universität
wien

DIPLOMARBEIT

Titel der Diplomarbeit

Compounds in English and Russian:

A comparative analysis

Verfasserin

Maria Perkles

angestrebter akademischer Grad

Magistra der Philosophie (Mag. phil.)

Wien, Oktober 2008

Acknowledgements

Abstract

The following thesis is about those secondary lexemes in the English and Russian vocabularies that are known as compound nouns. They are combinations of already existing morphemes united into one whole, morphologically complex unit according to the word-formation process compounding. While in English these morphemes are in most cases independently occurring words, the majority of the compound nouns in the Russian language are formed by uniting two stems with the help of a meaningless linking vowel.

Before the categories of compound nouns in the two languages are outlined and compared, it is imperative to ask what exactly the term 'compound' means and how it may be defined. Attention will be given to the basic properties all compounds have in common. More precisely, investigating the internal structure of compounds, the kinds of elements they are composed of, their interpretation, and grammatical behaviour. Subsequently, three major categories of compound nouns will be discussed. They are the so-called endocentric, exocentric, and copula compounds. The former are headed subordinative formations while the latter have coordinative relationship between the constituents, approximately corresponding to the Russian binominals. Exocentric compounds are semantically headless combinations in which neither the determinatum nor the determinant conveys the basic meaning of the whole construction. In the Russian linguistics, these compounds are the parasynthetic formations produced by the complex process compounding-zero derivation.

Additionally, both in English and in Russian, there are secondary lexemes which exhibit some peculiar features. In English these are the neoclassical compounds, the inverted compounds, and those with a linking element and a particle. The compounds in Russian that are characterised by structural oddities are the analytical compounds, the stump compounds, and the compounds with bound elements. On one hand, this diversity of the categories in English and in Russian suggests that compound nouns are in both languages one of the most productive members of the lexicons. This is hardly surprising since compounds are coined for there is some pragmatic need for them.

On the other hand, analysing compound nouns is not always a straightforward task as one might wish it to be. Some examples seem to have no clear status, others pose problems because they are inconsistently treated, and there are even instances for which there is no definite solution.

Table of contents

Transliteration conventions

Cyrillic letter	italic script	graphic
А а	*А а*	A a
Б б	*Б б*	B b
В в	*В в*	V v
Г г	*Г г*	G g
Д д	*Д д*	D d
Е е	*Е е*	E e
Ё ё	*Ё ё*	Ё ё
Ж ж	*Ж ж*	Zh zh
З з	*З з*	Z z
И и	*И и*	I i
Й й	*Й й*	J j
К к	*К к*	K k
Л л	*Л л*	L l
М м	*М м*	M m
Н н	*Н н*	N n
О о	*О о*	O o
П п	*П п*	P p
Р р	*Р р*	R r
С с	*С с*	S s
Т т	*Т т*	T т
У у	*У у*	U u
Ф ф	*Ф ф*	F f
Х х	*Х х*	H h
Ц ц	*Ц ц*	C c
Ч ч	*Ч ч*	Ch ch
Ш ш	*Ш ш*	Sh sh
Щ щ	*Щ щ*	Shch shch
(Ъ) ъ	*Ъ ъ*	ʺ
(Ы) ы	*Ы ы*	Y y
(Ь) ь	*Ь ь*	ʹ
Э э	*Э э*	Ė ė
Ю ю	*Ю ю*	Ju ju
Я я	*Я я*	Ja ja

Notes

(1) The conventions chosen are based on two systems, the International Organisation for Standardisation (ISO) and the British Standard Institution (BSI).

(2) In Russian written texts, *ё* is usually spelled as *е*. Therefore, in the transcription of the Russian quotations only *e* is found. Otherwise, the graphic *ё* is used whenever necessary.

(3) The capital letters of the hard sign *ъ* and the soft sign *ь* are not used. The 'jers' give information about the hard/soft character of the preceding consonant.

(4) *Ы* is not used, i.e. there is no word in Russian starting with it.

1. Introduction

The lexicons of English and Russian comprise simple and complex words. The complex words focused on in this thesis are the compound nouns. They are built from already existing and independently occurring morphemes which are joined together according to given word-formation rules. Usually, the type of elements and the way they are combined provide the basis for a definition and description of compounds while helping to distinguish compounds from the other complex lexemes in the two languages.

Given the fact that in English as well as in Russian, there are several different classes of words, it is expected to find most of them in combination with nouns. Structurally, therefore, there are distinct types of compound nouns. However, for an indepth analysis of compound nouns, one additionally has to take into consideration their semantic and grammatical aspects. They need to be included into any discussion of compound nouns because a construction such as *truck driver* is more than just the concatenation of *truck* and *driver*. Knowing that it is 'someone who drives a truck habitually', i.e. does this as a profession, makes it different from morphologically similar compounds such as *bottle opener* and *night watcher*. That is why, in the English and Russian linguistics compounds are traditionally organised into morphological categories and semantic-syntactic types. Yet, such a division is not an absolute. There are combinations which seem to stand in-between. This is so for as there are borderline cases between compounding and the other word-formation processes, there is also overlapping between the products of these processes.

Classifying a compound into one or the other category depends on how a compound is defined, what is considered as its general characteristics, and how much deviation from this core definition is normally accepted. This is the reason why in this thesis basic theoretical guidelines and typical features of the compounds in English and in Russian are outlined prior to the presentation and comparison of the individual categories in the two languages. In general, they have been grouped into endocentric, exocentric, and copula compounds. Each of these categories displays its subdivisions into morphological patterns and/or semantic-syntactic types. They are illustrated with examples and thoroughly commented on. Afterwards, the categories of compound nouns in English and

Russian are matched with the task of establishing the differences and similarities between them.

2. Compounds in English

2.1. What is a compound?

2.1.1. Compound as a word-formation

Any theoretical comparison between the compounds in English and Russian should not overlook the question of what exactly is going to be analysed. Therefore, before turning to the main part of this thesis, i.e. the state of the art presentation of the compounds in the two languages, it is necessary to look at the category 'compound', try to define it, and present its basic properties.

One way of answering the question of what a compound in English is, is to look at its place in language, i.e. where it stands in grammar and, more precisely, under which domain it falls. A compound belongs to those words in the vocabulary of the English language which are qualified as 'complex lexemes'. They in turn are products of that branch of morphology known as 'derivational morphology' or more simply as 'word-formation'.[1] Apart from denoting the linguistic disciple that centres on words, the term 'word-formation' means an actual complex lexical item, i.e. a word or a lexeme, available in the language and produced by word-formation. Given that a compound is a complex lexeme and a complex lexeme is a word-formation, then we can call a compound a word-formation. That is why, compounds and word-formations share one basic feature, namely that they are

> fester Bestandteil des Wortschatzes. Dadurch erhalten sie Inventarcharakter, so daß sie bei ihrer Verwendung nicht notwendigerweise jedesmal neu gebildet werden müssen, sondern sozusagen "ready-made" aus dem Wortschatz abgerufen werden können. (Kastovsky 1982: 155)

Additionally, 'word-formation' is used to refer to the process of building complex lexemes, i.e. the different possibilities that exist in English for the production of (new) words. Hence, another way to examine the nature of a compound is to look at its formation. The process that governs the making of a compound is 'compounding' and a compound is qualified as the product of this process. Basically, this means that a particular word-formation process results in the production of a specific kind of words. An understanding of this process is one

---

[1] For a more detailed discussion of this subject see Matthews (1974: 37-57). For the synonymous use of the two terms cf. Kastovsky (2000: 111).

way of studying the types of words in a language. Put differently, if we know how compounding works, we are able to say what a compound is, recognise it in a given context or speech situation, or even use the rules for its production as a model for building a new one. Moreover, provided the fact that compounds are not the only type of complex lexemes in English, knowledge of how they are made helps to distinguish them from other word-formations.

2.1.2. Compound as a product of compounding

As was stated in the previous section, the word-formation process that accounts for the building of compounds is known as compounding. It "is one of the major processes in language for the formation of new words" (Olsen 2000a: 897) but by no means the only one. Affixation, which comprises prefixation and suffixation, is the other main word-formation process.

The morphological description of any word-formation process is based on formal criteria. On one hand, word-formation produces (new) complex lexemes which are "words formed as grammatical syntagmas, i.e. combinations of full linguistic signs" (Marchand 1969: 2). In other words, they are made up of morphemes, the smallest meaningful linguistic units and thus the smallest linguistic signs. In contrast to simple, primary lexemes which are arbitrary and have to be learned in isolation, syntagmas are relatively motivated.[2] They have an internal structure and can be related to other lexemes. On the other hand, the various possibilities for combining these lexical morphemes show different types of word-formation processes which in turn produce different kinds of complex lexemes, viz.: [3]

(1)   W O R D – F O R M A T I O N
                          - complex lexemes (syntagmas) -

        (of lexemes)   (of Base with affixes)
        compounding   affixation

        tea pot   prefixation   suffixation
        baby carriage   ex-husband   attach/ment
        tennis player   co-producer   spy/Ø
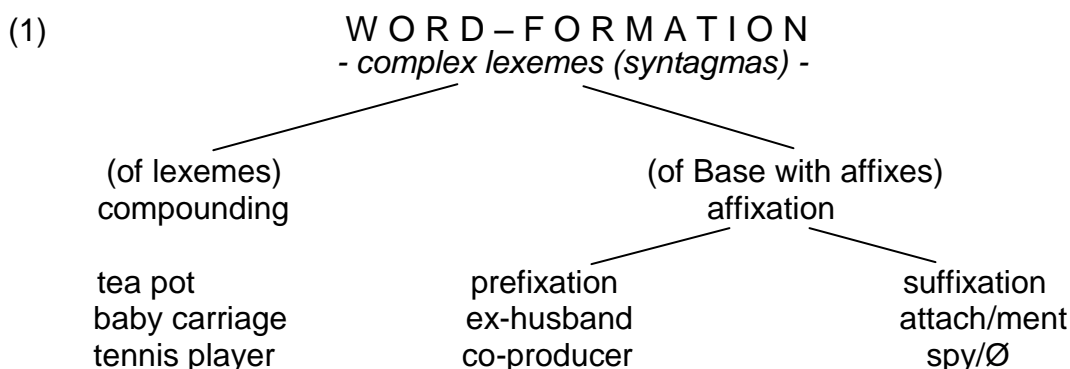
Figure 1: Compounding within word-formation

---

[2] This argument is supported by Kastovsky. For further information see Kastovsky (1992: 290-291).
[3] The core of the figure is taken from Lipka (1990: 80), the examples are added by myself.

In order to establish how a given complex lexeme is produced by a particular word-formation process we describe the structure of the syntagma in question. As shown in the figure above, there are several possibilities. Firstly, a syntagma can be a combination of two 'free morphemes', i.e. two independent lexemes, as in *tea pot* (*tea+pot*), *baby carriage* (*baby+carriage*), and *tennis player* (*tennis+ player*).[4] The latter differs from the former two because its second lexeme, viz. the word *player*, is itself a complex item. It consists of the verb *play* and the 'bound morpheme' *–er*.[5] Although in *tea pot* and *baby carriage* two morphemes are joined together, and *tennis player* is made up of three morphemes, they all are examples of syntagmas consisting of two lexemes. In this case, the three complex lexemes are referred to as compounds because they are built by the process of compounding. And secondly, there are syntagmas which combine a 'base' with a bound morpheme as in *ex-husband* (*ex+husband*), *co-producer (co+producer)*, *attachment* (*attach+ment*), and *spy* (*spy* + Ø).[6] According to the position of this bound morpheme, i.e. the affix, it is usually distinguished between prefixed syntagmas, e.g. *ex/husband* and *co/producer*, in which the affixes are before the base, and suffixed formations, e.g. *attach/ment*, and *spy/Ø* , where the suffix is put after the base. The respective word-formation processes are prefixation and suffixation. What is important to note for the latter is the fact that in suffixation a suffix needs not to be always overtly expressed, i.e. it may be zero, as in the case of *spy*. Nevertheless, it has a grammatical function and a particular meaning. It converts the verb *spy* into a noun with the meaning 'someone who spies' without formal changes. Therefore, this process is sometimes called 'derivation by a zero morpheme' or 'conversion'.[7] Thus, it may be seen as a subcategory of suffixation.

Based on the comparisons illustrated in (1), it may be concluded that when we mention derivatives, i.e. prefixed or suffixed formations and zero derivatives, we have a syntagma built of one lexeme, i.e. a base, plus a bound morpheme including the zero, whereas a compound results from the process of "putting two words together to form a third" (Bauer 1983: 11). This is, however, a very loose

---

[4] Cf. Matthews' use of the term 'free morpheme' in Matthews (1974: 160).
[5] Cf. Matthews' use of the term 'bound morpheme' in Matthews (1974: 160).
[6] Cf. Bauer's definition of the term 'base' in Bauer (2004: 21).
[7] For a more detailed discussion of this subject cf. Marchand (1969: 360-361), Bauer (1983: 32-33), Lipka (1990: 84-86), Stein (1977: 227-234) and Plag (2003: 107-114).

definition of a compound and, unfortunately, it is not always easy to distinguish a compound from an affixed formation. Have a look at the next examples:

 (2)   a. profit/wise, clock/wise
       b. man/like, child/like
       c. war/monger, cheese/burger

Can a speaker say with certainty that all of the lexemes in (2) are combinations of two free lexical items? Firstly, the existence of *profit*, *clock*, *man* and *child* as words is unquestionable. It is the status of *wise* and *like* in (2a+b) that is not so clear. *Wise*, for example, can occur independently in an utterance such as *a wise plan*. Nevertheless, *wise* in *a wise plan* is not identical with *wise* in *profit-wise*. The latter means 'with regard to profit' or 'as far as profits are concerned' whereas the former can be substituted with 'clever'. There is indeed a free form *wise* with the meaning 'manner, fashion or respect' but one that is "being used less and less as an independent word" (Marchand 1969: 358). Nowadays, it is only present in phases such as *in any wise*, *in no wise*, or *in gentle wise*. Secondly, the behaviour of *like* in the formations in (2b) is similar to that of *wise*. Again, it does not function as an independent lexeme and yet it is used as a word in the phrases *like a man* or *like a child* with the meaning 'resembling, having the properties of'. The combinations *manlike* and *childlike* can be prefixed by *–un* while this is not possible for other compound adjectives. Once aware of these properties, it seems that *wise* and *like* behave more as affixes than as independent words. In fact, Marchand (1969: 356) classifies them as 'semi-suffixes' because they "stand midway between full-words and suffixes". It is therefore appropriate to say that a compound can occasionally be composed of a word and some affix-like element. It is even possible to encounter combinations of just two affixes, i.e. without any free lexical item, such as *bio/logy* or *grapho/logy*, and yet call them compounds. [8]

And finally, the last two compounds in (2c) are also characterised by some structural oddities. They concern the elements *burger* and *monger*. Nowadays, the latter does not occur as an individual lexical item and "has been used for the coining of disparaging words only" (Marchand 1969: 357). In spite of that, to ignore it would miss the task of explaining how word-formation deals with

---

[8] For a description of these compounds cf. 3.1.1.5.4. of this thesis.

lexemes that have *monger* as constituent, no matter that their number is relatively small. Admittedly, there are syntagmas such as *fashionmonger*, *warmonger* or *money-monger* with the meaning 'someone who promotes, trades, or deals with fashion, war, and money' respectively. Thus, since *monger* appears with this connotation mainly in combinations, it resembles *wise* and *like* in behaviour and belongs therefore to the group of semi-suffixes. In contrast, the element *burger* is frequently found in many other complex words, e.g. *beefburger*, *chickenburger*, *fishburger*, etc. They can be treated as analogical formations modelled after the type *hamburger*.[9] They might have been encouraged by the feeling that *hamburger* is a compound with *ham* as first element. This is scarcely appropriate because the meat in *hamburger*, originally a kind of meat from Hamburg, is beef. "What has taken place is a shortening of the morpheme *hamburger* into a fore-clipped [burger]" (Marchand 1969: 213). Then, *cheeseburger*, together with the other formations containing *burger*, is an example of the so-called 'clipped compounds'.[10] Consequently, it can be concluded that a compound can be the union of a word and an abbreviation.

To describe a compound more precisely, there are additional conditions that should be mentioned. Again, arising from the general statement that a compound

> is formed by combining two bases, which may be words in their own right, to form a new lexical item. (Katamba 2005: 66)

To begin with, it may be the case that a compound consists of two words which are simple elements as, for instance, *steam+boat*, *black+board*, *jet+leg*, *high + school*, etc. or it may combine two words one of which is complex, e.g. *truck + driver* (*V+er*), *writing* (*V+ing*) + *table*, etc. A compound may even unite two complex words as in *racehorse* (*race+horse*) + *owner* (*V+er*). Additionally, the building items of a compound are not randomly combined so that what looks as a compound at first glance can in fact include other types of word-formations, i.e. affixed syntagmas, as the next examples show:

---

[9] Cf. Plag (2003: 37-38) for the treatment of *cheeseburger* as a result of the process called 'analogy'.
[10] Cf. 3.2.2. of this thesis for more information about this compound category.

(3)   a. letter writer: write + er (V+suffix) > letter + writer (N+N)

      b. washing machine: wash + ing (V+suffix) > washing + machine (N+N)

      c. co-producer contract: produce + er (V+suffix) > co + producer (prefix+N)
                                > co-producer + contract (N+N)

The complex lexeme *letter writer* in (3a) cannot be regarded just as a simple combination of the morphemes *letter + writ + er* but rather its formation follows several steps. As a starting point, one has the verb *write* as base. Then, from it the noun *writer* is derived by the addition of the suffix *–er*. And finally, by combining *writer* with the word *letter* one produces *letter writer*. Analogically, the making of *washing machine* in (3b) above does not include only the process of compounding. First, the nominalisation *washing* is formed by addition of the suffix *–ing* to the verb *wash*.[11] And secondly, the simple lexical item *machine* is added to *washing* so that the result is 'a machine with which one washes'. And in (3c) suffixation, e.g. the attachment of *–er* to the verb *produce*, and prefixation, e.g. the addition of *co–* to the agent noun *producer*, take place before the lexemes *co-producer* and *contract* are joined together.

Finally, there are instances in which the combination of two words is even seen as a product of compounding but rather as a result of another word-formation process. See, for instance, the next formations:

(4)   a. blood sucker: suck + er (V+er) > blood + sucker (N+N)

      b. flip-flopper: flip + flop (V+V)   > flip-flop + er (compound + er)

It looks as though *blood sucker* and *flip-flopper* are parallel constructions. Nevertheless, the two syntagmas are products of two distinct word-formation processes. This occurs because the individual elements, i.e. the three morphemes in (4a) and (4b), are combined in different ways. In turn, particular order of combination is responsible for a particular meaning. In *blood sucker* it is the base *to suck* to which the *–er* is added. Only after the suffixation is formed,

---

[11] Note Bauer's definition of the term 'nominalisation' in Bauer (2004: 77-78).

the word *blood* is added to it. This yields the compound *blood sucker* which means 'someone or something that sucks blood'. In contrast, in *flip-flopper* it is the onomatopoetic compound *flip-flop* that acts as an input to the addition of the suffix *–er*.[12] It follows then that *flip-flopper* is not a compound but an affixed syntagma. It denotes a person who flip-flops. To be more precise, *flip-flopper* is someone who (metaphorically) behaves like a flip-flop, i.e. one who changes his/her decision. It is mostly used in American politics and expresses a sudden U-turn of policy or opinion by a public official. Apparently, the types of elements in a syntagma as well as the order of their combination determine what a compound is.

2.2. Basic properties

2.2.1. Morphological properties

In general, a compound is a complex formation built according to the rules described in the previous chapter. As every complex lexeme, a compound is a combination of "form, meaning, and grammatical structure" (Marchand 1969: 31). Consequently, what exactly is understood by the term 'compound' is best explained by looking at its morphological, semantic and grammatical properties. They all are complementary and necessary in a compound analysis. [13] They are, however, not clearly separable but interact in such a way that it is frequently difficult to say whether one rather than the other is at issue. And eventually, there are instances in which, in order to describe the meaning of a compound, the properties are accompanied by a reference to pragmatic factors, i.e. non-linguistic information.

Until now a compound has been defined as the result of uniting two words together into a new one. Attention has been drawn to the fact that these two words may themselves be composed of several morphemes. The hierarchical relationship between the smallest elements within a compound is exactly what the immediate constituents (ICs) analysis is concerned with. Furthermore, it establishes the two essential parts of a compound, regardless of the number of the morphemes it is built of. A compound, as any other word-formation, is

---

[12] For a detailed account of onomatopoetic compounds cf. section 3.2.3. of this thesis.
[13] For Kastovsky, Hans Marchand's grammatical description is in fact syntactic one. For more information cf. Kastovsky (1992: 288).

formally analysable as "consisting of a determinant and a determinatum" (Marchand 1974d: 171), viz.:

(5)   dt   dm
    a.   space / ship
    b.   film / direct-or
    c.   basket-ball / play-er
    d.   re-writ-ing / technique
    e.   car boot / sale
    f.   holi-day car / sight-see-ing trip

The formation *spaceship* has a simple determinatum, i.e. primary lexeme, and the same applies to the combination in (5d). The second constituents in (5b+c) are suffixed derivatives so that the two determinata are complex. It is also possible for a compound to have a complex determinant as can be seen from (5c) and (5d) where, respectively, the formation *basketball* comprises two words and *rewriting* consists of three morphemes. On a morphological level, the determinatum is the dominant element simply because it establishes the word-class of the combination in question. For example, *spaceship* is a compound noun because the determinatum *ship* is a noun. This applies to all the formations in (5). Additionally, it is the determinatum that reflects the way how a compound is inflected. For example, the form *basketball players* must be used to show the plural form of the compound in (5c).[14]

The rule that any compound breaks down into two constituents also applies for the combination in (5e). It consists of three independent words and has a compound determinant. The question arises then whether the determinatum in a compound can itself be a compound. According to Marchand (1974a: 199-200), compounds in English

> enthalten nicht mehr als drei volle Wortkomponente [… und] nur das terminirende Glied zweikomponentig sein kann. Eine Verbindung mit zweigliedrigem Determinatum […] wird in der Regel als syntaktische Gruppe bezeichnet.

However, it has been suggested that a construction such as *holiday car sightseeing trip* can indeed be called compound with a compounded determinant as well as a compounded determinatum. [15] This view has to do with the

---

[14] Compounds which have plural marker on the determinant are discussed in 3.1.1.5.2.
[15] Cf. Carstairs-McCarthy (2002: 76-77).

identification of a compound as one whole, morphologically complex unit. The fact that the immediate constituents of a compound are combined into a larger unit is not indicated by spelling. As Bauer (2003: 134) points out, the compound *girlfriend* can be found written in three different ways, i.e. as one word, with a hyphen between the elements, e.g. *girl-friend*, or as two words, e.g. *girl friend*, depending on the kind of dictionary one looks it up into. All three spelling variations are acceptable and perfectly correct in English. It seems that choosing one of them is not a matter of sticking to certain rules but rather a matter of personal and free choice. Therefore, "the orthographic treatment of compounds is by no means consistent" (Jackson 2000: 80) and cannot be a reliable factor for the identification of a compound. It has been proposed that

> [f]or a combination to be a compound one condition has to be fulfilled: the compound must be morphologically isolated from a parallel syntactic group. (Marchand 1969: 21-22)

What exactly is meant by morphological isolation is the fact that compounds usually tend to be stressed differently from similar constructions, i.e. combinations of words that are phrases, as the following examples show:

(6)   compounds   ⟷   phrases
 a. bláckbòrd 'a board to write on'   bláck bóard 'board that is black'
 b. Énglish tèacher 'teacher of English'   Énglish téacher 'teacher who is English'
 c. gréenhòuse 'house for growing plants' gréen hóuse 'house that is green'
 d. háirnèt 'net for covering hair'   háir nét 'net made of hair'
 e. fát prodùcer 'one producing fat'   fát prodúcer 'producer who is fat'

The compounds under (6a-e) on the left are characterised by having main stress on the first constituent and middle stress on their second member. The pattern ´` is termed 'forestress' or sometimes referred to as 'unity stress' or simply 'compound stress'. In contrast, phrases as those on the right have 'level stress', i.e. two primary stresses. Although each contrasted pair in (6) is a combination of fully identical elements, e.g. *hairnet* and *hair net* of the two nouns *hair* and *net*, *blackboard* and *black board* of the adjective *black* and the noun *board*, etc., each member on the left differs in meaning from the one on the right. While *greenhouse* refers to a specific house designed for growing plants, *green house* is any house that is (painted) green. Thus, particular accent is on one hand, responsible for the recognition of a compound, and on the other hand, the only

morphophonemic difference between compounds and similar syntactic structures, i.e. minimal pairs such as those given above.

Besides, it is chiefly the accentuation of *holiday car / sightseeing trip* that makes it a compound. In combinations with two compounds as constituents, the primary stress is not on the compounded determinant but on the determinatum. Since it is a compound itself, the usual stress on the first constituent is shifted to the left member of the determinatum. Therefore, the stress in *holiday car sightseeing trip* is placed on the word *sight*. [16] Nevertheless, there are numerous exceptions and borderline cases to the rule that a compound typically exhibits a left-hand stress. Some of these are formations such as *ápple càke*, *íce crèam* or *Mádison Strèet* versus the syntactic constructions *ápple píe*, *íce créam*, and *Mádison Ávenue*. In these instances, prominence is not an indication of a different semantic concept. *Ápple cáke* and *ápple pìe* are two cakes made of apples, an *íce crèam* refers to the same object of reality as *íce créam*, and both *Mádison Strèet* and *Mádison Ávenue* designate thoroughfare names after an inventor or discoverer. That is why, either an additional criteria is proposed to separate compounds from syntactic phrases or it is claimed that

> we do not appear to have sufficient reason to divide the class of noun + noun sequences into two separate classes whose behaviour can be distinguished in a consistent manner. (Bauer 1998b: 67)[17]

To date, there is no definite solution regarding this topic and hence a particular position is not taken in this thesis. The reason for this is that a preference for the one or the other will diminish the number of the compounds compared and will exclude those compounds that are elsewhere treated as such or, alternatively, may include those seen by some as syntactic structures. However, it is assumed that in the majority of compounds "[t]he determinant has the heavy, the determinatum the middle stress" (Marchand 1969: 28). All the compounds that do not display this stress pattern are included into the categories as exceptions with some systematic features.

