

Structural borrowing and the uninflectedness of the non-head constituent in composite lexemes in Polish

This paper emphasizes the importance of contrastive studies in theoretical morphological research. Relevant data are drawn mainly from Polish and English, but reference is made to other Slavonic or Germanic languages, to Romance languages and Greek. The focus of the comparison is laid on the inflectional behaviour of non-head constituents in composite lexemes, i.e. in compound nouns and compound-like multiword lexemes.

Polish compounds proper in (1), similarly to Greek morphological compounds in (2), contain an interfix, which is usually the linking vowel (LV) *-o-* inserted between two stems. A subgroup of Polish composite expressions in (3), referred to as juxtapositions (Szymanek 2010), resemble English compounds in (4) in lacking interfixes and in being written as separate (though sometimes hyphenated) orthographic words.

In the case of English N+N compounds and Polish or Greek morphological compounds only the right-hand head element is inflected (see 1–5), though the inflectional ending may be covert, e.g. the zero morpheme as a MASC.NOM.SG marker attached to the head of the compound noun *marszobiegi* 'fartlek' in (1). Interesting observations stem from the analysis of inflectional properties of Polish juxtapositions which are left-headed and which may have been formed under the influence of the French compounding pattern (as suggested by Damborsky 1977). They are generally expected to consist of two (or more) fully inflected words, as in (6). Yet, as shown in (7), selected modifiers of attributive-appositive (ATAP) multiword units (as defined by Scalise and Bisetto 2009) can occur in their default NOM.SG case form. Such modifiers include, among others, *cud* 'miracle', *widmo* 'ghost', *herod* 'Herod' or *piernik* 'gingerbread, fogey'. Their behaviour resembles the behaviour of non-head elements in Spanish ATAP N+N compounds in (8), which may either agree in number with their heads or appear in the singular form (Guevara 2012). It can be shown that the uninflectedness of the right-hand constituents in (7) is conditioned by their status as modifiers since such Polish nouns are inflected when occurring as independent lexemes in (9). This is an example of constructional uninflectedness (Spencer 2020). It can also be proposed that semantic opacity and/or metaphoric interpretation of ATAP compounds, such as those in (7), exerts influence on the inflectional properties of their non-heads.

A different subgroup of composite expressions in Polish which also lack the interfix but which are right-headed is exemplified in (10–11). Their non-head nominal constituent shows no overt inflectional ending and can be treated either as a MASC.NOM.SG form (with a zero case marker) or as a stem. Such a noun is inflected, though, when it appears as an independent word, e.g. *biznes-em* (business-INS.PL). The Polish composite lexemes in (10) can be regarded as adapted borrowings or as calques of English compounds (Witalisz 2018), e.g. *biznesplan* 'business plan'. The lexemes in (11) are calques of corresponding German or Russian compounds. Thus, the non-inflectability of the non-head element in Polish juxtapositions may be due to structural borrowing in word formation (Renner 2018).

Moreover, the discussion of the Polish composite lexemes and their comparison with data from other languages illustrates difficulties in distinguishing between morphological compounds and "improper" compounds.

- (1) *marsz-o-bieg* (march-LV-run.NOM.SG) 'fartlek; run/walk' (Polish)
- (2) *mavr-o-púli* (black-LV-bird) 'blackbird' (Greek, Ralli 2013)
- (3) *puf-a fotel* (pouffe-NOM.SG armchair.NOM.SG) 'beanbag chair' (Polish)
- (4) a. *singer-songwriters* b. *atom bombs* (English)
- (5) a. *marsz-o-bieg-i* (march-LV-run-NOM.PL) 'fartleks, runs/walks' (Polish)
 b. *mavr-o-púli-a* (black-LV-bird-PL) 'blackbirds' (Greek, Ralli 2013: 15)
- (6) *z puf-ami fotel-ami* (with pouffe-INS.PL armchair-INS.PL) 'with beanbag chairs' (Polish)
- (7) a. *o dietach-ach cud* (about diet-LOC.PL miracle.NOM.SG) 'about miracle diets' (Polish)
 b. *dla dzidz-i piernik* (for bimbo-DAT.SG fogey.NOM.SG) 'for an elderly woman who dresses and behaves like a young woman' (Polish)
- (8) a. *hombre rana* (man.SG frog.SG) 'diver' (Spanish)
 b. *hombres ranas* (man.PL frog.PL) or *hombres rana* (man.PL frog.SG) 'divers' (Spanish)
- (9) a. *o cud-ach* (about miracle-LOC.NOM) 'about miracles' (Polish)
 b. *dla piernik-a* (for fogey-DAT.SG) 'for a fogey' (Polish)
- (10) a. *seks sklep-y* (sex.NOM.SG shop-NOM.PL) 'sex shops' (Polish)
 b. *z biznesplan-em* (with business.NOM.SG plan-INS.SG) 'with a business plan' (Polish)
- (11) a. *zegarmistrz-owie* (watch-maker-NOM.PL) (Polish, cf. German *Uhrmacher*)
 b. *żar-ptak* (heat bird.NOM.SG) 'the Firebird' (Polish, cf. Russian *zhar-ptitsa*)

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