

Towards a constructionist analysis of deverbal adjectival compounds in OE

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Our main aim in this paper is to put forward a comprehensive syntactico-semantic analysis of deverbal adjectival compounds in OE. Building upon work by Domínguez Barragán & Novo Urraca (2016), and drawing on data from the *ParCorOEv2 parallel corpus* (Martín Arista et al. 2021), we will explore in some detail the main different types of semantic relations between determinant and determinatum in the following two patterns: *Noun/Adjective* + *Present participle* and *Noun/Adjective* + *Past participle*. In (1) and (2) we illustrate some of the different semantic types that each pattern comprises (see Kastovsky, 1992, pp. 373–374):

- (1) *hunigflowende* 'flowing with honey'; *ealodrincende* 'beer-drinking'; *bencsittende* 'sitting on a bench'; *lindwigende* 'fighting with a shield'; *rihtfremmende* 'acting rightly'.
- (2) ceorlboren 'low-born'; bēaghroden 'adorned with rings'; æhtboren 'born in bondage'; æwumboren 'legally born'; healfbrocen 'half-broken'.

In Construction Morphology (CM), where "abstract schemas and individual schemas of those instances coexist" (Booij, 2009, p. 206), the schema in (3) generalizes over the class of right-headed compounds in Germanic languages (Booij, 2010, p. 95):

(3) $[X_i Y_j]Y_k \leftrightarrow [SEM_j \text{ with some relation } R \text{ to } SEM_i]_k$

The NOUN/ADJECTIVE PRESENT PARTICIPLE COMPOUND construction and the NOUN/ADJECTIVE PAST PARTICIPLE COMPOUND construction illustrated in (1) and (2) would instantiate two different subpatterns of this general schema (see Hilpert, 2014, p. 93). At a lower level of abstraction, the specific meaning of the subclass of compounds with the form $[[X_N] \ [boren]_{PastP}]_A$ (as in *ceorlboren*, *pegnboren* or *cifesboren*) can be represented by the template in (4), a constructional idiom whose head is lexically specified:



(4) $[X_N] [boren]_{pp} A$ 'born with the legal status of an X'

Adopting Booij's (2009, 2010) constructionist model will enable us to specify the semantic relations existing between the two parts of these adjectival "verbal-nexus combinations" (Marchand, 1969, p. 17) at different levels of abstraction, thus refining and enriching previous classifications of OE adjectival compounds in the literature.

References

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