

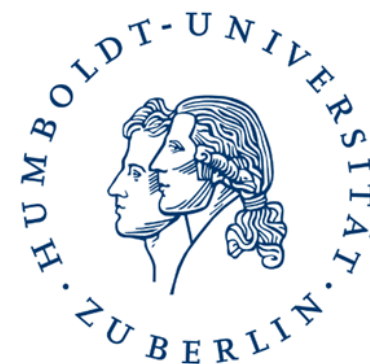
Affixes, but not quite

Affixoids on the compound-affix gradient

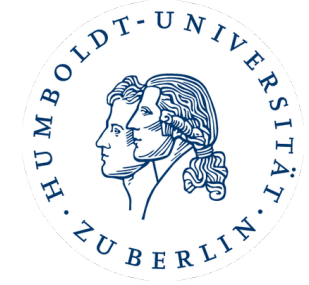
Muriel Norde

Affixes Conference, August 17-18, Turku

HUMBOLDT-UNIVERSITÄT ZU BERLIN



Outline



1. Introduction
2. Prefixoids
Case study: 'giant' in Continental Scandinavian
3. Suffixoids
Case study: Swedish suffixoids
4. Conclusions and outlook

Two examples



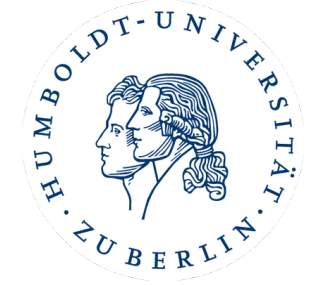
Swedish **JÄTTE**

- (1) *Han sa att han tyckte **jättemycket** om min hund.*
'He said he liked my dog very much'
- (2) *Jag saknar min morfar **jätte** mycket.*
'I miss my grandfather very much'

Swedish **JÄVEL**

- (3) *Mitt fina båttält kondenserade så förbannat att hela **båtjäveln** blev blöt.*
'The condensation in my precious boat canopy got so bad that the whole bloody boat got wet'
- (4) *Vi slog fast i att vi måste skaffa en båt **jävel** snarast!*
'We decided we had to buy a boat asap'

Aims of this talk



- To review formal and semantic properties of affixoids, using data from contemporary web corpora
 - prefixoids and suffixoids in contrast
- To assess whether affixoids written as free words are an orthographical phenomenon or flag a new construction

Affixoids and debonding

Definitions



AFFIXOIDS

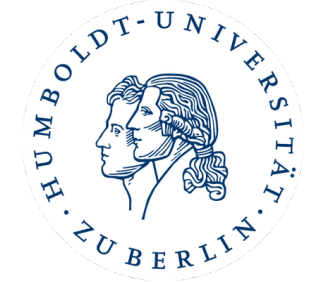
“morphemes which **look like parts of compounds**, and do occur as lexemes, but have a specific and more restricted meaning when used as part of a compound” (Booij 2009: 208)

“**not yet affixes** because they correspond to lexemes, that is, unbound forms, but their meaning differ from that when used as independent lexemes.” (Booij 2010: 57)

DEBONDING

“a composite change whereby a bound morpheme in a specific linguistic context becomes a free morpheme” (Norde 2009: 186)

Affixoids vs compounds vs affixes



	Affixoid	Compounding element	Affix
Co-existence of a formally identical free form (with different meaning)	✓	✗	✗
Positional freedom	✗	✓	✗
Bleaching	✓	✗	✓
Productive	✓	✗	✓
Emphatic lengthening and / or reduplication	✓	✗	✗

Stevens 2005; Leuschner 2010; Hoeksema 2012; Klara 2012

Prefixoids

Prefixoids in the Germanic languages

















- Cognate prefixoids:
 -  *røv-*,  *rete-* 'ass'
 -   *skit-*,  *dritt-*  *scheiß-*,  *schijt-* 'shit'
 -   *svin-*,  *schweine-* 'pig'
- Parallel semantic developments:
 -  *riesen-*,  *reuze-* < PGmc **rīsan* 'to rise'
 -  *jätte-* < PGmc **etan* 'to eat'
 -  *kæmpe-*,  *kjempe-* < PGmc **kampjan* 'to fight'
- Language-specific prefixoids:
 -  *kei-* 'boulder', *bere-* 'bear'
 -  *kalas-* 'party'
 -  *bombe-* 'bomb', *hammer-* 'hammer'

Prefixoids: abstract meaning



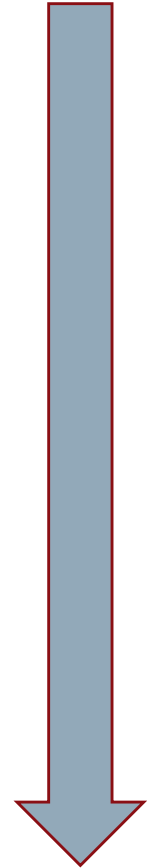
- Intensifying / evaluative
 - Dutch *reuzegezellig* 'very cosy'; *reuzekerel* 'great guy' (< 'giant')
 - Swedish *kanontrött* 'very tired', *kanonpris* 'good price' (< 'canon')
 - German *hammerlieb* 'very sweet'; *Hammerstimme* 'great voice' (< 'hammer')

Semantic properties

- With nouns:
 - ameliorative:  *kalasväder* 'great weather'
 *kjempe*dag 'great day',  *Hammerstimme* 'great voice'
 - pejorative:  *skitunge* 'bloody kid',  *drittvær*/ *Mistwetter* 'terrible weather',  *Scheißkerl* 'horrible guy'
 - intensifying:  *kanon*problem 'big problem',
 *Riesenerfolg* 'big succes'
- With adjectives:
 - intensifying:  *kalas*bra 'really good',  *knall*gøy 'really funny',  *schwein*teuer 'terribly expensive'
 - (in  and (especially)  also in diminutive form,
 *schwein*chteuer (pig-DIM-expensive),
 *bloed*jserieus (blood-DIM serious))

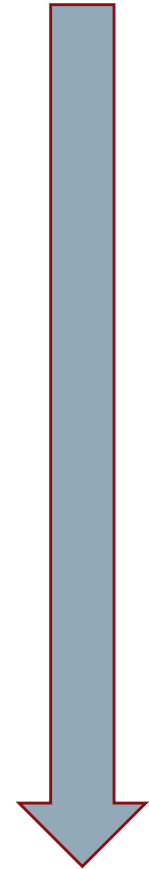
Metaphor and bleaching: N

- endocentric compound, literal meaning
 - *jättesteg* `a giant's step'
- compound / prefixoid, metaphorical meaning
 - *jättesteg* `a big step'
- prefixoid, simile meaning
 - *jättepizza* `a big pizza' (big size)
- prefixoid, intensifying
 - *jättesuccé* `a big success (?success as big as a giant)'
- prefixoid, evaluative
 - *jätteoplevelse* `a great experience (??success as big as a giant)'

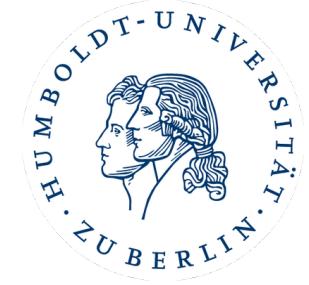


Metaphor and bleaching: ADJ

- endocentric compound
 - *jätteleik* 'resembling a giant'
- prefixoid, simile
 - *jättestor* 'very big (big as a giant)', *jättestark* 'very strong (strong as a giant)'
- prefixoid, intensifying
 - *jättesöt* 'very sweet (??sweet as a giant)', *jätteliten* (??small as a giant)'



Phonological properties

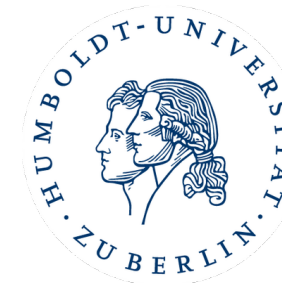


- Norwegian: (sometimes) vowel shortening in pejorative sense
 - *dritmorsom* [dri:t] 'really funny' - *drittvær* [drit:] 'terrible weather'
- German: prosodic differences
 - '*Riesenwitz* 'joke about giants' – *Riesen*'witz 'great joke'

Morphological properties

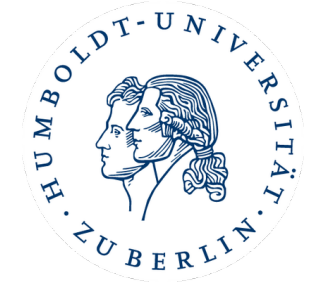
- Prefixoids are neither prefixes nor compounding elements
 - appear as free lexemes (☞ ≠ prefix)
 - yet have another meaning when bound (☞ ≠ compounding elements)
- Prefixoids can be repeated ('emphatic reduplication')
 - SE *jättejättebra*, NO *kjempekjempefin*, NL *reuze maar dan ook echt reuzeleuk* 'really but seriously really funny'

Syntactic properties



- Prefixoids can be written separately: SE *kanon bra*, DE *ein riesen Erfolg*, NO *kjempe spennende*
- same meaning as the bound prefixoid (not the corresponding free lexeme)
- some evidence for category change
 - DE *ein rieses Dankeschön* 'a big thank you' -> adjective?
 - NL *ik kijk er reuze naar uit* 'I am much looking forward to it' -> adverb?
 - DE *wir (...) machen ein Mega Riesen 80er Revival Event* 'we are making a mega big 80s revival event' -> debonded prefixoid can be separated from its head
 - SE *vädret var kanon* 'the weather was great' -> predicative position
 - not always though: **vädret var jätte*
- (Norde 2009, Van Goethem 2014, Norde & Van Goethem 2014, Van Goethem & Hiligsmann 2014, Van Goethem & De Smet 2014, Norde & Van Goethem 2015, Van Goethem & Hüning 2015)

Debonding: a spelling variant or a new construction?



CONSTRUCTIONALIZATION

“**Constructionalization** is the creation of form_{new}-meaning_{new} (combinations of) signs. It forms new type nodes, which have new syntax or morphology and new coded meaning, in the linguistic network of a population of speakers. [...] [M]inimally, constructionalization involves neoanalysis of morphosyntactic form and semantic / pragmatic meaning (...). Formal changes alone, and meaning changes alone cannot constitute constructionalization. (Traugott & Trousdale 2013: 22)

Case study 1: 'giant' in Continental Scandinavian

Design



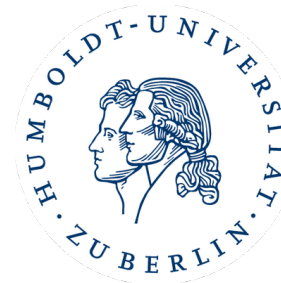
<https://thomasdambo.com/works/little-tilde/>

- Corpus-based study on formal and semantic properties of Swedish **JÄTTE**, Danish **KÆMPE**, Norwegian **KJEMPE**
- Contrastive analysis of bound and free forms in all three languages
 - Parts of Speech of the R1
 - Semantic categories
 - Collexemes
 - Productivity
- H_0 : There are no distributional differences between bound and free giant prefixoids

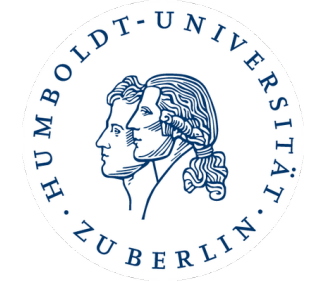
MURIEL NORDE

Roaming giants

Continental Scandinavian prefixoids on the move

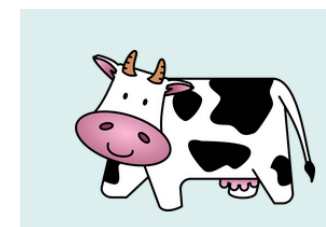
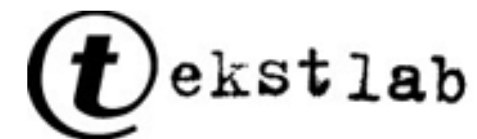


