## What is a word?



## Outline

(1) What is a word?
(2) Morphemes
(3) Derivation and inflection
(4) Morphological typology
(5) Innovation

## Main points

- We begin with a familiar object: the written word.
- Zipf's Law.
- What is the basis for our dividing the stream of sounds (or letters) as we do?
- The lexeme: how well do we know how to organize a dictionary of our language?
- Morphology is the (study of the) structure of words: internal and external (=relational) structure
- Internal analysis of words
- External analysis: inflectional morphology and derivational morphology
- Productivity

| Rank | OE Corpus <br> lemmas | word <br> forms | Tom <br> Sawyer | Warren <br> Commission |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | the | the | the | the |
| 2 | be | of | and | of |
| 3 | to | and | a | to |
| 4 | of | a | to | and |
| 5 | and | to | of | in |
| 6 | a | in | he | a |
| 7 | in | is | was | that |
| 8 | that | you | it | he |
| 9 | have | that | in | was |
| 10 | I | it | that | his |
| 11 | it | he | his | on |
| 12 | for | was | I | Oswald |
| 13 | not | for | you | had |
| 14 | on | on | Tom | at |
| 15 | with | are | with | for |


|  |  | Project Gutenberg |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  | the | $56,271,872$ |
| Television/movies |  |  | of | $33,950,064$ |
| you |  | and | $29,944,184$ |  |
| I | $1,222,421$ |  | to | $25,956,096$ |
| to | $1,052,546$ |  | in | $17,420,636$ |
| the | 823,661 |  | I | $11,764,797$ |
| a | 770,161 |  | that | $11,073,318$ |
| and | 563,578 |  | was | $10,078,245$ |
| that | 480,214 |  | his | $8,799,755$ |
| it | 413,389 |  | he | $8,397,205$ |
| of | 388,320 |  | it | $8,058,110$ |
| me | 332,038 |  | with | $7,725,512$ |
|  | 312,326 |  | is | $7,557,477$ |
|  |  | for | $7,097,981$ |  |
|  |  | as | $7,037,543$ |  |
|  |  |  | had | $6,139,336$ |

## Zipf's Law

The product of a word's rank and its frequency is a constant across a large corpus.
$\operatorname{rank}(w) \times \operatorname{freq}(w)=Z$
where Z is a constant for a given language.

## Zipf's Law: Wikipedia graphic



## Zipf's Law

## From AI and Social Science website, Brendan O'Connor.

world city populations for 8 countries
log-size vs log-rank


## Idea the First: Orthography

A first try:

## Definition

A word is a written sequence which has a white space at each end but no white space in the middle.

- Problem the First: this begs the question.


## Begging the question


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## Idea the First: Orthography

## Definition

A word is a written sequence which has a white space at each end but no white space in the middle.

- Problem the First: this begs the question.
- Problem the Second: not everyone uses spaces.


## Before there were spaces

HMル
 BOT MT ANH ME NOYY noto 4 UA GEOTEDASA NOYIET



 ATHKIL













## There continue to not be spaces

article
discussion
edit this page
history

## Bangkok

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

This article needs additional citations for verification.
Please help improve this article by adding reliable references. Unsourced material may be challenge
Bangkok is the capital, largest urban area and primary city of Thailand. Known in Thai as Krung Thep Mahanakhon (Thai: กรุงเทพมหานคร, pronounced [krūク̄t^êtp máhǎ:nák̊:n] (4) listen)), or กรุงเทพฯ Krung Thep ( $\downarrow$ ) (listen) (help-info), meaning "City of the Deity") for short, it was a small trading post at the mouth of the Chao Phraya River during the Ayutthaya Kingdom. It came to the forefront of Siam when it was given the status as the capital city in 1768 after the burning of Ayutthaya. However, the current Rattanakosin Kingdom did not begin until 1782 when the capital was moved across the river by Rama I after the death of King Taksin. The Rattanakosin capital is now more formally called "Phra Nakhon" (Thai: พระนคร), pertaining to the ancient boundaries in the metropolis' core and the name Bangkok now incorporates the urban build-up since the 18th century which has its own public administration and governor.

## There continue to not be spaces

```
บทความ อภิปราย แก้ไข ประวัติ
```


## กรุงเทพมหานคร

## จากวิกิพีเดีย สารานุกรมเสรี

(เปลี่ยนทางมาจาก Bangkok)
บทความนี้เกี่ยวกับเมืองหลวง สำหรับองค์กรปกครองส่วนท้องถิ่นรูปแบบพิเศษดดที่กรุงเทพมหานคร(องค์กรปกครอ
กรุงเทพมหานครเป็นเมืองหลวงและเป็นเมืองที่มีประซากรมากที่สุดในประเทศไทย ${ }^{[3]}$ รวมทั้งเป็นศูนย์กลางการ ปกครอง การศึกษาการคมนาคมขนส่งการเงินการธนาคารการพาณิชย์การสื่อสารและความเจริญก้าวหน้าด้านอื่น $ๆ$ ของประเทศไทย นอกจากนี้ยังเป็นเมืองที่มีชื่อยาวที่สุดในโลกอีกด้วย มีแม่น้ำสำคัญคือแม่น้ำเจ้าพระยาไหลผ่านทำให้ แบ่งเมืองออกเป็น 2 ฝั่ง คือฝังพระนครและฝั่งธนบุรี (เดิมฝั่งตะวันตกของแม่น้าเป็นที่ต้้งของกรุงธนบุรีซึ่งต่อมาภายหลังได้ รวมเข้าเป็นส่วนหนึ่งของกรุงเทพมหานคร) โดยกรุงเทพมหานครมีพื้นที่ทั้งหมด $1,568.737$ ตารางกิโลเมตร พิกัดทาง ภูมิศาสตร์คือละติจุด $13^{\circ} 45^{\prime}$ เหนือ ลองจิจุด $100^{\circ} 31^{\prime}$ 'ตะวันออก ${ }^{[4]}$