In addition to the grammatical behaviour of compounds in English, it is important to stress that they are "morphologic[al] units which cannot be split up" (Marchand 1969: 26). In essence, what this means is that their immediate constituents

---

[16] Cf. Plag (2003: 140-141) for a stress assignment algorithm in such compounds.
[17] Cf. Marchand (1969: 20-23) and Ladd (1984: 259-265) for some additional criteria.

cannot be interrupted by external elements and are not modified independently. For instance, a *black motor boat* is understood as 'black boat with a motor' and not as a 'boat with black motor'. If the adjective *black* is inserted between the two nouns of *motorboat* the construction is ungrammatical. Yet, exceptions such as *public lending right* in which *public* refers to the first constituent only, are possible.[18]

2.2.2. Semantic-syntactic properties

The fact that a compound has two immediate constituents, namely the determinant and the determinatum, also represents a general level for the description of its meaning. It is important because

> [a]n analysis of a compound by grammatical criteria is useful, but it is by no means all that there is to it […] At the same time, a very important semantic element is present in compounds, that of destination, purpose. A *whetstone* is 'a stone meant, intended for the action of whetting (knives)'. This information cannot be left out when analysing the compound. (Marchand 1974c: 299)

From a semantic viewpoint, the determinatum again plays a more important part in a compound simply because it determines the lexical class of the whole compound. For instance, *whetstone* represents a kind of stone. However, the constituent undergoes a limitation as it is restricted by the determinant. Thus, taking some of the examples in (6), one can say that a *bláckbòrd* is not any kind of board but a board on which one writes. Similarly, an *Énglish tèacher* is basically a teacher but only of English and not one of, for example, French, chemistry, or music. A *háirnèt* is still a net though in this case one that covers hair and a *fát prodùcer* produces exclusively fat. Alternatively, it can be said that the interpretation of a compound relies on its morphological structure. It is the first constituent that somehow modifies the basic one. For this reason, the fixed sequence determinant-determinatum is also known as 'modifier-head'. In a way, in compounds the determinatum represents the known element whereas the determinant adds new pieces of information. This

> arises from the natural human tendency to see a thing identical with another one already existing and at the same time different from it. (Marchand 1969: 11)

---

[18] Cf. Bauer (1998b: 73-74) for more information about this exception.

Within this context, the meaning of a compound can be described on the basis of the sense relations that hold between it and other lexemes in the vocabulary of a language. According to Kastovsky (1988: 197), word-formation syntagmas "partake in the same sense relations characteri[s]ing simplex dictionary". One such relation is hyponymy.[19] It can be illustrated with compounds such as *steamship*, *sailing ship*, and *spaceship*. In all three of them, the determinatum stands for the already known phenomenon while the determinant represents its semantic specification. Therefore, these compounds function as subordinate terms of the more general one, i.e. the archilexeme SHIP. Put differently, a compound is generally a hyponym of its head. Consequently, in most cases the meaning of a compound is inferred from the meaning of its immediate constituents and from the way they are combined. Yet, it is not appropriate to say that what a compound designates is equal to the sum of the meanings of the individual components. Sometimes the joining of two words into a compound is characterised by additional semantic information, best illustrated with the following formations:

(7) a. [+PROFESIONAL] : break dancer, shopkeeper
    b. [+HABITUAL]   : crybaby, rattlesnake, sleepwalker

The compounds *break dancer* and *shopkeeper* are used as names for someone who is characterised by performing a particular activity professionally. More precisely, these are formations that do not just refer to a keeper of a shop and to someone who dances a special type of dance. In situations where a compound designates profession, it carries in its meaning the feature [+PROFESIONAL]. Similarly, in addition to the meanings of *cry* and *baby*, *rattle* and *snake*, and *sleep* and *walker*, the semantic feature [+HABITUAL] is added to the compounds in (7b). All the combinations in (7) are therefore accepted with slight semantic changes, i.e. with only one additional semantic specification, and are exemples of what Kastovsky (1982: 196) classifies as 'systematic lexicalisation'.[20]

And occasionally, there are compounds which enter the vocabulary of English with a meaning which cannot be inferred from the meaning of the elements as the next examples show:

---

[19] For a more detailed account on hyponymy cf. Lyons (1977: 291-295).
[20] For the various types of semantic specification cf. Lipka (1977: 155-162).

(8) a. black + market ≠ 'a market which is black' but 'any system in which goods or currencies are sold and bought illegally' (Collins English Dictionary, s.v. *black market*);

b. holi + day ≠ 'a day which is holy' but 'a day on which work is suspended by law or custom' (Collins English Dictionary, s.v. *holiday*)

Unfortunately, a *black market* is not 'a market which is black' and *holiday* is not 'a day which is holy', although they both are analysable as consisting of *black + market* and *holy+day*. These lexemes have gone through the process of 'lexicalisation' and become idioms. They are accepted

> with semantic and/or formal properties which are not completely derivable from either the constituents or the word-formation pattern. (Lipka 1990: 95)

In contrast to transparent formations as, for example, *baby girl* or *flat screen*, the formations *black market* and *holiday* have to be provided with specific lexical entry, i.e. they have to be listed in a dictionary of the English language. Bauer (1983: 19) considers such complex lexemes to be 'opaque' constructions because the knowledge of the immediate constituents is not sufficient for a speaker to understand the meaning of the combinations. However, it is important to point out the fact that

> there is no neat, clear-cut dividing line between opaque […] and transparent […] lexical items; rather, there are transitions in both directions […]. This then results in a […] cline of analysability / motivation rather than an all-or-none dichotomy. (Kastovsky 1988: 194)

In this respect, the complex composite *black market* can be regarded at least as a semi-transparent formation. One reason is that the second constituent, *black*, has lost its meaning as a colour term but on the basis of its interpretation as 'without light' it has acquired the meaning 'illegal'.[21] Moreover, in English there is the word-formation *grey market* which means 'the secret but not illegal sale of goods'.[22] Again, *grey* is not attached to *market* with the meaning 'colour between black and white' but rather denotes 'something between legal and illegal', i.e. neutral but dull. Exactly this meaning of *grey* as well as the meaning of *black* make the complex lexemes *grey market* and *black market* partly motivated.

---

[21] For *black* see Collins English Dictionary (Sinclair 1994), s.v. *black*.
[22] For *grey market* see Collins English Dictionary (Sinclair 1994), s.v. *grey market*.

Closely connected with this is perhaps the fact that *black* and *grey* are not treated as part of the chromatic basic colour terms. They rather constitute, together with *white*, a scale of their own, i.e. 'black : grey : white', which is based on the notion of 'absence or presence of light'.[23]

After the discussion of the complex lexical items in (7+8), the concluding remark can be made that

> [a] compound is made by putting two or more words together to form a new word with a meaning in some way different, if only in being more specific, from that of its elements. (Pyles & Algeo 1982: 270)

As far as the semantics of a compound is concerned, it is necessary to draw attention to the fact that it should be accompanied by a description of the syntactic relations that can exist between the immediate constituents of a compound. The reason for this is presented with formations such as these below:

(9) N + (V-er)   dt   dm
  a. poem+   writ-er = poem/writer   'person who Vs Ns': object /person
  b. tape +record-er = tape/recorder   'instrument which Vs on Ns':
              place/instrument

The compounds *poem writer* and *tape recorder* have identical morphological structure, i.e. they both consist of a simple noun as determinant and a derivative as determinatum. Yet, the two mean different things. *Poem writer* is 'someone (dm) who writes poems (dt)', i.e. does this habitually, whereas *tape recorder* does not name a person by a profession but rather designates 'something (dm) for recording on tapes (dt)'. It is actually the semantic-syntactic behaviour of the suffix *–er* that establishes the reading of the determinatum. In (9a) it produces an agent noun while in (9b) it creates an instrument. Therefore, in *poem writer* the relationship between the dt-dm is that of object and person whereas in *tape recorder* it is one of place and instrument. The various possible syntactic relations between the elements of a compound are established according to the following principle:

---

[23] For a more detailed discussion cf. Lyons (1977: 287-290).

(10) a.   poem/writ-er

'someone who writes poems'

        S   P   O
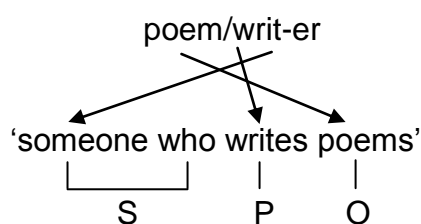
b. 'someone who (S) writes (P) poems (O)' = poem writer : O-P-S

The meaning of the compound *poem writer* is explained with the help of the paraphrase 'someone who writes poems'. Then additional functions are given to the elements of the paraphrase similar to those "holding at sentence level" (Kastovsky 1989: 177). In other words, the morphemes a compound consists of may have the grammatical functions of Subject (=S), Predicate (=P), Object (=O), etc. As it can be seen from (10b), the order of the syntactic relation in *poem writer* is exactly the opposite of the one in the paraphrase, i.e. it is "a mirror image of the order at sentence level" (Kastovsky 1989: 177). Similarly, on the basis of the paraphrase of *tape recorder* one achieves the relation AdP-P-AdI. From the discussion of (9) it becomes obvious that one formal structure of a compound, e.g. N+(V-er), may represent several different syntactic relations, e.g. O-P-S or AdP-P-AdI. Therefore, the notions 'word-formation pattern' and 'word-formation type' are introduced. The former refers to one morphological possibility for the forming of compounds, e.g. N+(V-er), whereas the latter is a particular semantic-syntactic relation, e.g. O-P-S, within one formal structure.

2.3. Classification and description

Until now, the main focus of this thesis has been the identification, definition, and description of compounds on the basis of their structure, i.e. the syntagmatic order and type of the immediate constituents, and on the basis of their general semantic-syntactic properties. Yet, before turning to those compounds in English that are to be compared with the ones existing in Russian, it is necessary to make clear what kind of compounds are going to be analysed. This question arises from the statement that

> [a] compound may be used in any grammatical function: as noun (*wishbone*), pronoun (*anyone*), adjective (*foolproof*), adverb (*overhead*), verb (*gainsay*), conjugation (*whenever*), or preposition (*without*). (Pyles & Algeo 1982: 273)

The compounds compared in this study are compound nouns, i.e. compounds exemplified by the formation *wishbone* in the quotation above. They have been chosen because their group is the biggest and the most interesting one in the two languages. It is not surprising then that, as far as English is concerned, it is even claimed that "[i]t is with nouns that compounding really comes into its own as a word forming process" (Carstairs-MacCarthy 2002: 61). Interesting enough is the fact that the term 'compound noun' is itself a compound. Following the lines of what has been said in the previous sections, it can be defined as

> a lexical unit made up of two or more elements, each of which can function as a lexeme independent of the other(s) in other contexts, and which shows some phonological and/or grammatical isolation from normal syntactic usage. (Bauer 2001b: 695)

To complete the definition, it should also be mentioned that a compound noun is a complex formation which obligatory has a noun as second constituent. This is exactly what distinguishes compound nouns from all the other compounds in English, i.e. from compound verbs, adjectives, etc. More precisely, it is the second element that determines, among other things, the membership of a compound to a particular grammatical class. Consequently, compounding is generally subdivided into categories according to the word-class of the resulting combination. After it has been established to which grammatical class a compound belongs to, the next step in its classification involves the examination of the morphological structure of the immediate constituents. Then, according to the word-class of the determinant different subgroups are recognised. The basic patterns of compound nouns are:[24]

(11) a. V + N : draw + bridge, danc-ing + girl, pick + pocket;
     b. N + N : bird + brain, door + keep-er, brick + lay-ing;
     c. Adj + N : green + house, pale+face, industri-al + work-er;
     d. P + N : after + birth, in + door, by + stand-er, over + sight;

As it can be seen from (11), compound nouns can have as determinant a member of each major word-class in English, i.e. a verb, a noun, an adjective, and a particle. Keeping in mind that each immediate constituent may itself be complex, a further subdivision can be made. It has the aim to establish the type of morphemes constituting the determinant and the determinatum. For example,

---

[24] This is just a basic outline of the patterns. Additional structural subdivisions are possible. They are mentioned in the next chapter.

the pattern N+N includes those compound nouns that are built of two simple nouns, e.g. *birdbrain*, of a simple noun and a derivative (V-er), e.g. *door* keeper, or of a substantive and suffixation (V-ing), e.g. *brick laying*. Another grouping of compound nouns is possible for each formal pattern in (11) may represent several different semantic-syntactic relations, viz.:

(12)   V + N
    a. rattle + snake   'snake (S) which rattles (P)'   : P-S
    b. draw + bridge   'bridge (O) which one can draw (P)'   : P-O
    c. bake + house   'house (AdP) in which one can bake (P)'   : P-AdP
    d. wash + day   'day (AdT) on which one can wash (P)'   : P-AdT
    e. whet + stone   'stone (AdI) with which one can whet (P)' : P-AdI

The formal structure V+N represents the P-S relation as in *rattlesnake*, P-O as in *drawbridge* or P-Ad in (12c-e). Within the adverbial function, one distinguishes between that of place, e.g. *bake house*, time, e.g. *washday*, and instrument, e.g. *whetstone*.[25] Similarly, within the pattern N+N one recognises O-S in *birdbrain*, 'someone who (S) has a birdbrain (O), O-P-S in *door keeper*, and the relation O-P-Pn in *brick laying*. *Pn* stands for 'predication-type' of reference and is thus called by Marchand (1969: 35) because such compounds represent nominalisations which start from the predicate. They are considered as a subtype of the category of action nouns denoting 'fact', 'state', or 'act'.

On the basis that a compound can be explained with the help of an underlying paraphrase and provided that the determinatum of a compound can have different syntactic functions in this paraphrase, Marchand (1969: 32) classifies word-formations according to "these selection patterns of information [called] 'type of reference' ". They are based on the observation that the determinatum of a complex lexeme always corresponds to that constituent of the paraphrase which is presupposed as known information. In compound nouns the determinatum can have the syntactic function of subject, predicate, and object or may represent notions such as 'fact', 'state' or 'fact':

---

[25] More information about the adverbial-type of compounds is found in Marchand (1969: 37-38).

(13) a. subject-type　　　: chimney sweep/Ø (O-P-S), pick pocket/Ø (P-O-S),
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　rope danc/er (Ad-P-S);
　　　b. object-type　　　 : draw/bridge (P-dO), government employ/ee (O-P-S);
　　　c. adverbial-type　　: bake/house (P-AdP), dish wash/er (O-P-AdI),
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　closing/time (P-AdT), tape record/er (AdP-P-AdI);
　　　d. predication-type : fly-fish/ing (O-P-Pn), sunrise/Ø (S-P-Pn);

There are different subtypes according to the form of the determinatum. It may be a suffix, e.g. *–er* as in *rope dancer*, *–ee* as in *government employee*, a zero morpheme as in *sunrise*, or a word as, for example, in *drawbridge* or *bake house*. The determinatum in subject-types is not necessarily the suffix *–er*, as can be seen from *chimney sweep/Ø* and *pick pocket/Ø*. Nevertheless, this zero morpheme means 'someone who' sweeps chimneys or picks pockets respectively. It determines the semantic-syntactic behaviour of the two compounds and can be compared with the function of *–er* in *rope dancer*.[26] Together with *dishwasher* and *tape recorder*, the former three formations are compounds on a morphological level but derivatives at the level of the underlying paraphrase.[27]

The various types of reference help a speaker to explain the meaning of a word-formation because without these compounds such as *dishwasher* or *tape recorder* can be interpreted as belonging to the subject-type on the basis of their similarity to *rope dancer*. Nevertheless, they are classified as belonging to two different types of reference. The reason for the distinction is obviously a purely syntactic one. However, the difference, for example, between the subject-type and the adverbial-type in the nominalisation *dishwasher* also touches semantic questions. In one case we have an agent, in the other an instrument expressed by an adverbial complement. Yet, the relation between the verb *wash* and an agent or an instrument is clearly of a different nature. The possible relations just mentioned are labelled by Fillmore (1968: 21) 'deep-structure cases'.[28] If notions like agent, patient, instrument or goal are added to the syntactic categories, one achieves a finer and more appropriate differentiation of the types of reference. Thus, the referent in *rope dancer* is an agent, in *dishwasher* it is the instrument

---

[26] Turn to (9) for additional information about the function of the suffix *–er*.

[27] This category of compounds is more thoroughly commented on in chapter 3.1.1.2.

[28] Cf. Marchand's (1969: 55) use the term 'deep structure'. These relations are also known as 'thematic relations' or 'theta-roles'. For more information cf. Katamba (1993: 256-262) and Kastovsky (1995: 163-166).

that does whatever is expressed by the verb, and in *brick laying* the noun represents the patient.

In addition to Marchand's classification of syntagmas into types of reference, compounds are generally classified according to their semantic head, i.e. whether they have any at all, whether it appears on the left or right of the compound, and what kind of morphemes represent it morphologically. This results then in two groups of compound nouns, namely those that are headed and those that (appear to) have no semantic head. Compound nouns with a head are, for example, formations such as *draw bridge*, *rope dancer*, and *closing time*. The head is usually on the right and represents the object that is more precisely described by the determinant/modifier. In such compounds the head is usually a word, viz.: *bridge*, *dancer*, and *time*.

Headless compound nouns are best illustrated by formations such as *birdbrain*, *paleface* and *pick pocket*. They are not hyponyms of their heads, i.e. *birdbrain* is not a type of brain, neither is *paleface* a kind of face nor does *pickpocket* represent some sort of pockets. All these compounds have a semantic head outside the morphological combination. Whenever a compound as a whole is semantically equal to both the determinant and the determinatum, it is difficult to say which constituent functions as a head. For example, *fighter-bomber* and *poet-translator* mean what is expressed by the head as well as what is denoted by the modifier. In these compounds "no member is semantically prominent, but both members equally contribute to the meaning of the compound" (Plag 2003: 146).

Generally, if compound nouns are classified into semantic types, one has to consider the fact that one semantic type may comprise several different patterns. For instance, compounds with the meaning 'a person who is characterised by what is expressed by the whole compound', e.g. *paleface*, *birdbrain*, or *pickpocket*, represent three different morphological patterns, viz.: Adj+N, N+N, and V+N. Apparently, a proper description and classification of compound nouns should include the morphological patterns in addition to the semantic-syntactic types:

> [t]aking into consideration morphological, grammatical, and semantic aspects of the compound, a satisfactory description should […] comprise the following factors: morphological shape, morphological structure, grammatical deep structure (syntactic relations in the underlying sentence, and type of reference), type of semantic content. (Marchand 1969: 53-54)

How this five-point analysis of a compound is carried out can be demonstated with the combination *writing table* below: [29]

(14) a. morphological shape   : writ-ing table = (V-suffix) + N
     b. morphological structure   : writ-ing / table
     c. grammatical deep structure : '(we) write (P) at the table (AdP)'
     d. type of reference   : adverbial-type
     e. semantics   : 'a place where (dm) one does what is
                                          expressed by the dt'

The morphological shape of a compound gives an account of the type and status of the elements it is composed of. Then, the immediate constituents of a compound are determined so that certain morphemes constitute the modifier and the remaining ones the head. Afterwards, "all composites […] must be explainable from an underlying sentence whose syntactic relations they mirror" (Marchand 1969: 55). Relying on the paraphrase, the type of reference between the determinant and the determinatum is established. And finally, the lexical content of the compound is given on the basis of the relation between the constituents. Concerning the classification of the compound nouns in the next chapter, it should be pointed out that it combines all the proposed criteria explained above. In fact, it is a mixture of semantic categories, morphological patterns, and types of references.

2.4. Categories of compound nouns

As stated in the previous section, the compounds being analysed here are compound nouns, i.e. those having a noun as determinatum. It remains to be clarified how they are grouped into single categories. To begin with, it has been decided to organise them into one major and one minor group. The reason for this division is that the former includes "combinations intellectually motivated by the significant" (Marchand 1969:2) whereas in the latter group there are word-

---

[29] Similar summary of Marchand's analysis of compounds is found in Kastovsky (1982: 214-215) and Novak (1996: 86-88).

formations which are not composed of full linguistic signs. Mainly, what distinguishes them from the categories mentioned in the major group is the fact that the rules for their formation are not always grammatically predictable. They may involve features like style, attitude, legal restrictions, or marketing guidelines. The last two factors are common, for example, in the creation of brand names in which

> formation patterns such as syntactic phrases, letter-numeral-combinations, multi-item compounds and items with determinatum-determinant-order are preferred over formation patterns that are more frequently used in the general language. (Piller 2000: 60)

Given that in English not every single composite exhibits all typical features of compounds, some compound categories are marked by peculiar characteristics. They constitute the group of compounds with structural oddities. The names of the separate categories are chosen on the basis of the general terms found in the linguistic literature. Common sense, frequency of occurrence and, to a small extent of course, personal preference has been the guidelines directing the naming of the categories. Then, the compound nouns are subdivided into morphological patterns with reference to specific structural and semantic-syntactic properties. Assuming that even more complex compound nouns, i.e. those containing more than two lexical items, follow the general principle of possessing just two immediate constituents, the examples of compound nouns are limited to those with two members only. [30]

2.4.1. Major categories

2.4.1.1. Endocentric compounds

Endocentric compound nouns are those compounds which obligatory have a semantic head. More precisely, it is the right element of the compound, i.e. the determinatum, which is found inside the compound. This is the reason why these compound nouns are combined under the term 'endocentric'. The element *endo* means 'inside' and *centric* comes from 'centre'. The basic feature of these compounds is that they denote a subclass of the referents of the head. In other words, endocentric compounds are hyponyms of their heads. The lexical

---

[30] Cf. section 1.3.1 in which the structural properties of compounds are discussed.

subordination of the first constituent to the second is expressed by the majority of the patterns outlined in (11).

2.4.1.1.1. Expansions

The first word-formation pattern to be discussed is that of N+N compounds. It accounts for the production of compound nouns consisting of purely nominal elements, i.e. combinations of two simple substantives. Therefore, these compounds are also referred to as 'primary compounds' or they are occasionally termed 'nominal compounds'. One category of these N+N compounds is the group of the so-called 'expansions'. According to Marchand (1969: 11), "the founder of modern, synchronic English word-formation" (Kastovsky 1995: 159), an expansion is

> a combination AB in which B is a free morpheme (word) and which is analysable on the basis of the formula AB=B. This means that AB belongs to the same word class and lexical class to which B belongs.

Thus, following the lines of this formula, *moonlight*, *armchair*, and *wall paper* are expected to be found in basically the same semantic contexts as their heads. It seems therefore that expansions are semantically modified, extended versions of their heads. This, however, is only a very general description of primary compounds. For how exactly a speaker knows that *moonlight* is a light radiated by the moon and not a light shaped as the moon, an *armchair* is a chair with an arm and not a piece of furniture tattooed on one's arm, or that a *wall paper* is a paper that is put on walls and not one, let us say, made or full of walls? In this connection, Kay & Zimmer (1990: 239) argue that

> the list of interpretations with different semantic relations holding between the two elements of [a nominal] compound may be extended indefinitely to the limits of one's ingenuity.

Put differently, primary compounds are "inherently multiply ambiguous" (Kastovsky 1986: 72). This arises from their morphological structure. They do not contain a verb so that the semantic-syntactic relations between the constituents are difficult to establish. For the interpretation of a nominal compound "we […] have to reconstruct an implicit verb" (Kastovsky 1989: 186). This is done as follows:

(15) a. cave/man   = 'man who (S) <u>lives</u> in a cave (AdP)'   : AdP-S
      b. wall/paper   = 'paper (O) which is <u>put</u> on walls (AdP)'   : AdP-O
      c. arm/chair   = 'chair (S) which <u>has</u> an arm (O)'   : O-S
      d. paper/basket   = 'basket into which (AdP) one <u>throws</u> paper (O)' : AdP-O
      e. paper/boy   = 'boy (S) who <u>delivers</u> papers (O)'   : O-S
      f. mosquito/net   = 'net (AdI) which <u>prevents</u> from mosquitoes (O)' : O-AdI

In cases as these above, a double syntagma relation is assumed, however, with the verbal part omitted. The verb in the underlying paraphrase needs to be supplied. Usually, it is a generic one, e.g. *live*, *have*, *put*, etc. As it can be seen from (15), expansions have many types of references. Their determinata can have the function of subjects, objects or adverbials. The fact, that *mosquito net* is a net which keeps mosquitoes away but a *butterfly net* is a net for catching butterflies, has to do with the general knowledge of how things in life go, i.e. with "reference to the pragmatics of the situation" (Bauer 1983: 58). On one hand, sometimes a nominal compound is accepted with only one meaning from several possible meanings as, for example, *paperboy* as 'boy who sells or delivers papers', i.e. it is thus lexicalised.[31] However, in a particular context it may acquire another meaning. If the word occurs, for example, in a discourse about a little child as in the statement *Mary's son made yesterday a wonderful paperboy for me*, then the compound is grasped as 'boy made of paper'. It follows then that the hearer's knowledge that Mary indeed has a son who likes to make figures out of paper, helps him/her understand the right meaning of the nominal compound. Apparently, non-linguistic information in the domain of compounds "bears on the question as to how meaning and what kind of meaning should be assigned" (Kastovsky 1986: 70) to a N+N combination.

On the other hand, pragmatic factors may eventually lead to the lexicalisation of a word-formation so that only one meaning is usually accepted. Consider the next two examples:[32]

(16) a. snake poison   'poison produced by snakes'
      b. rat poison   'poison for killing rats'

The expansion *snake poison* can be interpreted as 'poison for killing snakes' by analogy with *rat poison*. However, this potential meaning is blocked due to

---

[31] For the concept 'lexicalisation' cf. the discussion of *black market* and *holiday* in 1.3.2.
[32] Cf. Bauer (1979: 46-47) for more information about how knowledge of the world determines the interpretation of nominal compounds.

pragmatic factors, i.e. all snakes are venomous, although such an interpretation is not totally excluded.[33] In this connection, for the analysis of *paper basket* Coseriu (1977: 51) suggests that it is only known that the relation between the two constituents is of a very general nature, i.e. just "eine allgemeine 'präpositionale' Funktion", viz.:

(17) a. paper basket   'basket - prepositional function - paper', i.e.
                             'basket which has something to do with paper'
     b. 'basket for paper', 'basket made of paper', 'basket full of paper'

This implies that a speaker of English understands the formation *paper basket* as 'basket which has something to do with paper'. Whether *paper basket* is interpreted as 'basket for paper', 'basket made of paper', or 'basket full of paper' is determined "durch die Sprachnorm" (Coseriu 1977: 51) of a language. In other words, nominal compounds acquire meaning in a given context due to pragmatic factors. This would lead, however, to the wrong assumption that N+N constructions do not have a meaning of their own, and that their interpretation is purely a matter of pragmatics not a grammatical matter dependent on extra-linguistic factors. Rather, it seems that nominal

> compounds are not vague but systematically ambiguous, and that pragmatic factors including lexicali[s]ation do not create interpretations, but rather disambiguate compounds by selecting one potential reading as the one fitting the given context. (Kastovsky 1986: 73)

For a profound analysis of an expansion, one additional factor has to be considered. In nominal compounds one particular semantic relation goes hand in hand with a specific stress pattern.[34] Have a look at the next formations:

(18)   forestress   vs.   level stress
     a. smoke ring   b. snowball, gold ring, stone wall, cotton dress
     c. summer house   d. summer residence, winter night, September morning
     d. sand bar, bank clerk   f. college student, country doctor, bedroom furniture

The compound *smoke ring* is characterised by having main stress on its first constituent, i.e. on smoke. According to Marchand (1974c: 312), it is interpreted

---

[33] Cf. Kastovsky (1986: 73).
[34] This is similar to the interpretation of the compounds in (6).