Sources



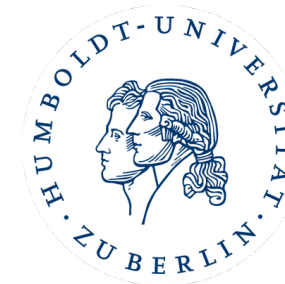
	Danish	Norwegian	Swedish
Corpus	daTenTen	NoWaC	SECOW
Year	2017	2009	2012
Size (tokens)	2,566,932,492	700,000,000	1,749,846,457
References	Kilgariff et al. 2014	Guevara 2010	Schäfer & Bildhauer 2012

- Web corpora consisting of random sentences
 - largely informal, suitable for studying change in progress
- Corpora were queried using regular expressions:
 - `[word="kæmpe...+"]`: finds all words starting with *kæmpe*, followed by at least 3 characters
- Swedish data sampled from dataset for Norde & Van Goethem 2014



Method

- Max. 10,000 results were downloaded
- 500 relevant results were annotated in Excel
 - R1 (collexeme)
 - Part of Speech (PoS) of R1
 - Semantic category
- Spreadsheets then analysed using pivot table function in Excel
- Statistical analysis / visualisation in R



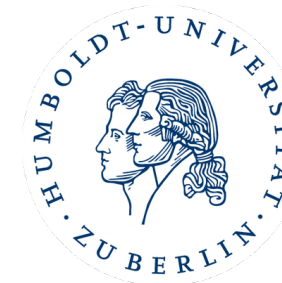
Bound vs free prefixoids: collocations

Part of Speech of R1

Semantic categories

R1 collexemes

R1 PoS



NOUN

(1) *Jeg føler mig som en **kæmpe idiot** nu*
'I feel like such an idiot now' [Danish]

ADJECTIVE

(2) *Dikten är **jätte**vacker*
'The poem is really beautiful' [Swedish]

ADVERB

(3) *Fødselen kommer til å gå **kjemperaskt***
'The delivery (of the baby) will be very fast.' [Norwegian]

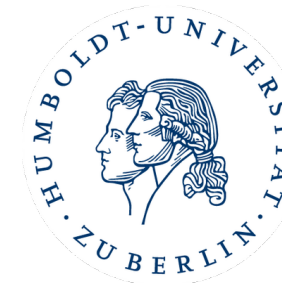
VERB

(4) *Sees på lørdag! **Gleder** meg **kjempe***
'See you on Saturday! Much looking forward' [Norwegian]

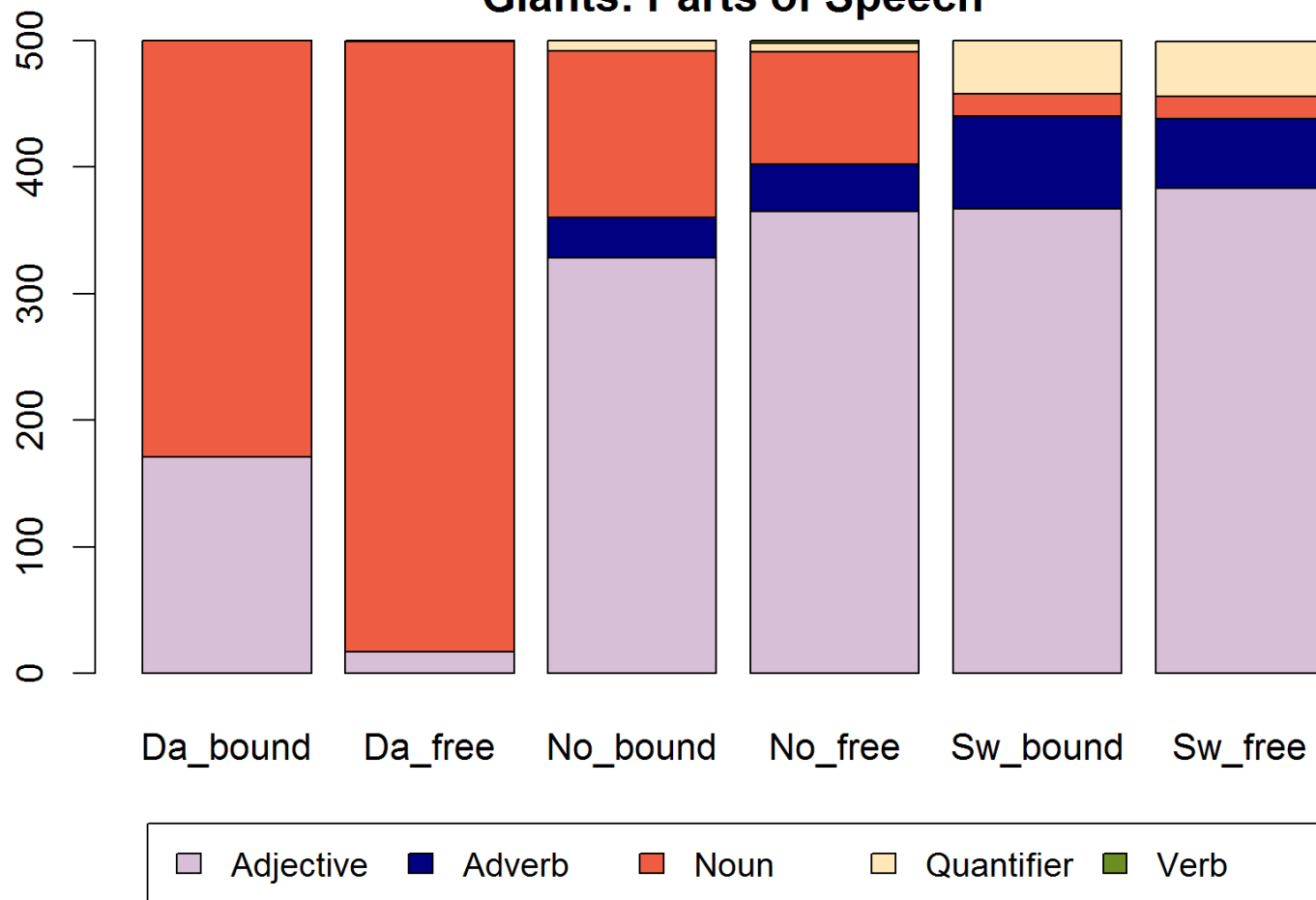
QUANTIFIER

(5) *Jag saknar min morfar **jätte mycket***
'I miss my grandfather very much' [Swedish]

R1 PoS



Giants: Parts of Speech



	Danish	Norwegian	Swedish
Pearson's χ^2	156.01	12.771	2.8833
p-value	< 2.2e-16 (***) ⁷	0.01245 (*)	0.41 (n.s.)
Cramér's V	0.395	0.113	0.054

TABLE 3 Bound and free giants: Associations between bondedness and part of speech of R1

Semantic categories: Nouns



NOUN: CLASSIFYING

- (1) *kæmpebjørneklo* / *kæmpereje* / *kæmpestjerne*
'giant hogweed / giant tiger prawn / giant star'

[Danish]

NOUN: SIMILE

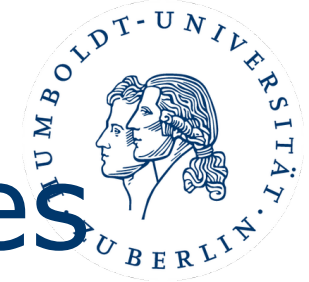
- (2) *Der er tale om en kæmpeinvestering i milliardklassen*
'We are talking about a huge investment, running into the billions' [Danish]

NOUN: EVALUATIVE

- (3) *du høres ut som en kjempe jente!!!*
'You sound like a terrific girl!!!'

[Norwegian]

Semantic categories: Adjectives



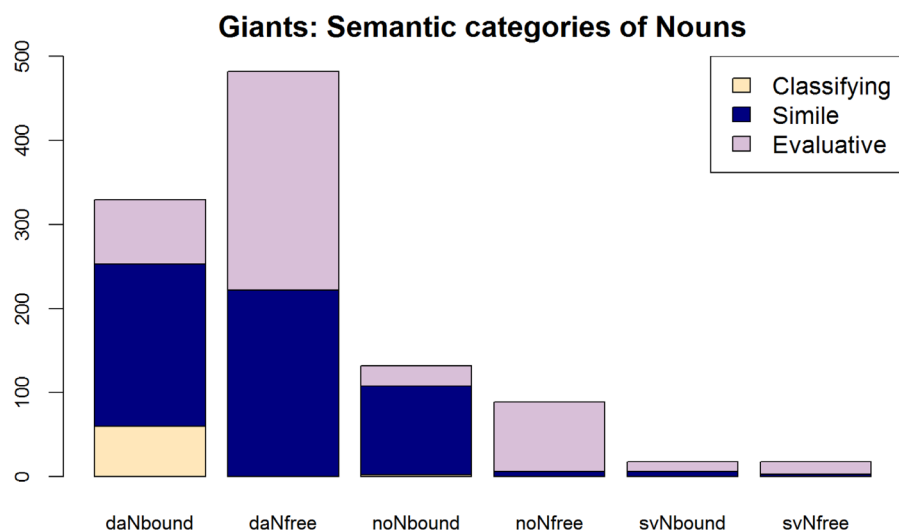
ADJECTIVE: SIMILE

(3) *tre gårder i nærheten av Wien - liten, mellomstor og kjempestor*
'three estates near Vienna: small – medium and very large' [Norwegian]

ADJECTIVE: INTENSIFYING

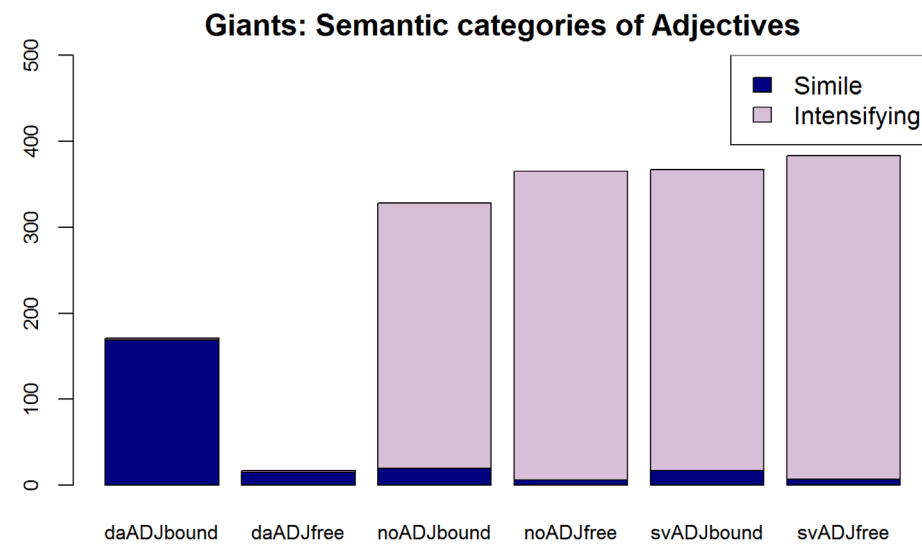
(2) *Hoppas att ni får en **jätte jätte mysig** julafton*
'Hope you will have a very cosy Christmas Eve.' [Swedish]

Semantic categories: N and ADJ



	Danish	Norwegian	Swedish
Pearson's χ^2	138.87	119.99	
p-value	< 2.2e-16 (***)	< 2.2e-16 (***)	[sample too small]
Cramér's V	0.414	0.737	

TABLE 5 Bound and free giants: Associations between bondedness and semantic category of collocation (Nouns)



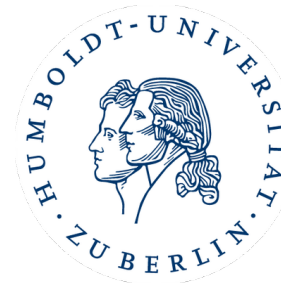
	Danish	Norwegian	Swedish
Pearson's χ^2 ¹¹	4.024	8.2963	3.8963
p-value	0.04486 (*)	0.003973 (**)	0.04839 (*)
Cramér's V	0.211	0.117	0.080