กรุงเทพมหานครเป็นเขตปกครองพิเศษของประเทศไทยโดยมิได้มีสถานะเป็นจังหวัดซึ่งคำว่า กรูงเทพมหานคร นั้ ยังใช้เป็นคำเรียกสำนักงานปกครองส่วนท้องถิ่นของกรุงเทพมหานครอีกด้วย ปัจจุบันกรุงเทพมหานครใช้วิธีการเลือก ตั้งผู้บริหารแบบการเลือกตั้งผู้บริหารท้องถิ่นโดยตรง

## There continue to not be spaces

簡介 ［编辑］


芝加哥大學

芝加哥大学的校训译成中文是「益智厚生」，意思是「提升知识，以充实人生。」（拉丁文原文：Crescat scientia vita excolatur。英译：Let knowledge grow from more to more；and so be human life enriched）。

## 理念與課程

芝大对教育观念的「宏观」与实验精神，奠定了它在美国教育史上的重要地位。而它在学术研究上的地位与贡献，也同样值得称道。

芝加哥大学的人类学，天文学，地球科学，经济学，地理学，历史学，语言学，數学，物理学，统计学，商学，社会学，神学等学科专业在美国具有较强的学术实力。经济学，社会学系实力尤其超强，＂芝加哥学派＂赫赫有名。

## Idea the First: Orthography

1. A word is a written sequence which has a white space at each end but no white space in the middle.

- Problem the First: this begs the question.
- Problem the Second: not everyone uses spaces.
- Problem the Third: compounds.


## Google

## 11. Hyphenated Terms

Because some people spell hyphenated words with a hyphen and others with a space, Google searches for variations on any hyphenated terms.

When Google encounters a hyphen (-) in a query term, e.g., [ part-time ], it searches for:

- the term with the hyphen, e.g., part-time
- the term without the hyphen, e.g., parttime
- the term with the hyphen replaced by a space, e.g., part time
- [ part-time ] matches "part-time," "part time," and "parttime"
- [ part time ] matches "part-time" and "part time", but
- [ "part time" ] (with quotes) is better for space-separated words
- "land holder" (incl. land-holder): 91,300 hits
- "landholder": 486,000 hits
- Is one in more dictionaries than the other? Does it matter?


## Compounds

## die Herzkreislaufwiederbelebung

Herz 'heart'
Kreis 'circle'
laufen 'to run' (> Lauf 'a run, circuit')
wieder 'again'
beleben 'to revive, animate' (> Belebung 'revival')

## Compounds

## das Rindfleischetikettierungsüberwachungsaufgabenübertragungsgesetz

Rind 'beef, cattle' Fleisch 'meat, flesh'
Etikett 'label'
Etikettierung 'labelling'
über 'over'
wach 'awake'

Is the corresponding English form a word, or a phrase?

## Compounds and worse

French (Romance, Indo-European)

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { porte- } & \text { clé } \\
\text { carry } & \text { key } \\
\text { key holder }
\end{array}
$$

```
je- m'en- fout- isme
I myself-of-it shove nominalization
I-don't-care-ism
```

He had one of those I-know-something-you-don't-know looks.

## Lexical entries

## Here's another tack:

## Definition

A word is what precedes a dictionary entry.


## Dictionary forms

- aka citation form or lemma
- Computational linguists use lemma to mean something a bit broader.


## What's in the dictionary?

bi•as (bī̀əs) n. 1. A line cutting diagonally across the grain of fabric. 2. Preference or inclination that inhibits impartiality; prejudice. -adv. On a diagonal; aslant. -v. -ased or -assed, -as•ing or as•sing. To cause to have a bias; prejudice. [< OFr. biais, oblique.

## Dictionary forms

- Verbs tend to have just one dictionary entry
- Ditto singular and plural forms of nouns
- Forms of a lexeme share (some common element of) meaning.


## So can we just use the dictionary?

- Not everything is in the dictionary
- Dictionaries are made by graduate students in linguistics and their supervisors, after reading a lot of older dictionaries.
- People love to make up new words
- This process is called neologism
- ...which itself only recently became a word:


## Thomas Jefferson, amateur philologist

Letter to John Adams, 1820
"But if Dictionaries are to be the Arbiters of language, in which of them shall we find neologism? No matter. It is a good word, well sounding, obvious, and expresses an idea which would otherwise require circumlocution...

I am a friend to neology. It is the only way to give to a language copiousness and euphony. Without it we should still be held to the vocabulary of Alfred or of Ulphilas; and held to their state of science also: for I am sure they had no words which could have conveyed the ideas of oxygen, cotyledons, zoophytes, magnetism, electricity, hyaline, and thousands of others expressing ideas not then existing, nor of possible communication in the state of their language."

## Thomas Jefferson, amateur philologist

Letter to John Adams, 1820
"What a language has the French become since the date of their revolution, by the free introduction of new words! The most copious and eloquent in the living world; and equal to the Greek, had not that been regularly modifiable almost ad infinitum. Their rule was that whenever their language furnished or adopted a root, all its branches, in every part of speech were legitimated by giving them their appropriate terminations: adelphos "brother", adelphe "sister", adelphidion "little brother", adelphotes "brotherly affection", adelphixis "brotherhood", adelphidoys "nephew", adelphikos "brotherly," adj., adelphizo "to adopt as a brother", adelphikos "brotherly," adv. And this should be the law of every language."

## Thomas Jefferson, amateur philologist

Letter to John Adams, 1820
"Thus, having adopted the adjective fraternal, it is a root, which should legitimate fraternity, fraternation, fraternisation, fraternism, to fraternate, fraternise, fraternally. And give the word neologism to our language, as a root, and it should give us its fellow substantives, neology, neologist, neologisation; its adjectives neologous, neological, neologistical, its verb neologise, and adverb neologically."