"as '(matter) B shaped as A', explained from" the paraphrase 'ring that has the form of a smoke'. In contrast, the expansions in (18b) do not designate something shaped as what is expressed by the determinant. Rather, they denote objects made of a particular substance or material, e.g. ball made of snow, ring made of gold, etc. Therefore, it is assumed that "material-denoting first constituents usually make a combination into a syntactic group" (Marchand 1969: 25). Consequently, the interpretation of the nominal compounds in (18b) is tied up with level stress. Similarly, given that a *summer house* in (18c) is not any kind of house but one of particular style, its interpretation signals an accentuation typical of compound nouns. In contrast, the expansions in (18d) are distinct in meaning and stress assignment. More precisely, they have a temporal modifier. *Summer residence* is "merely '(someone's) residence in the summer', nothing more" (Marchand 1969: 25). *Winter night* is just a 'night in winter' and *September morning* means one 'morning in September'. And finally, the compounds *sand bar* and *bank clerk* in (18e) are expansions with forestress. Respectively, they are interpreted as 'a clerk (S) who works in a bank (AdP)' and 'a bar (O) situated on sand (AdP)'. Thus, they are opposed to the formations in (18f). They are characterised by having a determinant of local nature, i.e. one that denotes place. Accordingly, the relation between the constituents is expressed with the help of the preposition *in*, viz.: a *college student* is 'one (S) that studies in a college (AdP)', a *country doctor* is 'a doctor in a country', and *bedroom furniture* means 'furniture that is in a bedroom'.

Naturally, the discussion of the N+N lexemes in (18) points at the difficulty a speaker is confronted with whenever he/she analyses a certain nominal noun. It seems that in order to describe a given compound, one either has to know the stress pattern to be able to interpret it or visa versa, i.e. to predict the prominence on the basis of the underlying paraphrase. Although it is

> often difficult, even impossible, to tell why in one case the language has created a compound [with forestress] while in another it has coined a syntactic group [i.e. compound with level stress] (Marchand 1969: 26),

there are some regularities in expansions diverting from the usual stress pattern. Having in mind the compounds in (18b,d+f), it can be argued that main emphasis on the second constituent is limited to those expansions that have a material-denoting, local or temporal modifier or that

27

> [a] compound-internal relation yields pre-stress, while meaning induced by one of the basic external relations such as […] 'located at' or 'made of' are characteri[s]ed by […] final stress. (Olsen 2000b: 67)

2.4.1.1.2. Synthetic compounds

The next group of N+N combinations includes formations that are called 'verbal', 'secondary', or 'synthetic'. They correspond to the group of compounds labelled by Marchand (1969: 22) 'verbal nexus combinations'. Basically, all these terms are distinct ways to refer to those complex lexical items that are compound nouns formed from verbs such as the following: [35]

(19) N+(V-er):   a. bookseller, watchmaker;
                 b. can opener, nut cracker;
                 c. party drinker, chain smoker, day dreamer;
     N+(V-ing): d. house keeping, child bearing;
                 e. Sunday closing, church going;

The synthetic compounds in (19) are endocentric because their heads have the same morphological and semantic properties as the compounds considered as a whole. It is possible to analyse them according to the formula AB=B. Therefore, they can be also regarded as expansions. [36] Simply expressed, this means that each compound noun in (19) represents a subtype of the referents of the second constituent. However, what differentiates secondary compound nouns from proper expansions is the fact that the former do not necessarily have a free independent item as head. For example, *maker* in *watchmaker* and the participle nouns in (19d+e) do not exist as words. They are called 'functional derivatives' by Marchand (1969: 16), i.e. deverbal formations which just render the syntactic relation of the underlying paraphrase. This in turn accounts for the fact that the combinations in (19) are synthetic compounds from a morphological point of view but derivatives as far as their syntactic properties are concerned:

(20) a. morphological analysis: watch/maker (N+N), house/keeping (N+N)
     b. syntactic analysis: watchmak/er (O-P-S), house keep/ing (O-P-Pn)

---

[35] Some examples have already been mentioned in (9+10).
[36] For a definition of 'expansion' see 3.1.1.1.

It is visible from (20) that synthetic combinations do satisfy the morphological condition for a compound, i.e. they are made up of two lexemes, but look like suffixed formations on the level of the underlying paraphrase. In principle, this applies to all of the formations in (19). Therefore, synthetic compounds are seen as an example of the phenomenon called 'bracketing paradox'.[37] The discrepancy between structure and meaning does not alter the fact that synthetic compounds are more easily interpreted than nominal compounds. This is simply because they have a verb as their basic element and

> the only possible underlying relation is that of Predicate – Complement with the verbal part invariably becoming the determinatum. (Marchand 1969: 33)

Thus, the compounds in (19a) refer to someone whose role is that of agent, i.e. someone who does whatever the verb signifies. The complements *book* and *watch* are in this case the direct objects. The compound *book seller* corresponds to the paraphrase 'someone who (S) sells (P) books (O)'. From it the relation O-P-S is easily established. The same applies to *watchmaker*. If one tries to define these synthetic compounds on the basis of this analysis, one could say that they are formations in which the determinatum is derived from a verb which functions as the predicate in the paraphrase, and in which the nominal determinant is transformed into the object of the underlying phrase. Generally, this definition is also appropriate for the compounds in (19b). It needs to be only slightly modified because the suffix *–er* in this case does not produce an agent noun. It rather denotes an instrument, e.g. both *can opener* and *nut cracker* have the O-P-AdI relation, and

> the modifying element in the compound[s] is […] interpreted as an argument of the verb from which the head element is derived. (Bauer 2001b: 701)

In a similar way, *house* in *house keeping* (O-P-Pn) and the constituent *child* in *child bearing* (O-P-Pn) function as objects. Still more correctly, each of them is the patient of the action denoted by the verb. These compounds belong to the predication-type of reference about which "[n]othing is known but the fact that something, an activity, is going on" (Marchand 1969: 35). In contrast, the modifying elements in (19c) cannot be seen as objects. A *day dreamer* (AdT-P-S) does not dream days, a *party drinker* (AdP-P-S) does not drink parties, and a

---

[37] For a full account of this subject cf. Carstairs-MacCarthy (2002: 80-82).

chain smoker (AdM-P-S) does not smoke chains. Rather, these nouns have the function of adverbials of time, place, and manner respectively. That is why, these compound nouns are sometimes not regarded as synthetic compounds in the strict sense. It is even claimed that these

> [XV-er] structures must be analy[s]ed as non-synthetic compounds whose semantics are simply subclasses of the possible pragmatic relations. As for a derived –*er* nominal, the only general observation we can make is that, as in […19c], such a noun quite freely occurs on its own or as a head of a compound and that, when it is a compound head, its nonhead constituent may or may not appear to superficially satisfy the argument structure requirement of the base verb. (Oshita 1994: 188)

Analogically, in (19e) the determinants *Sunday* and *church* are not the agents, instruments or patients undergoing some action. Respectively, what they indicate is the time and place in which the events *closing* and *going* take place. Therefore, one might claim that these compounds deviate from the basic type of synthetic compounds exemplified by *bookseller*. One can even assume that in secondary compounds with process nominals, the relationship between the constituents is not "regulated by any grammatical requirement […] what exists […] is a pragmatically plausible association" (Oshita 1994: 183). It becomes apparent then, that this group of N+N compounds is indeed "easier to illustrate than to define" (Bauer 2001b: 701). It seems difficult to describe secondary word-formations because they have diverse semantic relations and the determinant does not always function as object. Yet, synthetic compounds are characterised by regular compound stress.[38]

2.4.1.1.3. Compounds with verbs as determinants

In the English lexicon, there is a third group of compound nouns comprised of formations with verbs as determinants. It is essential to separate them from synthetic compounds for these compounds do not follow the interpretation rules described in the previous section. Compounds with verbs as determinants constitute the pattern V/ V-ing + N:

---

[38] The same is claimed by Olsen (2000b: 60).

(21) a. V+ N   : call/boy (P-S), mince/meat (P-O), dance/hall (P-AdP),
                        play/time (P-AdT), swim/bladder (P-AdI);
    b. (V-ing) + N : dancing girl (P-S), chewing gum (P-O), washing machine
                        (P- AdI), writing table (P-AdP), closing time (P-AdT);

These compound nouns are again verbal nexus combinations because they are "made up of a verbal and a nominal element […which] form a direct syntagma in an underlying sentence" (Marchand 1969: 22). However, in all the combinations above the verb constitutes the determinant as apposed to synthetic compounds. In the latter, the verb is on the right and it is the basis for the derived determinatum. "Despite their verbal nexus character, therefore, such combinations are not of the synthetic compound type" (Marchand 1969:19). The verbal element either appears in its simple form, i.e. in infinitive, as in (21a), or it is the base of a complex formation as in (21b). Furthermore, although in all cases the verbal element is followed by a noun, this noun is never interpreted as the grammatical argument of the verb. It can have the function of subject, object or adjunct of time, place, and instrument. Additionally, the second constituent in verbal compound nouns is always an independent word and not a functional derivative. The compound nouns in (21) are expansions in the sense that the head noun represents the basic notion whereas the modifier restricts its meaning. However, unlike primary expansions, the semantic-syntactic relations between the constituents are more easily established. As already demonstrated, this is so because the verb always appears as the predicate in the underlying paraphrase. Yet, there are compound nouns that do contain a verb but are not analysable on the basis of the examples in (21). Some of them are *repair work*, *driving lesson*, and *whooping cough*. [39] Respectively, they mean 'work which is/consists of repair', 'a lesson where one learns driving', and 'cough consisting of whooping'. Although all these three compound nouns are morphologically similar to those in (21), their semantic-syntactic analysis is different. It is precisely for this reason that Marchand (1969: 38) considers them 'pseudo verbal nexus compounds'. And finally, it needs to be mentioned that most of the verbal compound nouns have forestress but only

---

[39] For more examples of such verbal nexus compounds cf. Marchand (1969: 38-39), Marchand (1974e: 290-291) and Kastovsky (1989: 187).

> [t]he relation S-P is unstable. It may or may not lead to forestress. This explains **dáncing gìrl** as against **revólting dóor**. The type **dancing girl** is much weaker than the syntactic group type **revolting door**. When the determinant is a verb stem, however, as in **crybaby,** we always have forestress [not my bold type]. (Marchand 1969: 22-23)

2.4.1.1.4. Compounds with adjectives as determinants

The fourth group of endocentric compounds is represented by the pattern Adj +N. Some examples have already been mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, in connection with the general stress assignment in compounds.[40] Once again, the characteristic feature of this category of compounds is that they are lexicalised formations which have unitary stress. Thus, they are clearly contrasted with corresponding syntactic phrases which exhibit level stress and carry different meaning. Therefore, a *bláckbìrd* is not 'a bird that is black' because this is the reading of *bláck bírd*. Analogically, the *Whíte Hòuse* does not refer to any kind of house that is white but to the residence of the US president, i.e. it is in opposition to *whíte hóuse*. In a similar manner, a *tóy fàctory* signifies 'factory where toys are made' whereas a *tóy fáctory* stands for a 'factory that is a toy'. Other subtypes of Adj+N compounds are:

(22) a. industrial worker, atomic bomb, governmental institution;
    b. industry worker, atom bomb, government institution;
    c. madman, wild life (C-S);
    d. greengrocer (O-S), madhouse (O-AdP);

The compound nouns in (22a) carry level stress contrary to the parallel N+N combinations in (22b). In this case however, the distinct prominence does not signal different semantic interpretation. In other words, both an *industrial worker* and an *industry worker* refer to 'someone who works in the industry', "[t]he semantic content of *átom bòmb* is the same as that of *atómic bómb*" (Marchand 1969: 27), and *governmental institution* and *government institution* represent an 'institution of the government'. The difference in the latter case is that

---

[40] Cf. section 1.3.1., especially the examples (6a-c).

> *government* has remained a substantive whereas *governmental*, through the adjectival categori[s]er *–al*, has become a full adjective, though only a syntactic (transpositional) derivative. (Marchand 1969: 228)

It is precisely the transposition of the heads in (22a) from nouns into adjectives with the help of the suffixes *–al* and *–ic* which accounts for the "non-canonical lefthand stress" (Olsen 2000b: 66) in these compounds. [41] According to Marchand (1969: 23), this process "has nothing to do with word-formation. The basic stress pattern of this group is ´/´ ". This in turn leads once more to the controversial question of whether these Adj+N combinations are compounds or phrases, i.e. whether they belong to morphology or syntax. [42]

Apart from these disputable compound nouns, there is a group of some regular Adj+N composites as those in (22c). They have forestress and the adjective takes the function of the subject complement, the noun that of a subject. For instance, a *madman* is a 'man who (S) is mad (C)' and *wild life* is 'life which is wild'. Unfortunately, such an analysis is not possible for the compounds in (22d). Neither is *greengrocer* 'someone who is green', nor is *madhouse* 'a house which is mad'. Rather, the latter denotes a place where mad people live while the former refers to someone who sells fruits and vegetables. Therefore, one can say that in these compounds "[t]he adjective is part of an NP of which the N is omitted" (Kastovsky 1989: 189).

2.4.1.1.5. Compound nouns with structural oddities

2.4.1.1.5.1. Compounds with particles

This group of endocentric compound nouns is represented by the pattern P+N/V-suffix, viz.:

(23) P+N:
    a. after-effect, inmate, by-chamber, undergarment, outbuilding;
    b. underdog, oversight;
    c. underweight, underperformance, over-caution, overtime;

P+(V-suffix):
    d. upbringing, outgoing, incoming, outstanding;
    e. by-stander, onlooker, indweller, upclimber, undertaker;
    f. input, outcome, download;

---

[41] Cf. Marchand (1969: 12-13) for a definition of 'transposition' and Marchand (1974b: 325-331) for a more detailed account of this process.
[42] Cf. Bauer (2003: 135-136) for some arguments of both sides.

All the combinations in (23) have as their first member a particle. It is "a label […] use[d] to avoid commitment as to whether these things are really adverbs, prepositions, or some separate category" (Bauer 2001a: 103). Thus, compounds containing them can be seen as having some structural oddities. It is already evident that compounds consist of two lexical morphemes. Eventually, in English there are combinations of morphemes which represent a well-defined grammatical class of complex words such as the conjunctions *however* or *moreover*, the prepositions *into* or *without*, or the pronouns *anything* or *something*. Although they are morphologically complex, they are not considered as compounds because they do not have any lexical function. The same, however, cannot be claimed for the lexemes in (23). According to Marchand (1969: 108), "[i]n all periods of the language there have been locative particles as first-words of compounds". Those in (23a) have the function of an adjunct of time, e.g. *after-effect* 'effect occurring afterwards', or place as in the rest of the examples. An *inmate* is a companion who lives inside, *by* in *by-chamber* is synonymous with 'secondary, out of the way', *undergarment* is a piece of clothing worn underneath, and an *outbuilding* is one situated outside. They are characterised by regular compound stress, i.e. the particle has the main stress.

The compounds in (23b) are examples of P+N combinations with idiomatic meaning. *Underdog* is someone who is weak and least likely to succeed and an *oversight* designates an error due to inattention. In contrast, the elements *under* and *over* in the compounds in (23c) are used in a metaphorical sense. Respectively, they can be paraphrased with 'insufficient' as in *underweight*, *underperformance*, and 'exceeding/extra/too much' as in *over-caution* and *overtime.* Precisely this reading of the elements makes the particles almost identical to prefixed formations such as *super-pigmentation* or *hyperactivity*. In them, the determinants have the semantic-syntactic function of modifying the noun they are attached to.[43] Therefore, one can say that in these instances the "particles have much in common with the prefixes […] which are related to Latin and Greek prepositions" (Adams 2001: 71). Additionally, it is necessary to note that the compounds in (23c) do not have the typical unity stress. "Like other cbs where emphasis is expressed […] coinages of this type have double stress

---

[43] For more examples of complex formations with *hyper–* and *super–* in this reading cf. respectively Marchand (1969: 167-168), Kastovsky (1989: 203) and Marchand (1969: 196), Kastovsky (1989: 206).

(Marchand 1969: 117). The remaining three examples under (23) represent the pattern P+(V-suffix). In (23d) the suffix *–ing* produces complex nominalisations and in (23e) the suffix *–er* accounts for the formation of agent nouns.[44] What is essential to point out, is the fact that

> [t]he types […] **onlooker**, **outgoing** sb […] are based on verbal phrases of the structural type 'verb followed by a stressed locative particle ([…] *look on*, *go out* […]) which they nominali[s]e. The particle is almost exclusively directional in meaning [not my bold type]. (Marchand 1969: 110)

Fundamentally, this means that the compound nouns in (23d) belong to the predication-type of reference. Respectively, they denote the action, event, fact, process, state, etc. of bringing up, going out, coming in, and standing out. Since they all have the P-Pn relation, they are syntactic derivatives according to their underlying paraphrase but combinations of two independent morphemes on a morphological level. "They will therefore be considered synthetic compounds though there is a difference between the groups" (Marchand 1969: 110). The base verb in synthetic compounds forms a grammatical nexus with the first element whereas the compounds in (23d) are nominalisations from phrasal verbs. Similarly, the formations in (23e) appear as secondary compounds inasmuch as they all have a deverbal head. Its "lexical independence […] is a matter of secondary importance" (Marchand 1969: 17). Nevertheless, as the compounds in (23d), they have a phrasal verb as their basis. Unlike them, they belong to the subject-type of reference. Yet, both the nominalisations in (23d) and the agent nouns in (23e) are characterised by main stress on the determinant and secondary stress on the determinatum. That is why, they stand in opposition to the formations in (23f). Actually, *input*, *outcome*, and *download* are thoroughly different from the entire set of compounds given in (23). It can even be argued that they are not to be seen at all as products of compounding. Firstly, they are nouns but seem to be made up of a particle and a verb. Of course, one can say that the head of *download* is not a verb since the noun *load* exists in English. This, however, does not hold true for *input* and *outcome*. Secondly, the assumption that *input*, *outcome*, and *download* are verbs will contradict the fact that the three formations have main stress on the

---

[44] Cf. footnote (11) for more information about 'nominalisation'.

determinant.[45] Consequently, they do have something in common with compound nouns. Moreover, if *download* is indeed a verb it has to have its prominence on the element *load*. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Thirdly, it seems that the underlying verbs are *to put in*, *to come out* and *to load down* rather than anything else. Additionally, the meaning of the three formations is not explainable on the basis AB=B, i.e. neither of them represents a sub-entity of the head. Rather, their interpretation as action nouns suggests that they have as their bases the respective phrasal verbs. Still, they are derived from them but are not overtly marked as such. After considering all these peculiar properties, *input*, *outcome*, and *download* appear to be transposed from one word-class into another without change of form. More precisely, they are zero derivatives

> whose determinatum is not expressed in phonic form but understood to be present in content, thanks to an association with other syntagmas where the element of content has its counterpart on the plane of phonic expression. (Marchand 1969: 359)

It seems therefore more accurate to treat the combinations *input*, *outcome*, and *download* not as products of compounding but as complex lexemes formed by the process derivation by a zero morpheme. [46] Yet, some of their features are shared by compounds and others are typical of derivatives.

2.4.1.1.5.2. Inverted compounds

This group of compound nouns is again characterised by structural oddities. It includes several types and represents formations "inbetween that provide difficulties" (Marchand 1969: 122). They are illustrated as follows:

(24) a. lady-in waiting, mother-in-law, dog-in-the manger, coat of mail
    b. passer-by, looker-on, runner-up
    c. consul general, court material
    d. MacArthur, Macgregor, Fitzgerald

All formations mentioned above are cases in which the determinatum precedes the determinant. Therefore, they are not proper endocentric combinations but hyponyms of the first element. Marchand (1969: 81) calls them 'inversion compounds'. As such, they form their plural differently from typical compounds.

---

[45] For more on stress assignment in such formations cf. Marchand (1969: 377-379).
[46] This argument is supported by Bauer (2001a: 103) and Plag (2003: 143-144).

The combinations in (24d) are normally not pluralised because they are patronymic names of Gaelic origin indicating descent from someone.[47] In all the other examples the marker –s is attached to the constituent on the left. The formations in (24a-c) should not, however, be mixed up with composites such as *parks commissioner*, *news business* or *buildings inspector*. In them, the s in the modifiers does not signify the plurality of the whole compound.[48] The combinations in (24a) are "not morphologically isolated from syntactic combinations […and] cannot claim the status of compounds" (Marchand 1969: 81). Nevertheless, if they are viewed as lexicalised phrasal compounds their level stress and irregular plural formation should be noted. Similarly, a strict adherence to the fact that in compounds inflection appears on the head leads to the exclusion of the lexemes in (24b) from the class of compounds. Alternatively, they might be classified as an exceptional category. Other examples of specific compound nouns are given in (24c). They have been accepted into the English lexicon as borrowings from French. As such, they display a foreign morphological structure and can be regarded as secondary formations on a non-native basis.[49]

2.4.1.1.5.3. Compounds with a linking element

Another group of peculiar endocentric compound nouns comprises those that are formed by the patterns N's+N and N+s+N. They are considered to be

> eine Abweichung von typischen Komposita im Hinblick auf das morphologische Kriterium dar, da die erste Konstituente hier flektiert ist. (Schmid 2005: 128)

More precisely, it is the appearance of the inflectional s between the two nouns and the variable stress pattern of the combinations in (25) below which apparently cause some problems with respect to their morphological identification as compounds. However, as it has already become obvious, being slightly different from genuine compounds does not automatically imply a disregard of compound status. The examples to be discussed are:

---

[47] For a more detailed accout on patronymics cf. Marchand (1969: 82).
[48] Cf. Bauer (2001a: 115-117) and Katamba (1993: 316-317) for more information about these compounds.
[49] Cf. Marchand's use of the term 'word-formaton on a foreign basis of coining' in Marchand (1969: 7).

(25) a. S-AdP: driver's seat, ladies' room; S-O: woman's magazine, master's degree, driver's licence
b. S-O: Parkinson's disease, Halley's comet; O-Ad: St. Valentine's day
c. cat's eye, cat's whisker
d. O-S: sportsman, craftsman, salesman; AdP-S: landsman, townsman, yachtsman

The uncertainty of identifying the formations above as compounds arises from the question whether the examples in (25a,b+c) are genitive constructions and consequently syntactic phrases or word-formations, and whether the *s* between the constituents in (25d) is a plural marker or some other kind of element.

> Historically speaking, the types are old genitive groups though in many cases the plural concept has entered the pattern. It will be impossible to tell when exactly /s, z/ came to be regarded as a derivative element and when combinations of this group acquired compound status.   (Marchand 1969: 65)

On one hand, justification that the combinations in (25a) are compounds is given by the fact that they all are headed constructions. This means that they are interpreted as referring to a kind of *seat*, *room*, *magazine*, *degree* and *licence* respectively. Thus, the first two are based on the S-AdP relation and the remaining three belong to the subject-type of reference. In this case, the modifiers specify the referents of the heads as it is usual for endocentric compounds. On the other hand, all the formations in (25a) have an alternative reading as possessive constructions. In this instance, it implies that the objects named by the heads are identified as belonging to a particular individual, i.e. to a *driver*, a *woman*, and a *master*, or to a group of people, viz.: *ladies*. Exactly this double interpretation of the given constructions is the reason why Taylor (1996: 287) calls these combinations 'possessive compounds'. However, the term might cause some confusion for in the compound reading the element –*s* is structurally present but not semantically. Therefore, it is claimed that the formations in (25) are

> not genitives at all [...but] compounds with /s, z/ for a linking element, and belong in the chapter of 'word-formation'. This linking element corresponds to the German 'Fugen-s' occurring e.g. in *Ankunftszeit*, *Hilfskraft*, etc. (Marchand 1969: 27)

Similarly, the combinations in (25b) appear to be semantically ambiguous. Yet, it must be noted that a reading in which a disease, a comet, and a day are

understood, respectively, as a physical situation of the personage *Parkinson*, as a thing possessed by someone named Halley, or as a period of time in the life of a certain *St. Valentine* is not likely. Admittedly, such an interpretation may be appropriate in a suitable pragmatic context. Yet, these three lexemes have "conventionali[s]ed unit status, and are usually listed as such in English dictionaries" (Taylor 1996: 295). Therefore, although their first constituents name historical individuals, they are in most cases grasped as entities named after their inventor, founder, etc. According to Taylor (1996: 296), these examples constitute a "special subcategory of onomastic possessives".

Identically, the *–s* in *cat's eye* and *cat's whisker* is not to be regarded as a marker of case. It has the function of a linking morpheme between the constituents. It is known under the term 'interfix' or is sometimes called an 'empty morph'.[50] As a combination, *cat's eye* is institutionalised with the meaning 'precious object', usually a kind of stone, and *cat's whisker* is figuratively understood as 'excellent person or thing'. Although *cat's eye* carries unity stress and *cat's whisker* has phrasal stress, it is claimed that "the two patterns […] are variants not expressive of distinctive function. Both […] are compounds" (Marchand 1969: 27). It is possible, of course, to interpret *cat's eye* as a genitive construction, i.e. with the head noun *eye* and a modifying possessive noun that can be replaced by *of a cat*. This interpretation, however, clearly goes hand in hand with accentuation on both members of the combination. Additionally, though in it the head noun denotes part of the body of an animal, "[a] *cat's eye* is 'the eye of a cat' but only so in semblance" (Marchand 1969: 68).

In contrast, no figurative reading is possible for the compounds in (25d). *Sportsman* and *craftsman* designate an agent who exercises some kind of sport and craft, *salesman* is 'someone responsible for sales' and the remaining compounds "fall under the semantic denominator 'appurtenance to a group or solitary circle' " (Marchand 1969: 67). These examples of N+s+N compounds can hardly be interpreted as genitive formations for the apostrophe is missing. The next logical suggestion is that the morpheme *–s* signals plural form. The fact that it can stand for a linking element, marker of genitive case, and of plurality suggests that its proper meaning is determined by a given context or situation. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that despite this

---

[50] Cf. Bauer's defition of the term 'interfix' in Bauer (2004: 57).

multifunctionality of the apostrophe itself, […and] the inherent fuzziness of the linguistic categories involved, the situation with the use of the apostrophe is not one of total chaos. Patterns in the construal of compounds are certainly discernible. (Taylor 1996: 307)

In relation to this, whenever in a compound the head noun denotes an agent, as it is the case in (25d), usually there is no apostrophe and the combinations have forestress. In instances where the compound has a modifier with a human referent, it is likely to appear with apostrophe and *s* between the elements and to carry two main stresses as in (25a+b). As far as compounds with non-human referents are concerned, as those in (25c), it is difficult to find out any consistence. For example, *lamb's wool* stands against *chicken breast*.[51]

2.4.1.1.5.4. Neoclassical compounds

Neoclassical compounds represent the final group of compounds in English marked by structural irregularities. This is mainly due to the fact that by definition these are compounds which contain elements from Greek and Latin origin. Hence, the term 'neoclassical' is used. Additionally, these building elements appear to be of a special kind and they do not conform to the ones usually found in English word-formations. Therefore, many labels are used to refer to them. Naturally, describing differently one and the same phenomenon leads to several distinct terms applicable to the whole category. And finally, given that neoclassical compounds contain borrowed elements combined together according to foreign patterns, they are normally treated as a separate category. In other words, they are not classified as a subdivision of the English endocentric compounds. It is not the aim of this thesis to argue that they should be but it is not excluded that they might be. It is mainly on the grounds of their untypical morphological makeup that they have been added to the compounds with structural oddities. Why this is so can be exemplified with the following examples:

(26) a. biochemistry   b. musicology   c. hydroelectricity
      d. biology   e. anthropology   f. hydrology
      g. telephone   h. mammography   i. telethon

---

[51] Cf. Marchand (1969: 65-69) and Taylor (1996: 303-304) for a more detailed account of the properties of each group.