TABLE 7 Bound and free giants: Associations between bondedness and semantic category of collocation (Adjectives)

Multiple distinctive collexeme analysis

- ❑ Stefanowitsch & Gries 2003, see Levshina (2015: 248ff.)
- ❑ compares the observed frequency of a specific slot filler (R1) to the expected frequency of that R1
- ❑ Purpose: compute if specific R1s are attracted to one of the eight constructions
 - ❑ Fisher exact p-values for all R1s
 - ❑ log-transformed (using the negative base 10 logarithm)
 - ❑ cut-off value was set at 1.3 (\cong p-value of 0.05)
 - ❑ $p > 1.3$: R1 is distinctive for the free prefixoid
 - ❑ $p < -1.3$: R1 is distinctive for the bound prefixoid

Distinctive collexemes



<i>R1</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>logp</i>	<i>semcat</i>
bjørneklo	0	9	-3.555015	classifier
natlys	0	9	-3.555015	classifier
høj	0	7	-2.759404	simile
vindmølle	1	8	-2.393227	simile
reje	0	6	-2.362811	classifier
sten	0	5	-1.967021	simile
stjerne	0	5	-1.967021	classifier
blæksprutte	0	4	-1.572031	classifier
udvalg	22	1	3.902608	simile
fordel	16	2	1.890421	evaluative
problem	9	0	1.885491	evaluative
udfordring	8	0	1.615387	evaluative

TABLE 8 Distinctive collexemes: Danish nouns

<i>R1</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>logp</i>	<i>semcat</i>
stor	5	20	-3.05675911	simile
gøy	11	23	-1.68055167	intensifying
lei	0	4	-1.30364391	intensifying
snill	14	4	1.48259537	intensifying

TABLE 11 Distinctive collexemes: Norwegian adjectives

<i>R1</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>logp</i>	<i>semcat</i>
fin	39	71	-3.370629	intensifying
god	8	20	-1.706963	intensifying
stor	4	13	-1.579698	simile
glad	8	19	-1.525028	intensifying
nöjd	7	0	1.814246	intensifying

TABLE 12 Distinctive collexemes: Swedish adjectives

shaded: free prefixoid

Prefixoids: Productivity

Frequency distributions

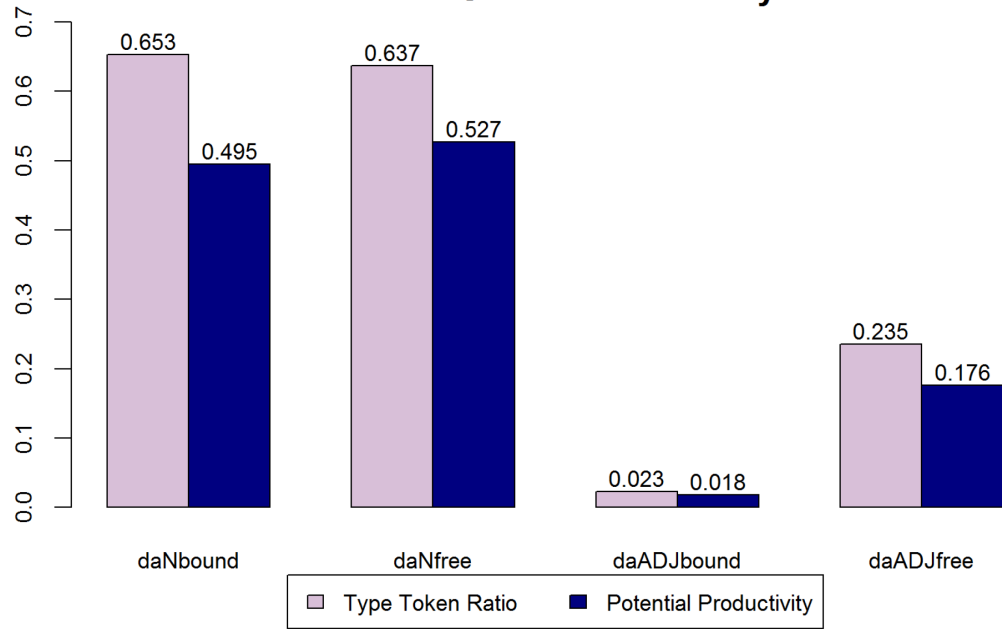
Type Token Ratio and Potential Productivity

Global Productivity

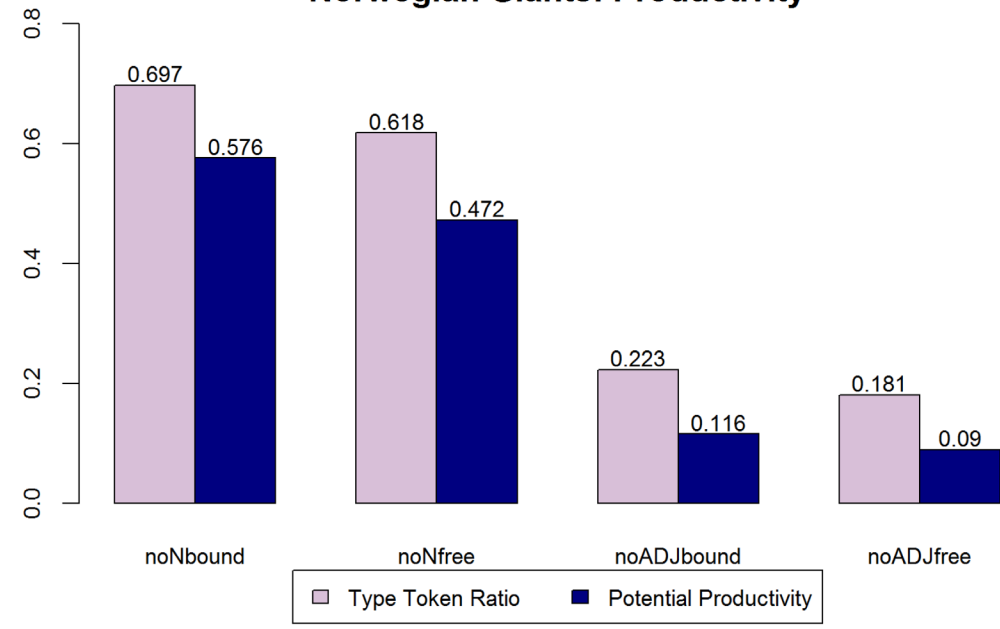
Measures of productivity

- **Type Token Ratio** (TTR): the number of types divided by the number of tokens
- **Potential Productivity** (PP) : the number of hapaxes (= types with a token frequency of 1) divided by the number of tokens (Baayen 2009)
- **Global productivity**: type frequency plotted against PP (Baayen & Lieber 1991)

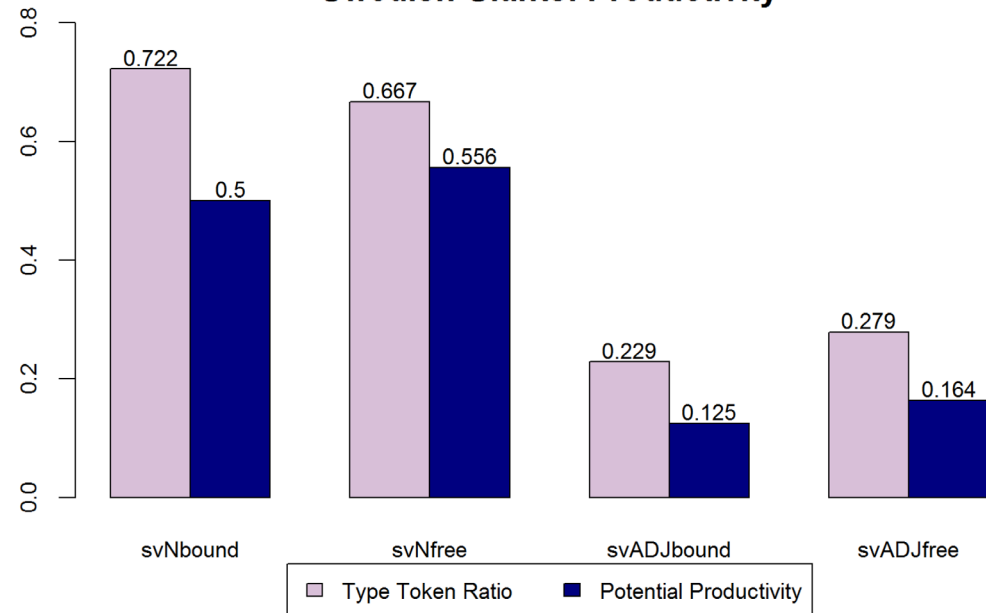
Danish Giants: Productivity



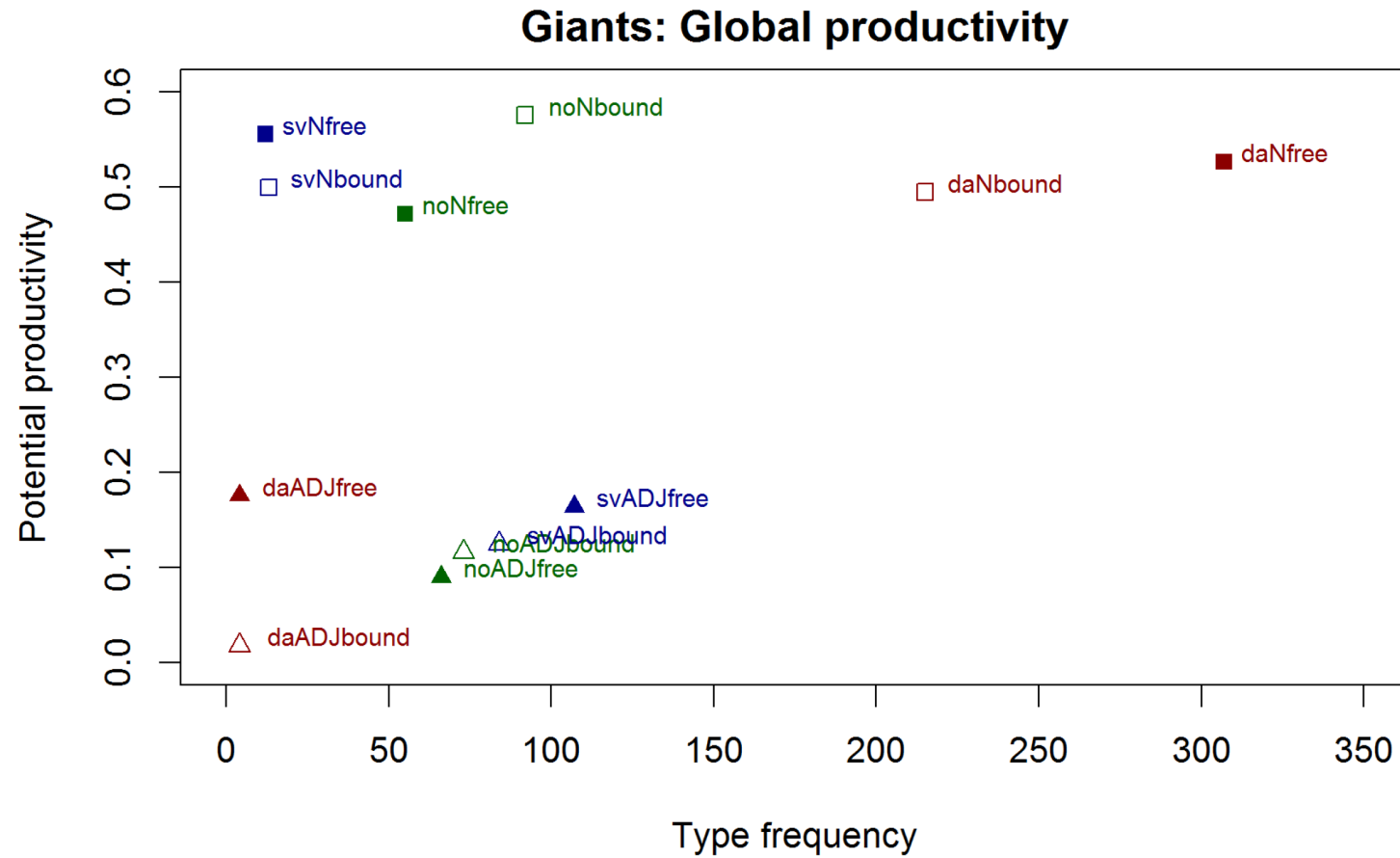
Norwegian Giants: Productivity



Swedish Giants: Productivity



Global productivity

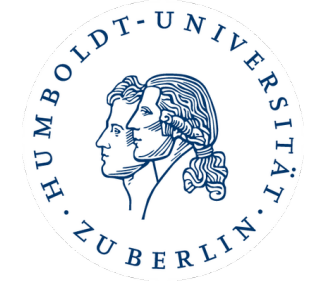


Prefixoids: Concluding remarks

Assessing the null hypothesis

Conclusions

Null hypothesis



H_0 : There are no distributional differences between bound and free giant prefixoids