## Thomas Jefferson, amateur philologist

Letter to John Adams, 1820
"Dictionaries are but the depositories of words already legitimated by usage. Society is the work-shop in which new ones are elaborated. When an individual uses a new word, if illformed it is rejected in society, if wellformed, adopted, and, after due time, laid up in the depository of dictionaries. And if, in this process of sound neologisation, our transatlantic brethren shall not choose to accompany us, we may furnish, after the Ionians, a second example of a colonial dialect improving on its primitive."

## What's right about deferring to the dictionary?

This inclination recognizes implicitly that in most languages, words cluster into groups that only deserve to be mentioned once, as a clan, in the dictionary.
The words in the clan divide up their usage among themsleves in a very regimented way: the lexeme.

## More problems with dictionaries

|  |  | avoir (to have) | speak (fut.) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Sg | 1st | ai | 2nd |
|  | 3rd | as | parlerai |
|  |  |  | parleras |
|  | 1st | avons | parlerons |
| Pl | 2nd | avez | parlerez |
|  | 3rd | ont | parleront |

The future forms all derived from an earlier stage of the language in which one said something like, "to speak have" to mark the future. These forms have now become suffixes.

## Semantic domains

Yet another try:
Definition
A word is the smallest unit of meaning.

- The phoneme is too small...
- Any phoneme can appear in a word with any meaning
- The sentence is too big....
- Sentences are semantically compositional (more on this later)
- Maybe the word is just right?



## Idioms

## What about idioms?

- kick the bucket: this has nothing to do with kicking buckets.
- *It was the bucket that Uncle Goober kicked last Thursday.
- tighten your belt: this sort of has something to do with tightening of belts, but not really...
- After years of wretched excess, the studios' free-spending fat cats are only now learning to tighten their Gucci belts.


## Morphemes

## Definition

The morpheme is the smallest unit of language that carries meaning or function.

The meaning of words is often predictable: it is composed in a regular way of the meaning of its parts. We will be discussing morphemes a lot. We will even consider the case where we want to posit morphemes independent of whether we can assign meaning to htem. But for now: morphemes carry meaning in a regular fashion. So words cannot be characterized as the smallest meaning-bearing units.

## Morphemes

| one | two | three | more than three |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| and |  |  |  |
| couple | couple+s |  |  |
| hunt | hunt+er | hunt+er+s |  |
| act | act+ive | act+iv+ate | re+act+ive+ate |

## Pop quiz 1: spot the morpheme

Identify the morphemes in the following English words:

| fly | reuse | spiteful | preplan |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| desks | triumphed | suite | optionality |
| untie | unkempt | fastest | prettier |
| tree | justly | deform | mistreat |
| dislike | payment | disobey | premature |
| receive | permit | submit | directors |

## Free vs. bound morphemes

Free morphemes can occur as separate words: car, yes
Bound morphemes cannot occur 'on their own':

| dog | -s | dogs |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| de- | toxify | detoxify |
| create | -tion | creation |
| cran- | berry | cranberry |

[^0]
## Free vs. bound morphemes

What's free in one language may be bound in another.
In Hare (Athabaskan), body parts must be possessed:

| without a possessor |  | with a possessor |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *fí 'head' | sefí 'my head' |  |
| *bé 'belly' | nebé 'my belly' |  |
| *dzé | 'heart' | Pedzé 'someone's heart/a heart' |

Form a review of Solar (2010), by Ian McEwan:
Michael is a 50 -something former Nobel laureate, resting on his fleshy laurels from twenty-two years ago, where he stood on the shoulders of Einstein and proposed a scientific "Conflation Theory" that was trailblazing at the time. Now, he tours around the globe giving lectures and consults for a large fee, and he sits idly as a member of a board at a center for renewable energy in the UK. His main pursuit is women, and he pursues them with -aholic depravity. As the novel opens, his fifth marriage is falling apart due to his infidelities. But this time, his wife got the last word by having some side dishes for herself and leaving him labeled as the cuckold.

## Why is this funny?

IT had been a rough day, so when I walked into the party I was very chalant, despite my efforts to appear gruntled and consolate.

I was furling my wieldy umbrella for the coat check when I saw her standing alone in a corner. She was a descript person, a woman in a state of total array. Her hair was kempt, her clothing shevelled, and she moved in a gainly way.

I wanted desperately to meet her, but I knew I'd have to make bones about it, since I was travelling cognito. Beknownst to me, the hostess, whom I could see both hide and hair of, was very proper, so it would be skin off my nose if anything bad happened. And even though I had only swerving loyalty to her, my manners couldn't be peccable. Only toward and heard-of behavior would do.

Fortunately, the embarrassment that
my maculate appearance might cause was evitable. There were two ways about it, but the chances that someone as flappable as I would be ept enough to become persona grata or a sung hero were slim. I was, after all, something to sneeze at, someone you could easily hold a candle to, someone who usually aroused bridled passion.

So I decided not to risk it. But then, all at once, for some apparent reason, she looked in my direction and smiled in a way that I could make heads or tails of.


## Backformation



If you deal with employees, this blog is for you. As managers, executives, in-house counsel, and HR people, you know all about disgruntled employees. They cost employers billions of dollars each year in lawsuits, attorneys' fees, lost productivity, and wasted time. Here we discuss how to keep employees gruntled. Employer advocate and counsel Jay Shepherd leads the discussion.

> http://www.gruntledemployees.com

## Content vs. function morphemes

Content morphemes are not tied to grammatical function

- They can denote things: sand, truck, Leslie
- They can denote actions: throw, kiss, live
- They can denote states: green, vile, open
- You can make up new ones: Smurf, nuke, grok, hoinh


## Content vs. function morphemes

Function morphemes tend to be tied to specific uses

- Prepositions: to, by, with
- Pronouns: he, she, it
- Articles: $a$, the
- Affixes: -ness, sub-,-s

Generally, you can't make up new ones (ever tried?)

