

Title: From adjective to affix in Dutch and French
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In this paper I will present the results of a new research on affixization of adjectives in French and Dutch. Affixization is the grammaticalization process by which lexemes may develop into affixes (prefixes or suffixes). This process presents different stages: firstly the lexeme takes part of a compound pattern, then it can become productive and develop a specific meaning, taking part of a constructional idiom (cf. Booij 2005a, 2005b, 2008) and finally it can further grammaticalize into a true affix. In the intermediate stage of affixization it can be considered an ‘affixoid’.

Previous studies have shown that grammatical morphemes such as prepositions and adverbs may further grammaticalize and become to act as true prefixes (cf. among others Amiot 2004 & 2005 and Van Goethem 2006), undergoing grammaticalization processes such as *de- or resemanticization*, *subjectification*, *paradigmaticization* (competition with true prefixes such as *hyper-*), *condensation* (scope reduction) and *increase in productivity* (cf. Kühnhold et al. 1978, Lehmann 1995, Marchello-Nizia 2006, Ten Hacken 2000). This phenomenon occurs in both Germanic and Romance languages: e.g. French *sur-estimer* / Dutch *over-schatten* (‘to overestimate’).

This ‘affixization’ process may also affect major categories such as adjectives and nouns, but in this aspect Romance (French) and Germanic languages (Dutch) are widely divergent. In particular, affixization of nouns and adjectives seems to be more productive and more advanced in Germanic languages. In previous research, Van Goethem & Amiot (2009) focused on the affixization of nouns. In this paper, affixization of adjectives will be the central topic.

Adjectives used as ‘prefixoids’ (cf. Booij 2005a) occur in both French and Dutch, but are clearly more productive in Dutch. Whereas in French this phenomenon seems to be largely restricted to adjectives denoting degrees of family relationship (e.g. *grand-père* ‘grandfather’, *petite-fille* ‘granddaughter’, *beau-fils* ‘son-in-law’) (Corbin 2001), it has broader applications in Dutch. For example, the Dutch adjective *oud* ‘old’ expresses a new meaning, viz. ‘former, ex-’, loses its inflection and presents a high degree of productivity in word formations such as *oud-burgemeester* ‘former mayor’, *oud-leerling* ‘former pupil’, etc. (Booij 2005b: 85-88; Van Goethem 2009).

Adjectives may be used as ‘suffixoids’ (cf. Marchand 1969) in Germanic languages: cf. English *joyful*, German *freudvoll*, Dutch *vreugdevol*. Many Dutch adjectives are subjected to this suffixization process: *-arm* ‘poor’ (e.g. *caloriearm* ‘low in calories’), *-rijk* ‘rich’ (e.g. *energierijk* ‘energy-rich’), *-vriendelijk* ‘friendly’ (e.g. *vrouwvriendelijk* ‘well disposed towards women’), *-vrij* ‘free’ (e.g. *autovrij* ‘forbidden for cars, carless’), etc. (cf. Booij 2005a: 115). However, this possibility is not exploited in French morphology.

In this research, the possibilities and restrictions on these affixization processes in French and Dutch will be investigated more into depth. For each language, the function of the grammaticalizing adjectives will be determined on the basis of criteria (such as productivity, resemanticization, decategorization and paradigmaticization) that will allow us to identify true affixal uses and to distinguish them from merely productive constructional patterns. The dissimilarities in productivity and degree of grammaticalization between both languages will

be related to typological differences in word order and word structure (French Head-Modifier vs Dutch Modifier-Head).

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