



CHAPTER 6

Morphology

BAMBIFICATION: The mental conversion of flesh and blood living creatures into cartoon characters possessing bourgeois Judeo-Christian attitudes and morals.

Coupland (1991)

Throughout [Chapter 5](#), we approached the description of processes involved in word formation as if the unit called the “word” was always a regular and easily identifiable form, even when it is a form such as *bambification* that we may never have seen before. This doesn't seem unreasonable when we look at a text of written English, since the “words” in the text are, quite obviously, those sets of things marked in black with the bigger spaces separating them. Unfortunately, there are a number of problems with using this observation as the basis of an attempt to describe language in general, and individual linguistic forms in particular.

Morphology

In many languages, what appear to be single forms actually turn out to contain a large number of “word-like” elements. For example, in Swahili (spoken throughout East Africa), the form *nitakupenda* conveys what, in English, would have to be represented as something like *I will love you*. Now, is the Swahili form a single word? If it is a “word,” then it seems to consist of a number of elements that, in English, turn up as separate “words.” A rough correspondence can be presented in the following way:

ni- ta- ku- penda
 “I will you love”

It would seem that this Swahili “word” is rather different from what we think of as an English “word.” Yet there clearly is some similarity between the languages, in that similar elements of the whole message can be found in both. Perhaps a better way of looking at linguistic forms in different languages would be to use this notion of “elements” in the message, rather than depend on identifying only “words.”

The type of exercise we have just performed is an example of investigating basic forms in language, generally known as **morphology**. This term, which literally means “the study of forms,” was originally used in biology, but since the middle of the nineteenth century has also been used to describe the type of investigation that analyzes all those basic “elements” used in a language. What we have been describing as “elements” in the form of a linguistic message are technically known as “morphemes.”

Morphemes

We do not actually have to go to other languages such as Swahili to discover that “word forms” may consist of a number of elements. We can recognize that English word forms such as *talks*, *talker*, *talked* and *talking* must consist of one element *talk*, and the other four elements *-s*, *-er*, *-ed* and *-ing*. All these elements are described as **morphemes**. The definition of a morpheme is “a minimal unit of meaning or grammatical function.” Units of grammatical function include forms used to indicate past tense or plural, for example. So, the word *renewed* consists of one minimal unit of meaning (*new*), another unit of meaning (*re-* = “again”) and a unit of grammatical function *-ed* (= past tense). The word *tourists* has two units of meaning (*tour* and *-ist*) plus a unit of grammatical function *-s* (= plural).

Free and bound morphemes

From these examples, we can make a broad distinction between two types of morphemes. There are **free morphemes**, that is, morphemes that can stand by themselves as single words, for example, *new* and *tour*. There are also **bound morphemes**, which

are those forms that cannot normally stand alone and are typically attached to another form, exemplified as *re-*, *-ist*, *-ed*, *-s*. These forms were described in Chapter 5 as affixes. So, we can say that all affixes (prefixes and suffixes) in English are bound morphemes. The free morphemes can generally be identified as the set of separate English word forms such as basic nouns, adjectives and verbs. When they are used with bound morphemes attached, the basic word forms are technically known as **stems**. For example:

<i>undressed</i>			<i>carelessness</i>		
<i>un-</i>	<i>dress</i>	<i>-ed</i>	<i>care</i>	<i>-less</i>	<i>-ness</i>
prefix	stem	suffix	stem	suffix	suffix
(bound)	(free)	(bound)	(free)	(bound)	(bound)

We should note that this type of description is a partial simplification of the morphological facts of English. There are a number of English words in which the element treated as the stem is not, in fact, a free morpheme. In words such as *receive*, *reduce* and *repeat*, we can identify the bound morpheme *re-* at the beginning, but the elements *-ceive*, *-duce* and *-peat* are not separate word forms and hence cannot be free morphemes. These types of forms are sometimes described as “bound stems.”

Lexical and functional morphemes

What we have described as free morphemes fall into two categories. The first category is that set of ordinary nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs that we think of as the words that carry the “content” of the messages we convey. These free morphemes are called **lexical morphemes** and some examples are: *girl*, *man*, *house*, *tiger*, *sad*, *long*, *yellow*, *sincere*, *open*, *look*, *follow*, *break*. We can add new lexical morphemes to the language rather easily, so they are treated as an “open” class of words.

Other types of free morphemes are called **functional morphemes**. Examples are: *and*, *but*, *when*, *because*, *on*, *near*, *above*, *in*, *the*, *that*, *it*, *them*. This set consists largely of the functional words in the language such as conjunctions, prepositions, articles and pronouns. Because we almost never add new functional morphemes to the language, they are described as a “closed” class of words.