## Pop quiz 2: Farsi

xar means 'buy' and -id indicates past tense.


```
I
you (pl.)
not
you (sg.)
was/were + ing
```

How do you say...

- I was buying.
- You (sg.) did not buy.
- You (sg.) were buying.


## Allomorphy

It turns out morphemes don't always map onto phonemes in the same way. For instance:

| an | orange | $a$ | basketball |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| an | accent | $a$ | cash register |
| an | idea | $a$ | hospital |
| an | eel | $a$ | girl |

- What is the generalization governing the behavior of the indefinite article in English?
- Is it based on pronunciation, or spelling?
- Other examples?


## Hungarian

|  |  | ad give | fej milk | öl <br> kill | hoz <br> bring | vés <br> chisel | főz <br> cook |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sg | 1st | adom | fejem | ölöm | hozom | vésem | főzöm |
|  | 2nd | adod | fejed | ölöd | hozod | vésed | főzöd |
|  | 3rd | adja | feji | öli | hozza | vési | főzi |
| Pl | 1st | adjuk | fejjük | öljük | hozzuk | véssük | főzzük |
|  | 2nd | adjátok | fejitek | ölitek | hozzátok | vésitek | fózitek |
|  | 3 rd | adják | fejik | ölik | hozzák | vésik | fǒzik |

## Hungarian: present definite

|  |  | ad give | fej milk | öl <br> kill | hoz <br> bring | vés <br> chisel | főz <br> cook |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sg | 1st 2nd 3rd | adom <br> adod <br> adja | fejem <br> fejed <br> feji | ölöm <br> ölöd <br> öli | hozom <br> hozod <br> hozza | vésem <br> vésed <br> vési | főzöm <br> főzöd <br> főzi |
| Pl | 1st <br> 2nd <br> 3rd | adjuk <br> adjátok <br> adják | fejjük <br> fejitek <br> fejik | öljük <br> ölitek <br> ölik | hozzuk hozzátok hozzák | véssük <br> vésitek <br> vésik | főzzük főzitek főzik |

'I give', ‘you milk', ‘s/he kills', 'we bring', 'they cook'...

## Hungarian

|  |  | pad <br> bench | fej head | sör <br> beer | bot <br> stick |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sg | 1st | padom | fejem | söröm | botom |
|  | 2nd | padod | fejed | söröd | botod |
|  | 3rd | padja | feje | söre | botja |
| Pl | 1st | padunk | fejünk | sörünk | botunk |
|  | 2nd | padotok | fejetek | sörötök | bototok |
|  | 3rd | padjuk | fejük | sörük | botjuk |

## Hungarian: nominal possessive

$\left.\begin{array}{|llllll|}\hline & & \begin{array}{l}\text { pad } \\ \text { bench }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { fej } \\ \text { head }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { sör } \\ \text { beer }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { bot } \\ \text { stick }\end{array} \\ \text { Sg } & \begin{array}{l}\text { 1st } \\ \text { 2nd }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { padom } \\ \text { 2rd }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { fejem } \\ \text { padja }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { fejed } \\ \text { feje }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { söröm } \\ \text { söröd } \\ \text { söre }\end{array}\end{array} \begin{array}{l}\text { botom } \\ \text { botod } \\ \text { botja }\end{array}\right]$
'my book', ‘your head', 'his/her beer', 'our stick'...

## Analyzing word structure

Simple words are unanalyzable: the, trim, nine
Complex words consist of a root plus one or more affixes


## German superfix

| gloss | infinitive | past participle |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| film | film-en | ge-film-t |
| ask | frag-en | ge-frag-t |
| praise | lob-en | ge-lob-t |
| show | zeig-en | ge-zeig-t |

## Roots and affixes

Roots tend to belong to a lexical category: noun, verb, preposition, adverb, etc.

Affixes include both prefixes and suffixes

| prefixes | suffixes |
| :--- | :--- |
| de-active | faith-ful |
| re-play | govern-ment |
| il-legal | hunt-er |
| in-accurate | kind-ness |

## Different strokes

In Hungarian, 'prepositions' are either case endings...

| case | form | gloss |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NOMINATIVE | ház | 'house' |
| INESSIVE | házban | 'in a house' |
| ILLATIVE | házba | 'into a house' |
| ADESSIVE | háznál | 'at a house' |
| ELATIVE | házból | 'out of a house' |
| ALLATIVE | házhóz | 'to a house' |

## For different folks

...or postpositions:

| előtt | in front of |
| :---: | :---: |
| a ház előtt | 'in front of the house' |
| mögött | behind |
| a ház mögött | 'behind the house' |
| között | between, among |
| a fák között | 'among the trees' |
| alatt | beneath |
| a kert alatt | 'beneath the garden' |

## More postpositions

Hindi/Urdu uses postpositions almost exclusively:
(1) māliyāt kā mahekma
finance of department
'Department of Finance'
(2) śāhid nē apnī vālida kō tār bhējā Shahid AGENT POS mother to telegram send 'Shahid sent a telegram to his mother.'
(3) larkā dōstōm kē sāth khēl rahā hai boy friend.OBL.PL with play is-doing 'The boy is playing with friends.'

## Infixes

Affixes may also occur within another morpheme
This is known as infixation, and such affixes are called infixes
Infixation in Tagalog:

| base |  | infix |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bili | 'buy' | b-in-ili | 'bought' |
| basa | 'read' | b-in-asa | 'read' |
| sulat | 'write' | s-in-ulat | 'wrote' |

## Infixes

Nominalizing -ni- in Leti (Austronesian; data from Blevins 1999):

| base |  | infixed form |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| kaati | 'to carve' | k-ni-aati | 'carving' |
| polu | 'to call' | p-ni-olu | 'act of calling, call' |
| kini | 'to kiss' | k-n-ini | 'act of kissing, kiss' |
| tutu | 'to support' | t-n-utu | 'act of supporting, support' |

Is there infixation in English?