- The distribution of R1s across parts of speech is the same for bound and free giants
 - falsified for Danish and Norwegian
- The distribution of R1s across semantic categories is the same for bound and free giants
 - falsified for Danish and Norwegian, and Swedish adjectives
- There are no distinctive collexemes for either bound or free giants
 - falsified for all, with most distinctive collexemes in Danish
- There are no differences in productivity between bound and free giants
 - falsified for all, with largest differences in Danish and smallest differences in Swedish

Conclusions

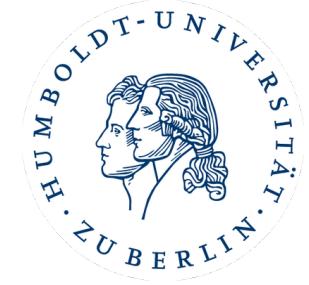
- Category change is most clear in Danish
 - when R1 is a noun, free **KÆMPE** is an adjective
 - when R1 is an adjective, free **KÆMPE** is an adverb
- Evidence for constructionalization is strongest for Danish **KÆMPE** and smallest for Swedish **JÄTTE**
- Conversely, Swedish **JÄTTE** is the most bleached of the three (lowest proportion of simile meaning)
- Prefixoids are not a monolithic type of construction: each prefixoid needs to be studied in its own right



Suffixoids in Swedish

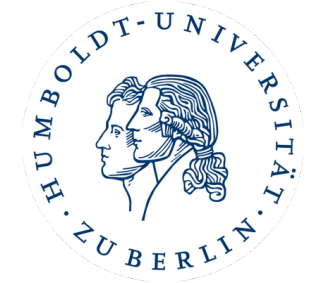
(pilot)

Suffixoids



- **Far less studied than prefixoids!**
- Some examples
 - 🇳🇱 -*baron* 'baron' > 'rich dealer': *afvalbaron* 'trash dealer'
 - 🇳🇱 -*boer* 'farmer' > 'seller': *sigarenboer* 'cigar seller'
 - 🇩🇪 -*papst* 'pope' > 'leading authority': *Literaturpapst*
 - 🇸🇪 -*väsen* 'creature' > 'system': *skolväsen* 'school (system)'

Suffixoids



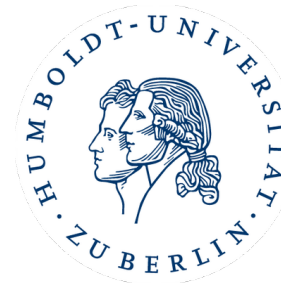
- Diachronically, suffixoids may be intermediary between nouns and affixes (Stevens 2005: 75; based on Hopper & Traugott 1993: 7)
- Suffixoids are formally heads (i.e. they can be inflected, unlike prefixoids), but semantically they can be non-heads as well

from lexical item > to syntactic construct > to compounding form > to derivation

Examples:

I'm full > *a basket full* > *a cupful (of water)* > *hopeful*
(e.g. of eggs, a basket hat is full of...)

Design



FÄRGGLAD
Barnstol

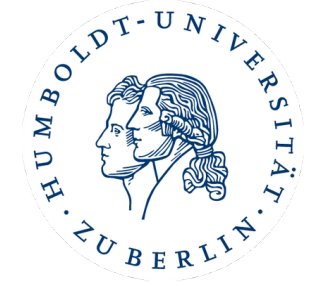


Tryckfelsnisse

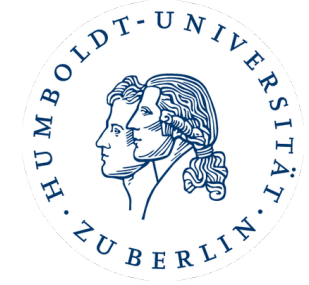
- Corpus-based study on formal and semantic properties of three Swedish suffixoids:
 - **JÄVEL**: evaluative suffixoid (N)
 - **NISSE**: 'guy' (N)
 - **GLAD**: 'full of, fond of' (ADJ)
- Formal and semantic profiles of these three suffixoids
 - (**JÄVEL** only): contrastive analysis of bound and free forms
 - H_0 : There are no distributional differences between bound and free **JÄVEL**

Sources and method

- Corpus: svTenTen14 web corpus at Sketch Engine
- Pilot: 250 relevant results were annotated in Excel
 - L1 (collexeme)
 - Part of Speech (PoS) of L1 (NISSE and GLAD)
 - Semantic category (JÄVEL and NISSE)
- Spreadsheets then analysed using pivot table function in Excel
- Statistical analysis / visualisation in R



Data



	bound	Free
JÄVEL	250 sample	250 sample
NISSE	250 sample	(70 out of 2,659)
GLAD	250 sample	(36 in 10,000 sample)

JÄVEL

Corpus frequencies

Etymology

Semantic categories (bound vs free)

Collexemes (bound vs free)

JÄVEL: Results

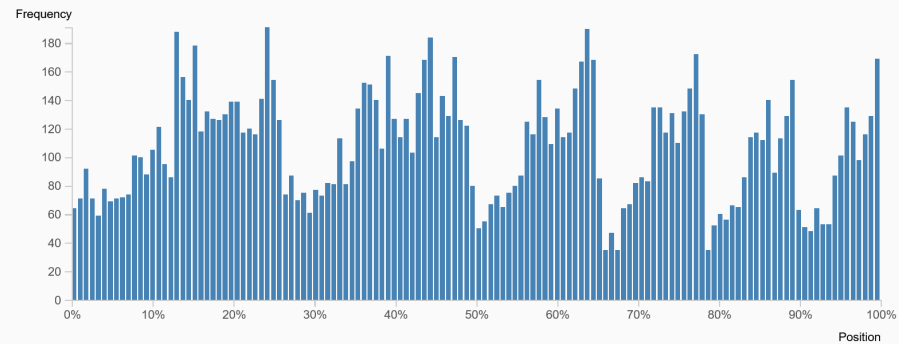


RESULT DETAILS

CQL [word = "..+jäveln?"]

Number of hits	14,328
Number of hits per million tokens	3.68
Percent of whole corpus	0.0003683%
Corpus size (tokens)	3,889,895,434

Distribution of hits in the corpus

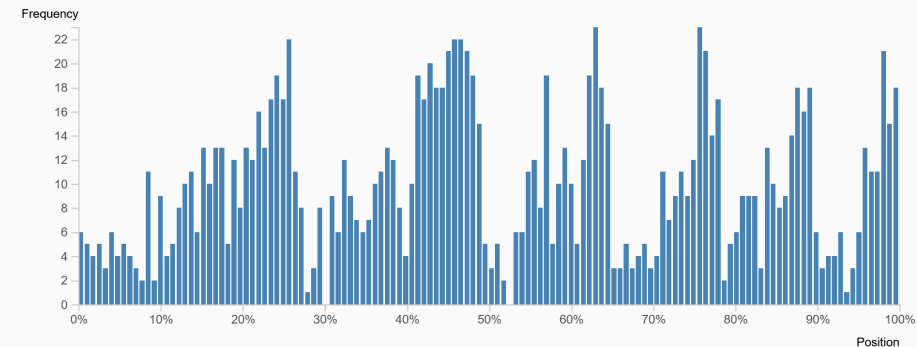


RESULT DETAILS

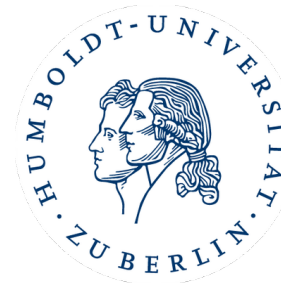
CQL [tag = "N.*"][word = "jäveln?"]

Number of hits	1,325
Number of hits per million tokens	0.34
Percent of whole corpus	0.00003406%
Corpus size (tokens)	3,889,895,434

Distribution of hits in the corpus



SAOB (s.v. *djävul*; 1918)



17/08/2023

6) i uttr. som beteckna att det vanliga måttet af ngt i hög grad öfverskrides.

a) [jfr nt. *he stinkt, he speelt, he suppt as de düwel*, eng. *my horse pulls as the devil, as drunk as the devil*, fr. *il boit comme le diable*] i jämförelser. The Svenska .. fächtadhe som dieuflar ock leijon. **C. G. REHNSKÖLD (1704)** i *Karol. krig. dagb.* 11: 62. Han är svart som en diefvul. *Mont-Louis Fr. spr.* 290 (1739). Han svär som en diefvul. .. Han super som en diefvul. .. Han äter som en diefvul. .. Han hatar Er som diefvulen. *Därs.* 292. Det ölet från Kungelf / Var bittert, som d — — n sjelf. **WADMAN Saml. 1: 150 (1830)**. Jag slogs som en djävul. **ENGSTRÖM Äfventyr 38 (1908)**. jfr: Jag slogs som en etterdj—l. **BLANCHE Flick. i Stadsg. 352 (1847)**.

11) i uttr. för den talandes känslor (vrede, förargelse, otålighet, öfverraskning osv.) med anledning af ngt.

a) [jfr liknande uttr. i nt., holl., t. o. fr.] i utförd sats innehållande (formellt) att djävulen drifver sitt spel i ifrågavarande fall. Haar Dieflen migh i thenna natt / Til Reynick then förrädher bracht. *Fosz 103 (1621)*. Hvilken dj—l .. har gifvit er in det orådet att ... **RUNEBERG 4: 285 (1836; yttradt af en gammal öfverste)**. "Har då den lifslevfande djefvulen tillhuggit dig af gråsten, du åsnaktiga elefant!" röt majoren emot (*soldaten*). **BRAUN Ber. 2: 69 (1850)**. Det vore väl djefvulen, om det icke skall gå till sluts. **DALIN (1850)**. Djefvulen i det! han lyckas nog till slut. Djefvulen i det! vi få regn, och jag har ingen paraply. *Därs.* Rider dig d—n, vill du taga min flicka ifrån mig? **TOPELIUS Fält. 1: 87 (1851, 1854)** (jfr **1 e β**). Det var tusan d—r. **A. F. LINDBLAD (1853)** i 2 *Saml.* 9: 97. Det är då sjelfva dj—n att man ej åtminstone får äta sin lilla middag i ro. **HALLMAN o. ELMGREN Förr o. nu 1: 232 (1868)**.

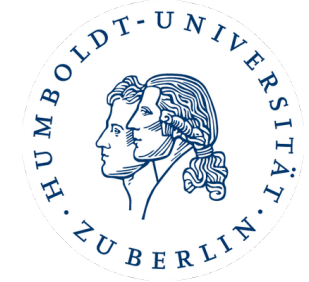


SVENSKA AKADEMIENS
ORDBOK

Affixes Turku

45

JÄVEL: L1 semantic categories



ABSTRACT

- (1) *Fööörsvinn förbannade **huvudvärks jävel***
'Go away, bloody headache'

ANIMATE

- (2) *en halvmeter ifrån mig ligger det en **ormjävel***
'Half a meter away from me lies a bloody snake'

BODY PART

- (3) *Nä nu längtar jag efter min träning, men **tåjäveln** är sämre idag igen*
'I am longing for my workout, but the bloody toe is worse again today'

HUMAN

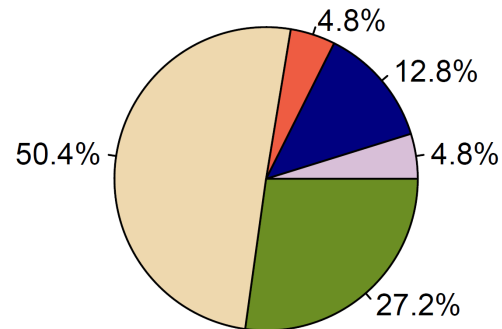
- (4) *Men världens kristna ledare – **Bush jäveln** framförallt [...]*
'But the world's Christian leaders, especially that Bush guy [...]'

