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## **Transmorphemization: Substitution on the Morphological Level Reinterpreted**

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Transmorphemization, one of the forms of substitution, comprises all the changes which appear in the adaptation of bound morphemes as they pass from the donor language to the borrowing language. It appears in the citation form of the part of speech, most frequently in nouns. This article analyzes three types or stages of transmorphemization: a) Stage 1, zero transmorphemization according to the formula free morpheme + zero bound morpheme; b) Stage 2, compromise transmorphemization in which the compromise replica keeps the bound morpheme of the donor language, and c) Stage 3, complete transmorphemization which means complete integration into the borrowing language with replacement of the donor language's bound morpheme by a synonymous bound morpheme of the borrowing language. During their morphological adaptation nouns can pass through all three stages or only two — never reaching the third or skipping over the second. A special case of Stage 3 transmorphemization is the determination of a loan word's gender through contamination. Transmorphemization appears also in pseudo-Anglicisms.

1. In the process of linguistic borrowing, one of the most important laws regulating the adaptation of the *model* and its transition into a *replica* (loan-word) is substitution. This appears on several levels and in quite different forms. Since substitution is such a broad concept, not well defined so far, it needs to be circumscribed and delimited. This has led me to analyze substitution according to the levels on which adaptation of the model takes place, and to propose a new systematization on the basis of my results.

2. I first analyzed and classified all forms of substitution on the phonological level. I named this *transphonemization* and determined the types found in languages in contact.<sup>1</sup> The analysis brought out that this level usually shows only three stages of substitution, corresponding to three types of transphonemization. The first stage corresponds to the *complete* type of transphonemization, the second to the *partial* type, and the third can be identified with *free transphonemization*.<sup>2</sup>

3. In order to apply the same principle of systematizing various substitution types to morphology, I introduced another new term, *transmorphemization*, to cover changes occurring when a morpheme of the donor language, according to the basic principle of morphological adaptation, must conform to the morphological system of the borrowing language. Such adaptation begins with the formation of the *citation form* of the loan, and goes on in the creation of inflected forms, whatever the part of speech may be (this is most frequent in nouns, rarer in adjectives and verbs). Hence, transmorphemization concerns bound morphemes, since free morphemes, being a part of the lexicon, are borrowed without limitations. Nevertheless we must study free morphemes as well, since their citation form must fit the morphological system of the borrowing language, i.e. conform to the citation forms of the given part of speech in this language. Since nouns are the most numerous of all loans, we begin by analyzing them and finding the types of transmorphemization arising in the adaptation of their citation forms. The resulting system of transmorphemization can be applied to the other parts of speech, i.e. adjectives and verbs.

4. *The first stage of transmorphemization* appears when the model is taken over by the borrowing language as a free morpheme without a bound morpheme. The borrowing language's morphological system accepts it with no changes, and it integrates into the new system. From a morphological point of view the model corresponds to the replica and vice versa.<sup>3</sup> In our systematization all such cases are represented

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<sup>1</sup> R. Filipović, "Tipovi transfonemizacije u jezicima u kontaktu" (Types of transphonemization in languages in contact), *Filologija*, JAZU Zagreb, 1978, no. 8, pp. 99—106.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> Changes occurring in adaptation come under the head of transphonemization, or substitution on the phonological level.

by the formula *free morpheme + zero bound morpheme*. Hence we shall call this first stage *zero transmorphismization*.<sup>4</sup>

<i>English word</i>	<i>Loan</i>
stem + zero suffix	free morpheme + zero bound morpheme
<i>bridge</i>	brīdž
<i>cup</i>	kep
<i>nylon</i>	najlon
<i>scout</i>	skaut

The citation form of a loan adapted according to this first stage of transmorphismization need not entirely satisfy the rules for permissible word finals in the borrowing language. Some loan finals may not conform to existing finals and may even introduce innovations in the system of the borrowing language.