## Expletive infixation

English expletive infixation (McCarthy 1982):

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { togéther } & \text { to-bloody-gether } \\
\text { enóugh } & \text { e-bloody-nough } \\
\text { Kalamazóo } & \text { Kalama-goddam- } \\
\text { absolútely } & \text { abso-goddam-lut } \\
\text { fantástic } & \text { fan-friggin-tastic } \\
\text { unbelíevable } & \text { un-friggin-believ }
\end{array}
$$

Note that this has something to do with phonology...

## Homeric infixation (Yu 2004)

'A hundred bucks? For a comic book? Who drew it, Micha-ma-langelo?'

| oboe | oba-ma-boe <br> opus <br> tuba |
| :--- | :--- |
| violin | tuba-ma-pus |
| Alabama | vio-ma-lin |
| educate | Ala-ma-bama |
| complicated | edu-ma-cate <br> compli-ma-cated |

(cf. 'diddly' infixation: Elfner \& Wimpner 2008)


## More English infixation?

What about word like sleeplessly, boyishness?
What is the status of -less-,--ish-?


## The relationship between words and morphemes

- A morpheme is the minimal unit of meaning
- bound morphemes cannot occur in isolation: cran-, -ness
- free morphemes can stand alone: blue, teach
- allomorphs are functionally equivalent forms of the same morpheme used in distinct contexts: $a$, an
- A word is a minimal free form that can occur in isolation and/or whose position with respect to neighboring elements is not entirely fixed
- simple words cannot be broken down further: the, kayak
- complex words have multiple parts: himself = him + self


## The relationship between words and morphemes

Can a word be a morpheme?

| word (=morpheme) | category |
| :--- | :--- |
| think | verb |
| true | adjective |
| succotash | noun |
| gosh! | interjection |
| under | preposition |
| that | conjunction |
| often | adverb |

## The relationship between words and morphemes

Can a morpheme not be a word?

| morpheme | category |
| :--- | :--- |
| un- | prefix |
| dis- | prefix |
| -ness | suffix (nominalizing) |
| -s | suffix (pluralizing) |
| kempt | bound morph <br> (unkempt) <br> cran- |
| bound morph |  |

The relationship between words and morphemes

## Can a word be a syllable?

| word | category |
| :--- | :--- |
| car | noun |
| work | verb |
| in | preposition |
| whoops! | interjection |

## The relationship between words and morphemes

Are there morphemes that aren't syllables?

| morpheme | category |
| :--- | :--- |
| under | preposition $(>\sigma)$ |
| spider | noun $(>\sigma)$ |
| -s | 'plural' $(<\sigma)$ |

## The relationship between words and morphemes

Are there syllables that aren't morphemes?

| word | syllables |
| :--- | :--- |
| kayak | kai.jæk |
| broccoli | bıэ.kə.li, bıək.li |
| angle | $æ ŋ . g l$ |
| jungle | jıŋ.gl |

## Putting morphemes together

- In English (and Indo-European languages), morphemes are largely put together in a sequence, or concatenated
- This is not the only way to do things
- Semitic languages (especially) are non-concatenative: they form words using a special type of infixation sometimes called templatic morphology


## Putting morphemes together



# kataba kutib <br> aktub <br> 'wrote' 'has been written' 'am writing' 

## Derivational versus inflectional morphology

Linguists struggle to find a simple account of the difference between inflectional morphology and derivational morphology.

But anyone who studies the relations between words of a language knows that this distinction is real.

Content words (nouns, verbs, adjectives) very often are organized into families of words organized along a set of (nearly) independent dimensions, as far as linguistic function is concerned; we call these paradigms.

| Present tense of the verb aller 'to go' |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| person | singular | plural |
| 1st | vais | allons |
| 2nd | vas | allez |
| 3rd | va | vont |

## 3 dimensions...

| Present tense of the verb aller 'to go' |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| person | singular | plural |
| 1st | vais | allons |
| 2nd | vas | allez |
| 3rd | va | vont |
| imperfect of verb aller |  |  |
| 1st | allais | allion |
| 2nd | allais | alliez |
| 3rd | allait | allaient |

## Inflectional morphology

Inflectional affixes indicate grammatical information (tense, number, person...) but don't change category.
When we linguists say that, we mean that our statements about syntax will remain the same regardless of which particular choice of the inflectional paradigms is used in a sentence. We find the verb in the same place in a French sentence regardless of what person, number, or aspect it is in; this is what we mean when we say that inflectional morphology does not change part of speech.

| form 1 | form 2 | lexical category |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| dog | dogs | noun |
| run | runs | verb |
| tall | taller | adjective |
| old | oldest | adjective |

## Inflectional morphology

English has pretty anemic inflectional morphology:

| affix | function | example |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| -s | 3rd sing. pres. | He talks. |
| -ed | past tense | He talked. |
| -ing | progressive | He's talking. |
| -ed, -en | past participle | He talked. |
| -s | plural (of noun) | The cats are sleeping. |
| -'s | possessive | The cat's food is ready. |
| -er | comparative | John is taller than Mary. |
| -est | superlative | John is Bob's oldest son. |

## Inflectional morphology

There are also a few other ways to mark inflectional contrast:

- ablaut (quasi-predictable vowel change)
- suppletion (substituting one form for another)

| present | past |
| :--- | :--- |
| go | went |
| am | was |
| come | came |
| fall | fell |
| eat | ate |


| singular | plural |
| :--- | :--- |
| foot | feet |
| moose | moose |

When a rule of syntax (grammar) involves agreement between two words in a sentence for some grammatical feature, the realization of that feature by each of the words is part of inflectional morphology. Examples: subject-verb agreement; noun-adjective agreement.

| gender | Number:singular | Number:plural |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| masculine   <br> feminine pequeño pequeña | pequeños |  |
| pequeñas |  |  |

## French adjectives

| gender | masc. sg. | masc.plural | fem. sg. | fem. plural |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| small | pəti | pati | petit | petit |
| large | grã | grã | grãd | grãd |
| normal | normal | normo | normal | normal |
| green | ver | ver | vert | vert |
| red | в ${ }_{3}$ | вu3 | ви3 | ви3 |
| good | bõ | bõ | bon | bon |
| gray | gві | gві | griz | gıiz |
| long | lõ | 10̃ | lõg | lõg |
| hot | fo | ¢o | fod | fod |
| white | blã | blã | blãf | blã |
| fresh | fье | fьe | fbe $\int$ | fь¢ $\int$ |
| false | fo | fo | fos | fos |

Subtractive morphology in the formation of the masculine form.

