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Back-formation, forward-formation, and cross-formation in the same construction

The case of Hungarian compound verbs

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Introduction

HCV as an outcome of BF

- (1) utas-tájékoztat-ás → utas-tájékoztat
passenger-inform-NLZR passenger-inform
'passenger information' 'provide passengers with information'
(~ 'to passenger-inform')
- (Hungarian National Corpus, Oravecz et al. 2014)

- Motivation behind BF: morphological reanalysis (cf. Mel'čuk 2001: 532)

[[utas]_Ntájékoztat-ás]_N → [[utas-tájékoztat]_Vás]_N
[[passenger]_Ninform-NLZR]_N [[passenger-inform]_VNLZR]_N

(Ladányi 2017: 646)



HCV and BF at the periphery (cf. Bauer 1983: 232; Lieber 2005: 375; Štekauer 2015)

- On the marginality of HCV and BF
 - BF is „rare” in Hungarian (Béres 2009; Istók 2018; Lengyel 2017)
 - Back-formed HCV is not created in a productive way (matter of diachronic change) (Kiefer 2017: 24; Ladányi 2017: 645–646; cf. Marchand 1969)



Findings

Reconsidering marginality of HCV and BF

- „Such (...) back-formation previously appeared only in one or two words (...), but the phenomenon seems to be spreading recently.” (Ladányi 2017: 647)
- Rareness ↔ Corpus analysis (Palágyi 2023) (785 tokens)
- Matter of diachrony ↔ Large amount of hapaxes (12,6%) with a clear semantic scope
 - Semantic overview: subject ~ Human agent, culturally accessible conceptual frames and scripts (sport, politics, media, science, administration)



Reconsidering back-formation

– Verbs based on compound nouns

- (2) verseny-sport
competition-sport
'competitive sport' → verseny-sport-ol
competition-sport-VLZR
'do competitive sport'
(~ to competitive-sport)
- (3) gén-manipul-áció
gene-manipul-ation
'genetic modification' → gén-manipul-ál
gene-manipul-ate
'modify genetically'
(~ to gene-manipulate)
- *[[verseny]_Nsport-∅]_N
[competition]_Nsport-∅]_N → [verseny-sport]_V∅]_N
[competition sport]_V∅]_N
- *[[gén]_Nmanipul-áció]_N
[[gene]_Nmanipul-ation]_N → [[génmanipul]_Váció]_N
[[gene manipul]_Vate]_N



HCV and other described word-formation rules

- Reversal of existing word-formation rules? (cf. Aronoff 1976)
 - Not only compound nouns with a productive nominalizer suffix can function as input

(4) szak-dolgoz-at → szak-dolgoz(-ik)
major-work-NLZR major-work(-3SG)
'thesis, degree work' 'write thesis, write degree work'

- Reversal of existing word-formation rules? (cf. Aronoff 1976)
 - Productivity of a verbalizer suffix does not per se explain suffixation
- (2)
- | | | |
|---------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| verseny-sport | → | verseny-sport-ol |
| competition-sport | | competition-sport-VLZR |
| ‘competitive sport’ | | ‘do competitive sport’ |
| | | (lit. to competitive-sport) |

But! sport ‘sport’ → sport-ol ‘do sport’

Word-based (see Blevins 2006) account

- The verb associated with the head of the compound noun predicts the form of the verbal head in all cases

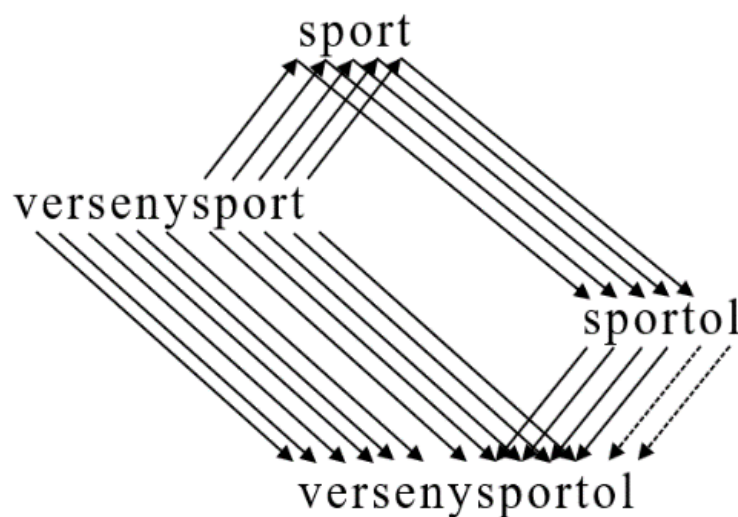


Figure 1 Associative network underlying *verseny-sport-ol*
(competition-sport-VLZR) ‘do competitive sport’



Simple nouns	:	Simple verbs	~	Compound nouns	:	Compound verbs
N	:	N-VLZR	~	N-N	:	(FF) ² N-N-VLZR
sport	:	sport-ol	~	verseny-sport	:	verseny-sport-ol
V-NLZR	:	V	~	N-V-NLZR	:	(BF) N-V
tájékoztat-ás	:	tájékoztat	~	utas-tájékoztat-ás	:	utas-tájékoztat
X-NLZR	:	X-VLZR	~	N-X-NLZR	:	(CF) N-X-VLZR
manipul-áció	:	manipul-ál	~	gén-manipul-áció	:	gén-manipul-ál

Figure 2 Analogical relations motivating the formation of compound verbs

² In Figure 2, “FF”, “BF”, and “CF” are used as abbreviations for “forward-formation”, “back-formation”, and “cross-formation”.

Discussion

The issue of generalizations in derivation

- How can Hungarian compound verbs be treated as instances of the same morphological pattern?
- Morphological construction – learned word-level pairing of meaning and **form** (Booij 2010; Booij and Audring 2017; Jackendoff and Audring 2020)
- How can the schematic **form** of HCV construction be described?



Source-oriented and product-oriented generalizations

- Constructions are based on source-oriented and product-oriented generalizations (Bybee 2001, Kapatsinsky 2013)
- Source-oriented generalizations
 - Scope (word class, phonological structure, lexical group etc.)
 - Mapping
- Product-oriented generalizations
 - Schematic meaning and form
 - „Many, if not all, schemas are product-oriented rather than source-oriented.”
(Bybee 2001: 128)

Derivational constructions varying in dominance of different generalizations

- Dominance of product-oriented schemas
 - Hungarian onomatopoetic verbs
 - Schematic form: [CVC:An]_V
 - *huppan* 'plop', *lobban* 'flicker', *toppan* 'stamp'
 - **hupp-*, *, **lobb-*, **topp*
- Dominance of source-oriented generalizations
 - Hungarian compound verbs
 - Mapping: simple noun : simple verb ~ compound noun : compound verb



Conclusions

- BF in the case of HCV apprehends only the surface of a phenomenon of which the formal realization is of secondary importance
 - The diversity of derivational processes in the case of HCV can be traced back to the diversity of noun↔verb relationships in Hungarian, where the evoked verb can be simple as well as denominal.
- HCV can be described within the associative network of words evoked by the compound noun
 - Morphology: the study of systematic covariation in the form and meaning of words (Haspelmath 2001)
↔ study of the combination of morphemes
- HCV can be characterized by purely source-oriented generalizations that concern the scope and the way of mapping.
 - This conclusion partly confronts the notion according to which “many, if not all, schemas are product-oriented rather than source-oriented” (Bybee 2001: 128).
 - Construction morphology accounts do need source-oriented generalizations

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Thank you for your attention!

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