The formations in (26) are complex structural units which apparently contradict the notion of a 'compound'. They do not seem to be syntagmas built up of two free lexical items. The status of the second constituents in (26a, c), viz.: *chemistry* and *electricity*, and that of *music* in (26b) as independently existing words is unquestionable. It is the character of the elements *bio–*, *hydro–*, and *–(o)logy* which cannot be that easily determined. They behave like bound morphemes because they do not appear in isolation as separate lexemes. Rather, *bio–* and *hydro–* are found in positions usually taken by prefixes. They stand before the bases *chemistry* and *electricity* respectively and specify their meaning. *Biochemistry* has basically to do with chemical processes in living organisms and *hydroelectricity* is some type of electricity. In this case, the whole combinations resemble the habitual modifier-head relationship in endocentric compounds.[52] Similarly, the element *–(o)logy* might be regarded as a suffix because it appears after the base *music* and determines its lexical and grammatical class. This will lead to the assumption that *musicology* is rather a derivative than a compound. Moreover, if it is indeed accepted that the elements *bio–*, *hydro–*, and *–(o)logy* are affixes, then the combinations in (26d, e+f) would be composed of only two bound morphemes. However, this statement contradicts the fact that affixes are defined as elements appearing at least with one free morpheme. In fact, these constituents are of foreign origin and present in many scientific and technical words. They "are said to be like the first constituents of compounds" (Warren 1990: 112) known under the term 'combining form' and described

> for what they are etymologically: elements of the classical languages which are used in English word-formation. It must be stresses that they are used in English: the ancient Greeks never needed the word *telephone* although it is made up of Greek elements. It is because these elements ate put together by speakers of English that it is possible for coiners to mix Greek and Latin as in *television.* (Bauer 1983: 216)

Then, given that these foreign units may occupy different positions, it is distinguished between initial and final combining forms. Unlike affixes, they can combine with each other to constitute new complex words.[53] Therefore, *biology*, *anthropology* and *hydrology* are neoclassical compounds built up of two combing

---

[52] Cf. Bauer (1998a: 405) and Adams (2001: 119) for more information about this claim.
[53] For more information about the differences between affixes and combining forms cf. Warren (1990: 122-124) and Bauer (1983: 214-215).

forms. Sometimes they are called 'stem compounds', 'compounds with bound words', 'compounds containing bound combining forms' or 'compounds with bound roots'.[54] Although the examples given under these categories differ considerably, they all exemplify the unusual, i.e. bound, character of the components of this category.

Apart from their structural appearance, neoclassical compounds have further characteristic features. The first concerns the presence of *-o-* between the elements. Its status and description "has not been fully worked out" (Bauer 1998a: 406). It could be that it belongs to the initial combining form, that it is part of the final constituent, that it is a linking morpheme, or that its occurrence is phonologically determined.[55] The major problem associated with each generalisation is that, unfortunately, it does not apply to all neoclassical compounds and counterexamples seem to disapprove it. Therefore, slightly more attractive position seems to be the acceptance of the fact that

> the status of *-o-* is not the same in all neoclassical formations, but should be decided on for each combining form separately on the basis of distributional evidence. (Plag 2003: 158)

The second basic feature of neoclassical compounds is that they are not stressed as the majority of compounds. The initial combining forms in (26a+c) are unstressed so that the main prominence is on *chemistry* and *electricity*. *Music* alone is pronounced with heavy stress on the first syllable while in combination with *–(o)logy* the accent is shifted to the third syllable of the compound. Whenever a neoclassical compound consists of two combining forms as those in (26d, e+f), the accentuation is usually on the *-o-* between the elements, viz.: *biólogy*, *anthropólogy*, *hydrólogy*. The same is true for the final elements *–graphy* and *–cracy* in formations such as *bibliógraphy*, *sonógraphy*, *demócracy*, or *buréaucracy*. It can be therefore concluded that these final elements, together with *–(o)logy* tend to impose a particular stress pattern on the compounds they are part of.

Concerning the remaining compounds in (26), Bauer (1998a: 404) claims that *telephone* and *mammography* should not be considered as proper neoclassical compounds but as ones "formed in English according to the principles of

---

[54] For the use of these terms cf. respectively Adams (2001: 118), Fabb (1998: 69), Carstairs-MacCarthy (2002: 68), and Stockwell & Minkova (2001: 62).
[55] Cf. Bauer (1998a: 406) for a summery of the different views.

classical languages". The word *telethon* can be either a compound, or a suffixation, or even result of another word-formation process, in which the elements *television* and *marathon* are first clipped and then combined together.[56] It is obvious then that the category of neoclassical compounds is not one with clearly and well defined boundaries. This is supported by the observation that some combining forms, might eventually acquire the status of independent words. For instance, according to Adams (2001: 118) *hetero*, *hypo*, *logo*, *macro*, *physio*, *schizo*, *techno*, or *typo* have been so often used with bases or other morphemes that they are no longer interpreted as bound elements. Such phenomenon, however, does not necessarily apply only to elements of neoclassical origin. For example, the reinterpretation of *–holic*, originally part of the word *alcoholic*, as 'addict of someone who usually does whatever the first part of the word expresses' has given rise to many similar formations such as *workaholic*, *spendaholic*, *pokerholic*, *sleepaholik*, etc.[57] In this connection, it is doubtful that a speaker hearing formations such as *telecommunication*, *computerphobia*, or *technomania* will readily associate them with neoclassical languages or at least think of them as such. Therefore, these formations, together with those in (26a, b+c) are analysed as representing the foreign-native and the abbreviated-non-abbreviated scales within the category of neoclassical compounds.[58]

2.4.1.2. Exocentric compounds

The second major category of compound nouns comprises those that do not have a semantic head inside the morphological unit. More precisely, it is neither the determinatum nor the determinant that represents the basic meaning of the whole combination. For instance, a *greenback* does not signify any type of back that is green. Rather, it has the meaning '(an American) dollar' which is green on its backside. Therefore, such compounds are termed 'exocentric' with *exo* denoting 'outside' and *centric* coming from 'centre'. Sometimes, exocentric compounds are called 'bahuvrihi'. This is the traditional Sanskrit name used by the ancient grammarians for the category of compounds which originally was

---

[56] Clipped compounds are discussed in 3.2.2.
[57] Cf. Warren (1990: 116-118) for more information about this process.
[58] Bauer proposes a three-dimensional analysis of neoclassical compounds. For a detailed account cf. Bauer (1998: 410-411).

adjectival in nature, i.e. those 'having much rice'. These compounds are made by the following word-formation patterns:

(27) a. Adj+N: redneck, loudmouth, greybeard, paleface;
     b. N+N: birdbrain, butterfingers, baby face, hunchback;
     c. V+N: killjoy, pickpocket, cutpurse, turncoat, daredevil;
     d. V+P: showoff, checkup, payback, giveaway;

From the examples in (27) above it can be seen that exocentric compounds do have something in common with the first major category of compounds, namely the endocentric compounds. Like the latter, they do morphologically satisfy the prerequisite of a compound to consist of two free morphemes as determinant and determinatum. Unlike them, however, they are not hyponyms of their heads. Yet, on a morphological level the compounds in (27) do have a head. They perceive the properties of the second constituent. Grammatically, *redneck* is a noun and not an adjective because its head *neck* is a noun. *Birdbrain* and *pickpocket* belong to the same word-class as the right-hand members *brain* and *pocket* do. Unfortunately, the same cannot be claimed for the compounds in (27d). *Showoff*, *checkup*, *payback*, and *giveaway* are neither verbs nor do they constitute the grammatical class of particles but are compound nouns. In fact, they resemble the previously mentioned formations *input*, *outcome* and *download*.[59] Analogous to them, the examples in (27d) are nominalisations from the respective phrasal verbs, i.e. *to show off*, *to check up*, *to pay back*, *to give away*, but different from them in that the word order of the base is preserved. As it is usual in nominal derivation from composite verbs, a stress shift is involved in the process in order to signal the status of the items as nouns. Since their semantic analysis does not follow the formula AB=B, they are considered exocentric compounds.

The pattern V+P includes several distinct semantic subtypes. One of them is exemplified by *showoff*. Generally, it produces agent nouns with the meaning 'someone who does what is expressed in the compound' but these compounds are

---

[59] Cf. the analysis of these compounds on p. 35-36 of this thesis.

not neutral in meaning and therefore not rivals of suffixal agent substantives. Most of them have derogatory connotation, many are slang words, and a few words which are not pejorative (*go-between* 'intermediary', *standby* 'helper' […]) do not disprove the general character of the type. (Marchand 1969: 382)

In *showoff*, the relation between the elements is one of subject and predicate. Syntactically, the whole compound represents the predicate whereas the subject is not overtly expressed, i.e. it is rendered by zero. Similar to the synthetic compounds therefore, one acquires a discrepancy between the structural, e.g. *show/off*, and the semantic-syntactical, e.g. *showoff/Ø*, analyses. This is the reason why Marchand (1969: 13) classifies the compound nouns in (27) as 'pseudo compounds' and defines them as "combinations with a compound determinant and a zero determinatum".

Another subtype of V+P exocentric compounds is illustrated by the remaining formations in (27d). They either denote objects or belong to the predication-type of reference. For example, a *checkup* means 'general (physical) examination' or it may refer to any action, state, event, etc. of checking up. *Payback* and *giveaway* are usually understood respectively as 'return of owned money' and as 'present' but can, of course, be used as action nouns. And a third type of exocentric compounds made up of V+P comprises formations such as *love-in*, *talk-in*, *teach-in* and *sit-in.* These are mostly compounds including *in* as final element. [60] Originating in the 1960s, they were initially used to denote 'group protest'. Later, their basic meaning has come to be something like 'group activity'. What is essential for this type is that

> unlike other combinations […] the substantives cannot be considered derivatives from phrasal verbs as corresponding verbal phrases do not exist (the only exception is *sit in* (on a meeting, rehearsal, etc.) which is, however, unrelated in meaning to the substantive *sit-in*) . (Marchand 1969: 385)

Similarly, on the basis of the semantics of the remaining exocentric compounds in (27), they are grouped into two distinct types. The first one comprises the patterns Adj+N and N+N. In the linguistic literature, it is referred to as the type of 'possessive compounds' simply because it denotes 'someone who has what is expressed by the two constituents'. Therefore, the major function of this type is to produce agent nouns. Eventually, there are exocentric compounds that denote

---

[60] Recently produced examples are found in Adams (2001: 76-77).

animals, e.g. *popeye*, *greybeard*, plants, e.g. *longleaf*, or other non-animate things, e.g. *paperback*, *greenback*, *whitecap*. Semantically, the analysis of the possessive compounds is dt+dm/Ø. It should be noted, however, that the zero morpheme is "only a classifier, […] a substantival categori[s]er" (Marchand 1974b: 335) with a meaning of its own. It categorises the compounds into the subject-type of reference and converts the Adj+N or N+N combinations from the class of 'impersonal' into the one of 'human-denoting' nouns. Therefore, Marchand (ibid.) claims that possessive combinations are "derivatives but not compounds".

The second type of possessive compounds is represented by the formations in (27c). As the rest of the exocentric compounds, in these combinations the final element is not of the same kind as the whole. Similar to possessive compounds in general, the semantic head denotes an agent and is not entailed in the morphological unit. Yet, contrary to them, in this type of possessive compounds the relationship between the elements "is indicated by the predicate/object nexus of the formal basis" (Marchand 1969: 380). The fact that the noun is interpreted as the argument of the verb makes them resemble secondary compound nouns. Unlike them, however, the corresponding syntactic categories have an unexpected word-order. For instance, in *truck driver* (O-P-S) the relation between the constituents is the reverse of the one in the paraphrase while in *pickpocket* it is not. It may be the case that *pickpocket* is 'someone who (S) picks (P) pockets (O)' and *cutpurse* 'someone who cuts purses' but it is evident that the process of lexicalisation have touched this group of possessive compounds. They both are synonyms of *thief* who does not only steal purses and whatever else he/she finds in someone's pockets. Similarly, a *killjoy*, *daredevil*, and *turncoat* do not refer to someone who literally 'kills joys', 'dares devils', and 'turns coats' respectively but signify a 'gloomy person who spoils the fun of the others', 'a reckless person', and 'a traitor'.

2.4.1.3. Copula compounds

Until now, two major categories of compound nouns in English have been presented, i.e. the endocentric and the exocentric compounds. As it has already become apparent, the basic property of the latter is that neither of the elements is of the same kind as the whole. In the former category, the second constituent

is functionally and semantically equivalent to the entire combination. If A stands for the determinant and B represents the determinatum in each category, the given characteristics may be expressed by the formulas AB=B for the endocentric compounds and AB ≠ B, AB ≠ A for the exocentric compounds. For them, one can even argue that the proper model for their description is AB = C in which C stands for the semantic head of the compound. Then, for the third major category of compound nouns, namely the copula compounds, the basic line of interpretation can be mathematically given by the double formula AB=B and AB=A, i.e. the compound as a whole is equal to the determinatum as well as to the determinant. This dual interpretation explains why the compound nouns under discussion are called 'copula'. The term implies that the verb *to be* appears twice in the underlying paraphrase of these compounds. For example, a *writer-producer* is 'someone who is producer' and 'someone who is a writer'. This also accounts for the fact that copula compounds are sometimes called 'dvandva'. It is the Sanskrit label referring to combinations of 'two and two'. [61] The basic morphological pattern, the semantic types, and the characteristics of copula compounds are to be inferred from the following examples:

(28) a. poet-translator, editor-publisher;
   b. singer-songwriter, composer-pianist;
   c. producer-screenwriter, writer-director;
   d. philosopher-scientist, scholar-scientist;
   e. doctor-daughter, lawyer-husband;
   f. oak tree, teaching profession;
   g. fighter-bomber, washer-drier;
   h. father-son relationship, Bush-Merkel meeting;
   i. brother-sister duet, father-son combination;

On the basis of the examples above, it is obvious that the main pattern for the formation of copula compound nouns is N+N. The two constituents may be either simple as, for example, in *oak tree* or *doctor-daughter*, or they are both secondary lexemes as in *singer-songwriter*. Eventually, there are cases in which only one of the elements is a primary word as in *poet-translator*. Moreover, as *Bush-Merkel meeting* demonstrates the members of a copula compound can be proper names. Additionally, the determinant can also have the form V-ing as in *teaching profession* or *dancing girl* and thus representing another sub-pattern of

---

[61] In Russian *dva* means 'two'.

copula compounds. What is important to mention, however, is that not every derivative constitutes a copula compound. Olsen (2000c: 295) claims that

> stems derived by prefixation are not usually concatenated morphologically into a copulative compound, cf. [… *co-writer-co-executive producer* (*Kennerly*)]. Instead, they […] retain the form of an explicit syntactic coordination (= […(*Kernerly was*) *co-writer and co-executive producer*]).

Nonetheless, more than two elements may be combined into a copula compound similar to the situation in endocentric N+N compounds.[62] For instance, three nouns are combined into the copula compound *producer-composer-musician* to refer to a single individual who has all these functions. It is even possible to produce a four-member copula compound such as *mixer-fruitpresser-toaster-coffemachine* which denotes several distinct usages of one kitchen machinery. Although "[o]ne cannot so easily demonstrate that there is no such thing as the longest word in English "(Carstairs-McCarthy 2002: 75), the copula compound *computer company founder-operating system* ex-*owner-programmer-shareholder-NGOs member-activist*, referring to Bill Gates, is perhaps too long and too complicated to be considered as one whole. Yet, it is a possible expression. For instance, in a competition of inventing the longest word for one of the most famous men worldwide it may count as such.

As far as the function of copula compounds is concerned, one can see from the examples in (28) that "[b]y far the most productive semantic pattern designates people" (Olsen 2000c: 295). This is not surprising since in everyday life there is a growing need to refer to people by their profession. Thus, according to the areas of usage several semantic types can be distinguished. In (28a) the compounds are used in journalism or writing in general, those in (28b) refer to individuals who earn their money with music, the lexemes in (28c) designate people employed in television, film or theatre, and those in (28d) are common in science. Additionally, there are copula compounds which serve as designations for things such as those in (28f+g). Furthermore, in some copula compounds as in *doctor-daughter and lawyer-husband* the first element signifies profession and the second kinship.

---

[62] Cf. the compounds in (5e+f).

According to the type of relations between the constituents, the copula compounds in (28) are subdivided into two distinct semantic types. The first is the one illustrated with the formations in (28a-e). They all refer to "one individual of whom the two attributes named in the compound are equally predicted" (Olsen 2000c: 284). For instance, a *singer-songwriter* is a songwriter and at the same time someone who is a singer. *Producer-screenwriter* is understood as a human being who is both a screenwriter and a producer. It seems therefore that in these compounds the two constituents provide two labels for a single person and that each one equally contributes to the meaning of the whole construction. By virtue of this fact, it is claimed that the relationship between the constituents is one of apposition. Consequently, these compounds are termed 'appositional compounds'. They in turn can be divided into two different subtypes. The first includes expressions such as those in (28f). According to Marchand (1969: 40-41), *oak tree* and *teaching profession* are representatives of the subtype called 'subsumptive compounds' and defined as combinations in which

> A is or is assumed to be a logical subclass of B. In **oak tree**, *oak* is by definition a *tree*, with *tree* representing the genus and *oak* the species. In **teaching profession,** *profession* does not logically represent the genus of *teaching* but is only ad hoc assumed to do so as one possible class we choose to consider for our purpose. *Teaching* might be a vocation […], and several other things. An *oak*, however, can only be a tree. A subsumption takes place in either case. The type of compound is also called subordinative compound [not my bold type].

The second subtype of appositional compounds is exemplified by the lexemes in (28g). *Fighter-bomber* and *washer-drier* are 'additive compounds' because they can be paraphrased respectively as 'something that is a bomber and a fighter' and as 'a thing that is a drier and a washer', i.e. with the help of the conjunction *and*. This, of course, can also be claimed for the other copula compounds discussed up to this point. Nevertheless, it is important to outline that these compounds describe a single entity in two roles rather than a set of entities. Therefore, they "should not be analysed as 'A+B' but as 'B which is also A' " (Marchand 1969: 41). The same formula is also used to explain copulative expressions with proper names such as *Austria-Hungary*. Hereafter, it appears dubious whether additive compounds need to be put into a separate group. Even if they need not, they are definitely different from endocentric compounds. However, the question direct us to the fact that

die Charakterisierung dessen, was unter den Begriff des Kopulativkompositum fallen soll, divergiert in verschiedenen Darstellungen […]. Darüber hinaus hat die Verwendung des Begriffs der 'appositiven' oder 'appositionellen Komposition' oder auch 'attributiven Komposition' eher zur Verwirrung als zur Klärung des Phänomens beigetragen. (Neuß 1981: 32) [63]

Apart from the appositional compounds, the second type of copula compounds can be inferred from the examples in (28h+i). It is separated from the first as it differs from it in two ways. Firstly, in this type the copula compound is embedded into a more complex structure. For instance, in *father-son relationship*, the copula compound *father-son* constitutes the first member of a combination which has the noun *relationship* as its head. Secondly, given that it does not appear in isolation, its interpretation differs considerably from the one it usually has when this is not the case. In other words, the copula compound *father-son* "conforms to the semantic requirements of its head" (Olsen 2000c: 298). Simply, this means that *father-son relationship* in interpreted as a relationship between two people, the one being the father and the other the son. Analogically, *Bush-Merkel meeting* signifies a meeting which necessarily involves two individuals, viz.: Merkel and Bush. In *brother-sister duet* and *father-son combination* the heads *duet* and *combination* exclude the possibility of interpreting the two copulative formations as 'a single person who is brother and sister' and as 'someone who is a father as well as a son' respectively. Rather, they demand a reading in which the copula compound is a collective of two members in which each one stands in particular relationship with regard to the following noun. That is why, the relationship between *brother* and *sister* and *father* and *son* is coordinated with the respective heads. Therefore, these compounds are called 'coordinative compounds'.

A coordinative compound may eventually be ambiguous. For example, a *philosopher-scientist crew* can either mean 'a crew of scientist-philosophers' or 'a crew made up of philosophers and scientists'. In such situations, "[p]ragmatic […] factors […] would […] have […] a disambiguating function" (Kastovsky 1986: 73) while knowledge of the basic properties of this category will help establishing the right meaning of a copula compound. For instance, whenever a speaker wants to form the plural of *composer-pianist* he/she does so by adding the morpheme *–s*

---

[63] Marchand's discussion of *fighter-bomber* as an attributive syntagma in Marchand (1974c: 303-304).

to the last element of the compound, i.e. to *pianist*. Consequently, as far as the plural formation is concerned, it is possible to claim that copula compounds conform to the general principles of a compound. However, they do not exhibit the usual compound stress but have two heavy stresses on each constituent. Therefore, Marchand (1969: 23), who claims that "[s]tress *is* a criterion [not my italics]" for compoundhood, considers copulative combinations to be two-stressed syntactic phrases. [64]

2.4.2. Minor categories

In addition to the three major categories of compound nouns in the English language, i.e. the endocentric, exocentric, and copula compounds, there is a further class of combinations present in the language. It comprises abbreviated, clipped, and onomatopoetic formations. The former two are connected with the process of shortening one and/or both of the constituents and the latter is characterised by the unity of sound symbols known under the terms 'ideophones' and 'phonoesthemes'.[65] All three groups of compounds, further expanded in the following sections, represent rather untypical methods of combining already existing word-building elements in the English language. It is not only the coinage of these compounds but also the pragmatic effect of their usage that mark them as unusual and distinct from endocentric, exocentric, and copula lexemes.

2.4.2.1. Abbreviated compounds

Abbreviated compounds can be illustrated with the following formations:

(29) a. Euro = European: Euro market, Euro-student, Euro rights, etc.
     b. techno = technology: technofreak, technomarket, technophobe, etc.
     c. eco = ecology: eco tourist, eco jargon, eco office, etc.
     d. tele = television: telestar, telefilm, telecasting, etc.
     e. photo = photography: photo exhibition, photo paper, photo shop, etc.
     f. VAT limitation, NATO charter, CD burner, DVD recorder, etc.

---

[64] For further information about two-stressed syntactic groups cf. Marchand (1969: 24, 124-125).
[65] See the use of the terms 'ideophone' and 'phonaestheme' respectively in Baldi & Dawer (2000: 964) and Adams (2001: 121).

In all the formations above, it is the first constituent which is abbreviated whereas the second member enters the combination in its full form. If this process is defined as "the reduction of a word to one of its parts" (Marchand 1969: 440), then it can be said that the compounds in (29) contain a clipped determinant. More precisely, in the compounds in (29a-e) given phonological material is cut from the source item, viz. *pean*, *logy*, *vision* and *graphy*, so that only the initial part of the original word is preserved. The remaining elements *Euro*, *techno*, *eco*, *tele*, and *photo* should be regarded as new words, particularly when, as they actually do, they supplant the longer form altogether. In fact, they are shortened while still retaining the same meaning and still belonging to the same class. That is why, the process of shortening does not represent any difficulty in understanding the whole combination. Moreover, there is at some extend a certain familiarity with these abbreviated constituents because they are found in many combinations as the examples demonstrate. However, that does not mean that every abbreviated compound can be substituted for its full variant because the two "are not interchangeable in the same type of speech" (Marchand 1969: 440). For instance, *ad strategy* is used in casual, everyday speech whereas *advertisement strategy* is more appropriate in Standard English.

An extreme kind of abbreviation is represented by the compounds in (29f). In each example the initial letters of words or sequences of words are put together and used as new lexemes. Thus, *value added tax*, *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation*, *compact disc* and *digital versatile disc* stand for *VAT*, *NATO*, *CD* and *DVD* respectively. These abbreviations are termed 'acronyms'. According to the way they are pronounced, a distinction is made between proper acronyms like *NATO* and *VAT* pronounced as words according to the spelling rules in English and 'initialisms' such as *CD* and *DVD* in which every letter is alphabetically pronounced. [66]

2.4.2.2. Clipped compounds

Clipped compounds can be defined as combinations with two abbreviated constituents. For example, *sitcom*, *camcorder*, *sci-fi*, or *breathalyser* correspond respectively to *situational comedy*, *camera recorder*, *science fiction* and *breath*

---

[66] For more information about the differences between 'acronyms' and 'initialisms' cf. Algeo (1991: 9-10) and Kreidler (2000: 957-958).

analyser. It is necessary to point out that these long bases are themselves compounds. Their clipped versions are then also to be understood in terms of a modifier-head relationship between the constituents. This is exactly what distinguishes clipped compounds from 'blends'. [67] Despite the fact that a blend is a new lexeme built by merging parts of words into one whole, the relation between the items is distinct. For example, *chunnel* refers to something that is both a channel and a tunnel and *brunch* names an entity which has the properties of breakfast as well as these of lunch. In contrast, *sitcom* is a type of comedy, *camcorder* designates a kind of *recorder*, etc. Therefore, clipped compounds resemble endocentric compounds in that they are hyponyms of their heads. Unlike them, however, clipped compounds are

> multilations of words already in existence. They are characteri[s]ed by the fact that they are not coined as words belonging to the standard vocabulary of a language. They originate as terms of a special group. (Marchand 1969: 447)

2.4.2.3. Onomatopoetic compounds

Onomatopoetic compounds are not combinations of full linguistic signs. They are rather composed of phonetically motivated elements. The process according to which these compounds are coined is known as 'reduplication', i.e. "the repetition of the base of a word in part or in its entirety" (Katamba 2005: 72). Two types of onomatopoetic compounds can be distinguished, viz.:

(30) a. motivation by ablaut: ping-pong, flip-flop, singsong, tick tack, chit-chat, etc.
b. motivation by rhyme: mumbo-jumbo, boogie-woogie, hanky-panky, hocus-pocus, etc.

The compounds above have two units that are related to each other either by a vowel change as in (30a) or by rhyme as in (30b). What is essential to note is that an onomatopoetic compound does not necessarily consist of independent words. Thus, for instance, *sing-song* is a combination of two real lexemes whereas in *chit-chat* only the second constituent exists on its own. It is even possible to have a composite in which neither of the elements has the status of

---

[67] Cf. Bauer's definition of 'blend' in Bauer (2004: 22).

an autonomous word. This is illustrated with *boogie-woogie*. That is why, it can be accepted that the components of an onomatopoetic compound are mainly pseudo items. Consequently, one can call the coinages in (30) 'pseudo compounds'.

The basic feature of these compounds is that they are motivated by phonetic symbols and created to imitate the properties of a particular extra-linguistic referent. Thus, *tick tack* renders the sound made by the movement of a clock hand, *ping pong* is the name of a game or refers to the movement done by the ball in that sport. In *flip-flop* the ablaut signals the up and down motion as usually produced by light sandals. *Chitchat* expresses the idea of trivial conversation. The property shared by all ablaut motivated compounds is that the "member […with] the higher vowel always precedes the one that has the lower vowel" (Marchand 1969: 431).

Rhyme motivated compounds combine elements which, if looked at in isolation, are playful, fanciful, and meaningless phoneme sequences. Nevertheless, the reduplicated twin forms *mumbo-jumbo*, *boogie-woogie*, *hanky-panky*, and *hocus-pocus* designate respectively 'nonsense', 'type of blues', 'deception', and 'trickery'. According to Marchand (1969: 437), they "have a less serious character than ablauting combination".

