the declension class I (the root *-pis-* is an exception)

The fact that such nominalizations **can include aspectual prefixes** (17b, c) strongly suggests that they are deverbal rather than root-derived

The lack of a theme vowel can therefore be attributed to truncation (phonology) rather than to the lack of the verbal category *per se*

Irrespective of whether such nominalizations involve a root or a categorized stem, this issue is broader than that of compounding

4. DVANDVA COMPOUNDS

Dvandva compounds are semantically intersective and involve two clear nouns characterized by nominal declension:

- (18) a. Kupila sam sodu/soda vodu. SC
 bought.SG be.PRES.1SG soda.ACC/NOM water.ACC
I bought a soda.
 b. s izboj- čitalnej R
 with log cabin.INS reading-room.INS
with a village library & reading room

There is no question about the lexical category of both M_1 and M_2 in dvandva compounds

5. INTERMEDIATE SUMMARY

The [$\pm V$] category of M_1 is indicated by the imperative inflection (for V_1 -compounds) or by the linking vowel (for non- V compounds)

The relevant criterion seems to be conjugation vs. declension (there are no linking vowels for words derived from PPs), so the linking vowel seems to be an inflectional suffix

The information whether a stem conjugates or declines is categorial information, so the roots (or stems) involved in inflected compounds are not acategorial

Furthermore, inflected compounds may be interpreted idiosyncratically ((3b), (4b), (5), (6b), etc.), showing that a categorized M_1 is no impediment for special meaning (contra Steddy).

Maybe inflected compounds do not involve roots at all?

6. UNINFLECTED COMPOUNDS

Both Russian (Shagalova 2003, Yanovich 2006, Kapatsinski and Vakareliyska 2013, among others) and Serbo-Croat (Bidwell 1969, Surdučki 1978, etc.) have nominal compounds with an uninflected M_1 (henceforth *uninflected compounds*):

Germanic borrowings aside, these are a lot more frequent in Serbo-Croat than in Russian

- (19) a. *rak-rana* ‘greatest problem’ ← *rak* ‘cancer’ + *rana* ‘wound’ SC
b. *žar-ptica* ‘Firebird’ ← *žar* ‘ember, heat’ + *ptica* ‘bird’ SC/R
c. *štor ‘jacob’s ladder’ ← *štor* ‘sea storm’ + *trap* ‘ship/plane ladder’ R*

They productively use nominal loanwords as M_1 (these are independently used as nouns) but neither adjectival nor verbal ones

While typically, in both Russian and Serbo-Croat, M_1 belongs to the Class I masculine noun declension, characterized by a zero ending in the nominative, in some cases M_2 is a feminine Class II noun. The nominative *-a* here shows that M_2 is not a bare root (a bare root would be consonant-final):

- (20) *bez data- štampa* R
without date.NOM stamp.GEN (NOM.SG: *data* ‘date’, GEN.SG: *daty*, ROOT: *-dat-*)
without a timestamp

M_1 can be themselves derived, clearly showing non-root status:

- (21) *iz lutka- filma* SC
from doll.NOM movie.GEN (NOM: *lutka* ‘doll’, GEN: *lutke*, ROOT: *-lut-* + *-k-* (dim.))
from a puppet movie

Russian, however, has a subset of uninflected compounds whose M_1 very much looks like a bare and maybe acategorial root:

- (22) a. *social- demokrat*
social democrat
a social democrat
b. *jaxt- klub* (from *jaxta* ‘a yacht’)
yacht club
a sailing club

In such compounds M_1 can be bound stems (*-social-* cannot be used as an independent word, *-jaxt-* can only be used with declension class-II inflection or as part of another word)

- c. *Djurdjevdan* ‘St. George’s day’ ← *Djurdj-ev* ‘George-POSS’ + *dan* ‘day’
- d. *dàngubiti* ‘to waste time’ ← *dan* ‘day’ + *gubiti* ‘lose’
- e. *starmal* ‘young and old’ ← *star* ‘old’ + *mal* ‘small’

A single accent does not indicate the lack of a lexical category for M₁: M₁ in (27a-c) are derived or inflected nouns or adjectives.

7.3. Special cases 3: Russian miscellanea

Among special cases:

(28) *stop-kran* ‘emergency brake’

In principle, *stop* can be an imperative here (this is how it is used)

- (29) a. *cari-puška* ‘Tsar cannon’
- b. *cari-kolokol* ‘Tsar bell’

These are proper names and non-productive

Traditional grammars: *tsar* was originally an expression of high degree, listing as well:

- (30) a. *gore-oxotnik*
 sorrow hunter
 a mess of a hunter
- b. *čudo-derevo*
 miracle tree
 a miraculous tree

Both are productive

The first component does not decline:

- (31) a. *pro cari-pušku*
 about tsar cannon.ACC
 about the Tsar bell
- b. *pro gore-oxotnika*
 about sorrow hunter.ACC
 about this mess of a hunter

Neuter nominative ([o]/[e]) is indistinguishable from the interfix

Attributive:

- (32) *son-trava*
 sleep-grass
 ‘pasqueflower’

Compounding is not needed for special interpretation, cf. *Tasmanian tiger*

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