OBJECT

- (5) ***Gitarrjäveln** är ju inte stämd!*
'But the bloody guitar has not been tuned!'

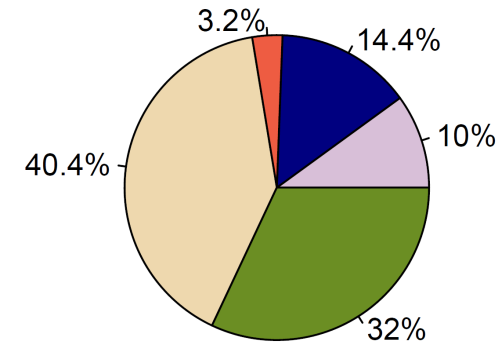
JÄVEL: Semantic categories

Bound -jável: Semantic categories



abstract animate body part human object

Free -jável: Semantic categories



abstract animate body part human object

$\chi^2: p = 0.053379$ (n.s.)

JÄVEL: Distinctive collexemes

bound JÄVEL

4 distinctive collexemes ($\log p < -1.3$)

free JÄVEL

1 distinctive collexeme ($\log p > 1.3$)

##		R1	free	bound	logp
## 106	gubbe	6	33	-5.179669e+00	
## 220	unge	0	9	-2.440051e+00	
## 58	boll	0	7	-1.824661e+00	
## 127	karl	0	6	-1.518324e+00	
## 90	finne	0	5	-1.212885e+00	

##		R1	free	bound	logp
## 119	idiot	23	2	4.904810e+00	
## 5	kärring	13	5	1.044344e+00	
## 16	dörr	4	0	9.083383e-01	
## 80	dator	5	1	6.656946e-01	
## 51	bild	3	0	6.046789e-01	



small
samples!!

NISSE

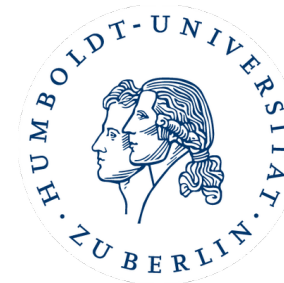
Corpus frequencies

Etymology

Part of Speech of L1

Semantic categories

NISSE: RESULTS

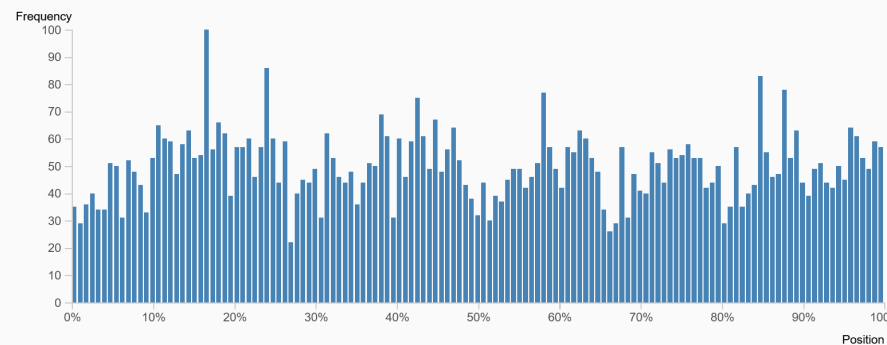


RESULT DETAILS

CQL [word = "..+nissen?"]

Number of hits	6,735
Number of hits per million tokens	1.73
Percent of whole corpus	0.0001731%
Corpus size (tokens)	3,889,895,434

Distribution of hits in the corpus

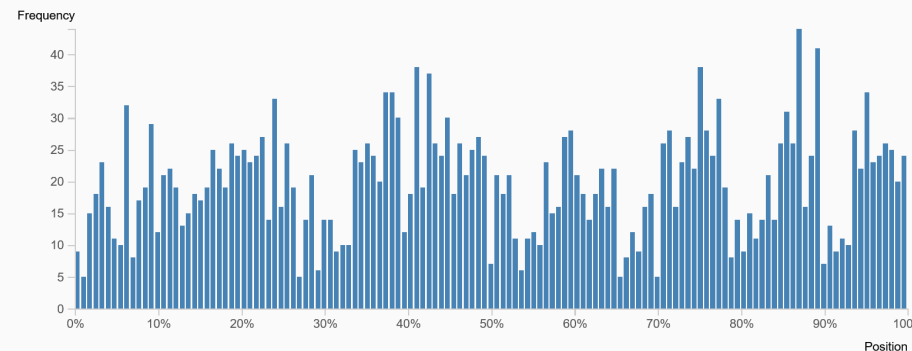


RESULT DETAILS

CQL [word = "nissen?"]

Number of hits	2,659
Number of hits per million tokens	0.68
Percent of whole corpus	0.00006836%
Corpus size (tokens)	3,889,895,434

Distribution of hits in the corpus



70 useful

SAOB (s.v. *nisse*; 1947; s.v. *trycka*; 2008)



1) (i fråga om äldre, folkliga föreställningar) övernaturligt väsen som antogs hålla till i huset o. bidra till dess förkovran o. välstånd, men som kunde ställa till olyckor, om det icke blev väl behandlat l. blev förargat över ngt, o. som stundom visade sig i skepnad av en gammal, mycket liten man i röd toppmössa; hustomte, tomte, tomtegubbe; ofta uppfattat som ett egennamn. **RUDBECK** *Atl.* 3: 505 (1698). *Posten* 1769, s. 1144. Det var i Jönköping en allmän tro, att den Gudmundssonska tomten sedan århundraden tillbaka beboddes af nissar, som drogo välmåga till huset. **RYDBERG** *Vap.* 105 (1891). Kistena (*stälde*) ett fat med mat på loftet .. såsom man förr gjorde till nissen eller tomten. **NILSSON** *HistFärs* 73 (1940). jfr: Huru torftig kojan än var hade den dock sin tomtegubbe, som i de rikare mera välmående husen hade namn af "Gode Nisse" och vördades såsom husets osynlige beskyddare. **LOVÉN** *Folkl.* 4 (1847). — jfr **GOD-NISSE**. — särsk.

3) (i restaurangspr.) kyparlärning, restaurangelev. Först hade han varit korgosse, sedan "nisse" på en krog. **LINDQVIST** *Mamin Ural* 199 (1904). *SvD(B)* 1945, nr 196, s. 9. — jfr **SMÖRGÅS-NISSE**.

↓
"nisse" på en krog.

-**nisse**. (skämts.) ss. namn på väsen som påstås orsaka tryckfel; jfr **nisse 1 b.** *GHT* 1895, nr 220 B, s. 2. (*Korrekturläsaren*) blev .. ibland överrumplad av den illistige tryckfelsnisse. *UrDNHist.* 3: 504 (1954). —

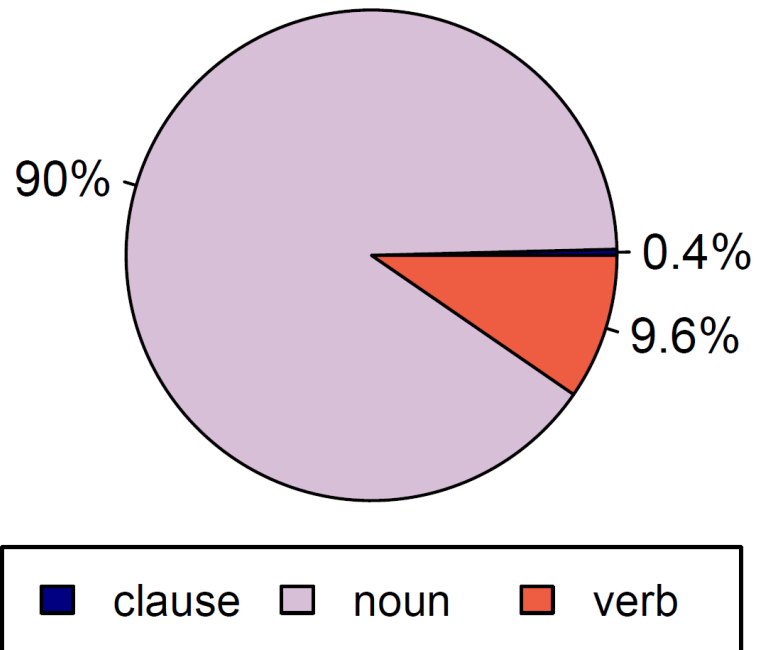
But Ascoop & Leuschner 2006: 245:
from the proper name *Nisse* (< *Nils*)



NISSE: PoS L1



-nisse: Part of Speech of L1



- Noun: *webbnisse* 'web guy', *kostymnisse* 'guy in suit'
- Verb: *räknenisse* 'bean counter', *städnisse* 'cleaning guy'
- Clause:
Vart_ska_jag_nu_ta_vägen-nisse
'where-will-I-go-next guy'

NISSE: Semantic categories

CLOTHING

- (1) *Han är inte en "typisk" **skjorta-slips-kostym-nisse** heller*
'He's not your typical shirt-tie-suit guy either'

EMPLOYMENT

- (2) *jag jobbar som **barnisse** på en krog i Stockholm*
'I work as a barman in a pub in Stockholm'

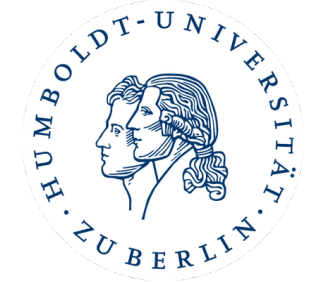
ERROR

- (3) *en gigantisk oerhört störande **tryckfelsnisse** som vi inte lagt märke till trots cirka hundramiljoner korrekturläsningar*
'a huge terribly annoying typo that we did not notice in spite of ca one hundred million rounds of proofreading'

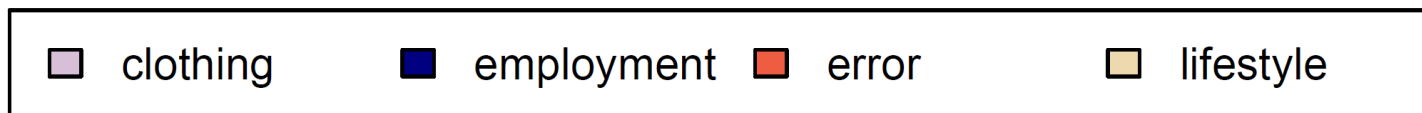
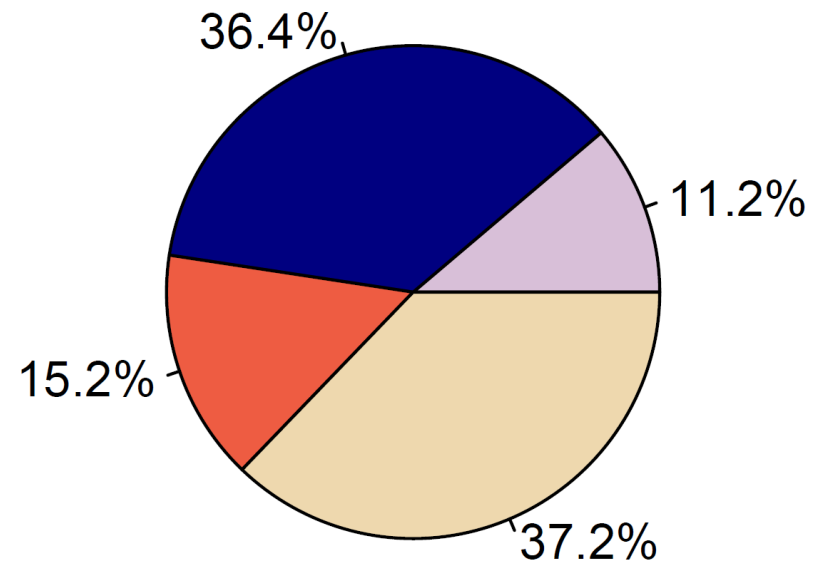
LIFESTYLE