## Estonian (Blevins 2006)

|  | SING(ULAR) | PLUR(AL) |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| NOM(INATIVE) | - | -d |
| GEN(ITIVE) | - | $-\mathrm{de} /-\mathrm{te}$ |
| PART(ITIVE) | $-/-\mathrm{t} /-\mathrm{d}$ | $-\mathrm{sid} /-\mathrm{id}$ |
| STEM PART PLUR (PART2) |  | - |
| SHORT ILLA SG (ILLA2) | - |  |
| ILLA(TIVE) |  | -sse |
| INES(SIVE) |  | -s |
| ELA(TIVE) |  | -st |
| ALLA(TIVE) |  | -le |
| ADES(SIVE) | -l |  |
| ABLA(TIVE) |  | -lt |
| TRANS(LATIVE) |  | -ks |
| TERM(INATIVE) |  | -ni |
| ESS(IVE) |  | -na |
| ABES(SIVE) |  | -ta |
| COM(ITATIVE) |  | -ga |

Table 1. Declensional endings in Estonian

## Estonian (Blevins 2006)

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \multirow[t]{2}{*}{} \& \multicolumn{2}{|r|}{Disyllabic} \& \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{Quadrisyllabic} \& \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{Quantitative Grade} \& \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{Qualitative Grade} <br>
\hline \& SING \& PLUR \& sing \& Plur \& \& plur \& SING \& plur <br>
\hline NoM \& maja \& majad \& koridor \& koridorid \& tool \& toolid \& rida \& read <br>
\hline gen \& maja \& majade \& koridori \& idoride \& too \& ide \& rea \& ridade <br>
\hline PART \& maja \& (majasid) \& koridori \& (koridorisid) \& 'tooli \& ('toolisid) \& rida \& (ridasid) <br>
\hline PART2 \& \& maju \& \& oridore \& \& toole \& \& ridu <br>
\hline illa2 \& `majja \& \& koridori \& \& tooli \& \& ritta \& <br>
\hline illa \& majasse \& majadesse \& koridorisse \& koridorisse \& toolisse \& toolidesse \& 'reasse \& ridadesse <br>
\hline InES \& majas \& majades \& koridoris \& koridoris \& toolis \& toolides \& reas \& ridades <br>
\hline ELA \& majast \& majadest \& koridorist \& koridorist \& toolist \& toolidest \& reast \& ridadest <br>
\hline ALLA \& majale \& majadele \& koridorile \& koridorile \& toolile \& toolidele \& reale \& ridadele <br>
\hline ADES \& majal \& majadel \& koridoril \& koridoril \& toolil \& toolidel \& real \& ridadele <br>
\hline Abla \& majalt \& majadelt \& koridorilt \& koridorilt \& toolilt \& toolidelt \& realt \& ridadelt <br>
\hline TRANS \& majaks \& majadeks \& koridoriks \& koridoriks \& tooliks \& toolideks \& reaks \& ridadeks <br>
\hline TERM \& majani \& majadeni \& koridorini \& koridorini \& toolini \& toolideni \& reani \& ridadeni <br>
\hline ES \& majana \& majadena \& koridorina \& koridorina \& toolina \& toolidena \& rean \& ridadena <br>
\hline abes \& majata \& majadeta \& koridorita \& koridorita \& toolita \& oolideta \& reata \& ridadeta <br>

\hline сом \& majaga 'ho \& | majadega |
| :--- |
| use' (3) | \& koridoriga 'corri \& \[

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { koridoriga } \\
& \text { idor' }^{\prime}(6)
\end{aligned}
$$
\] \& tooliga 'ch \& 'toolidega air' $^{\prime}$ (20) \& ‘reaga \& ridadega

$$
w^{\prime}(\mathrm{I})
$$ <br>

\hline
\end{tabular}

Table 12. Exemplary first declension paradigms

## Derivational morphology

Derivational morphology deals with the relationship between separate lexemes, typically in different parts of speech, and typically in a way that is both semantically irregular, and limited in its range of application.

As a consequence, a derivationally derived form can always be replaced by a non-derived form - something that is rarely the case for inflectionally complex forms.

```
verbal base derived noun
sell sell-er
write writ-er
teach teach-er
sing sing-er
discover discover-er
```

How many derivational affixes does English have? ...