<i>English word</i>	<i>Loan</i>
<i>rugby</i>	ragbi
<i>whiskey</i>	viski
<i>interview</i>	intervju
<i>lift</i>	lift
<i>film</i>	film <sup>5</sup>

5. *The second stage of transmorphismization* occurs when a loan keeps a final bound morpheme that does not conform to the borrowing language's morphological system. We classify such a form as compromise replica on the morphological level, and term it *compromise transmorphismization*. Since a compromise replica is basically an unstable

<sup>4</sup> In this contribution we illustrate the whole system of transmorphismization taking Anglicisms in the Croatian literary language as our examples. This system is one of the results of my analysis of Anglicisms in a large number of European languages as part of the *English Element in European Languages Project*.

<sup>5</sup> The examples cited show two kinds of noun finals which are not in accordance with the morphological system of the Croatian literary language: a) the vowels *-i* and *-u*, b) the final consonant clusters *-ft* and *-lm*. Since there is no prospect that these finals will adapt further, they represent an innovation in the morphological system of the borrowing language.

form which has not finished its adaptation and can undergo further adaptation to become a replica, that is to become completely integrated into the borrowing language system, we can consider this second stage a transitional one, which can lead to the third stage of transmorphemization. Examples of compromise transmorphemization are not rare and are used as compromise replicas without prospects for further transmorphemization.

<i>English word</i>	<i>Loan</i>
stem + suffix	free morpheme + E bound morpheme
<i>dribbl-er</i>	dribl-er
<i>farm-er</i>	farm-er
<i>sprint-er</i>	sprint-er
<i>dop-ing</i>	dop-ing
<i>park-ing</i>	park-ing
<i>train-ing</i>	tren-ing

6. *The third stage of transmorphemization* continues the adaptation to the borrowing language: a donor language bound morpheme which does not conform to the morphological system of the borrowing language is replaced by a borrowing-language bound morpheme (suffix) with the same function. Thus transmorphemization progresses through two stages: a) the second stage, which preserves the donor-language bound morpheme, and b) the third stage, where this is replaced by one with the same meaning from the borrowing language system. So adaptation first goes through the compromise-replica stage, and then gives a replica which in form is integrated perfectly into the morphological system of the borrowing language.

This stage of substitution we call *complete transmorphemization*.

<i>English word</i>	<i>Foreign word</i>	<i>Loan word</i>
model	compromise replica	replica
stem + suffix	free morpheme - E bound morpheme	free morpheme - Cr bound morpheme
<i>box-er</i>	boks-er	boks-ač

Sometimes models go from the donor language directly into loan replicas, skipping the second stage of transmorphemization.

<i>English word</i>	<i>Loan</i>
stem + suffix	free morpheme + Cr bound morpheme
<i>strik-er</i>	štrajk-aš

7. Thus transmorphemization provides a system (part of the system of substitution on the morphological level) within which we can analyze various types of substitution of bound morphemes of the donor language by bound morphemes of the borrowing language. Such substitution can have from one to three stages of transmorphemization, and each stage corresponds to one transmorphemization type: a) the first stage of substitution = zero transmorphemization; b) the second stage of substitution = compromise transmorphemization; c) the third stage of substitution = complete transmorphemization.

Morphological level	
<i>Substitution</i>	<i>Transmorphemization</i>
a) first stage	a) zero
b) second stage	b) compromise
c) third stage	c) complete

8. A special form of complete transmorphemization involves determination of noun gender through contamination. In the model we have a zero bound morpheme (since English gender need not be marked by a bound feminine-gender suffix) or a bound morpheme which would not indicate feminine gender in the borrowing language (e.g. E *-ess* > Cr *-es*), so that gender marking must be done through the third stage of transmorphemization, by the addition of a bound morpheme from the borrowing-language inventory. In both cases this will be the Cr. bound morpheme *-a* added to English loans.

a) <i>English word</i>	<i>Loan (fem. gender)</i>
stem + $\emptyset$	free morpheme + Cr bound morpheme
<i>jungle</i>	džungl-a
<i>farm</i>	farm-a
<i>dog</i>	dog-a
<i>bowl</i>	bol-a

b) <i>English word</i>	<i>Loan (fem. gender)</i>
stem + -ess	free morpheme + E bound morpheme + Cr bound morpheme
<i>steward-ess</i>	stjuard-es-a

9. During transmorphemization interesting situations can appear which do not follow the expected order. We can wonder why (a) some examples remain at the second stage of transmorphemization, (b) some skip this stage, and (c) others go through both the second and the third stages. It is hard to give a definitive answer, but we will analyze some examples and try to show what factors could have been decisive in the various cases.