- (4) *De som känner mig vet att jag är en **prylnisse***
'Those who know me, know I am a gadget guy'

NISSE: Semantic categories



-nisse: Semantic categories



GLAD

Corpus frequencies

Etymology

Part of Speech of L1

GLAD: Results

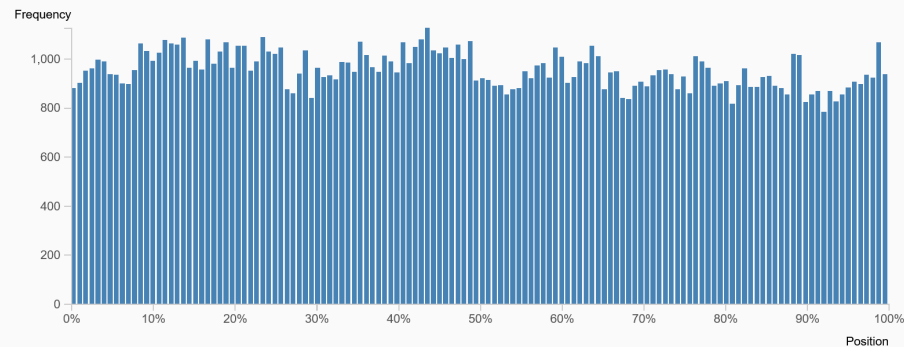


RESULT DETAILS

CQL [word = "...+glada?]+glatt"]

Number of hits	128,016
Number of hits per million tokens	32.91
Percent of whole corpus	0.003291%
Corpus size (tokens)	3,889,895,434

Distribution of hits in the corpus

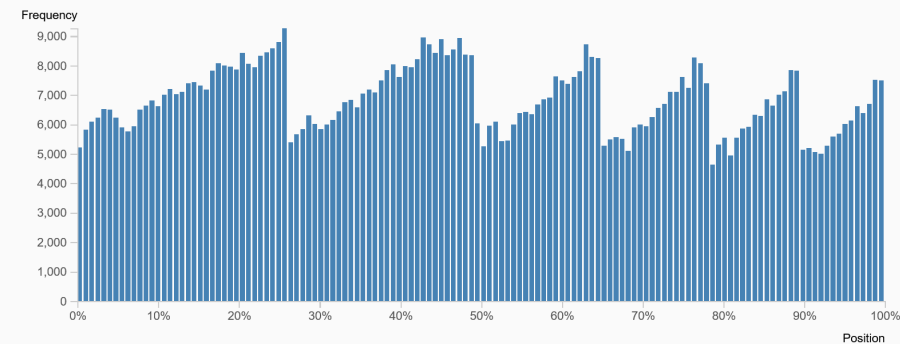


RESULT DETAILS

CQL [word = "glada?|glatt"]

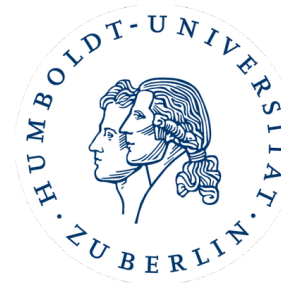
Number of hits	917,004
Number of hits per million tokens	235.74
Percent of whole corpus	0.02357%
Corpus size (tokens)	3,889,895,434

Distribution of hits in the corpus



36 useful

SAOB (s.v. *glad*; 1929)



17/08/2023

e) (i sht vard.) i uttr. *vara glad åt* (jfr *b*) l. i l. *vid* (ngt l. ngn), övergående i bet.: tycka om, vara förtjust i (ngt l. ngn), vara svag för l. begiven på (ngt). (*Hon var*) så fri och glad i natur och omgivande föremål af alla slag. **ALMQVIST** *DrJ* 388 (1834). Hundarne blifva på Sorrbypark. Axel är glad åt dem. **CARLÉN** *Repr.* 605 (1839). Det var en gång en konung, som var så glad vid jagt. *SvFolks.* 390 (1849). **LAGERLÖF** *Holg.* 2: 131 (1907). — särsk. (bygdemålsfärgat i södra Sv.) (med prep. i l. *vid*) i fråga om kärleksförhållande: vara (smått) förälskad i (ngn). *VDAkt.* 1684, nr 198. Nu var Jonathan rätt som en smula glad vid prostens Augusta. **HEDENSTIERNA** *Komm.* 139 (1891). Hveckan å oss — honom eller mej — ä du mest gla i? **LINDHÉ** *Ledf.* 269 (1903).

3) eg.: som (gm sina ljusa, klara färger o. d.) gör sinnet glad; ljus, klar; i sht om färger, (bonings)rum o. d. *Ljusa, glada tapeter*. Med litet mera högröd och glad Färg. **BRAUNER** *Bosk.* 77 (1756). Rummen .. äro .. vackra och glada. **CBONDE** (c. 1766) hos **TROLLE-BONDE** *Hesselby* 124. Bygder, .. intagande genom .. en glad himmel och en mörk skog. **ALMQVIST** *Skälln.* 5 (1838). Hela decorationen är hållen i en glad och livlig färgskala med rött och blått som huvudfärger. *Fredr1Tid* 14 (1924). — jfr **FÄRG-GLAD**.

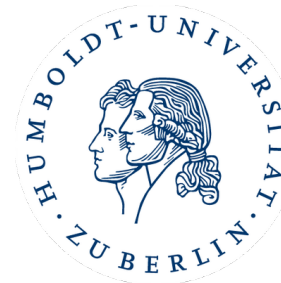


SVENSKA AKADEMIENS
ORDBOK

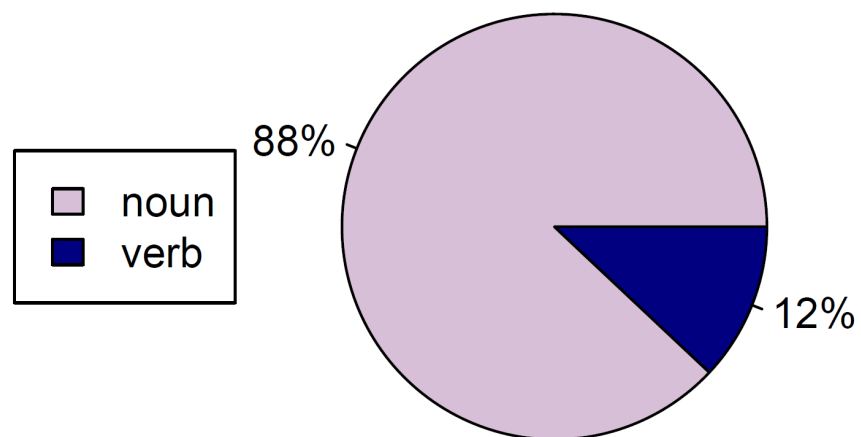
Affixes Turku

58

L1: PoS



-glad: Part of Speech of L1



- noun: *levnadsglad* 'exuberant' ("life-happy"), *färgglad* 'colourful' ("colour-happy")
- verb: *pratglad* 'talkative' ("talk-happy"), *skjutglad* 'trigger-happy' ("shoot-happy")

