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Historische Wortbildung.
Theorien – Methoden – Perspektiven
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Abstracts

Luise Kempf, Luise:
Methoden der Produktivitätsmessung in diachronen Korpusstudien.

This study examines methods of assessing the productivity of derivational patterns in diachronic corpora. Using the example of (Early) New High German adjectival derivation, canonical methods – such as so-called 'realized productivity' and 'potential productivity' – are put under scrutiny. In addition, the study presents less canonical methods that are based on a) the 'finite Zipf-Mandelbrot model' and b) the relation to all derivational patterns of a given part of speech. The data shed new light on both the power and the problems of each method. It is demonstrated how to assess productivity by way of comparing the results of several methods while factoring in their shortcomings. Finally, a qualitative approach aiming at the part of speech of the base is examined.

Kristian Berg:
Produktivität in der historischen Wortbildung. Neubelege als Produktivitätsmaß.

How can we measure diachronic productivity? In this paper, I suggest we count neologisms in a large diachronic corpus to calculate two measures: Vneo, the amount of new words, and Pneo, the ratio of new words to all words of a given category. I argue that these measures are preferable over hapax-based measures. One caveat is that productivity is usually based on 'new formations', while Vneo and Pneo are based on 'new words'. This is problematic for foreign affixes such as *-ieren* in German. I propose an additional criterion in those cases: We only take into account those new words for which there exists a free base.

Stefan Hartmann:
Schema und Instanz im Wortbildungswandel: Perspektiven einer radikalen Konstruktionsmorphologie.

This paper discusses a key open question in both synchronic and historical word-formation, namely the relationship between schema and instance: Is the produc-tivity of a word-formation pattern determined exclusively by productively coined, semantically transparent instances or do lexicalized and highly frequent instances shape language users' knowledge about the pattern (and hence, the way it is extended to new cases) as well, and if so, to what degree? Drawing on a multidimensional analysis of German *ung*-nominalization in three diachronic corpora, I argue that frequent derivatives act as 'attractors' which strongly in-fluence the behavior of *ung*-nominals at large.

Christina Ganslmayer, Christina / Peter O. Müller:
Historische Fremdwortbildung. Forschungsstand und Perspektiven.

The area of foreign word formation was neglected for a long time within German word formation research. There are still numerous gaps concerning not only contemporary language, but especially historical language stages. The first part of this article offers a research report and the second part outlines a research program for future investigation of historical foreign word formation in German, which aims at a diachronic, usage-based and systematic investigation of foreign morphemes (affixes and confixes, forms and functions) in a European context. Methodological questions as well as aspects of corpus design are also discussed. The possibilities and limitations of the analysis are shown using the example of *-ism* (G. *-ismus*).

Stefanie Dipper:
Das Referenzkorpus Mittelhochdeutsch: Nutzungsmöglichkeiten für morphologische Untersuchungen.

This paper shows how to use the *Reference Corpus Middle High German* for morphological investigations. It first describes the corpus and its annotations, and provides an introduction to the search tool ANNIS. Next, it shows in detail how to search for corpus instances of specific phenomena, in particular suffixes, compounds, linking morphemes ('Fugenelemente'), particle verbs, and base of motivation ('Basisränge'). The paper also illustrates how to determine basic statistical properties of the phenomena that are relevant for determining productivity, such as the number of tokens and types, of hapax legomena, and of neo-logisms.

Kristin Kopf:
Eine Heuristik zur Erkennung von N+N-Komposita im Frühneuhochdeutschen.

Early New High German N+N compounds are notoriously difficult to identify. This is mostly due to formally similar or identical prenominal genitive constructions. Furthermore, what looks like a noun at first glance might sometimes be an affixoid, an adjective or a verb stem. The precise identification of compounds is not only relevant for researchers concerned with word-formation. It has consequences for corpus lemmatisation, lexicography and our understanding of the noun phrase, to name just a few areas. Compound identification has been tackled before (mostly by PAVLOV [1983] and NITTA [1987]), but modern corpus linguistics allows for a better assessment of all factors involved. This paper reevaluates and outlines strategies to identify Early New High German compounds, aiming to serve as an easily adaptable guideline for future research.

Natalia Pimenova:
Semantische Systemrelationen als Faktoren im diachronen Wandel von Wortbildungssystemen.

This contribution focusses on semantics as a core factor in the development of word formation systems and productivity. DOKULILS (1962) concept of system productivity is applied to describe diachronic developments of deverbal suffix derivation within the Old and Middle High German period. A scale of word formation meanings is developed, and different word formation types then are projected on these semantic classes. Importantly, not only the occurrence of data for semantic classes is considered, but also its absence. As an empirical data base, suffixations from dictionaries are analyzed. It will be argued that word formation types stay very stable as to their affinity to certain semantic classes. Consequently, the development of new semantic classes for a word formation type is quite restricted.