3. Compounds in Russian

3.1. What is a compound?

3.1.1. Compound as proizvodnoe slovo 'a derived word'

In order to explain what a compound is in Russian, it is again necessary to know where it belongs in the grammar of the language. It is part of those words in the lexicon which are known as 'derived words'. In Russian they are called 'proizvodnye slova'.[68] The domain responsible for their production is 'slovoobrazovanie', i.e. 'word-formation'. The actual process which governs the creation of secondary lexemes in Russian is generally known as 'slovoproizvodstvo', i.e. 'word-derivation'. Recently, however, the term 'slovoobrazovanie' is used to designate not only the linguistic discipline centred on words but also the morphological patterns used in that branch of the language.[69]

Basically, in Russian derivatives are characterised by the fact that they are

> novye slova [kotorye] proizvodjatsja na osnove staryh i po ih obrazcu, iz gotovyh, imejushchihsja v jazyke chastej [new words formed from already existing words on the basis of their building elements and some underlying pattern]. (Zemskaja 1963: 8)[70]

Thus, in the morphological make up of proizvodnye slova 'derivatives' one can recognise ready-made language units which serve as building blocks for a new formation. According to the status and type of these word-forming items, i.e. whether they are bound, free, abbreviated, native, or foreign, the Russian lexicon comprises different types of derivatives. Given that a compound is only one of the several possible word-formations, looking at its structure is one way of defining it.

The morphological analysis of a compound corresponds to what is known in the Russian linguistics as 'morfemnyj analiz', i.e. 'morphological analysis'. It can be applied not only to compounds but also to any proizvodnoe slovo 'derivative'. Whenever applied, it determines the number and the kind of morphemes a complex lexeme consists of. However, it does not show precisely how a given

---

[68] Russian terms, key words, examples and quotations are transcribed into English according to the transliteration conventions given on page vi.
[69] Cf. Zemskaja (2005: 5).
[70] The English translations are mine and as far as possible they follow strictly the Russian text. Only rarely they do not go along the exact words of the original.

complex lexeme is built. Therefore, another way to describe the nature of a compound is to look at its method of production. This is exactly what the so-called 'slovoobrazovatel´nyj analiz', i.e. 'word-formation analysis', does. It has to be included in the description of any secondary lexeme because, on one hand, it establishes the derivational relationship between the base and the derivative and, on the other hand, it also demonstrates the word-formation principle according to which the morphemic material is combined into one whole.

Principally, in order to state that between two words there is a derivational relationship, it is necessary to recognise one of them as 'proizvodjashchaja osnova', i.e. 'deriving base', and the other as 'proizvodnaja osnova', i.e. 'derived base'. The former is "bolee prostaja po forme i smyslu [more simple in form and meaning]" (Dubchinskij 2001: 131) than the latter. To state for sure that specific derivative is a compound, one needs, firstly, to decompose it into its minimal parts and, secondly, to know the morphological rules for its formation. In this way, a compound in Russian can be distinguished from the other complex lexemes in the language and its characteristic properties inevitably become obvious.

3.1.2. Compound as slozhnoe slovo 'a complex word'

As highlighted in the previous section, the description of any Russian compound includes two aspects, namely the structural and the word-formation analyses. Both are not mutually exclusive but rather function complementary regardless of the claim that they "otlicha[ju]tsja […] i po zadacham, i po resultatam [differ in aims and results]" (Zemskaja 2005: 13). The word-formation analysis uses the outcome of the morphological analysis and comes into use immediately after the latter has finished. How the two analyses operate can be demonstrated with the compounds *slovoobrazovanie* and, its English equivalent, *word-formation*:

(31) a. slovo/obrazova/nie: obrazovat´ > obrazova+nie (suffixation) >
                              slov+o+obrazovanie (compounding + infixation) =
                              'obrazovanie slov'
      b. word/form/ation: to form > form+ation (suffixation) >
                              word+formation (compounding) =
                              'formation of words'

The morphological analysis just gives the result that *slovoobrazovanie* consists of three morphemes, the noun stem *slov* from *slovo* 'word', the verbal stem *obrazova* from *obrazovat´* 'to form', and the suffix *–nie.*[71]. Apparently, the word-formation analysis states how these components are united into one whole, i.e. the order and rules for their combination. Only after it is completed, it is possible to realise that *slovoobrazovanie* is not simply the addition of *slov*, *obrazova*, and *nie* exactly as *word-formation* is not built by the linear concatenation of *word*, *form*, and *ation*. Its formation includes several steps. The starting point is the base *obrazovat´.* In Russian it is called 'osnova' or 'bazovoe slovo', i.e. 'base word'. Then, the action noun *obrazovanie* is derived by the addition of the suffix *–nie.* And finally, *slov* and *obrazovanie* are joined together with the help of the linking morpheme *-o-* called an 'interfix'.[72] Since *slovoobrazovanie* means 'obrazovanie slov', i.e. 'formation of words', then it can be said that the compound is structurally and semantically motivated on its constituents. It denotes a kind of obrazovanie 'formation' and is a perfect example of a Russian endocentric compound. *Slov*, which is the determinant, functions as the object of the action/state/process/etc. denoted by the head. In this respect, it is clear that a Russian compound may consist of more than two morphemes, that its constituents can be interpreted as modifier and head, and that their combination can eventually include other processes than compounding. This is, nevertheless, not enough to delimit a compound from the other proizvodnye slova 'derivatives'. The number of the base words, in the sense of stems, involved characterises given derivative as compound. As it can be seen from (31a), a compound is a complex "lexeme containing two or more potential stems" (Bauer 1983: 29), i.e. *slov* and *obrazova*. This is exactly the reason why in the Russian language a compound is termed 'slozhnoe slovo', i.e. 'complex word'. Thus, it is distinguished from derivatives with only one stem and an affix such as *obrazova/ni*e or *so/avtor* 'co-author'. It should be noted, however, that not every derivative which has two stems can be regarded as a product of compounding. The next formations exemplify this:

---

[71] Cf. Kastovky's definition of 'stem' in Kastovsky (2008c: 6). For the meaning of 'stem' as used in the Russian language cf. Cubberly (2002: 107).

[72] For the role of the interfix in compounds cf. the next section of this thesis.

(32)   a. zhelez + o + beton + shchik: 'iron' + interfix + 'concrete' + agent noun
                                          suffix
       b. par + o + hod + stvo: steam' + interfix + 'walk' + action noun
                                          suffix

Although *zhelezobetonshchik* 'someone who works in the ferro-concrete industry' consists of the two stems *zhelez* from *zhelezo* 'iron' and *beton* 'concrete', it is the compound noun *zhelezobeton* that serves as proizvodjashchaja osnova 'deriving base' for the suffixation *zhelezobetonshchik*. In this case, the suffix *–shchik* produces an agent noun. Although it and its alternant *–chik* are primarily used to designate people, they show a tendency to form nouns meaning things too. For example, *benz-o-zapravchik* is a 'petrol tanker' but *trub-o-ukladchik* means 'pipe-layer'. Both of them can be interpreted as referring to a person and a tool. Therefore, *zhelezobetonshchik* is an example of an ambiguous formation. Exactly which reading, of several possible ones, is realised in a given situation is determined by pragmatic factors, i.e. "context is crucial to the understanding of the grammatical structure" (Komkov 1983: 163).

Similarly, it is wrong to regard *parohodstvo* 'steamship line' as a result of compounding since the compounded base word *par-o-hod* 'steamboat', from *para* 'steam' and the verbal stem from *hodit´* 'walk', is the input to the addition of the suffix *–stvo*. Therefore, in order to say what a compound is

> neobhodimo ustanovit´ posledovatel´nost´ soedinenija morfem, najti to slovo, ot kotorogo neposredstvenno bylo obrazovano analizuruemoe slovo. Tol´ko takoj analiz daet vozmozhnost´ ponjat´, kak imenno proizhodilo obrazovanie slova [it is necessary to find out the successive morphemic adjoining and to establish the base word from which the analysed word is immediately derived. Only such an analysis shows exactly how a lexeme is produced]. (Zemskaja 1963: 44)

Based on what has been discussed above, it is obvious that a compound may serve as an input into another word-formation process and that the morphemes it is built of are hierarchically ordered. The principle which governs their combination is known in Russian as 'slozhenie', i.e. 'compounding'. It belongs to the 'morfologicheskij sposob', i.e. 'morphological method', for the formation of new words. It uses what is already present in the language and unites it into one whole. Thus, it is contrasted with the 'lexico-syntactic' formation which produces

amalgamations of a special type.[73] For instance, the word *sumashedshij* 'madman' is not a morphological compound but rather a syntactic derivative. It consists of the preposition *s* 'out', the noun *um* 'mind' in an oblique case, and the past participle of the verb *sojti* 'go', i.e. *shedshij* 'who was going'. In fact, this complex adjective is sometimes regarded as a special type of compounds called by Komkov (1983: 171) 'de-phrasals'. They are based on phrases, e.g. in this case on *s uma shedshij* 'tot kotoryj soshël s uma', i.e. 'he who has gone out of his mind'. In the course of time the parts of the phrase have merged together without further adjustments. At first glance, however, *sumashedshij* does not differ structurally from any other lexical compound.[74]

Nowadays, compounding in Russian is "ein wichtiges Verfahren zur Bildung neuer lexikalischer Einheiten" (Günter 2002: 193). Despite this fact, it is generally accepted that derivation, i.e. suffixation and prefixation, is far more common way of enlarging the Russian vocabulary. It is not surprising then that in some linguistic books compounding achieves only marginal attention.[75] Nevertheless, it is essential to know that it is the process "pri kotorom putem ob´´edinenija dvuh i bolee osnov obrazuetsja novoe slovo [which forms a new word by combining two or more base words, in the sense of stems]" (Valgina, Rozental´ & Fomina 2003: 137-138). Yet, in the Russian language, slozhenie 'compounding' is not the only morphological process which produces compounds. Whenever a complex lexeme is built by compounding alone, the process is known as 'chistoe slozhenie', i.e. 'pure compounding'. In contrast, whenever compounding proceeds in combination with another pattern, it is classified as 'slozhno-suffiksal´nyj sposob', i.e. 'complex suffixational formation'. It includes the processes suffixation and derivation by a zero morpheme. Each of them can work simultaneously with compounding and creates constructions which are known as 'parasynthetic'.[76] Therefore, if one looks again at the examples in (32), it can be said that they are complex words produced by the addition of a suffix to a stem and at the same time by combining the latter with another stem. In addition, abbreviation also accounts for the building of compounds, namely those

---

[73] For a more detailed discussion about the word-formation methods in Russian cf. Zemskaja (2005: 176-179).
[74] For more examples of compounds based on syntactic phrases cf. Wade (2000: 30).
[75] For instance, this is the case in Valgina, Rozental´ & Fomina (2003: 137-138).
[76] Cf. Adams' use of the term 'parasynthetic' in Adams (2001: 4). The Russian compounds produced by this process are discussed in 3.3.1.2.

that are referred to as 'slozhno-sokrashchënnye slova', i.e. 'complex abbreviated lexemes'. How all these four principles are carried out can be best demonstrated on the basis of the composites they form. The mechanisms of these processes will be dealt with in the discussion of the separate compound categories. Given the fact that the main emphasis of this thesis lies on the products of the processes and not on the processes themselves, the next section will concentrate on the characteristic features shared by all Russian compounds.

3.2. General features

In order to describe the basic features of a compound, its morphological, semantic, and syntactic behaviours are studied. As it has already been mentioned before, the fundamental structural property of a compound is that it consists of "mindestens zwei autosemantischen Stämmen" (Belenchikov 1993: 129). In most cases, whenever two stems are united, the process is accompanied by the addition of an interfix. It is considered to be 'slovoobrazovatel´nyj formant', i.e. 'word-formation formative', typical of compounds, which carries no meaning of its own but has only a linking function. Usually, the interfix found in compounds is the letter *o* as, for instance, in *beton-o-meshalka* 'concrete mixer' from *beton* 'concrete' and *meshalka* 'mixer', *hleb-o-zavod* '(mechanical) bakery' from *hleb* 'bread' and *zavod* 'factory' and *glubok-o-myslie* 'profundity of thought' from *glubokij* 'profound/deep' and the desubstantival noun *myslie* 'thought'. In some cases, however, the connecting vowel is spelled *e*. This happens mainly after soft and the unpaired hard consonants *sh*, *c,* and *zh* as in *mor-e-plavatel´* 'navigator' from *more* 'sea' and the agent noun from *plavat´* 'swim' or *pesh-e-hod* 'pedestrian' from *peshij* 'on foot' and the verbal stem from *hodit´* 'walk', *ptic-e-fabrika* 'integrated poultry farm' from *ptica* 'bird' and *fabrika* 'farm', or *furazh-e-meshalka* 'forage mixer' from *furazh* 'forage' and *meshalka* 'mixer'.[77] It seems therefore that the different realisations of the interfix are governed by morphonological factors. As will be demonstrated later, many other phonemes can be regarded as variants of the interfix *-o-*. For the sake of better understanding and ease of reading, from now on it will be separated from the other morphemes with the help of the grapheme

---

[77] For more information about the soft and hard consonants in Russian cf. Wade (2000: 7-9).

tilde, e.g. *glubok~o~mysl-ie*, *ptic~e~fabrika*. Eventually, it is even possible to find compounds which do not make use of the interfix.[78]

Another important structural feature of compounds is the "zakreplennyj porjadok komponentov [consolidated joining of their components]" (Zemskaja 2005: 185). It is marked in three different ways. Firstly, it is accepted that usually the second component, called in Russian 'bazovoe', 'opornoe' or 'osnovnoe slovo', 'basic/supporting/main word', i.e. determinatum, marks the grammatical behaviour of the compound. This means that the gender, number, and case markers are attached to the determinatum after all word-forming morphemes. For example, in the noun *zhelez~o~beton-shchik-ov* the ending *–ov* for genitive plural animate masculine is attached after the agent noun suffix *–shchik*. Similarly, the zero ending in *zhelezobetonshchik-Ø* (Nom. sg. m.) is again after the suffix *–shchik*. In addition, this zero ending signals that the complex noun declines according to the Russian first declension system for masculine nouns ending in hard consonants.[79]

Secondly, the firm unity of the immediate constituents is underlined by the fact that compounds usually carry one heavy stress on the head noun. Some exceptions are formations with *pis´* as heads such as *mashin~o~pis´* 'type writing' from *pisat´* 'write' and *mashina* 'machine', or *sten~o~pis´* 'mural painting' from *pisat´ and stena* 'wall'.[80] Only occasionally, the first member of a compound has 'pobochnoe' or 'vtorichnoe udarenie', i.e. 'secondary stress'. This happens either whenever the compound is multisyllabic or when its first member is an abbreviated analytical adjective, viz.:

(33) a. samolèt~o~stroénie
     b. gàz~o~generátor
     c. pàrt/sobránie

In the compound *samolëtostroenie* 'aircraft construction' formed from the verbal stem from *stroit´* 'build', the suffix *–enie*, and *samolët* 'airplane' (lit. 'self-flyer'), the secondary stress is necessary because the modifier consists of three syllables, i.e. *sa-mo-lët*. Similarly, in (33b) the four syllables of the determinatum,

---

[78] Cf., for example, the discussion of the analytical compounds and binominals respectively in 3.3.1.3.1. and 3.3.2.2. of this thesis.
[79] For a declension chart of Russian nouns cf. Wade (2000: 73).
[80] Cf. Janko-Trinickaja (2001: 347) for more exceptions to this rule.

i.e. *ge-ne-ra-tor*, induce secondary stress. This compound means 'gas generator/producer' and unites *gaz* 'petrol' and *generator* 'generator'. And in (33c) it is the analytical adjective *partijnyj* 'party' (lit. 'belonging to the party'), i.e. its abbreviated form, which calls forth secondary stress in *partsobranie* 'party meeting'.[81]

And thirdly, the merging of the morphemes into one new lexeme is signalled by the fact that generally "net peremeshchenija komponentov [it is impossible to interchange the position of the components]" (Janko-Trinickaja 2001: 347). In other words, the order of the constituents is in most cases fixed. This is mainly the case in determinative compounds with modifier-head structure. However, in some coordinative compounds called in Russian 'binominals', e.g. *vagon-restoran* 'restaurant car' (lit. 'wagon-restaurant') or *raketa-nositel´* 'carrier rocket' (lit. 'rocket-carrier'), the qualifier follows the head word.[82] Moreover, in combinations with noun coordinates it is possible to change the linear order of the two substantives. For instance, *sad-jasli* 'nursery and kindergarten' (lit. kindergarten-nursery') can appear as *jasli-sad*. As it is the case in English compound nouns, the morphological unity of the constituents represents a basic level for interpreting a Russian compound. Generally, it is accepted that the meaning of a compound

> opredelimo possylki na slovosochetanie, v kotorom nahodjatsja slova s dannymi kornjami ili, rezhe, na dva slova, ne vhodjashchie v slovosochetanie [is inferred from the underlying paraphrase which usually contains the parts of the compound or, rarely, from one which does not contain them]. (Janko-Trinickaja 2001: 343)

This means that some Russian compounds are totally transparent while others may have additional semantic features not deducible from the individual components. Thus, for instance, the meaning of *sneg~o~zaderzhanie* 'snow retention' is fully inferable from the meaning of its elements *zaderzhanie* 'retention' and *sneg* 'snow'. In contrast, *kash~e~var* 'cook', formed from the verbal stem from *varit´* 'boil/cook' and *kasha* 'porridge', does not designate someone who cooks porridges but refers to a person who is a professional cook, i.e. someone who can cook everything or at least many other meals than just porridges. Therefore, it cannot be said that the semantics of a Russian

---

[81] For more information about compounds with analytical units cf. section 3.3.1.3.1. of this thesis.
[82] Cf. the discussion of binominals in 3.3.2.2.

compound is always the sum of the meanings of its morphemes. In Russian, this phenomenon is called 'frazeologichnost′' or 'idiomatichnost′', i.e. 'lexicalisation/idiomatisation'.[83]

As far as the possible semantic-syntactic relations between the immediate constituents of the Russian compound are concerned, it should be noted that this aspect has been neglected in the Russian word-formation.[84] However, a distinction is made between endocentric and coordinative, i.e. copula, compounds. The majority of the latter are represented by the so-called 'binominals'. They are clearly separated from the other compound categories simply because they have characteristic features which are not typical of compounds.[85] Additionally, in the Russian language there are exocentric compounds, i.e. combinations which denote neither a kind of the modifier nor a type of the head. Yet, it is interesting that the label 'exocentric' is not used in Russian in connection with these constructions. Rather, they are seen as a category of compounds produced by the parasynthetic process compounding-zero derivation.[86]

Recently, two authors have published comparative studies between the Russian and the German compounds in which there is an overview of the possible types of references.[87] For instance, many Russian compounds such as *knig~o~torgovec* 'book trader' are interpreted as 'the determinant (A) is the object of what is denoted by the determinatum (B)', i.e. as 'torgovec knig', i.e. 'trader of books'. If the semantic-syntactic relation of the English translation *book trader* is to be analysed, then one comes up with the relation O-P-S. Apparently, such an analysis in Russian seems to be of a very general nature. It just states the semantic relation between the immediate constituents without assigning a syntactic category to each of the morphemes in the compound. Similarly, *mor~e~plava-nie* 'sea navigation' is analysed as 'plavanie po more' 'navigation in high seas', i.e. as action (Pn) carried out where (AdP) it is signified by the determinant. Strictly speaking, however, the compound mirrors the relation AdP-P-Pn in which *plava-nie* is not an independently occurring word in Russian. A

---

[83] Cf. Zemskaja (2005: 9-10) for a general characteristic of this process.
[84] Cf. Günter (2002: 194) who claims the same.
[85] For a detailed description of binominals cf. 3.3.2.2.
[86] Cf. chapter 3.3.1.2.1. for an analysis of the compounds produced by this process.
[87] Cf. Belenchikov (1993: 133-143), Günter (1996: 359-363). A slightly different version of the latter is found in Günter (2002: 196-197).

simple statement that in *mor~e~plava-nie* the 'A is the place where B is usually done' does not account for a full description of the compound. This means that in order to describe the compound properly, a speaker has to recognise the process compounding-suffixation behind it. Therefore, Russian compounds are preferably classified firstly into word-formation patterns and then into semantic categories. However, such a classification is not always easy. For instance, according to Günter (2002: 197), *sen~o~uborka* 'hay harvesting' is produced by pure compounding. It is ambiguous because its first constituent is either the subject or the object of what is denoted by *uborka*. If the former is accepted, the compound has the underlying phrase 'seno ubiraetsja', i.e. 'the hay is harvested' (S-P). If the latter is the case, then the compound means 'uborka seno', 'the harvesting of hay', and the compound mirrors the relation O-Pn. In the same manner, in *nos~o~rog* 'rhinoceros' the substantives *nos* 'nose' and *rog* 'horn' are united with the help of the linking vowel *-o-* . Just saying that in this compound the relation between the constituents is 'B is on A', will not lead to an understanding of the compound. In fact, such an analysis is misleading because *nos~o~rog* is not a type of horn nor it is a kind of nose but denotes an animal (with a horn on the nose). That is why, the categories of compound nouns in this thesis are grouped into patterns and subdivided into semantic types.

Generally, paying little attention to the semantic-syntactic aspect of Russian compounds has mainly to do with the assumption that the Russian compound "lange Zeit als […] nicht typische Bildung galt" (Günter 2002: 193). Yet, as will prove to be the case, the compounds in Russian are as nearly prolific as they are in English. As a matter of fact, in the course of the last decades the number of the Russian compounds has increased rapidly, giving rise to new compound categories as, for example, the binominals. The main grounds for this are to be found in the function of compounds. As any other word-formation in Russian, they have, according to Zemskaja (1992: 8-12), naming, constructive, compressive, expressive, and stylistic functions. Unlike the other derivatives, the new words produced by

> slovoslozhenie, slozhno-sokrashchennogo sposoba, […] a takzhe proizvodsvo sostavnyh naimenovanij, […] privodit k uvelicheniju kolichestva mnogomorfemnyh slov v russkom jazyke [compounding, complex abbreviation, […] and by apposition, lead to the enlargement of the multimorphemic words in the Russian language]. (Zemskaja 1997: 199)

Hence, the next chapter will be concerned with the description of the separate compound categories.

3.3. Categories

3.3.1. Determinative compounds

In the Russian language, the category of determinative combinations includes the majority of the Russian compounds. According to Günter (1996: 354), it is the most productive word-formation category. Determinative compounds are those which have subordinative relationship between the determinant and the determinatum. It is the former which modifies the latter. The dominant constituent is the determinatum/head. It represents the grammatical and the semantic class of the whole compound. Therefore, determinative compounds can be interpreted similar to the endocentric compounds one finds in the English language. In Russian, the two immediate constituents are joined together with an interfix. Determinative compounds are produced either by pure compounding or by the parasynthetic processes compounding-suffixation and compounding-zero derivation. Therefore, on the basis of these morphological principles, they can be subdivided into two groups. Additionally, according to the word-class of the determinant, a further structural division can be made. Within these patterns

> versucht [man] bei den Determinativkomposita das semantische Verhältnis der Komponenten genauer zu bestimmen und auf diese Weise semantische Typen herauszuarbeiten. (Günter 2002: 196)

3.3.1.1. Pure compounds

Pure determinative compounds are formed by the process of compounding only. They have a linking vowel between their immediate constituents, main stress on the second member and a determinatum which is "ravnym samostojatel´nomu sushchestvitel´nomu [an independently occurring noun]" (Shvedova & Lopatin 2002: 85). There are several basic patterns. The first is the pattern N+N and can be illustrated with the following formations:

(34) a. ptic~e~ferma 'integrated poultry farm'
       hleb~o~zavod '(mechanical) bakery';
    b. dach~e~vladelec 'country house owner'
       knig~o~izdatel´ 'book publisher';
    c. korabl~e~krushenie 'shipwreck'
       les~o~promyshlennost´ 'timber industry';

As shown above, the pattern N+N is subdivided into three semantic groups (34a, b+c). In all examples the determinant is a simple noun. The compound nouns in (34a) are combinations of two primary bases, viz.: *ptica* 'bird' + *ferma* 'farm' and *hleb* 'bread' + *zavod* 'factory'. In the former case, the final phoneme of the stem *ptic* conditions the appearance of the connecting vowel *e*, whereas in the latter combination its basic representation *-o-* is realised. *Ptic~e~ferma* means 'ferma dlja pric', i.e. 'farm for poultry', and designates the place where domestic fowl is cultivated. Similarly, *hleb~o~zavod* means 'factory in which bread is fabricated'. In contrast, the compounds in (34b) have agent nouns as heads. They are formed by the pattern noun stem + verbal stem + suffix. Thus, *dach~e~vladelec* is 'someone who owns (*vladet´*) a country house' and *knig~o~izdatel´* refers to a person who publishes (*izdavat´/izdat´*) books, i.e. professionally does this. Both compounds have the relation O-P-S. They are perfect examples of what is known in English as synthetic compounds, in which the determinata are words. The remaining compounds in (34) are action nouns, i.e. compounds with predication-type of reference. What should be noted, however, is that the determinatum of *les~o~promyshlennost´* 'timber industry' is not a deverbal formation but a simple noun which "jedoch das Bedeutung 'Tätigkeit' impliziert" (Günter 2002: 197). In opposition to it is the formation *korabl~e~krushenie* 'shipwreck' formed by the suffixation of *–enie* to *krushit´* 'shatter/destroy' and by compounding it with *korabl´* 'ship'. On the basis of the examples in (34) one can draw the conclusion that it is obligatory for pure compounds to have words as heads which, on their own, can be simple or complex.

The second pattern which accounts for the formation of pure determinative compounds is Adj+N and can be illustrated with the following formations:

(35) a. suh~o~frukty 'dried fruits'
    b. nov~o~strojka 'new building'
    c. vol´n~o~slushatel´ 'occasional student'
    d. kriv~o~tolki 'false rumours'

All the compounds above have as determinants adjectival stems and words as determinata. The paraphrases of the compounds include the adjectives in their full forms. In Russian the ending of adjectives reflects the case, number, and gender of the noun they modify. The respective paraphrases are 'suhie frukty' (Nom. pl. m.), 'novaja stroika' (Nom. sg. f.), 'vol´nyj slushatel´´' (Nom. sg. m.), and 'krivye tolki' (Nom. pl. m.). These paraphrases are called in Russian 'slovosochetanija'. They may exist parallel to compounds, i.e. *suh~o~frukty* as well as *suhie frukty* are possible in Russian. Both combinations are complex expressions with no difference in meaning. Nevertheless, in contrast to the compounds, Adj+N phrases consist of two independent lexemes both of which are individually inflected and marked by heavy stress. Yet, the boundary between the two constructions is not easily set. [88] This is especially the case with Adj+Adj and Adv+Adj formations such as *chërno-belyj* 'black and white' and *malo-verojatnyj* 'scarcely probable'.

According to Günter (1996: 354), the pattern Adj+N "ist im Russischen nur schwach produktiv". One reason for this is perhaps the fact that many complex formations with adjective as first member are part of what is called in this thesis 'compounds with analytical units'. [89] Another reason may be the fact that in the Russian language, an adjective-substantive combination is mainly used for the formation of what Gladrov (1989: 237) calls 'Mehrwortbenennungen' and defines as

> Wortfügungen aus mindenstens zwei Autosemantika […], die stabil und reproduzierbar sind, einen Begriff benennen und einen einheitlichen Denotatsbezug aufweisen.