## English derivational affixes

| affix | root | derived form |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| -ation | is added to a verb <br> finalize <br> confirm | to give a noun <br> finalization <br> confirmation |
| un- | is added to a verb | to give a verb |
|  | tie | untie <br> wind |


| un- | is added to an adjective |
| :--- | :--- |
| happy | to give an adjective |
| wise | unhappy |
|  | unwise |


| -al | is added to a noun | to give an adjective |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | institution | institutional |
|  | universe | universal |

## Idiosyncracy in the derivational lexicon

| -ist | -ism | -ize |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| baptist | baptism | baptize |
| exorcist | exorcism | exorcize |
| terrorist | terrorism | terrorize |

## Idiosyncracy in the derivational lexicon

| -ist | -ism | -ize |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| baptist | baptism | baptize |
| exorcist | exorcism | exorcize |
| terrorist | terrorism | terrorize |
| violinist | ${ }^{*}$ violinism | *violinize |

## Idiosyncracy in the derivational lexicon

| -ist | -ism | -ize |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| baptist | baptism | baptize |
| exorcist | exorcism | exorcize |
| terrorist | terrorism | terrorize |
| violinist | ${ }^{*}$ violinism | ${ }^{*}$ violinize |
| organist | !organism | !organize |
| publicist | *publicism | publicize |

## Idiosyncracy in the derivational lexicon

| -ist | -ism | -ize |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| baptist | baptism | baptize |
| exorcist | exorcism | exorcize |
| terrorist | terrorism | terrorize |
| violinist | ${ }^{*}$ violinism | ${ }^{*}$ violinize |
| organist | !organism | !organize |
| publicist | ${ }^{*}$ publicism | publicize |
| womanist | ${ }^{*}$ womanism | womanize |
| materialist | materialism | !materialize |

## Idiosyncracy in the derivational lexicon

| -ist | -ism | -ize |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| baptist | baptism | baptize |
| exorcist | exorcism | exorcize |
| terrorist | terrorism | terrorize |
| violinist | ${ }^{*}$ violinism | ${ }^{*}$ violinize |
| organist | !organism | !organize |
| publicist | ${ }^{*}$ publicism | publicize |
| womanist | ${ }^{*}$ womanism | womanize |
| materialist | materialism | !materialize |
| atheist (1568) | aetheism | !atheize |
| linguist (1588) | ${ }^{*}$ linguism | ${ }^{*}$ linguize |

## Idiosyncracy in the derivational lexicon

| -ist | -ism | -ize |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| baptist | baptism | baptize |
| exorcist | exorcism | exorcize |
| terrorist | terrorism | terrorize |
| violinist | ${ }^{*}$ violinism | ${ }^{*}$ violinize |
| organist | !organism | !organize |
| publicist | *publicism | publicize |
| womanist | *womanism | womanize |
| materialist | materialism | !materialize |
| atheist (1568) | aetheism | !atheize |
| linguist (1588) | *linguism | *linguize |
| humanist (1589) | humanism | ?humanize |
| rationalist (1627) | rationalism | !rationalize |

## More idiosyncracy in the derivational lexicon

|  | Bhutanese, Chinese, Vietnamese <br> -ese <br> Japanese, Lebanese, Maltese <br> Taiwanese, Portuguese |
| :--- | :--- |
| -an | African, Alaskan, American <br> Angolan, Cuban, Jamaican <br> Mexican, Nicaraguan |
| -ian | Argentinian, Armenian, Canadian <br> Ethiopian, Bolivian, Serbian <br> Jordanian, Palestinian |
| - ish | Scottish, British, Flemish <br> Swedish, Polish, Danish <br> Irish |
| - i | Iraqi, Israeli, Pakistani |
| $-?$ | French, German, Greek, Thai |
| N | Ngà 2 tháng 10 năm 2011 |

## What's going on here?

- Brazil::Brazilians, Australia::Australians...
- So why not East Timor::East Timorians?
- Why not regularize?


## Pop quiz 3: inflectional vs. derivation

Are the following affixes inflectional or derivational?

```
soften (Heating the cheese will soften it.)
pollution (The pollution of the forest was tragic.)
reading (I am reading a book.)
reading (The reading of the poem was beautifully done.)
kingdom (The knight rode across the kingdom.)
happier (My friend is happier than I am.)
```

(are both the ings the same? are there others?)

## Interesting excercise for you

(1) Estimate the number of words you know.
(2) Specifically:

- Estimate the number of words in your active vocabulary (those words or word forms you have used or would use in spoken or written language), and
- Estimate the number of words in your passive vocabulary (those words whose meanings you recognize and would understand when they are used in an appropriate context, but which you have never used yourself).


## Interesting exercise (cont.)

(1) Method:

Take an unabridged dictionary of English. Open to a random page: count the number of entries (lemmata) on that page. Ask yourself for each entry whether you 1. would understand the word if you heard it in the context of a sentence (call the total such forms on the page $p$ ), and 2. whether you have ever yourself used the word in speech or writing $(=a)$. Multiply $p$ and $a$ separately by (1) the number of pages in the dictionary that have entries $\left(n_{e}\right)$ and then by (2) the total number of claimed entries in the dictionary [found on the cover or in the introduction] ( $n_{c}$ ) divided by the total number of entries on the page you looked at $\left(n_{p}\right)$. I.e.,

$$
\begin{array}{cl}
A=p \cdot n_{e} & C=p \cdot\left(n_{c} / n_{p}\right) \\
B=a \cdot n_{e} & D=a \cdot\left(n_{c} / n_{p}\right)
\end{array}
$$

## Interesting exercise (cont.)

(1) Repeat, but now counting every form of every word on the page (for nouns: plural and singular; for adjectives: comparative, superlative; for verbs: all parts); also use any sublemmata (typically found when affixation gives rise to new forms that are entirely derivative or transparent). Feel free to note if the dictionary does not indicate all the possible forms (especially for derivational affixation).
(2) Take results with large grain of salt.