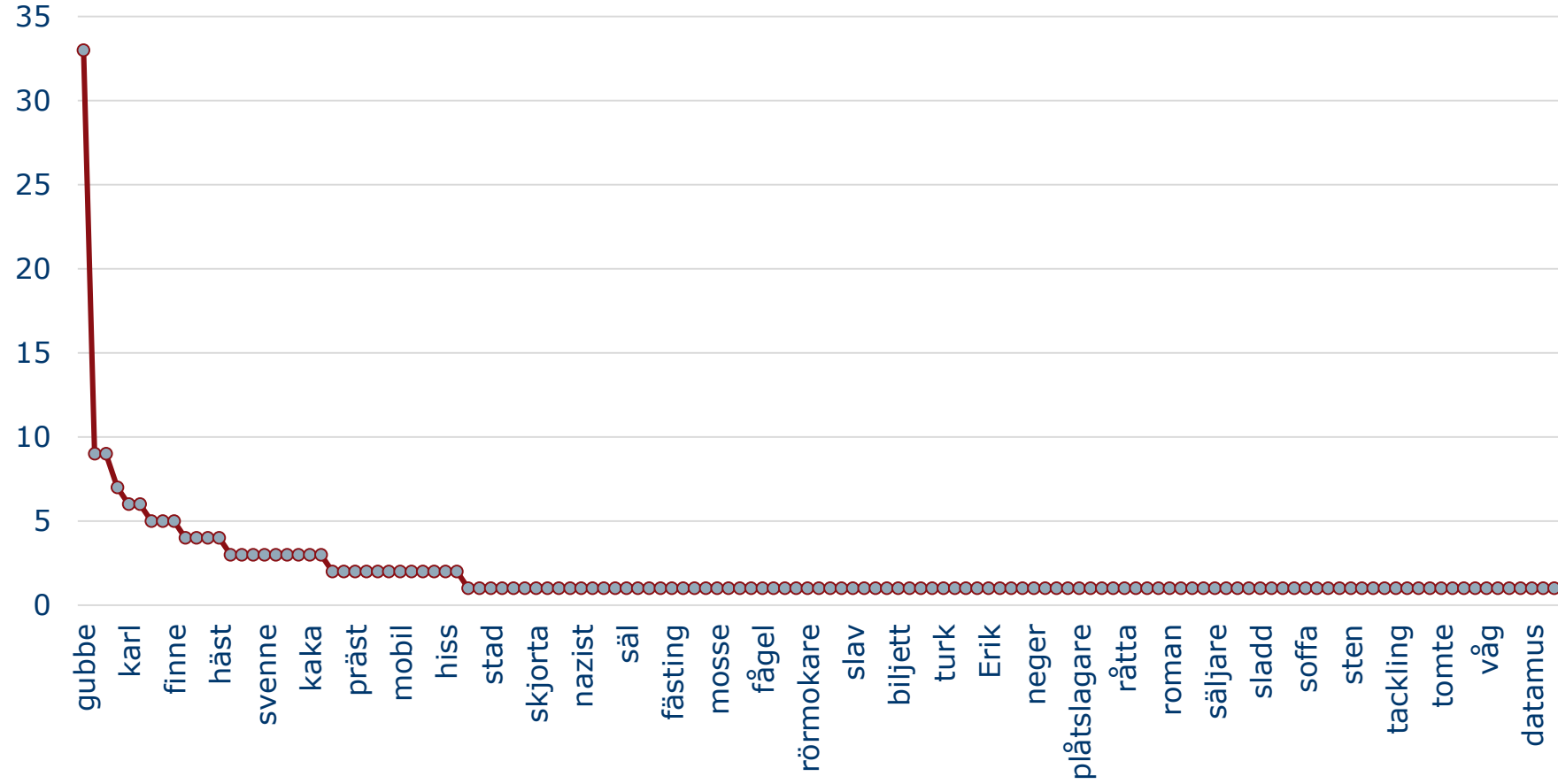
Suffixoids: Productivity

Frequency distributions

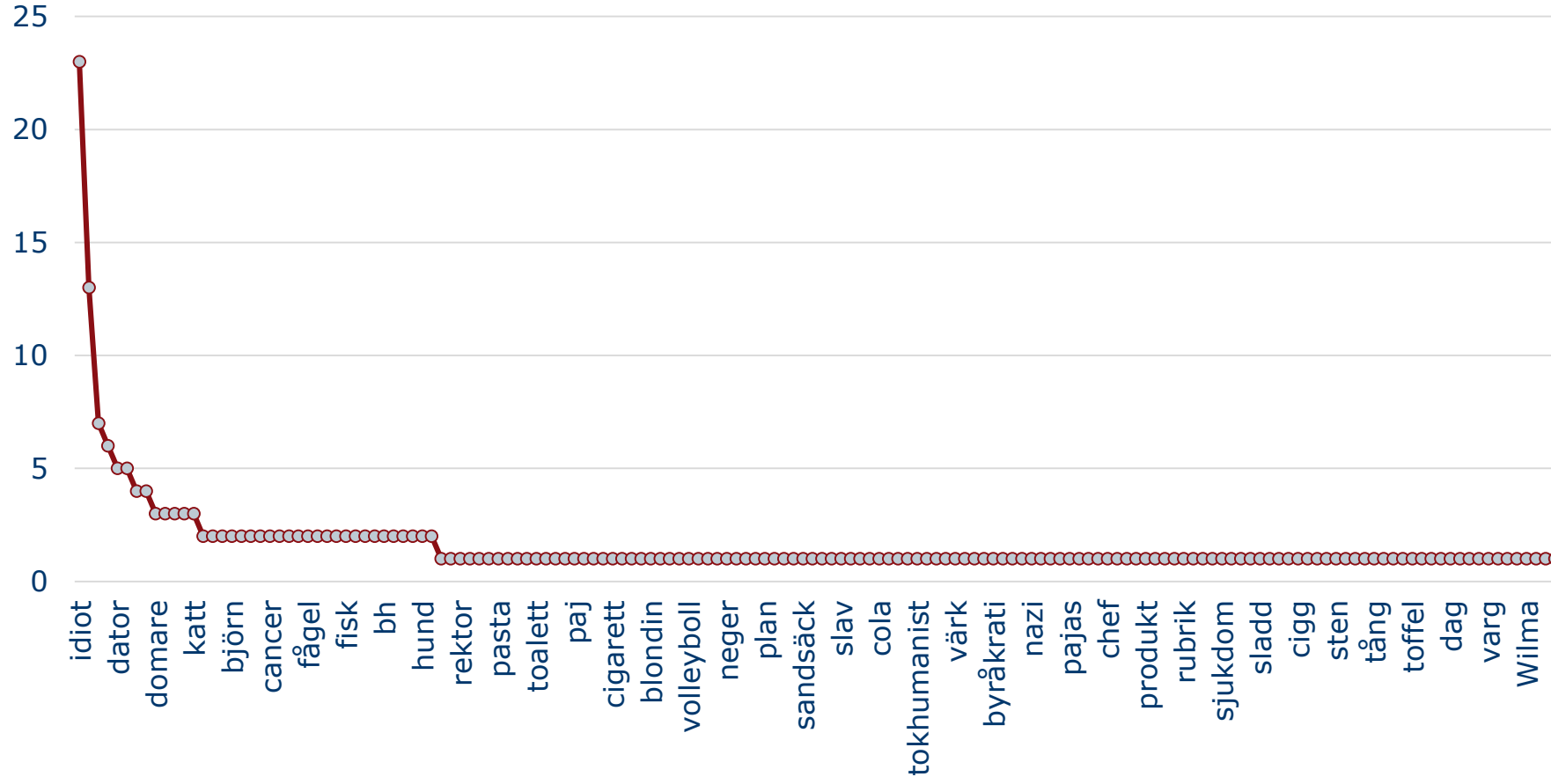
Type Token Ratio and Potential Productivity

Global Productivity

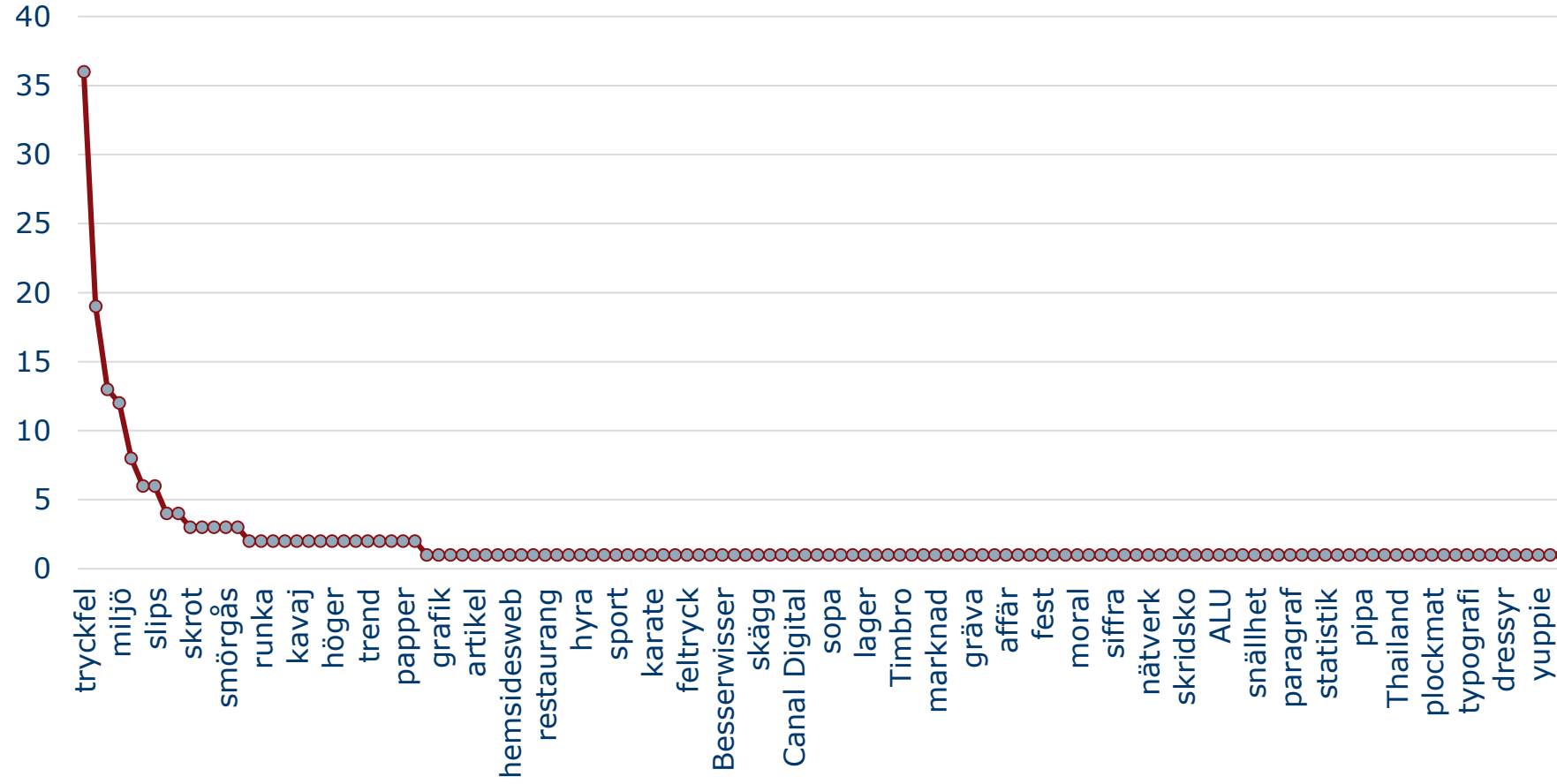
bound **JÄVEL**: frequency distributions