Thus, the syntactic phrases *kasetnyj magnitofon* 'tape recorder' and *kirpichnyj zavod* 'brickyard' contain as their first component one of the so-called 'relational adjectives'. These are secondary lexemes produced from nouns by suffixation, i.e. *kasseta* 'cassette'/*kirpich* 'brick' + the suffix *n* + *yj* (the ending for Nom. m. sg.).

The next pattern, according to which determinative compounds are produced in Russian, combines a pronoun and a substantive, viz.:

---

[88] Cf. Janko-Trinickaja (2001: 352) for a figurative representation of the differences between compounds and slovosochetanija 'syntactic phrases'.
[89] Cf. chapter 3.3.1.3.1. for a discussion of these compounds.

(36) a.   sam~o~kritika 'self-criticism'
      b.   sam~o~zashchita 'self-defence'
      c.   sam~o~kontrol´ 'self-control'
      d.   sam~o~obvinenie 'self-accusation'

In Russian *sam* 'self' and its forms *sama*, *samo*, *sami*, is a demonstrative pronoun. In English it can be translated as 'myself', 'yourself', 'himself, etc. depending on person, number, and case. In compounds *sam* is either the pronoun *sam* or the stem *sam* from the demonstrative adjective *samyj*. The latter is used, for instance, in *samyj fakt* 'the very fact'. In the above compounds *sam* specifies the direction of what is expressed by the head, i.e. criticism, defence, etc. towards oneself. In compounds, it is one of the most commonly used pronouns.[90] It appears more frequently in compounds produced by the morphological process compounding-zero derivation. Some examples are *samovar-Ø* 'samovar' (lit. 'self/auto boiler') from *varit´* 'cook/boil' and *samohod-Ø* 'self-act travel' from *hodit´* 'walk/go'. In both compounds the zero morpheme means 'a machine' or 'an instrument'. Nevertheless, as it is shown above, the pronoun *sam* can also combine with simple substantives as in (36a, b+c) or with deverbal formations as in (36d).

And finally, the modifier in pure determinative compounds can be a numeral, viz.:

(37) a.   dv~u~okis 'dioxide'
      b.   dv~u~chlen 'binomial'
      c.   perv~o~istochnik 'original source'

In (37c) the cardinal number *pervyj* (m. sg.) 'first' is united with the noun *istochnik* 'origin/source' with the help of the linking vowel *-o-.* In (37a) the ordinal numeral *dva* (m. and n.) combines with *okis* and *u* appears between them. To call it an interfix is a disputable statement. According to Towsend (1975: 203), in this instance the genitive form of *dva,* i.e. *dvuh*, is reduced to *dvu* because in attributives such as *dv~uh~komnatnyj* 'two-room' it usually appears in its full form. A question which arises then is whether *u and uh* are combining vowels or whether the respective numerals are words in genitive case. If the latter is accepted, then this would mean that there is no interfix in the compounds in (37a+b). As stated by Valgina, Rosental´ & Fomina (2003: 138), exactly this is the case. An alternative interpretation is proposed by Shvedova & Lopatin (2002:

---

[90] For examples of other pronouns in compounds cf. Günter (1999: 183-184).

91). They regard *u and uh* as interfixes which, however, interchange with the typical representation *-o-* because the numerals require genitive case. Yet, one cannot interpret "ėti otrezki – fleksii roditel´nogo padezha [these units as genitive inflectional markers]" (Zemskaja 2005: 134) since in the compounds above they are not used in this sense. In fact, they do not carry any meaning at all. Otherwise, they could not be called interfixes.

3.3.1.2. Parasynthetic compounds

The second group of determinative compounds in Russian is composed of parasynthetic formations. They are produced by the complex word-formation process compounding-suffixation. This means that a stem is compounded with another one and at the same time a suffix is added. This suffix can either be overtly expressed or not. If the latter is the case, then a derivation by a zero morpheme goes along with compounding. That is why, two patterns of parasynthetic compound nouns are distinguished. The first produces 'compounded-suffixed compounds' and the second 'compounded-zero derived compounds'. Both of them make use of the linking vowel and both of them form parasynthetic compounds in which the second constituent is not an independently occurring word in the Russian language. Each pattern has its subpatterns and types.

3.3.1.2.1. Compounded-suffixed compounds

The basic pattern for the formation of compounded-suffixed compounds is N+N. According to the word-class of the base word, i.e. the stem as the input to the formation of a compound, it is divided into two groups. The first to be discussed is the following:

(38)   N + V + suffix :
      a. basn~o~pis-ec 'fabulist'
      b. put~e~obhod-chik 'route traveller'
      c. kamn~e~drobi-l´shchik 'stone breaker'
      d   mor~e~plava-tel´ 'navigator'

All the compounds above are agent nouns and can be regarded as synthetic compounds with functional derivatives as second constituents. In other words, each of the determinata *pisec, obhodchik, drobil´shchik*, and *plavatel´* "v

kachestve samostojatel´nogo slovo obychno ne upotrebjaetsja [does not normally exist as an independent lexeme]" (Zamskaja 2005: 284). In fact, the second members are potential words with highly productive suffixes but are not yet attested in the Russian language.[91] The compounds are formed from the following stems and suffixes: (38a) from *basnja* 'fable', *pisat´* 'write', and –*ec*; (38b) from *put´* 'way/route', *obhodit´* 'go round/wander', and –*chik*; (38c) from *kamen´* 'stone/rock', *drobit´* 'break/crush', and –*l´shchik*; and (38d) from *more* 'sea', *plavat´* 'float/sail', and –*tel´*. They all denote 'someone (S) who does (P) what is expressed by the determinant (O)'.

The second semantic type in this group of parasynthetic compounds is exemplified with these formations:

(39) a. sneg~o~chisti-tel´ 'snowplough'
      b. ruk~o~moj-nik 'washstand'
      c. kof~e~var-ka 'coffee machine'
      d. benz~o~zaprav~shchik 'petrol tanker'
      e. mysh~e~lov-ka 'mouse trap'
      f. sam~o~pis-ec 'fountain pen'

The examples above denote instruments, machines, or mechanisms. Thus, in (39a) *snegochistitel´* is not someone who ploughs snow but the instrument (AdI) which does (P) what is denoted by the base verb. In all compounds, the noun stem in the determinant functions as the object (O) of this action. The compound in (39a) consists of the morphemes *sneg* 'snow', *chistit´* 'clean', and –*tel´*. The stems of the remaining formations are respectively: in (39b) the verbal stem from *myt´* 'wash (oneself)' and *ruka/ruki* 'hand/s'; in (39c) *varit´* 'boil/cook' and *kofe* 'coffee'; in (39d) *zapravljat´* 'fill up/refuel' and *benzin* 'pertol'; in (39e) *lovit´* 'catch/trap' and *mysh´* 'mouse', and in (39f) the pronoun *sam* 'self/auto' and the stem from *pisat´* 'write'.

The third and final semantic type of subordinative compounded-suffixed compounds is the group of action nouns denoting act/state/fact/process, etc. and formed with the help of the following suffixes:

---

[91] For a more detailed discussion of potential words cf. Zemskaja (2005: 227-237).

(40) a. mor~e~plava-nie '(high-seas) navigation'
     b. ryb~o~lov-stvo 'fishing'
     c. vol´n~o~dum-stvo 'free thinking'
     d. golov~o~kruzh-enie 'dizziness'
     e. sam~o~hval´-stvo 'boasting/self-advertising'

In the formation of these compounds not only noun stems but also stems from other word-classes can appear as modifiers. For instance, in (40c) it is the adjectival stem from *vol´nyj* 'free' which combines with the verbal stem from *dumat´* 'think' and the suffix *–stvo.* In (40e) the pronoun *sam* 'self' is united with the verbal stem from *hvalit´* 'boast' and the suffix *–stvo.* The remaining parasynthetic compounds have noun stems as determinants, viz.: in (40a) *more* 'sea' and *plavat´* 'float/sail/navigate'; in (40b) *ryba* 'fish' and *lovit´* 'catch', and in (40d) *golova* 'head' and *kruzhit´* 'whirl/spin'.

The second pattern which accounts for the creation of determinative compounded-suffixed compounds is Adj+N+suffix. Occasionally, the modifier may be the stem of a cardinal number, e.g. *pervyj* 'first' as in (41a), an ordinal number, e.g. *tri* 'three' as in (41b), or a geographical name as in (41h) below. Similar to the first pattern, there are several productive affixes in this pattern. The combinations can be subdivided into various distinct semantic types, viz.:

(41) a. perv~o~klass~nik 'first-class boy'
     b. tr~i~list-nik 'plant with three leaves'
     c. bel~o~ruch~ka 'slacker'
     d. korotk~o~nozh~ka 'short-legged'
     e. chjërn~o~grud~ka 'black bird'
     f. poln~o~lun~ie 'full moon'
     g. nov~o~god~ie 'New Year('s)'
     h. Moskv~o~rech~ie 'place near the river Moscow'

Basically, the suffixes *–nik* and *–ka* form agent nouns while the suffix *–ie* creates action nouns. Thus, for instance, the compound in (41a) is formed from the unity of the cardinal number *pervyj* (m. sg.) 'first' and the substantive *klass* 'class'. It denotes 'someone who goes to school in the first class'. This someone can, however, only be masculine because the suffix determines the gender of the formation. The respective feminine compound is *pervoklassnica*. Its derivation is based on the masculine lexeme. Therefore, the compound contains the suffix *–n* between the base word *klass* and the suffix *–ica*. The suffix *–nik*, nevertheless,

can also designates inanimate objects as in (41b). The compound has the meaning 'trilistnoe rastenie' (n. sg.) 'a plant with three leaves'.

In contrast, the suffix *–ka* produces parasynthetic agent nouns with common gender. For example, in (41c) *bel~o~ruch~ka* 'slacker' refers to both sexes. It comprises the adjectival stem from *belyj* 'white', the morphonologically conditioned stem of *ruk-a/i* (sg./pl.) 'hand/s', and the suffix *–ka*. [92] In fact, literally it means 'a person who has white hands', i.e. one who denies work. Yet, the suffix *–ka* does not always form compounds with common gender. *Vert~i~hvost-ka* 'coquette' is feminine. It is based on *vertitʹ* 'wag' and *hvost* 'tail'. Similar to *bel~o~ruch~ka* is the compound in (41d). Its three building elements are the adjectival stem from *korotkij* 'short', the variant stem from *nog-a/i* 'leg/s', i.e. *nozh*, and the suffix *–ka*. It means 'short-legged person' (masculine or feminine). Yet, the same does not hold true for the complex lexeme in (41e). Although it is structurally identical with the former two compounds, it designates an animal, i.e. a bird, which has black chest. In the remaining compounds it is again the suffix which determines their reading. *Poln~o~lun~ie* is the phenomenon (Pn) of full moon, *nov~o~god~ie* is that period of time (AdT) when one celebrates New Year (O), and *Moskv~o~rech~ie* designates the location (AdP) near the river Moscow. In this case the alternation *rek > rech* takes place.

3.3.1.2.2. Compounded-zero derived compounds

This category of determinative compounds is distinguished from the former parasynthetic group by the fact that the suffix involved in the process of combining is not overtly expressed. More precisely, it is rendered as zero because semantically the compound is neither equal to the referents of the determinatum nor to those of the determinant. Thus, for instance, *tepl~o~hod* 'motor ship', formed by the unity of the adjectival base from *teploj* 'warm' with the verbal base from *hoditʹ* 'walk', is neither a type of walk nor a kind of warm object. Rather, it is the complex name for a mechanical vessel powered by steam engine.[93] Therefore, the semantic-syntactic analysis of the compound gives the result *tepl~o~hod-Ø* with the zero morpheme as head. Structurally, however, the combination satisfies the prerequisite to be composed of two bases, i.e. *tepl* and

---

[92] In this case, the stem *ruch* is the morphophonemic variant of *ruk*. For more information about other consonant changes in the formation of suffixed derivatives cf. Wade (2000: 36).
[93] For *teplohod* see Russkij Tolkovnyj Slovarʹ (Lopatin & Lopatina: 1994) c.v. *теплоход*.

hod. Moreover, it is the second stem which determines the grammatical behaviour of the whole compound. Consequently, according to the singular declension chart for nouns ending in hard consonant the inflectional markers in the remaining five cases, i.e. without the nominative, are –*Ø* (Acc.) , –*a* (Gen.), –*u* (Dat.), –*om* (Instr.), and –*e* (Prep.).

Additionally, it should be noted that in this category, the zero morpheme accounts for the creation of other minor semantic types of parasynthetic compounds. For instance, in *skal~o~zub-Ø* the determinatum signifies 'someone (S) who' *skalit´* 'bares' (P) his/her *zuby* 'teeth' (O), i.e. scoffer; in *nos~o~rog-Ø* the zero is the animal which has *rog* 'horn' on its *nos* 'nose', i.e. rhinoceros; and in *list~o~pad-Ø* the zero morpheme designates the action/state/etc. of the fall of the leaves, i.e. autumn.

3.3.1.3. Peculiar determinative compounds

3.3.1.3.1. Analytical compounds

This category of Russian compound nouns is separated from the other determinative compounds because it contains formations with structural oddities. More precisely, in analytical compounds it is the modifier which has an abbreviated status. In its full form it is a relational adjective. In compounds it appears as the result of the process called in Russian 'usechenie', i.e. 'truncation'. It can be defined as the deletion of some phonetic material in a word whenever it is combined with another word.[94] According to the origin of the modifier, several groups of analytical compounds can be distinguished. The first is exemplified with the following formations:

(42) a. part/chlen 'Party member'
      b. gos/bank 'the State Bank'
      c. prom/centr 'industrial centre'
      d. sport/zal 'sports hall'

The paraphrases of the first three compounds above are respectively 'part-ijnyj chlen', 'gos-udarstvennaja banka' and 'prom-yshlennyj centr'. The adjectives used as first members are characterised by the following facts: they

---

[94] As a process, truncation functions not only in combinations but also in the formation of shortened names, diminutives, and clippings. For more information cf. Plag (2003: 116-121).

nesut nodbochnye udarenija, mogut otdeljatsja ot posledujushchego slovo legkoj pauzoj, glasnoj zvuk ne podvergaetsja redukcii [carry secondary stress; there is a light pause between them and the following word; their vowel is not reduced]. (Zemskaja1997: 189)

On the basis of these features, the first members of the compounds in (42) are classified as 'analit edinizy', i.e. 'analytical units' and the compounds containing them are called 'analytical compounds'. What is important to note is the fact that after the reduction of the adjective, the remaining element is not identical with the noun stem it is derived from. In other words, *part-ijnyj*, *gos-udarstvennaja* (f.), and *prom-yshlennyj* have respectively as their bases the substantives *partija* 'party', *gosudarstvo* 'state', and *promyshlennost´* 'industry'. According to Günter (1996: 357), the same cannot be claimed for *sportzal* in (42d). Put differently, its modifier cannot be seen as the abbreviation of the relational adjective *sportivnyj*. Rather, the compound is an example of an N+N determinative combination which lacks a linking vowel. It has as first constituent the substantive *sport* which is an independent word in Russian. Moreover, the interpretation of the whole compound as 'hall where one practices some kind of sport', i.e. not as 'relational adjective + substantive', speaks in favour of *sport* as a free lexical item.

The reason why the noun bases of the determinants in (42a, b+c) cannot function as first members in compounds lies in their polysyllabic structure and their accentuation. Generally, the determinants of Russian compounds tend to be simple and monosyllabic units. This in turn is connected to the general tendency in the Russian word-formation of substituting complicated and long constructions with more simple and short ones. Thus, Günter (1996: 357) claims that

neben Sprachökonomie auch das […] rhytmisch-phonetische Prinzip mitbestimmend ist. […] Semantisch entspricht der gekürzte Substantivstamm bzw. das gekürzte Beziehungsadjektiv […] der Bedeutung des vollen Stammes bzw. Wortes. Die gekürzten Glieder sind daher gleichsam die kompositionsfähigen Varianten des vollen Substantivs, das selbst diese Funktion nicht ausfüllen kann.

The compounds in (42) containing indigenous elements should not be confused with the second group of analytical combinations called by Schönle (1975: 38) "Reduktionskomposita […] die in der ersten Komponente ein internationales Element aufweisen". Some examples are:

74

(43) a. fot<u>o</u>apparat 'photo camera'
     b. gidr<u>o</u>stancija 'hydro station'
     c. avt<u>o</u>vokzal 'automobile station'
     d. mot<u>o</u>shlem 'motorbike helmet'
     e. bi<u>o</u>produkty 'bio products'
     f. avi<u>a</u>bilet 'flight ticket'

In all the compounds above, the vowel between the two constituents has been underlined because it is seen as having two functions. It is the ending of the first element and at the same time it is the linking vowel of the combinations.[95] Usually, the interpretation of these compounds does not represent any difficulty even for an English speaker. The reason is that they are similar to the composites in the English lexicon called 'neoclassical compounds'.[96] Thus, in most of the cases above, the respective English equivalents also contain these combining forms, i.e. *foto* is 'photo', *gidro* means 'hydro', etc. In fact, the syntactic paraphrase of the compound in (43a), *fotograficheskij apparat*, can be expressed in English also by the combination of an adjective and a noun, viz.: 'photographical camera'. Similarly, the full formation in (43b) is *gidrologicheskaja stancija* and can be translated into English as 'hydrological station'. However, given that the abbreviated determinants are elements which appear "mit derselben […] Bedeutung und Form in verschiedenen Kultursprachen" (Schönle 1975: 39), it is not necessary to use the respective full forms. In Russian, they are seen as truncated elements of foreign nature, mostly from Greek and Latin, because any complex nominalisation is traditionally rendered by an Adj+N syntactic phrase, i.e. *avto-mobil´nyj vokzal*, *moto-cikletnyj shlem*, *bio-logichnye produkty*, and *avia-cionnyj billet*.

It is in the course of recent decades that an immense growth and productivity of foreign analytical units in compounds has been observed. Their number and unrestricted ability to combine freely with native as well as with foreign lexemes has led to the fact that *disko*, *foto*, *avto*, *video* and many others can be used as independent lexical items. It should be noted, however, that the delimitation between international combining elements and free lexical units is difficult. Thus, for instance, *kino* 'cinema' and *radio* 'radio' are

---

[95] Cf. Shvedova & Lopatin (2002: 91).
[96] Cf. chapter 2.4.1.5.4.

In *kino/teatr* 'cinema-theatre' and *radio/peredacha* 'radio broadcast' the determinants *kino* and *radio* are used as words. In fact, they belong to these nouns in the Russian language which constitute the neuter, indeclinable class of substantives of foreign origin.[97] In contrast, in *kinolenta* 'magnetic recording tape' *kino* appears as the abbreviation from the adjective *kinematograficheskaja* 'cinematographical'. Similarly, *radioelement* 'radioactive element' is paraphrased 'radioaktivnyj element'. Additionally, in Russian *kinoėkran* '(cinema) screen' can be paraphrased with the help of the relational adjective from *kino*, *kinoshnyj*. However, nowadays it is no longer used and counts as vernacular. As far as *radio* is concerned, no relational adjective can be formed from it. Naturally, whenever it appears in compounds, it is in most cases interpreted as 'piece of equipment' or 'system for sending sound', i.e. it is a word. [98]

The next group of analytical compounds can be exemplified with the following formations: *shou-biznes* 'show business', *kantri-shou* 'country show', *pop-pevica* (f.) 'pop singer', and *art-kafe* 'art café'. [99] These compounds contain elements that are genuine borrowings from British and/or American English. Some of the formations mentioned are even direct loan compounds as, for instance, *shou-biznes* and *art-kafe*. As the international elements in the previous group, these foreign units can appear either in combination with native words or with other borrowings, e.g. *pop-zvezda* 'pop star' or *dog-shou* 'dog show'. In most cases, the loan element is used as a modifier but this is not an absolute rule. What is important to note is that these compounds do not have a combining vowel, they carry secondary stress on the first member, and their members do not serve as bases for secondary relational adjectives. Usually, these analytical compounds are written with a hyphen but "[d]ie Schreibweise mehrgliedige Entlehnungen aus dem Englischen ist im Russischen nicht geregelt" (Heyl 2005: 37). *Hot dog*, for instance, appears in the Russian lexicon as *hot-dog* while *bodibilder* follows the English spelling *bodybuilder* almost completely.

---

[97] Cf. Wade (2000: 58-59) for more information about these nouns.

[98] For more examples of compounds with *radio* and *kino* cf. Schönle (1975: 44, 47).

[99] These examples are mostly misical terms, the latter is a word relating to new lifestyles. Cf. Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade (1999: 141-151) for compounds borrowed into Russian from other different areas of life.

It is in this connection that Zemskaja, Ermakova & Rudnik-Karvat (1998: 306-307) consider the immense increase of borrowed analytical elements in compounds as one of the most outstanding features of the Russian word-formation towards the end of the 20th century. It is mainly under foreign influence that some Russian combinations have been reinterpreted as containing analytical units, although originally they have been seen as pure compounds. For instance, *hleb~o~pekarnja* 'bread bakery' exists parallel to the Adj+N phrase *hleb-n-aja pekarnja* 'bread + suffix + the ending for Nom. sg. f.'. The possibility of interpreting *hlebo–* as an analytical element, i.e. indeclinable, productive, and shortened combining form, arises chiefly from the claim that modifiers of the type *vodo–* 'water', *gazo–* 'gaz', *nefte–* 'oil', and *steklo–* 'glass' can nowadays be regarded as such elements.[100] This is hardly appropriate for, whenever they appear in compounds, their noun bases are fully recognisable. Consequently, the vowel they end into is not part of the stem but a compound formative. Moreover, whenever these units combine with stems and/or words, they are unstressed. The fact that they are highly productive,

> hängt von den Bezeichnungsbedürfnissen ab. Die Annahme, dass zu dem Substantiv *хлеб* [*hleb*] zwei Adjektive gehören, nämlich *хлебный* [*hlebnyj*] und *хлеб-о* [*hleb-o*] […] würde die Beschreibung der Morphologie und der Wortbildung erschweren. (Gutschmidt 2005: 27)

3.3.1.3.2. Compounds with bound elements

The enormous loan material present in the Russian vocabulary additionally accounts for the creation of what Zemskaja (2002: 157) calls 'slova-gibridy', i.e. 'hybrid formations', and defines as "slov[a], kotorye soderzhat i russkie i inojazychnye élementy (kak kornevye, tak i affiksal´nye) [words containing both Russian and foreign elements (bases as well as affixes)]".[101] Examples of such formations are *kreml´gejt* 'Kremlingate' and *evrorynok* 'Euro market'. The constituents *kreml´* and *rynok* are native whereas *gejt* and *evro* are foreign. Generally, in Russian *–gejt* is considered as a bound element. This is not astonishing for it is borrowed from English and in the latter it is also qualified as

---

[100] This is claimed by Golanova (1998: 32).
[101] For hybrid forms in English cf. Pyles & Algeo (1982: 265-267).

such.[102] More precisely, in Russian –*gejt* is seen as something which can neither be properly called an affix nor a full building element.[103] Recently, it has appeared in compounds such as *mramorgejt* 'marblegate' and *kombajngejt* 'combinegate'. The constituent *evro* 'Euro' is related to *Evropa* 'Europe' or to *evropejskij* 'European'. According to Zemskaja (2002: 164), "[v] nastojashchee vremja chislo slov s *евро*– [*evro*–] rastaet [nowadays the number of words with *euro* increases]". Some additional examples are *evroremont* 'euro renewal/restoration/repair' or *evrookna* 'euro windows' in which it carries the meaning 'the best/according to the latest fashion/following European standards'.

Another group of determinative formations with bound elements includes those which have as first components the international elements *anti*, *super*, *psevdo*, 'pseudo', or *sverh* 'over' and final constituents such as *teka* 'theca', *drom* 'drome', or *bus*, viz.:

(44) a. anti/geroj 'anti hero'; super/zvezda 'super star'; psevdo/nauka 'pseudo science'; sverh/chuvstvitel´nost´ 'over-sensibility';
     b. fil´mo/teka 'film library', igro/teka 'game room/collection'; aėro/drom 'airdrome', roliko/drom 'rollerdrome', psiho/drom 'psycho house'; elekto/bus 'electrical bus', trolej/bus 'trolleybus', luno/bus 'moonbus';

Formations such as these above appear to stand between compounds and affixations. This has to do with the status of the initial and final elements in (44). It is not definitely clarified because they could be seen as free lexical items as well as affixes. On one hand, the units in (44a) behave like prefixes. They usually do not exist alone and just modify the meaning of the combinations they appear into. Thus, *anti* means 'the opposite of what is expressed by the head' and *super*, *psevdo*, and *sverh* are "wertende und expressive Komponenten" (Gutschmidt 2001: 83). On the other hand, these constituents can be used independently as words.[104] That is why, the formations in (44a) may count as compounds. If one prefers to classify them as such, then they will constitute the group of compounds without a linking vowel. Furthermore, most probably the compounds with *anti*, *super*, and *psevdo* will count as combinations with foreign elements while those with *sverh* will be regarded as native. Yet, some kind of

---

[102] *Gate* is treated as a combining form in Warren (1990: 115-116). For a slightly different treatment of the morpheme cf. Baldi & Dawar (2000: 968) and Pyles & Algeo (1982: 281).
[103] For more information about this discussion cf. Zemskaja (1997: 180-181).
[104] Cf. examples with *psevdo* and *sverh* as separate words in Zemskaja (2005: 45).

intermediate position is taken. Generally, these prefix-like units are seen as bound elements in compounds and the term 'suffixoid' is used for them.

A similar behaviour can be observed in (44b). The semantics, productivity, and grammatical features of the elements allow accepting them neither as proper free items nor as suffixes. According to Zemskaja (2005: 138-139), secondary lexemes with *teka* and *drom* are suffixations. Yet, in many combinations they are preceded by a linking vowel, e.g. *igr~o~teka* with the noun stem from *igra* 'game', or *fil´m~o~teka* with *fil´m* 'film' as determinant. Moreover, they can be used as autonomous words with the same meaning, i.e. as 'assembly/collection' and as 'a special type of road' respectively. The same dual behaviour is true for *bus.* Therefore, all three unite in themselves the properties of combining international elements as well as those of independent lexematic components. In order to underline their transitional character, the term 'affixoid' has been created. [105] On the whole, the formations in (44) show that "voznikajut novye slovoobrazovatel´nye struktury [new word-building elements appear]" (Zemskaja 2005: 139) in the Russian linguistics.

Additionally, a third group of compounds with final bound elements should be briefly discussed. It either includes genuine neoclassical compounds, i.e. compounds with two bound elements of Greek and Latin origin, or compounds with Russian and/or foreign elements. To the former belong the elements *−log* as in *filolog* 'philologist', *biolog* 'biologist'; *−fon* as in *telefon* 'telephone', *videofon* 'videophone'; *−fob* as in *anglofob* 'Anglophobe'; or *−fil* as in *slavjanofil* 'slavicophile'. The second group contains the elements *−ved* as in *jazyk~o~ved* 'linguist', *iskusstv~o~ved* 'art critic' and the respective action noun with *−vedenie iskusstv~o~vedenie* 'art criticism'; *−vod* as in *pchel~o~vod* 'bee keeper' or the element *−vodstvo* as in the action noun *pchel~o~vod-stvo* 'bee keeping'; *−ljub* as in *zhen~o~ljub* 'woman lover'. Strictly speaking, however, the agent nouns with *−ved*, *−vod*, and *−ljub* just mentioned are compounded-zero derived formations.[106] Yet, according to Shvedova & Lopatin (2002: 91), they are bound final elements in subordinative compounds.