Comparing our examples with the pattern that has passed through both stages:

<i>model</i>	<i>compromise replica</i>	<i>replica</i>
<i>box-er</i>	boks-er	boks-ač

we find, for instance, that the English word *striker* is not attested as a compromise replica *strajker* or *štrajker*, although German as an intermediary language was decisive for the present-day shape of the word, *štrajkaš* or *štrajkač*. Both shapes are the result of the third stage of transmorphemization, complete transmorphemization.

The English word *sprinter* has remained at the second or compromise stage of transmorphemization, i.e. *sprinter*, and has not been accepted in a third-stage form *\*sprintaš*,<sup>6</sup> although such a form would be possible if only by analogy. The reason may be that the language already has a very frequent semantic equivalent *trkač na kratke staze*.

Transmorphemization also acts on pseudo-Anglicisms. Thus a compromise replica *tenis-er*<sup>7</sup> appears as the result of compromise transmorphemization; under the influence of complete transmorphemization an integrated replica appears, *tenis-ač*.

Equally interesting is an attempt at semantic distinction between the compromise-replica form *bokser* and the integrated-replica *boksač*. Both are derived from English *boxer*, the first through compromise and the second through complete transmorphemization: *bokser*<sup>8</sup> in the meaning "brass knuckles" and *boksač* in the meaning "prize-fighter". However, our corpus does not confirm a consistent distinction between them.

10. Our conclusion from the above analysis is that the borrowing language shows several possibilities for applying the three stages of transmorphemization: all three, or the first and second, or the first and third. Furthermore, there is a tendency for the borrowing language to keep the compromise replica for a time, and then instead of adapting it into a replica to replace it with a native word of similar (though somewhat broader) meaning. A separate group is pseudo-Anglicisms which can pass through the same stages of transmorphemization as Anglicisms.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The form *\*sprintaš* is very rarely attested and has not become regularly used.

<sup>7</sup> This derivative is a pseudo-Anglicism since it does not exist in English but is made according to English word-formation rules from English elements: *tennis* + *-er*.

<sup>8</sup> We have deliberately omitted *boxer* "breed of dog" from our analysis.

<sup>9</sup> I will deal with the problem of pseudo-Anglicisms and their adaptation as a whole in a separate contribution.

TRANSMORFEMIZACIJA:  
REINTERPRETACIJA SUPSTITUCIJE NA MORFOLOŠKOJ RAZINI

*Transmorfemizacija*, jedan od oblika supstitucije, obuhvaća sve promjene koje se javljaju u adaptaciji vezanih morfema na prijelazu iz jezika davaoca u jezik primalac. Ona se javlja u osnovnom obliku vrsta riječi a najčešće kod imenica. U članku se analiziraju tri tipa ili stupnja transmorfemizacije: a) Prvi stupanj — *nulta transmorfemizacija* koja se izvodi po formuli slobodan morphem + nulti vezani morphem; b) Drugi stupanj — *kompromisna transmorfemizacija* kad se u kompromisnoj replici zadržava vezani morphem jezika davaoca; c) Treći stupanj — *potpuna transmorfemizacija* koja predstavlja potpunu integraciju u jezik primalac jer je vezani morphem jezika davaoca zamijenjen istoznačnim vezanim morfemom jezika primaoca. U toku adaptacije na morfološkoj razini imenice mogu prolaziti kroz sva tri ili samo kroz dva stupnja s time da preskoče drugi ili ne dođu do trećeg stupnja. Posebni oblik trećeg stupnja transmorfemizacije jest određivanje roda posuđenice na osnovi kontaminacije. Transmorfemizacija javlja se i kod pseudoanglicizama.