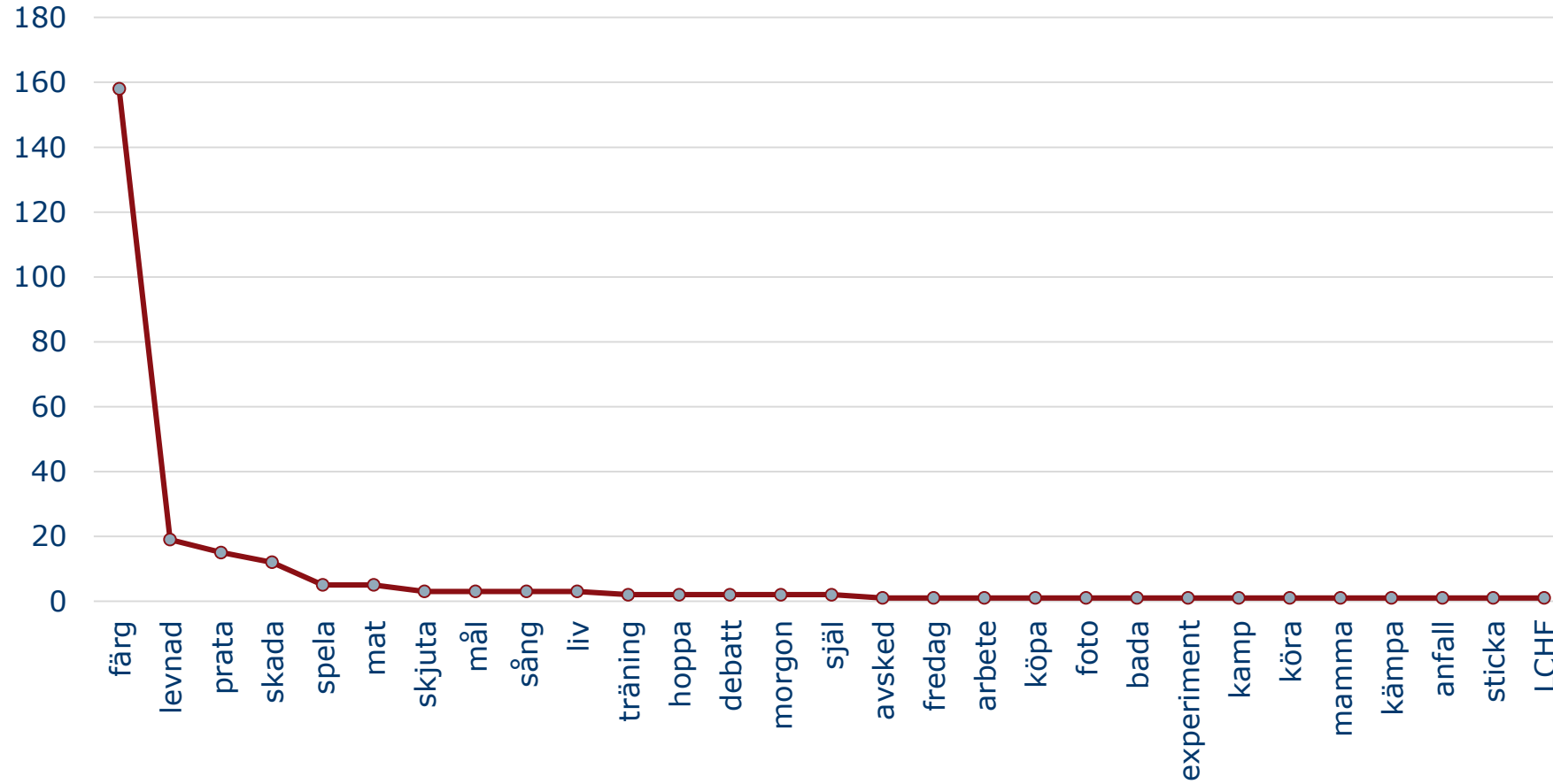
free JÄVEL: frequency distributions



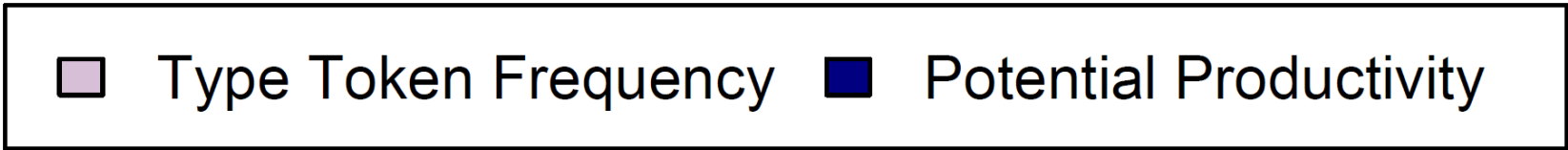
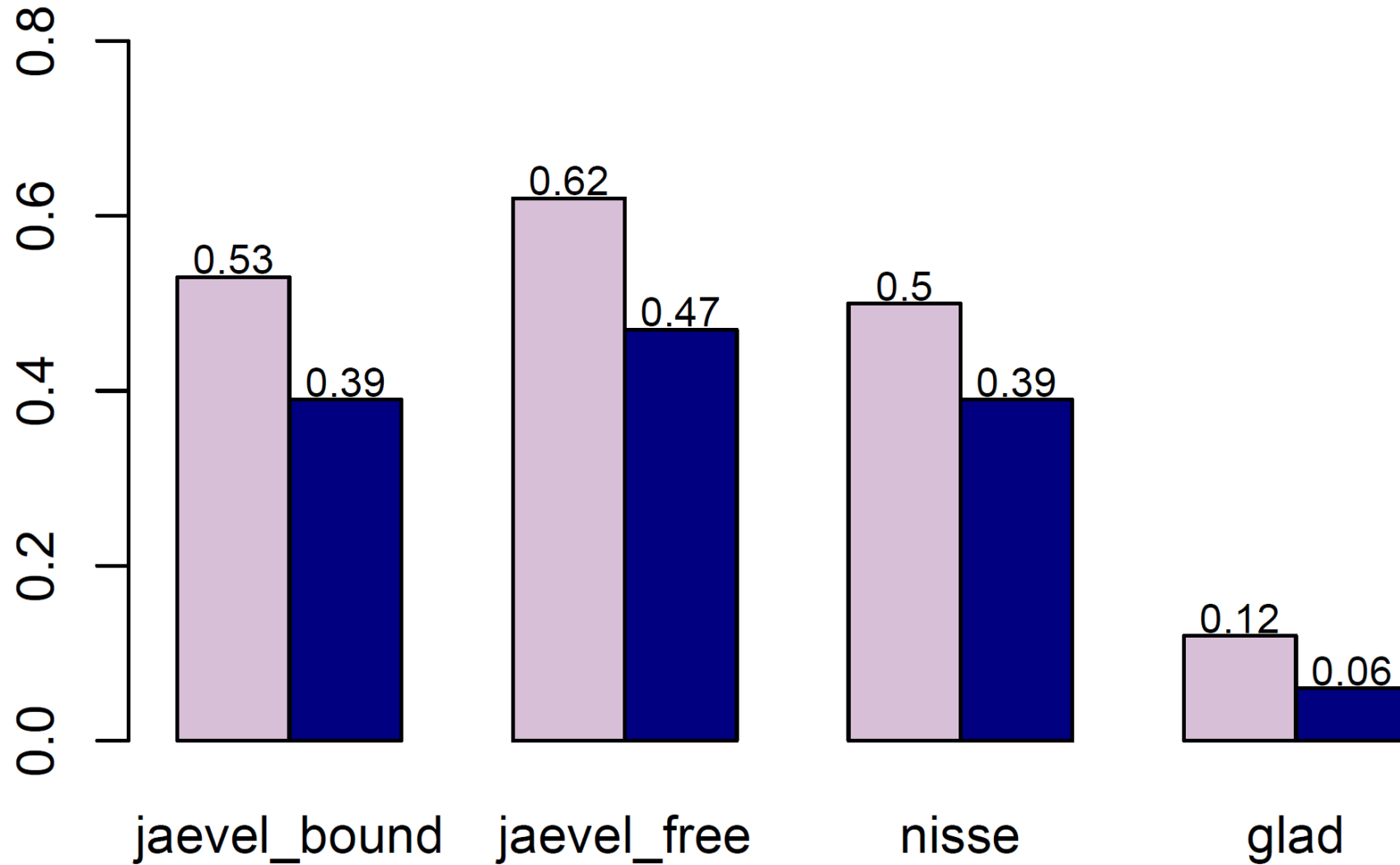
NISSE: frequency distributions



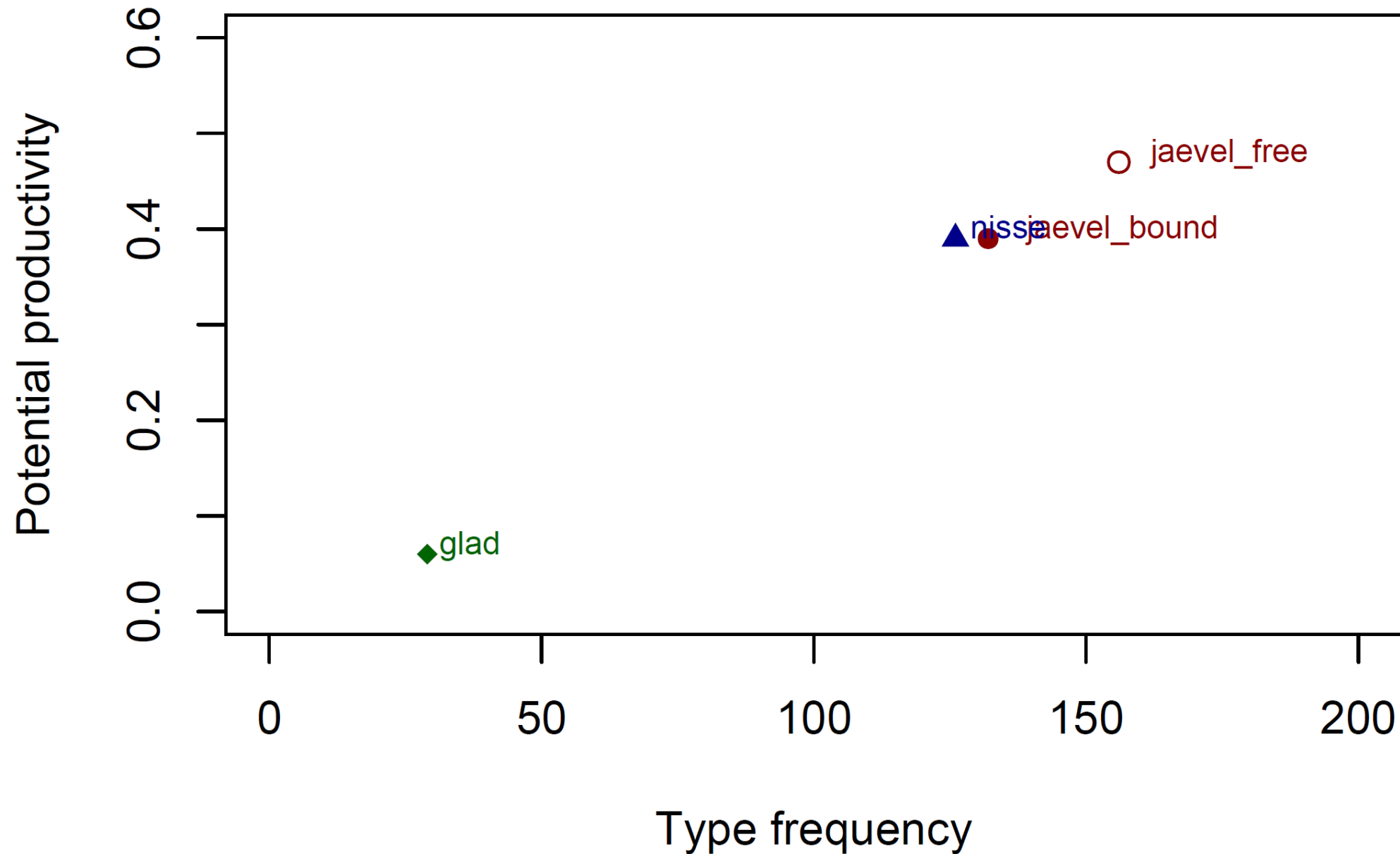
GLAD: frequency distributions



Suffixoids: Productivity



Suffixoids: Global productivity



Suffixoids: Concluding remarks

Assessing the null hypothesis

Conclusions

Null hypothesis

H_0 : There are no distributional differences between bound and free **JÄVEL**

- The distribution of L1s across parts of speech is the same for bound and free **JÄVEL**
 - could not be falsified (p not < 0.05)
- There are no distinctive collexemes for either bound or free **JÄVEL**
 - falsified, but for a small sample
- Free **JÄVEL** collocations may still have morphological properties of compounds:
 - linking elements: *plånbok**s** jäveln* 'the bloody wallet'
 - vowel deletion: *gubb jäveln* ($<$ *gubb**e*** 'old man')

Constructionalisation?

The jury is still out!

More takeaways

- High token frequency may lead to cognitive entrenchment (Hilpert 2015)
 - *gubbjävel* less likely to debond?
- Debonding is a widespread phenomenon in evaluative morphology (Van Goethem & De Smet 2014)
 - **JÄVEL** is the only evaluative suffixoid in this case study (at least orthographically) and (hence?) also the only one to debond
 - but in an unusual syntactic position for degree modifiers

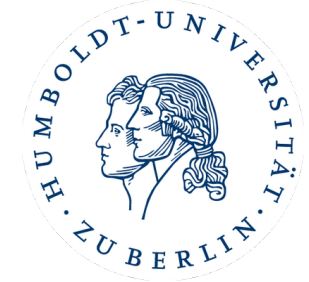
Conclusions

- **JÄVEL**, **NISSE** and **GLAD** are all more towards the compounding end of the gradient
- **NISSE** and **GLAD** are heads:
 - a *prylnisse* is a guy, not a gadget
 - *pratglad* means happy to talk, not talking in a cheerful way
 - they are however mildly evaluative
- Conversely, **JÄVEL** is an evaluative suffixoid
 - a *bussjäväl* is a bus
 - formally however, **JÄVEL** is still the head: PL *bussjävlar*, not **bussarjäväl* / **bussar jäväel*
- Like prefixoids, suffixoids are not a monolithic type of construction: each suffixoid needs to be studied in its own right

Prefixoids vs suffixoids

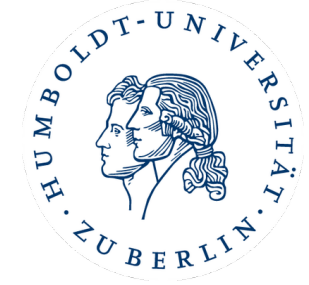
Concluding remarks and open questions

Some general observations



- Prefixoids are more strongly bleached than suffixoids
 - because of the right-headed structure of Germanic compounds?
- Prefixoids are more prone to debonding than suffixoids
 - because they are more bleached and hence more likely to constructionalise into free adverbs / adjectives?
- Prefixoids are more regular cross-linguistically
 - < because metaphorical inferences (e.g. from simile to intensifier) are more likely in non-heads?





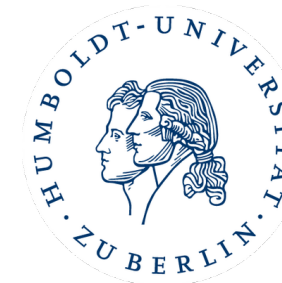
THANK YOU!

TACK!

KIIITOS!

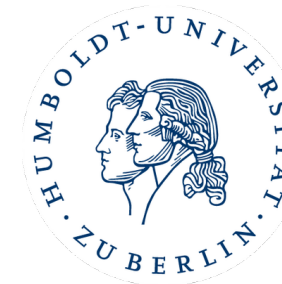
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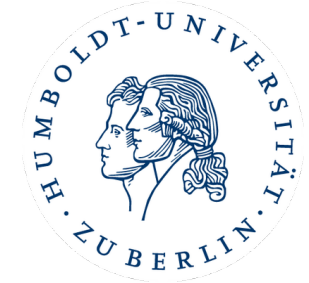
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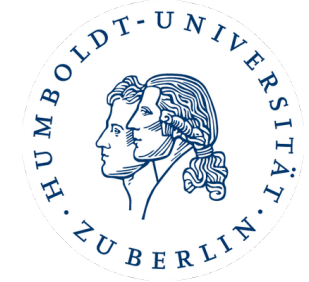


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