---

[105] Cf. the definition of 'affixoid' in Rosental´, Golub & Telenkova (1997: 168).
[106] Cf. chapter 3.3.1.2.1. of this thesis.

3.3.1.3.3. Stump compounds

Stump compounds are genuine Russian formations for

> the method of producing words like […] колхоз [*kolhoz*], нарком [*narkom*] […] from initials or segments of other words is usually thought of as a specifically Soviet procedure. (Comrie, Stone & Polinsky 1996: 139)

Kolhoz is based on the syntactic phrase 'kollektivnoe hozjajstvo' and means 'collective farm'. Its derivational basis includes the relational adjective from *kollektiv* 'group' and the noun *hozjajstvo* 'economy/branch of productivity'. *Narkom* is formed from the Adj+N phrase 'narodnyj kommissar', i.e. 'people's commissioner'. Therefore, stump compounds can be defined as containing two truncated items. They have word status, no linking vowel, and heavy stress on the second member. As a rule, the clipped modifier carries secondary stress. In Russian these stump compounds are called 'slozhnosokrashchënnye slova', i.e. 'complex abbreviated words'. They represent only one of four, in total, categories of abbreviations.[107] Stump compounds are the most common category of abbreviated secondary formations. Highly productive initial clippings are *polit(icheskij)* 'Party', *ros(sijskij)* 'Russian', *zav(edujushchij)* 'leader', *glav(nyj)* 'chief/main'. Some of the most regularly used final elements in stump compounds are *kom(itet)* 'committee', *prom*(*yshlennost´*) 'industry', and the already mentioned *hoz*, viz.: *politkom*, *Rosgaz(osnabzhenie)* 'Russian gas supply', *zavlab(oratorij)* 'laboratory leader', *Gaz(ovaja)prom* 'gaz industry', *glavkom*, *sov(etskoe)hoz* 'state (Soviet) farm'. These and other similar compounds decline like regular nouns. It is the second element which determines the grammatical behaviour of the whole stump compound although, in most cases, it is not attested as part of the Russian lexicon. However, as Belenchikov (1992: 212) points out, some of these truncated morphemes

> treten – als Folge einer Stammverkürzung nach abbreviativem Verfahren – auch als selbständige Lexeme auf, z.B. **зам**, [*zam(estitel´)* 'deputy'], **зав** [*zav(edujushchij)* 'leader'] (razg.) [razgovorno 'colloquial']. Die Herausbildung von Abromorphemen deuten auf eine Tendenz der Silbenabkürzungen zur Verselbstständigung gegenüber den enstsprechenden Vollformen hin [not my bold type].

---

[107] For a more detailed discussion of this subject cf. Schönle (1975: 30-37), Zemskaja (2005: 289) and Shvedova & Lopatin (2002: 93-95).

Additionally, this category of compounds includes what Zemskaja (1997: 189) calls 'slova-kubiki', i.e. 'cubed words'. They contain three or more truncated morphemes. For instance, *Roskomdragmet* stands for 'Rossijskij komitet dragozennyh metallov', i.e. 'the Russian committee for precious metals'. Such stump compounds have agglutinative character for their elements are stacked into one whole without any further adjustments, i.e. without linking vowel and any morphophonemic changes. Nevertheless, whenever stump compounds contain two or more analytical members, in most cases, the head is not a stump. Such are, for instance, *adm(inistrativno-)teh(nicheskij)personal* 'administrative and technical staff' or *Sov(etskoe)inform(acionnoe)bjuro* 'Soviet information agency'. In such cases, each of the truncated forms carries secondary stress, the main prominence falls on the head. Eventually, it is even possible to find stump compounds with a linking vowel such as *tehn~o~ruk* 'technical leader' based on the Adj+N phrase *tehnicheskij rukovoditel´*. In this case the insertion of the interfix is needed "chtoby ustranit´ skoplenie […] soglasnyh na morfemnom shve [to separate the consonant gemination at the morpheme boundary]" (Dubchinskij 2001: 148).

3.3.2. Copula compounds

The second major category of Russian compound nouns is represented by formations in which the relationship between the immediate constituents is not one of subordination but rather one of coordination. This means that copula compounds are interpreted with the help of the double formula AB = A and AB = B. Alternatively, one can say that some or all of the characteristic features of A and those of B are combined into AB. Basically, there are two subcategories which can be distinguished, namely the coordinative compounds, and the binominals. However, the borderline between them is not clearly defined. Thus, some of the compounds in the latter category can also belong into the former. For example, *divan-krovat´* 'divan-bed' is not much different from *les~o~step´* 'forest-steppe'.[108] Moreover, subordinative relationship between the immediate constituents is also found in binominals. For instance, a construction such as *pismo-zhaloba* 'complaint letter' (lit. 'letter-complaint') can be seen as an inverted

---

[108] *les~o~step´* is mentioned and discussed in (45a); for an analysis of *divan-krovat´* cf. (46b).

determinative compound because it designates a type of letter. Yet, determination is possible

> weil Bestimmungswort und Grundwort semantisch so zu einander stehen, dass das durch das Grundwort Bezeichnete in irgendeine Weise durch das näher bestimmt wird, was als Zweitglied erscheint. Ein determinatives Verhältnis ensteht nur dann, wenn das Bestimmungswort […] die geeignete lexikalische Bedeutung aufweist. (Bergmann 2006: 94)

This marks the binominals as a special type of compounds. As a matter of fact, they are generally treated as a separate word-formation category.

3.3.2.1. Coordinative compounds

Coordinative compounds are usually easily separated from determinative compounds. Like the latter, they consist of two stems combined with the help of a linking vowel. Furthermore, their main accent is on the second member. Unlike determinative compounds, however, they do not exhibit a modifier-head relationship. Rather, two constituents equally contribute to the meaning of the whole construction, viz.:

(45) a. les~o~step´ 'forest-steppe'
     b. zhelez~o~beton 'reinforced concrete'
     c. zubr~o~bizon '(European) bison-buffalo'
     d. ovc~e~byk 'sheep-bull'

Thus, *lesostep´* is a geographical territory which has the features of both a forest and a steppe, *zhelezobeton* is a material made of iron and concrete, *zubrobyzon* is a species which is neither a proper bison nor a buffalo but a mixture of these two, and *obcebyk* denotes an animal that combines the qualities of both *ovca* 'sheep' and *byk* 'a bull'. Although in such compounds neither of the constituents is semantically dominant, it is the second member which determines the grammatical behaviour of the whole compound. Therefore, *lesostep´* is a feminine noun notwithstanding that its first unit *les* is masculine. Similarly, *ovcebyk* declines as a hard masculine noun regardless of the fact that it includes the feminine substantive *ovca*. Generally, this compound category is not represented by many formations. The need for complex coordinates is satisfied by the formation of binominals. They will be discussed in the next chapter.

3.3.2.2. Binominals

Binominals are complex word-formations which are traditionally excluded from the category of Russian compounds. [109] The reason for this is that their morphological and semantic-syntactic properties differ considerably from the general concepts of compounds. In the main, a binominal

> consists of two substantives – linked orthographically by a hyphen – juxtaposed without a connecting vowel, each substantive retaining its formal identity both accentually and flexionally. (Ward 1973: 3)

This can be exemplified with *shkóla-internát* (lit. 'school-residence') 'boarding school' and *výstavka-prodázha* (lit. 'exhibition-sale') 'sale and exhibition'. Their singular inflectional forms are respectively: *shkolu-internat* (Acc.), *shkoly-internata* (Gen.), *shkole-internatu* (Dat.), etc.; *vystavku-prodazhu* (Acc.), *vystavki-prodazhi* (Gen.), *vystavke-prodazhe* (Dat.), etc. In Russian, one of the most used terms for these complex constructions is 'slozhnosostavnye slova' '(lit.) complex compounded words'. As a matter of fact, there are many other labels used in connection with these word-formations.[110] If an attempt is made to translate some of them into English, one will come up with designations such as 'appositional compounds', 'asyndeta', 'juxtapositions' or 'coordinative compounds'. That is why, they might be seen as a subtype of copula compounds in which the elements are of equal importance. In German, terms such as 'lose Wortverbindungen' and 'Wortfusionen' are found by Jelitte (1993: 26), whereas 'Binomina' is used by Belenchikov (1992: 216) and Gladrov (1989: 217). This terminological unconformity suggests not only that there is no agreed treatment of this class of compounds but also presupposes a certain diversity of the types, or/and alternatively may simply reflect individual naming preference. This situation is somehow confusing because traditionally the creation of binominals is not considered as a new phenomenon in Russian. Constructions such as *zhar-ptica* 'firebird', *otec-mat´* (lit. 'father-mother') 'parents/ancestors', and *devushka-snegurochka* (lit. 'girl-Snow Maiden') 'Snow Maiden' have long been part of the

---

[109] Cf. Belenchikov (1993: 129) and Günter (1996: 353).
[110] For more information about these terms cf. Bergmann (2006: 32-34).

stock of words traditionally found in Russian fairy tales and in folk literature. [111] However, only recently it has been pointed out that

> [i]n der Gegenwartssprache hat sich die Binominabildung zu einem aktiven Modell entwickelt, das neue Funktionsbereiche erschließt und jederzeit produktiv zur Schaffung neuer Benennungen angewandt werden kann. (Bergmann 1999: 43)

Some of these new areas of usage are names for professions such as *dispatcher-tehnolog* 'dispatcher-technologist', *vrach-hirurg* 'medic-surgeon', or *fotograf-portretist* 'photographer-portraitist'. Many labels for newly invented instruments or names for new events such as *sushka-kontejner* 'dryer-container' or *sobranie-miting* 'meeting-demonstration' are again binominals. Other main spheres in which binominals are numerously used are clothes industry, newspaper business, technology, linguistics, and commerce.[112] This prolific usage of binominals is connected to their function, structure and the different semantic relations possible between their constituents.

That binominals are words which express complex concepts and structures more simple can be demonstrated with the noun *muka-nulevka*. It is used whenever one wants to refer to the fine quality of ground grain. Instead of using the complex phrase 'muka melkogo/nulevo pomola' (lit. 'flour which has gone through the zero, i.e. the finest, grade of grinding'), a speaker can name this object by simply uniting the substantive *muka* 'flour' with the derivative *nulevka*. The latter consists of the stem from *nulevoj* 'zero (attr.)' based on *nul´* 'zero' and the suffix *–ka*. Even more striking is the example *dzhinsy-banany*. It is the condensed expression for 'jeans which are wide at the waist and closely fitted towards the ankles'. The combination of each pair of words into one whole is done just with the help a hyphen without any further morphological adjustments. That is why, binominals are sometimes termed 'hyphenated compounds'.

On the basis of the formations discussed above, the immediate constituents of a binominal can be recognised. It is the first member which represents the basic category, whereas the second adds additional semantic features. Thus, *muka-nulevka* is a type of flour, and *dzhinsy-banany* are basically jeans though ones

---

[111] Cf. Bergmann (2006: 15-22) for a detailed overview of the treatment of binominals in the Russian language.
[112] For numerous examples of binominals used in these and other areas of life cf. Fleckenstein (2002: 202-207).

with a special form. Consequently, the conclusion can be drawn that a typical Russian binominal has the structure determinatum-determinant. This is another characteristic feature which identifies binominals as extensively different from compounds. Nevertheless, in some instances, the demarcation from the latter is not easy at all. This is mainly the case with formations such as *bal-maskarad* 'ball-masquerade' or *vagon-restoran* (lit. 'wagon restaurant') 'restaurant car'. According to Janko-Trinickaja (2001: 358), the decisive criterion is "nalichie ili otsustvie fleksii v pervom komponente [the presence or absence of an inflectional marker in the first component]". In other words, if only the second constituent of a binominal declines the formation under analysis is a compound. In contrast, whenever both members are inflected it is an appositional construction. However, this does not help much in establishing the membership of the formations above to the one or the other category. The declension of *bal-maskarad* and *vagon-restoran* varies so that they may appear as *v vagone-restorane* (Prep.) or *v vagon-restorane* and as *na balu-maskarade* or *na bal-maskarade* (Prep.). The choice of one or the other form has little to do with grammatical conventions but "shchitaetsja fakulʹtativnym [is regarded optional]" (Kornev 1980: 131).[113] Yet, according to Gladrov (1989: 239), *bal-maskarad* is a hyphenated compound while *vagon-restoran* counts as binominal.[114] The situation gets even more complicated because there are determinative binominals such as *dzhaz-orkester* 'jazz orchestra', *bit-musyka* 'beat music', *golʹf-klub* 'golf club', or *avtomobilʹ-holodilʹnik* 'mobile refrigerator'. In all these cases the qualifier precedes the qualified noun. However, only the last lexeme seems to inflect both nouns. The remaining four combinations decline as compounds. Then, the question which arises is whether they are hyphenated compounds with analytical first members or some subtype of binominals. The latter claim is made by Bergmann (2006: 18) who argues that

> in der Entstehungsgeschichte von Binomina [sind] offensichtlich zwei Wege zu unterscheiden: der volksprachliche, slawisch-russische, und der westliche, auf Entlehnungen beruhende. Diese Tendenz setzt sich bei den Neubildungen fort: die Spanne reicht hier von Kombinationen rein russischer Elemente [e.g. *avtomobil-holodilʹnik*], bis zu Verbindungen, die als ganzes entlehnt sind [e.g. *bit-musyka*] und sich nur der Form zur strukturellen Verdeutlichung bedienen.

---

[113] Cf. Zemskaja (2005: 185) who claims the same.
[114] Gladrov (1989: 217) mentions *vagon-restoran* as an example of binominal.

If this view is accepted, however, one has to bear in mind that there is additional group of determinative binominals in which the first element remains indeclinable. For instance, in *pal´to-nakidka* 'coat-cloak', *kafe-konditorskaja* 'café-confectionery' or *vatt-sekunda* 'watt-second' only the second nouns receive inflectional markers. The first members do not decline because they belong to the class of indeclinable substantives in the Russian language.[115]

Another feature which binominals possess and compounds lack is that the former are transparent formations while compounds are usually lexicalised. Yet, this does not mean that the structure N-N is always equal to the sum of the meanings of the two nouns. In other words, several types of relations between the constituents are possible, viz.:

(46) a. priliv-otliv 'ebb and flow'
      b. kuplja-prodazha 'sale and purchase'
      c. divan-krovat´ 'divan-bed'
      d. chashki-loshki 'cutlery'
      e. drug-prijatel´ 'friend'
      f. put´-doroga 'road'
      g. pismo-zhaloba 'complaint letter'
      h. uchitel´-matematik 'teacher-mathematician'

The binominals in (46a+b) are additive coordinated constructions. In other words, the meaning of the whole is combination of the meanings of the constituents. *Priliv-otliv* is a phenomenon which is *priliv* 'ebb' and *otliv* 'flow' at the same time. Similarly, the hyphen between *kuplja-prodazha* 'sale and purchase' (lit. purchase-sale) can be replaced by the conjunction *and.* What it designates does not include additional semantic features. *Divan-krovat´* can again be interpreted as AB = A and AB = B. What is important to note is that here the concept *divan* is combined with that of *krovat´* so that the new lexical item is "ein neues Mitglied einer neuen Kategorie" (Bergmann 1999: 67). As a new lexeme, it signifies something different from both a divan and a bed. The prerequisite for such binominals is that the two nouns are of one and the same semantic class. Thus, *divan* and *krovat´* are pieces of furniture. The union of *chashki* 'cups' and *loshki* 'spoons' creates "eine durch sie repräsentierte Vorstellung vom Gesamtbegriff" (Bergmann 1999: 68). Put differently, the binominal is a hyponym of kitchen

---

[115] For other factors which may lead to loss of inflection in first constituents of binominals cf. Bergmann (2006: 52-53).

utensils, i.e. cutlery. In most cases, such binominals combine two plural substantives. The formations in (46e+f) are 'tautological pairs' because in them two synonyms are joined together. Yet, the repeating of the same idea intensifies, underlines, or enlarges the basic notion expressed. *Drug-prijatel´* (lit. buddy-friend) is not just a 'friend' but 'dear/best friend' and *put´-doroga* (lit. way-road') is 'long and winding road'. The majority of these binominals are found in Russian folk literature. And finally, the compounds in (46g+h) are determinative binominals in which the second element modifies the first. *Pismo-zhaloba* (lit. 'letter-complaint') is 'a letter which includes features of a complaint' and *uchitel´-matematik* is a 'teacher who is an expert in mathematics'. The modification can regard distinct aspects of the main constituent as, for instance, its form, character, function content, or origin.

There is one further subgroup of binominals. It includes innovative reduplications such as *tju-tju* 'go away' or *bum-bum* 'do not understand a word' which are primarily used in everyday speech. They are not to be considered as proper binominals because the elements they contain are not part of the Russian lexicon. Such formations are called by Zemskaja (1992: 87) 'povtory-otzvuchija', i.e. 'sound reduplications'. Sometimes they may rhyme, e.g. *kasha-malasha* 'hurly-burly', *shury-mury* 'hanky-panky'. Eventually, they are based on personal names. Some examples are *Sasha-Masha* and *Zina-korzina* '(lit.) Zina-basket'. *Sasha* is the truncated form of Aleksandra ('Alexandra'), *Masha* of Maria. *Sasha* can also be the short form of the name Alexandr ('Alexander'). If the latter is the case, then the binominal have the meaning 'the relationship between the couple Sasha and Masha'.[116] *Zina-korzina* is the nickname for Zinajda. All in all, reduplicative binominals are highly expressive formations coined mostly at the spur of the moment to serve the purpose of comical doubling.

---

[116] I was told by a native speaker that *Sasha-Masha* is also a popular Russian TV show about the life of the lovers Alexandr and Maria.

4. Comparison

After the presentation and discussion of the individual categories of compound nouns in English and in Russian have been completed, the remaining task of this thesis is to give a general outline of the differences and similarities between them. In the two languages the question what exactly a compound is is similarly answered. In English, a compound is qualified as a complex lexeme, as a word-formation, and as a product of compounding. Complex lexeme and word-formation are used synonymously. As a process, compounding is part of the branch word-formation. In Russian, the term 'compound' has no direct equivalent. It is more generally understood as 'proizvodnoe slovo', i.e. 'derived word', as 'slozhnoe slovo', i.e. 'complex word', and as a product of 'slozhenie', i.e. 'compounding'. Whenever an actual compound is meant, it is usually referred to as a word made by this and that word-formation process. For instance, *sneg~o~pad* 'snow fall' is not called 'compound' but 'complex lexeme built by the complex morphological process compounding-zero derivation'.

Both in English and Russian, a compound is built from already existing lexemes or some smaller building units. The intersection of a compound into morphemes is the starting point in any analysis of its building. It is accompanied by establishing the immediate constituents and their hierarchical order of combining. Yet, according to the type and status of these compositional units, a compound in English is seen as a combination of at least two bases which are in most cases words, whereas in Russian two stems are joined together. On their own, they may or may not be independent words. Then, on the basis of these definitions, compounds are usually distinguished from suffixations and affixations. However, as it has been demonstrated and discussed above, this is not always easily achieved and borderline cases seem to exist.

The compounds in English and Russian are marked by morphological and semantic-syntactic properties. In both languages, the union of two elements into one whole is signalled by a particular stress assignment. The major difference is that an English compound usually has main stress on the first element and secondary stress on the second. In Russian the accentuation is exactly the opposite. The heavy stress is placed on the last constituent while the first is

either unstressed or receives a light secondary stress. This is explained by the fact that

> normal´naja ritmika russkogo […] predlozhenija imeet voshodjashchij ritm, i poetomu […] udarenie prihoditsja na poslednoe slovo [Russian expressions have an ascending rhythmical pattern. Therefore, the main stress is put on the last word]. (Janko-Trinickaja 2001: 347)

As it has already been pointed out, stress in English is a criterion which helps to distinguish an Adj+N syntactic phrase from a compound. Although there are border cases, stress assignment is a morphonological marker of distinct structures in minimal pairs such as *bláckbìrd* vs. *bláck bírd*. This situation is almost the same in Russian. *Suh~o~frukty* is a compound with heavy stress on *frukty* while the phrase *suhie frukty* carries two main stresses. However, semantically the two are alike. On the contrary, in English the level stress of *blackbird* signals its semantic specialisation, i.e. it is interpreted as a name for a particular species of birds and not as any bird which is black. Yet, loss of transparency is not a decisive factor for the identification of a combination as a compound. Similarly, in the Russian lexicon there are compounds which are totally compositional as well as compounds whose meaning is not fully deducible from the meaning of their parts.

Additionally, in both languages the sequence determinant-determinatum is more or less fixed. Basically, it is the second element which is grammatically dominant. Nevertheless, exceptions to this rule exist in both languages. While in English these are mainly the non-native word-formations of the type *consul general* and some phrasal compounds such as *mother-in-law*, in the majority of Russian binominals the modifier follows the head. Moreover, in these compounds each of the two constituents is accentuated and inflected. It is mainly under the influence of extensive borrowing of elements and structural patterns that in compounds such as *pizza-bizness* 'pizza business' or *seks-kommersija* 'sex trade' the modifier precedes the item modified. Still, to a great extent, the qualifier-qualified structure applies to the determinative compounds both in English and Russian. This order is in principle reversible in coordinative constructions such as *writer-director*, e.g. *director-writer*, or *sad-jasli* 'nursery and kindergarten', e.g. *jasli-sad*. Nevertheless, this does not mean that a speaker can freely choose any sequence.

One basic difference between the properties of compounds in the two languages is that in Russian the morphological union of two stems is done with the help of the meaningless linking vowel *-o-.* However, there are Russian word-formations which do not contain an interfix. Yet, they could be seen as compounds. These are the binominals, the compounds with analytical units, and the stump compounds. The fact that the number of these combinations increases constantly suggests that their patterns are highly productive and that apparently the "interfiks *-o-* [not my bold type] perestaet byt´ iskljuchitel´nym pokazatelem slozhnyh slov [interfix *-o-* is no longer seen as an obligatory composite formative]" (Zemskaja 2005: 139). In English, since two words are combined into a new one, no additional material is used to signal the border between the individual elements. Nevertheless, English compounds of the type *driver's licence* can be seen parallel to typical Russian combinations because in them the *s* functions as the Russian interfix *-o-.*

Both in English and in Russian compounds are classified into patterns and types because one morphological structure may produce several distinct categories of compounds and visa versa. For instance, without such a distinction the English compounds *day dreamer* and *can opener* and the Russian *mor~e~plava-tel´* 'sea sailor' and *sneg~o~chisti-tel´* 'snowplough' can be mistakenly analysed as belonging to the subject-type of reference.

The compounds analysed with the help of the formula AB=B are the English endocentric compounds and the Russian determinative compounds. According to the status and word class of the first constituent, one crucial difference should be noted. Russian compounds do not have verbal stems as determinants. Thus, *writing table* is expressed in Russian by the Adj+N phrase *pis´mennyj stol* and *building materials* corresponds to *stroitel´nye materially*. In the former example the first component is based on the deverbal secondary adjective from *pisat´* 'write' and the latter contains the base *stroit´* 'build'. In Russian the structure V+N can also be expressed by an analytical compound, e.g. *stroj/materialy*. It is even striking that an English V+N compound such as *swivel chair* corresponds to the determinative binominal *kreslo-vertushka* '(lit.) (arm)chair-revolting object'. Sometimes compounds such as *verti/shejka* 'wryneck' or *pere-kati/pole* 'rolling stone' are seen as 'imperative compounds' containing, respectively, the verbal

bases from *vertet´* 'to turn/spin' and *perekatyvat´/perekatit´* 'to roll'.[117] One has to bare in mind that these compounds appear "in der Folklore, in Dialekten und im Prostorečie […] und haben oft einen hohen Grad an Idiomatizität" (Günter 1996: 355).

Synthetic compounds are present in English and in Russian. In both languages they account for the formation of agent nouns, action nouns, and instruments. Synthetic as well as parasyntetic constructions are characterised by the fact that the second constituent is prevalently not an independently occurring word but a functional derivative. However, the process of their forming is differently illustrated, viz.:

(47) a. house keep-ing   vs.   b. mor~e~plava-nie

In both English and Russian there is a base verb, e.g. *keep* and *plavat´* 'swim', but in Russian the suffix *–nie* and the stem *more* 'sea' are simultaneously added to it, whereas in English the union of the other two morphemes has a hierarchical order. Russian synthetic compounds of the type *basn~o~pis-ec* 'fabulist' are parallel to the English type *letter writer*. Russian compounded-zero derived combinations such as *skal~o~zub* 'scoffer' correspond roughly to the English exocentric compounds *daredevil* or *killjoy*. They are combinations of two words but semantically they are analysed on the basis of the double formula AB ≠ B and AB ≠ A.

Within the group of endocentric compounds in English and Russian with structural peculiarities several conformities can be observed. In both languages, there are neoclassical compounds containing elements from Greek and Latin origin. What is striking is that these compounds are composed of bound units, have untypical stress pattern, appear to have something like a linking vowel, and

> though extremely frequent in technical and scientific terminology, have never been investigated systematically, and the status of their constituents is far from clear. (Kastovsky 2008a: 1)

---

[117] The English compound *pickpocket* is an example of construction with imperative verb as determinant. Cf. Kastovsky (2008b: 22-24) for a detailed discussion of imperative compounds in English.

Terms like 'initial/final combining forms', 'affixoids', 'international units', and 'analytical elements' have been used in attempt to describe their nature. In Russian and in English, these elements can combine either with others of their kind or with native ones and thus creating what can be called 'hybrid compounds', e.g. *teleworking*, *photo paper*, *euro market*, *computerphobe*, etc.; *fotoapparat* 'photo camera', *aviabilet* 'flight ticket' (lit. 'aviation ticket') , *evrorynok* 'Euro market', *psevdonauka* 'pseudo science', *igroteka* 'game room/collection', *mramorgejt* 'marblegate', etc. Therefore, in both languages, the category of neoclassical compounds overlaps with abbreviated compounds, clipping compounds, and compounds with bound elements. As far as the treatment of these compounds in English is concerned, it has been claimed that

> the notion of 'combining form' […] is not necessary. The categories of 'word', 'stem', 'affix', 'affixoid', 'clipping' and 'blending' necessary in word-formation for independent reasons are sufficient to deal with the formations in question. Therefore, the notion of 'combining form' is something like a 'red herring' in lexicology, because it creates more problems than it solves and should be therefore given up. (Kastovsky 2008c: 10)

The nature of this problem in Russian can be exemplified with the formation *velomotocikl* 'motor bike' (lit. 'bike-motor cycle'). One possibility is to regard it a neoclassical compound containing the international element *velo* 'bike'. Another alternative approach is to interpret it as an analytical compound since its first member might be seen as the truncated form from the adjective *velosipednyj* 'bike (attr.)'. A third potential analysis is to view the compound as a clipped binominal from *velosiped-motocikl* 'motor bike' (lit. 'bicycle-motor cycle'). As such, it is again an analytical compound but one with a coordinative relation. And finally, one might also classify *velomotocikl* as an international binominal. It seems therefore that in Russian as well, there are compounds which tend to have no definite membership to just one particular category. Especially

> [i]n cases like Rus. *avtovokzal* 'carport' and *fotozhurnal* 'photo-magazine', etc., there might be some ambiguity about whether or not *avto–* and *foto–* are abbreviated nominal stems. […] if there is a sense of the original phrase, such as *avtomobil´nyj vokzal* and *fotograficheskij zhurnal*, then *avtovokzal* and *fotozhurnal* can be considered abbreviated compounds; if not, then *avto–* and *foto–* must be recogni[s]ed as the foreign elements *auto–* and *photo–* from the fund of international vocabulary. (Komkov 1983: 168)

In addition to this situation in Russian, there are even borderline cases between pure compounds and analytical compound arising from possible doublets such as *hleb~o~zavod* vs. *hleb/zavod* '(mechanical) bakery', or *ryb~o~zavod* vs. *ryb/zavod* 'fish factory'. Consequently, analyticity is indeed one of the characteristic features of Russian compounds. An obvious aspect of this tendency is the growth of the stump combinations called by Spencer (1998: 128) 'stub compounds' in which

> we concatenate some phonological subpart of each compounded element (in Russian this is generally a bimoraic syllable, which effectively means a closed syllable).