Svetlana Petrova:
Präfix- und Partikelverben im Althochdeutschen. Eine Korpusstudie.

Complex verb formations traditionally accounted for as compounds with a separable or non-separable first element are a challenging topic not only from a synchronic but also from a diachronic perspective. The literature suggests that such formations are present already in Old High German, and the respective dictionaries list such items as lexical entries, assuming that they are fully lexicalized in the vocabulary system of the individual periods. However, a thorough investigation of the status of verbal compounds with respect to the separable/ non-separable distinction is still missing for Old High German. The present paper analyses the morphological and syntactic behaviour of the initial component of complex verbs attested in the *Referenzkorpus Altdeutsch* and determines the status of these verbal formations in the earliest recorded stage of German.

Markus Denkler:
V+N-Komposita und ihre Fugenelemente im Mittelniederdeutschen.

This article is a contribution to the description of Middle Low German word formation. Middle Low German is a language attested roughly between 1250 and 1650 in northern Germany and adjoining territories. The analysis is based on the *Stralsunder Vokabular*, a dictionary from about 1465. The study focusses on V+N-compounds like *schedelname* ('nickname') and their linking elements. The article offers an analysis of the distribution of the linking elements *e*, *el*, and *ø*. Semantic and formal features of the compound components are taken into account. The following questions arise: Does the second

component play a role in motivating the choice of the linking element? What can be said about the distribution and the origin of the linking *el*, that cannot be traced back to an inflectional affix?

Franziska Buchmann:
-ität-Wörter zwischen 1600 und 1800. Ein Fall von Fremdwortintegration ins Deutsche.

This paper deals with foreign word-formation in German between 1600 and 1800. For that purpose, nouns ending in *-ität/-itet* are explored in the German DTA corpus. The assumption is that writers of the 17th/18th century constructed *-ität*-nouns in German by using Latin adjectives (or other Latin words) as base. Considering such a cross-language motivation of word-formation, a subsequent process of reanalysis from *-ität*-nouns to the adjectival base must be assumed within German. The later appearance of the German foreign adjectives in the DTA can be seen as the first evidence. The adjectives' formal variants can be seen as the second evidence. By additionally analyzing *-ität*-noun compounds and their linking elements, I consider the inclusion of *-ität* in German com-pounding as an indication of morphological integration.

Alexander Werth:
Die onymische Movierung. Historische Wortbildung an der Schnittstelle von Sprache und Gesellschaft.

Historically, German morphology allowed for feminine motion, that is for regular derivation of sex-marked female names via suffixation of male names (e. g. *die Lutherin* 'Martin Luther's wife', *die Falkensteinerin* 'Falkensteiner's daughter'). This word-formation process was highly productive until the end of the Early New High German Period, but eliminated in written German for reasons unknown to date. Several explanations have been mentioned, but essential questions remain open. Initially, the paper presents known facts about the structural characteristics of feminine motion and its elimination in Modern German. In the second part, an additional explanation for morphological change is developed proposing that historically feminine motion served to make the socio-economic role of women (wives and daughters) visible. In the following decades, changes that affect the social, legal and economic role of women in society have contributed to the extinction of onymic feminine motion because its main functions have become obsolete.

Elena Smirnova:
Deutsche Partizipialkomposita aus diachroner Perspektive.

The paper deals with German noun-participle compounds like *schneebedeckt* 'snow-covered' or *hausgemacht* 'home-made'. It will be argued that the com-pound formation cannot be explained using a unified morphological mechanism. Instead, different compounding patterns require different morphological analyses. A conceptual distinction will be proposed between word formation 'patterns' and word formation *types*, the former being productive (sub-)schemas and the latter representing different morphological analyses. German noun-participle compounds are basically formed after two central constructional sub-schemas, which differ with respect to their productivity. While some compounds are modelled after a general sub-schema, other sets of compounds instantiate independent and frequent low-level schemas with fixed compound heads.

Judith Rixxen:
Affixoide? Bildungen mit *über-* und *-mäßig/-mässig* im Deutschen und Schwedischen.

The following article presents a comparative study of the two elements *über-* and *-mäßig/-mässig* in German and Swedish, which are often considered be-longing to the controversial category of affixoids, i. e. linguistic items that are located between the established categories of root and affix. Based on a smaller corpus study, the criterions of productivity and a more abstract meaning are being applied on these elements, but also other aspects as differences in spelling and word classes of the connecting words are examined. By comparing the way these elements behave in different languages and investigating their diverse sources and developments, conclusions about the value of a diachronically motivated definition of the term affixoid for comparative and diachronic studies can be drawn.