## What is the meaning of an affix?

un- | untie |
| :--- |
| unshackle |
| unharness |
| unhappy |
| untimely |
| unthinkable |
| unmentionable |

con- | constitution |
| :--- | :--- |
| confess |
| connect |
| contract |
| contend |
| conspire |
| complete |

outshoot outthink outtrade outfox outrun outdo outsmart outpatient

## Some out-s from Merriam-Webster

| outachieve | outact | outbargain | outbid |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| outbitch | outbluff | outbox | outbrag |
| outbrawl | outbulk | outbuy | outcatch |
| outcharge | outclimb | outcoach | outcompete |
| outdance | outdazzle | outdebate | outdeliver |
| outdesign | outdrag | outdress | outdrink |
| outdrive | outduel | outearn | outeat |
| outfight | outfigure | outfish | outfly |
| outfumble | outgain | outglitter | outgross |
| outhit | outhomer | outhunt | outhustle |
| outjump | outkick | outkill | outlast |
| outleap | outlearn | outman | outmaneuver |
| outmanipulate |  |  |  |
| outpass | outmarch | outmuscle | outorganize |
| outperform | outpitch | outplay |  |

## out-

Compare with:

| outage | outback | outboard | outbreak |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| outcast | outcome | outcry | outdoors |
| outgrow | outlandish | outlet | outnumber? |
| outpour <br> outward | output | outright | outstanding |

## Morphological typology

The standard terminology goes back to Edward Sapir Language (1921): In an isolating language, words are (all) composed of single morphemes: low morpheme/word ratio.

In a synthetic language, words tend to consist of multiple morphemes.
A distinction is often drawn between (in)flectional and agglutinative systems. This distinction deals with inflectional systems. Compare French with an imaginary agglutinative language:

|  | French |  | Agglu |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| person | singular | plural | singular | plural |
| 1st | vais | allons | skip | skips |
| 2nd | vas | allez | skipo | skipso |
| 3rd | va | vont | skipum | skipsum |

## One word/one morpheme?

| bàn ghế bàn ghế <br> table chair  | 'furniture' |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| xe | dạp | xe đạp |
| vehicle | kick | 'bicycle' |
| trả | lời | trả lời |
| to return | word 'answer' |  |

## Polysynthetic languages

- Greenlandic (and other Eskimo-Aleut languages) make extensive use of postbases: multiple, recursively addable derivational suffixes
- Given a root, you can create a 'word' of alarming length
- Thus the potential number of 'words' is arguably limitless...


## Greenlandic qani- 'snow'

quanik 'snowflake'
qaniit 'snow (in the air)'
qinoq 'slush snow'
qannerpoq 'it's snowing'
qanimavoq 'shivers'
qanipalaat 'clumps of falling snow'

## Greenlandic oqaq- 'tongue'

```
oqarpoq 'says'
oqaaseq
    'word'
oqaluppoq
    'speaks'
    oqaasilerisoq
    'linguist'
    oqaasilerissutit 'grammar'
    oqaluttualiortoq 'author'
    oqaatiginerluppaa 'speaks badly about him'
```


## New words

- Back to Jefferson: neologism
- Another way that morphology is markedly different from other areas of grammar
- (Seemingly) arbitrary innovations aren't allowed in syntax, or phonology...
- But people add new words all the time (and change the meaning of existing words)


## climb down

- Can Santa really climb down the chimney?
http://christmas.howstuffworks.com/traditions/santa-chimney.htm
- You'll find a ladder to climb down into the ship's hold.
http://www.gamespot.com/features/2871423/p-9.html
- Boys climbing down to the water

```
http://www.eveandersson.com/photo-display/large/france/south/
cassis-calanque-de-port-miou-boys.html
```

1a. Deserving of pity, compassion, or sympathy.

- 1556 in W. H. Turner Select Rec. Oxford 246
'The fire raging upon the silly Carcase.'
1b. Helpless, defenceless; esp. of women and children. Obs.
- 1591 ShAKES. Two Gent. IV. i. 72
'Prouided that you do no outrages On silly women, or poore passengers.'

1c. Of animals, esp. as a (poetic) epithet of sheep.

- 1866 M. ARNOLD Thyrsis v,
'He could not keep..Here with the shepherds and the silly sheep.'

2d. Scanty, sorry, meagre, poor. Obs.

- 1767 Sir R. Colville in Dossie Mem. Agric. (1768) I. 412 'Marsh land, of a light, silly, hungry soil.'

3b. Of humble rank or state; lowly. Obs.

- 1577-87 HOLINSHED Chron. II. 96
'He was shot thorough with an arrow amongst his men by a sillie footman.'

5a. Lacking in judgement or common sense; foolish.

- 1840 DICKENS Barn. Rudge iii, "Heaven help this silly fellow,' murmured the perplexed locksmith.'


## 1991

"The country that exerts the greatest influence on the Gulf and its oil, will consolidate its superiority as an unrivaled superpower.
This proves that if the population of the Gulf and of the entire Arab world - is not vigilant, this area will be ruled according to the wishes of the United States."


## mother of all (not actually a word, right...)


not (as in 'just kidding'. What was the innovation here?)

cyber, morph (as in 'to change form')
This spawned all sorts of children...


## 1995



The Bold Plan by
Rer. Newt Gingrich, Rer. Dick Armey,
and the House Republicans
to Change the Nation

(to) newt
('act aggressively as a newcomer')

$e-$
( $i$ - hadn't been invented yet...)

metrosexual

- n. a fashion-conscious heterosexual male, or, as coiner Mark Simpson put it, a man who "has clearly taken himself as his own love object."
- a portmanteau (or blend):
- smog
- brunch
- spork
- Brangelina
- ...etc.



## 1. truthiness (noun)

1: "truth that comes from the gut, not books" (Stephen Colbert, Comedy Central's "The Colbert Report," October 2005)

2 : "the quality of preferring concepts or facts one wishes to be true, rather than concepts or facts known to be true" (American Dialect Society, January 2006)

## truthiness


n. a short message sent via the Twitter.com service $v$. the act of sending such a message.

## tweet

## Word of the Decade



## A century earlier...

> The sun is setting -
> Can't you hear
> A something in the distance Howl!!?
> I wonder if it's -
> Yes!! it is
> That horrid Google
> On the prowl!!!


V. C. Vickers, The Google Book (1913)<br>http://blogoscoped.com/googlebook/


[^0]:    *I saw three s dog.
    *John ate two apples and four crans.
    *Alice had to de the water toxify.