This category approximately corresponds to the English clipped compounds. Moreover, cubed compounds such as *Roskomdragmet* 'the Russian committee for precious metals', i.e. compounds with more than two clippings, show that stump compounds have an agglutinative character. Their elements are joined together without any additional adjustments.

The remaining compound categories can be matched in the following way. The English copula compounds are as the Russian binominals. In the Russian linguistics they are usually either not treated as compounds or seen as a special and separate compound category. The reason is that binominals generally have exactly the opposite features of typical compounds: two independently occurring words, coordination between the elements, two main stresses, a hyphen instead of a linking vowel, two inflectional markers, and to a small extend mobility of the elements.

English onomatopoetic compounds correlate with Russian reduplicative binominals. In both languages these compounds are not regarded as combinations of full linguistic signs but rather as constructions motivated on sounds and symbols combined together by either rhyme or ablaut.

5. Conclusion

The aim of this thesis has been to present the compound categories in English and in Russian and to show the differences and similarities between them. More precisely, it has focused on the group of complex lexemes known as compound nouns, i.e. those with a noun as second constituent, because it is the biggest and the most interesting one both in English and in Russian. Before discussing the individual morphological patterns and semantic types, it was necessary to answer the question what exactly a compound is and to point at the characteristic features of compound nouns.

It has become obvious that an analysis of compound nouns essentially depends on the definition chosen and on the kind of criteria emphasised. Structural properties as well as semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic aspects have been taken into consideration in the presentation of the three major categories of compound nouns – the endocentric, exocentric, and the copula compounds. Their investigation has reflected the fact that English and Russian speakers use already existing words and/or smaller building blocks and unite them into one complex construction. It either has subordinative or coordinative meaning relations between the constituents, or it is a construction whose basic semantic concept lies outside the morphological makeup. In addition, it has been shown that the available word-building material may be first reduced, abbreviated, clipped, and/or borrowed and then joined together either according to native or foreign patterns. This resulted into categories of compound nouns which are not exclusively produced by the process compounding and found in both English and in Russian.

The number of the categories discussed and especially their variety, i.e. the distinct subdivisions into patterns and semantic-syntactic types, has proved that in English as well as in Russian compound nouns constitute a considerable amount of the secondary combinations available in the two lexicons. Yet, the Russian language does not make such an extensive use of composites as English does. It is still the case that in Russian derivation and the formation of complex syntactic phrases are by far the most productive linguistic processes. Nevertheless, there is an ever-growing tendency towards compounding. It is

discernible, for instance, from the prolific usage of the binominals in all spheres of life and from the increase of analytical and agglutinated compounds.

Of course, any preference for certain compound patterns and types reflects current trends in a speech community. If language were a static system it would not be well suited for performing its principal function – allowing human beings to communicate with one another. Yet, both English and Russian are adaptive to the changes in the lives of their speakers. Therefore, vocabulary and compound nouns continue to grow.

6. References

Adams, Valerie. 2001. *Complex words in English*. Harlow: Pearson Education.

Algeo, John (ed.). 1991. *Fifty years among the new words*: *a dictionary of neologisms, 1941-1991.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Baldi, Philip; Dawar, Chantal. 2000. "Creative processes". In Booij, Geert; Lehmann, Christian; Mugdan, Joachim (eds.). *Morphology*: *an international handbook on inflection and word-formation.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 963-972.

Bauer, Laurie. 1979. "On the need for pragmatics in the study of nominal compounding". *Journal of pragmatics* 3, 45-50.

Bauer, Laurie. 1983. *English word-formation*. (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bauer, Laurie. 1998a. "Is there a class of neoclassical compounds, and if so is it productive?" *Linguisticts* 36, 403-422.

Bauer, Laurie. 1998b. "When is a sequence of two nouns a compound in English?" *English language and linguistics* 2, 65-86.

Bauer, Laurie. 2001a. "A corpus-based study of compounding in English". *Journal of English linguistics* 29, 101-123.

Bauer, Laurie. 2001b. "Compounding". In Haspelmath, Martin; König, Ekkehard; Oesterreicher, Wulf; Raible, Wolfgang (eds.). *Language typology and universals.* (Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 20,1). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 695-707.

Bauer, Laurie. 2003. *Introducing linguistic morphology*. (2nd edition). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Bauer, Laurie. 2004. *A glossary of morphology*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Belenchikov, Renate. 1992. *Sustantivische Benennungsbildung in der russischen Gegenwartssprache und der deutschen Sprache in der DDR: eine konfrontiv-charakterologische Untersuchung.* (Slawische Sprachen und Literaturen 42). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Belenchikov, Renate. 1993. "Sustantivkomposita im synchronen Sprachvergleich: Russisch-Deutsch". *Zeitschrift für Slavische Phililogie* 53, 129-142.

Belenchikov, Renate. 1997. "Analytische Nomination im heutigen Russischen: Substantivische Mehrwortbenennungen". *Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie* 56, 302-333.

Benyukh, Oleg, P. (ed.). 1997. *Russian-English comprehensive dictionary*. New York: Hippocrene Books.

Bergmann, Anka.1999. "Zur Entwicklung von Binomina im Russischen". In Anstatt, Tanja (ed.). *Entwicklungen in slavischen Sprachen*. (Specimina philologiae slavicae: Supplementband 66). München: Otto Sagner, 41-82.

Bergmann, Anka. 2006. *Binomina im Russischen als Kategorie der komplexen Benennung*. (Berliner Slawistische Arbeiten 29). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Carstairs-McCarthy, Andrew. 2002. *An introduction to English morphology: words and their structure*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Comrie, Bernhard; Stone, Gerald; Polinsky, Maria. 1996. *The Russian language in the twentieth entury*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Coseriu, Eugenio. 1977. "Inhaltliche Wortbildungslehre (am Beispiel des Typs 'coupe-papier')". In Brekle, Herbert E.; Kastovsky, Dieter (eds.). *Perspektiven der Wortbildungsforschung: Beiträge zum Wuppertaler Wortbildungskolloquium vom 9.-10. Juli 1976.* Bonn: Bouvier, 48-61.

Cubberly, Paul. 2002. *Russian: a linguistic introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dubchinskij, Vladimir V. 2001. *Leksikologija, leksikografija i slovoobrazovanie russkogo jazyka: posobie dlja nemskogovorjashchih studentov.* Klagenfurt: Institut für Slawistik.

Dulichenko, A. D. 1994. *Russkij jazyk konza XX stoletija*. München: Otto Sagner.

Fillmore, Charles. 1968. "The case for case". In Bach, Emmon; Harms, Robert T. (eds.). *Universals in linguistic theory*. London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1-88.

Fleckenstein, Christa. 2002. "Slozhno-sostavnye slova v russkom jazyke. Spezifika strukturnogo tipa i vyraziteľnye vozmozhnosti naimenovanij". In Mengel, Swetlana (ed.). *Slavische Wortbildung: Semantik und Kombinatorik*. (Slavica Varia Halensia 7). Münster: Lit, 200-209.

Fradin, Bernard. 2000. "Combining forms, blends and related phenomena". In Doleschal, Ursula; Thornton, Anna M. (eds.). *Extragrammatical and marginal morphology*. (Lincom Studies in Theoretical Linguistics 12). München: Lincom Europa, 11-59.

Gladrov, Wolfgang. 1989. *Russisch im Spiegel des Deutschen: eine Einführung in den russisch-deutschen und deutsch-russischen Sprachvergleich*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Golanova, E. I. 1998. "O 'mnimyh slozhnyh slovah' ". In Zemskaja, E. A.; Glovinskaja, M. Ja. *Liki jazyka: k 45-letiju nauchnoj dejateľnosti E. A. Zemskoj.* Moskva: Nasledie, 31-39.

Gutschmidt, Karl. 2001. "Aspekte der Untersuchung nominaler Ableitungen mit Prämorphemen". In Kantorczyk, Ursula (ed.). *Sprachwandel des Russischen im Transformationsprozess am Ende des 20. und zu Beginn des 21 Jahrhundert*. (Rostocker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 11). Rostock: Universität Rostock, 19-37.

Gutschmidt, Karl. 2005. "Russ. gossluzhashchie, internet-rynok, sluchmejker – Komposita oder Wortfügungen?". In Gladrov, Wolfgang (ed.). *Wortbildung, Wörterbuch und Grammatik in Geschichte und Gegenwart der Slavia: Festschrift für Erika Günter*. (Berliner Slawistische Arbeiten 27). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 21-29.

Günter, Erika. 1996. "Typologischer Vergleich russischer und deutscher Substantiv-komposita". In Gladrow, Wolfgang; Heyl, Sonja. *Slawische und deutsche Sprachwelt*. (Berliner Slawistische Arbeiten 1). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 353-364.

Günter, Erika. 1999. "Slovoobrazovatel´naja aktivnost´ osnov mestoimennyh slov v russkom jazyke". In Belenchikov, Renate (ed.). *Neue Wege der slavischen Wortbildungsforschung: 2. Tagung der internationalen Kommission für slavische Wortbildung, Magdeburg, 9-11.10.1997*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 179-185.

Günter, Erika. 2002. "Einige Aspekte der Bildung und wissenschaftlichen Beschreibung russischer Komposita". In Mengel, Swetlana (ed.). *Slavische Wortbildung: Semantik und Kombinatorik*. (Slavica Varia Halensia 7). Münster: Lit, 193-199.

Heyl, Sonja. 2005. " Wortbildungspotenzen von Entlehnungen im modernen Russischen". In Gladrov, Wolfgang (ed.). *Wortbildung, Wörterbuch und Grammatik in Geschichte und Gegenwart der Slavia: Festschrift für Erika Günter*. (Berliner Slawistischen Arbeiten 27). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 31-43.

Jackson, Haward. 2000. *Words, meaning, and vocabulary: an introduction to modern English lexicology*. London: Cassell.

Janko-Trinickaja, N. A. 2001. *Slovoobrazovanie v sovremennom russkom jazyke*. Moskva: Indrik.

Jelitte, Herbert. 1993. "Russische Wortbildungsinnovationen neuer und neuester Zeit". *Zeitschrift für Slawistik* 36, 26-40.

Kastovsky, Dieter. 1982. *Wortbildung und Semantik*. (Studienreihe Englisch 14). Düsseldorf: Schwann-Bagel.

Kastovsky, Dieter. 1986. "Word-formation and pragmatics". In Rauchbauer, Otto (ed.). *A yearbook of studies in English language and literature 1985/86: Festschrift für Siegfried Korningen*. (Wiener Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie 80). Wien: Wilhelm Braumüller, 63-78.

Kastovsky, Dieter. 1989. "Word-formation." In Dirven, René; Zydatiß, Wolfgang; Edmondson, Willis J. (eds.). *A user's grammar of English: word, sentence, text, interaction.* Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 171-214.

Kastovsky, Dieter. 1992. "The formats change - the problems remain: word-formation theory between 1960 and 1990". In Pütz, Martin (ed.). *Thirty years of linguistic evolution: studies in honour of René Dirven on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday.* Amsterdam: Benjamins, 285-311.

Kastovsky, Dieter. 1995. "The syntactic aspects of word-formation: where are we today?" In Melchers, Gunnel; Warren, Beatrice (eds.). *Studies in anglistics.* (Stockholm studies in English 85). Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 157-169.

Kastovsky, Dieter. 2000. "Words and word-formation: morphology in OED". In Mugglestone, Lynda (ed.). *Lexicography and the OED: pioneers in the untrodden forest.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 110-125.

Kastovsky, Dieter. 2008a. "*Astronaut, astrology, astrophysics*: about combining forms, classical compounds and affixoids". Forthcoming manuscript. Hel-Lex 2. 25-28 April 2008, 1-17.

Kastovsky, Dieter. 2008b. "Compounds: diachronic perspectives". Forthcoming paper, 1-34.

Kastovsky, Dieter. 2008c. "English word-formation, combining forms and neo-classical compounds: a reassessment". Paper read at the 15th world congress of linguists. Seoul, 25th July 2008, 1-12.

Katamba, Francis. 1993. *Morphology.* London: Macmillan.

Katamba, Francis. 2005. *English words*: *structure, history, usage.* (2nd edition). London: Routledge.

Kay, Paul; Zimmer, Karl. 1990. "On the semantics of compounds and genetives in English". In Tsohatzidis, S. L. (ed.). *Meaning and prototypes in linguistic categorization.* London: Routhledge, 239-246.

Komkov, Stephanie. 1983. "The compounds substantives of Serbo-Croatian and Russian, with a sketch of the compound substantives of common Slavic." (Yale Ph. D. dissertation, 1983). *Folia Slavica* 6, 153-233.

Kornev, Alesandr. 1980. "O razgranichenii slozhnyh slov i shodnyh s nimi substantivnyh slovosochetnij". *Studia Rossica Posnaniensia* 24, 131-144.

Kostromina, M.V. 1989a. "Sostavnye slova, nazyvajushchie predmety dvoinovo znachenija, v sovremennom russkom jazyke". *Russkij jazyk za rubezhom* 3, 35-39.

Kostromina, M.V. 1989b. "Sostavnye slova shkola-magazin, match-turnir…". *Russkaja rech* 1, 75-78.

Kreidler, Charles W. 2000. "Clipping and acronymy". In Booij, Geert; Lehmann, Christian; Mugdan, Joachim (eds.). *Morphology: an international handbook on inflection and word-formation.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 956-963.

Krysin, L. P. 1998. "Slovoobrazovanie ili zaimstvovanie?". In Zemskaja, E. A.; Glovinskaja, M. Ja. *Liki jazyka: k 45-letiju nauchnoj dejatel´nosti E. A. Zemskoj.* Moskva: Nasledie, 196-202.

Ladd, Robert D. 1984. "English compound stress." In Gibbon, Dafydd; Richter, Helmut (eds.). *Intonation, accent and rhythm: studies in discourse phonology.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 253-266.

Lehrer, Adrianne. 1996. "Identifying and interpreting blends: an experimental approach. *Cognitive linguistics* 7, 359-390.

Lipka, Leonhard. 1977. "Lexikalisierung, Idiomatisierung und Hypostasierung als Probleme einer synchronischen Wortbildungslehre". In Brekle, Herbert E.; Kastovsky, Dieter (eds.). *Pespektiven der Wortbildungsforschung: Beiträge zum Wuppertaler Wortbildungskolloquium vom 9.-10. Juli 1976.* Bonn: Bouvier, 155-163.

Lipka, Leonhard. 1990. *An outline of English lexicology: lexical structure, word semantics, and word-formation.* (Forschung & Studium Anglistik 3). Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Lopatin, V.V.; Lopatina, L.E. 1994. *Russkij tolkovnyj slovar´.* Berlin: Langenscheidt.

Lyons, John. 1977. *Semantics.* (vol.1). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Marchand, Hans. 1969. *The categories and types of present-day English word-formation: a synchronic-diachronic approach.* (2nd edition). München: Beck.

Marchand, Hans. 1974a. "Die Länge englischer Komposita und die entsprechenden Verhältnisse im Deutschen." In Kastovsky, Dieter (ed.). *Studies in syntax and word-formation: selected articles.* (International library of general linguistics 18). München: Fink, 199-205.

Marchand, Hans. 1974b. "Expansion, transposition, and derivation." In Kastovsky, Dieter (ed.). *Studies in syntax and word-formation: selected articles.* (International library of general linguistics 18). München: Fink, 322-337.

Marchand, Hans. 1974c. "On the analysis of substantive compounds and suffixal derivatives not containing a verbal element". In Kastovsky, Dieter (ed.). *Studies in syntax and word-formation: selected articles.* (International library of general linguistics 18). München: Fink, 292-322.

Marchand, Hans. 1974d. "Synchronic analysis and word-formation." In Kastovsky, Dieter (ed.). *Studies in syntax and word-formation: selected articles.* (International library of general linguistics 18). München: Fink, 171-184.

Marchand, Hans. 1974e. "The analysis of verbal nexus substantives." In Kastovsky, Dieter (ed.). *Studies in syntax and word-formation: selected articles.* (International library of general linguistics 18). München: Fink, 276-291.

Matthews, P. H. 1974. *Morphology: an introduction to the theory of word-structure.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Neuß, Elmar. 1981. "Kopulativkomposita". *Sprachwissenschaft* 6, 31-68.

Novak, Volker. 1996. *Form, Bedeutung und Funktionen von Nomen-Nomen-Kombinationen.* (Europäische Hochschulschriften 302). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Olsen, Susan. 2000a. "Composition". In Booij, Geert; Lehmann, Christian; Mugdan, Joachim (eds.). *Morphology: an international handbook on inflection and word-formation.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 897-916.

Olsen, Susan. 2000b."Compounding and stress in English: a closer look at the boundary between morphology and syntax". *Linguistische Berichte* 181, 55-69.

Olsen, Susan. 2000c. "Copulative compounds: a closer look at the interface between syntax and morphology". In Booij, Geert; von Marle, Jaap. *Yearbook of morphology.* Dortrecht: Kluwer, 279-320.

Oshita, Hiroyuki. 1994. "Compounds: a view from suffixation and a-structure alteration". In Booij, Geert; von Marle, Jaap. *Yearbook of morphology.* Dortrecht: Kluwer, 179-205.

Piller, Ingrid. 2000. "Developments in the formation of brand names." In Reitz, Bernhard; Rieuwerts, Sigrid (eds.). *Proceedings: Anglistentag 1999 Mainz.* Mainz: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 53-62.

Plag, Ingo. 2003. *Word-formation in English.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pyles, Thomas; Algeo, John. 1982. *The origins and development of the English language.*(3rd edition). New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Rosental´, D. Ė.; Golub, I. B.; Telenkova, M. A. 1997. *Sovremennyj russkij jazyk.* Moskva: Ajris-press.

Ryazanova-Clarkre, Larissa; Wade, Terence. 1999. *The Russian language today.* London: Routledge.

Saljahova, A. Sh. 1984. " 'Ul´tra', 'sverh', 'super' v russkom jazyke". *Russkij jazyk v shkole* 3, 74-76.

Sannikov, V. Z. 2002. *Russkij jazyk v zerkale: jazykovoj igry*. Moskva: Jazyki Slavjanskoj Kul´tury.

Schmid, Hans-Jörg. 2005. *Englische Morphologie und Wortbildung: eine Einführung*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt.

Schönle, Paul Walter. 1975. *Zur Wortbildung im modernen Russisch*. (Slavistische Beiträge 20). München: Otto Sagner.

Shvedova, N. Ju.; Lopatin, V. V. 2002. *Kratkaja russkaja grammatika*. Moskva: Institut russkogo jazyka imeni V. V. Vinogradova.

Sinclair, John M. (ed.). 1994. *Collins English dictionary*. (3rd edition). Glasgow: Harper Collins.

Stein, Gabrielle. 1977. "The place of word-formation in linguistic description". In Brekle, Herbert E.; Kastovsky, Dieter (eds.). *Perspektiven der Wortbildungsforschung: Beiträge zum Wuppertaler Wortbildungskolloquium vom 9.-10. Juli 1976.* Bonn: Bouvier, 219-235.

Stockwell, Robert; Minkova, Donka. 2001. *English words: history and structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Taylor, John R. 1996. *Possessive in English: an exploration in cognitive grammar*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Towsend, Charles. 1975. *Russian word-formation*. Cambridge: Slavica Publishers.

Valgina, N. S.; Rosental´, D. Ė.; Fomina, M. I. 2003. *Sovremennyj russkij jazyk*. Moskva: Logos.

Wade, Terence. 2000. *A comprehensive Russian grammar*. (2nd edition). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Ward, Dennis. 1973. "Appositional compounds in Russian". *The Slavonic and East European Review* 51, 1-10.

Warren, Beatrice. 1990. "The importance of combining forms". In Dressler, Wolfgang U.; Luschützky, Hans C.; Pfeiffer, Oscar F.; Rennison, John R. (eds.). *Contemporary morphology*. (Trends in linguistics: studies and monographs, 49). Berlin: Mauton de Gruyter, 111-132.

Zemskaja, E. A. 1963. *Kak delajutsja slova*. Moskva: Akademii nauk SSSR.

Zemskaja, E. A. 1992. *Slovoobrazovanie kak dejatel´nost´*. Moskva: Nauka.

Zemskaja, E. A. 1997. "Aktivnye tendencii slovoproizvodstva". In Shirjaev, Evgenij (ed.). *Najnowsze dzieje języków słowiańskich: Russkij jazyk*. Opole: Uniwersytet Opolski, Instytut Filologii Polskiej, 167-201.

Zemskaja, E. A. 1999. "Dinamiki sistemy sovremennogo russkogo slovovobazovanija i problemy slovoobrazovatel´noj normy". In Belenchikov, Renate (ed.). *Neue Wege der slavischen Wortbildungsforschung: 2. Tagung der internationalen Kommission für slavische Wortbildung, Magdeburg, 9-11.10.1997.* Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 257-264.

Zemskaja, E. A. 2002. "Specifika semantiki i kombinatoriki proizvodstva slov-gibridov". In Mengel, Swetlana (ed.). *Slavische Wortbildung: Semantik und Kombinatorik.* (Slavica Varia Halensia 7). Münster: Lit, 156-169.

Zemskaja, E. A. 2005. *Sovremennyj russkij jazyk: slovoobrazovanie*. (2nd edition). Moskva: Flinta.

Zemskaja, E. A.; Ermakova, O. P.; Rudnik-Karvat, Ė. 1998. "Aktivnye processy v slovoobrazovanii sovremennyh slovjanskih jazykov". In Grubachev, O. N. *Slavjanskoe jazykoznanie: XII mezhdunarodnyj s´´ezd slavistov Krakov 1998.* Moskva: Nauka, 296-311.

Zhukovskaja, O. A. 1976. "Ob izuchenii slozhnyh slov, obrazovannyh slozheniem i slijaniem". *Russkij jazyk v shkole* 5, 33-36.

7. Appendix

7.1. German abstract

Die vorliegende Diplomarbeit befasst sich mit den sekundären Lexemen im Englischen und Russischen Vokabular, die als Substantivkomposita bekannt sind. Es handelt sich dabei um Verknüpfungen von bereits existierenden Morphemen, die zu einer morphologisch komplexen Einheit verbunden werden. Während im Englischen diese Morpheme in den meisten Fällen selbständig vorkommende Wörter sind, wird die Mehrheit der Substantivkomposita im Russischen durch Verknüpfung zweier Stämme mit der Hilfe eines bedeutungslosen Verbindungsmorphems gebildet.

Bevor die Kategorien der Substantivkomposita in den beiden Sprachen dargestellt und verglichen werden, wird die Frage gestellt was eigentlich der Terminus ‚Kompositum' bedeutet und wie er definiert werden kann. Anschließend befasst sich die Arbeit mit der Beschreibung der grundlegenden Eigenschaften die allen Substantivkomposita gemein ist. Dabei wird die innere Struktur der Komposita, die Arten der Elemente aus denen sie gebildet sind, sowie deren Interpretation und grammatikalische Merkmale untersucht. Dabei werden drei Hauptkategorien von Substantivkomposita erörtert. Es handelt sich dabei um die so genannten endozentrischen, exozentrischen und Kopulativ-Komposita. Während die ersten subordinative Zusammensetzungen mit einer semantisch dominierenden Grundkomponente, dem Kopf, sind, weisen im Gegensatz dazu die letztgenannten eine koordinierte Konstituentenrelation auf. Im Russischen entsprechen sie in etwa den Binomina. Exozentrische Komposita sind semantisch kopflose Verbindungen, da weder das Determinatum (‚Bestimmtes') noch das Determinans (‚Bestimmendes') die grundlegende Bedeutung des Kompositas als Ganzes beschreiben. In der Russischen Linguistik sind das parasynthetische Komposita die nach dem komplexen Verfahren der Komposition-Nullmorphemableitung produziert werden.

Zusätzlich existieren sowohl im Englischen als auch im Russischen sekundäre Lexeme, die mit morphologischen Besonderheiten gekennzeichnet sind. Im Englischen sind das die neoklassischen Komposita, die Inversionskomposita, die Partikelkomposita sowie die Komposita mit einem Verbindungsmorphem. Die

Komposita im Russischen mit strukturellen Absonderheiten sind die analytischen Komposita, die gekürzten Komposita, und die Komposita mit gebundenen Elementen. Einerseits spricht diese Vielfalt der Kategorien im Englischen und im Russischen dafür, dass die Substantivkomposita in beiden Sprachen eine der produktivsten Mitglieder des Vokabulars sind. Das ist insofern nicht erstaunlich, da Komposita neu kreiert werden weil eine pragmatische Bennenungsnotwendigkeit für sie besteht. Andererseits ist die Analyse der Substantivkomposita nicht immer eine so klare Aufgabe wie man sich vielleicht wünschen würde. Manche Fälle haben keinen eindeutigen Status, andere bereiten Schwierigkeiten, da sie widersprüchlich behandelt werden, und es gibt sogar solche für die keine eindeutige Erklärung existiert.

7.2. Curriculum vitae

Persönliche Daten

Name	Maria Perkles
Geburtsdatum	09.11.1975
Geburtsort	Sofia, Bulgarien
Staatsbürgerschaft	Österreich

Ausbildung

Juni 1993	Matura am Englischen Gymnasium in Sofia, Bulgarien
Okt. 1993 – Okt. 1994	Studium als ausserordentliche Hörerin an der Universität Wien
Oktober 1994	Beginn des Studiums Anglistik und Amerikanistik an der Universität Wien
Oktober 1995	Beginn des Studienzweiges Russisch an der Universität Wien
August 2002	Teilnahme am Österreichisch-Russischen Sommerkolleg in Nizhnij Novgorod, Russland
Jänner 2003	Abschluss des 1. Abschnittes für den Studienzweig Anglistik und Amerikanistik
Juni 2003	Absolvierung eines sprachwissenschaftlichen Seminars; erstes linguistisches Paper bei Prof. Dr. Kastovsky
Jänner 2004	Absolvierung eines weiteren linguistischen Seminars bei Prof. Dr. Kastovsky
Jänner 2005	Abschluss des Studienzweiges Russisch mit Auszeichnung
August 2005	A1 TELC in Spanisch