Derivational morphemes

The set of affixes that make up the category of bound morphemes can also be divided into two types. One type is described in Chapter 5 in terms of the derivation of words. These are the **derivational morphemes**. We use these bound morphemes to make new words or to make words of a different grammatical category from the stem. For example, the addition of the derivational morpheme *-ness* changes the adjective *good* to the noun *goodness*. The noun *care* can become the adjectives *careful* or *careless* by the addition of the derivational morphemes *-ful* or *-less*. Derivational morphemes

include suffixes, such as the *-ish* in *foolish*, the *-ly* in *quickly*, and the *-ment* in *payment*, and prefixes, such as *re-*, *pre-*, *ex-*, *mis-*, *co-*, *un-*.

Inflectional morphemes

The second set of bound morphemes contains what are called **inflectional morphemes** (or “inflections”). These are not used to produce new words in the language, but rather to indicate aspects of the grammatical function of a word. Inflectional morphemes are used to show if a word is plural or singular, past tense or not, and if it is a comparative or possessive form. English has only eight inflectional morphemes, all suffixes, as shown here.

Jim’s two sisters are really different.

*One likes to have fun and is always laugh**ing**.*

*The other liked to read as a child and has always **taken** things seriously.*

*One is the **loudest** person in the house and the other is **quieter** than a mouse.*

In the first sentence, both inflections (*-’s*, *-s*) are attached to nouns, one marking possessive and the other marking plural. Note that *-’s* here is a possessive inflection and different from the *-’s* used as an abbreviation for *is* or *has* (e.g. *she’s singing*, *it’s happened again*). There are four inflections attached to verbs, *-s* (3rd person singular, present tense), *-ing* (present participle), *-ed* (past tense) and *-en* (past participle). There are two inflections attached to adjectives: *-er* (comparative) and *-est* (superlative).

Noun +	<i>-’s</i> , <i>-s</i>
Verb +	<i>-s</i> , <i>-ing</i> , <i>-ed</i> , <i>-en</i>
Adjective +	<i>-er</i> , <i>-est</i>

There is some variation in the form of these inflectional morphemes. For example, the possessive sometimes appears as a plural form *-s’* (*those boys’ bags*) and the past participle is often *-ed* (*they have finished*).

Morphological description

The difference between derivational and inflectional morphemes is worth emphasizing. An inflectional morpheme never changes the grammatical category of a word. For example, both *old* and *older* are adjectives. The *-er* inflection here (from Old English *-ra*) simply creates a different version of the adjective. However, a derivational morpheme can change the grammatical category of a word. The verb *teach* becomes the noun *teacher* if we add the derivational morpheme *-er* (from Old English *-ere*). So, the suffix *-er* in Modern English can be an inflectional morpheme as part of an adjective and also a distinct derivational morpheme as part of a noun. Just because they look the same (*-er*) doesn’t mean they do the same kind of work.

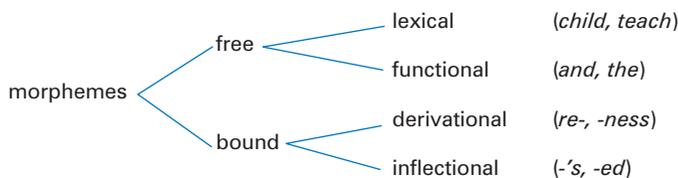


Figure 6.1

Whenever there is a derivational suffix and an inflectional suffix used together, they always appear in that order. First the derivational (-*er*) is attached to *teach*, then the inflectional (-*s*) is added to produce *teachers*. Armed with all these terms for different types of morphemes, we can now take most sentences of English apart and list all the “elements.” For example, in the sentence *The teacher’s wildness shocked the girls’ parents*, we can identify thirteen morphemes.

<i>The</i>	<i>teach</i>	<i>-er</i>	<i>-’s</i>	<i>wild</i>	<i>-ness</i>	<i>shock</i>
functional	lexical	derivational	inflectional	lexical	derivational	lexical
<i>-ed</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>girl</i>	<i>-s’</i>	<i>parent</i>	<i>-s</i>	
inflectional	functional	lexical	inflectional	lexical	inflectional	

A useful way to remember all these different types of morphemes is in the chart presented in Figure 6.1.

Problems in morphological description

The rather neat chart presented here conceals a number of outstanding problems in the analysis of English morphology. The inflectional morpheme -*s* is added to *cat* and we get the plural *cats*. What is the inflectional morpheme that makes *sheep* the plural of *sheep*, or *men* the plural of *man*? These two words are clearly exceptions to the general pattern and have to be treated as special cases.

Morphs and allomorphs

One way to treat differences in inflectional morphemes is by proposing variation in morphological realization rules. In order to do this, we draw an analogy with some processes already noted in phonology (Chapter 4). Just as we treated phones as the actual phonetic realization of phonemes, so we can propose **morphs** as the actual forms used to realize morphemes. For example, the form *cats* consists of two morphs, *cat* + *-s*, realizing a lexical morpheme (“cat”) and an inflectional morpheme (“plural”). The form *buses* also consists of two morphs (*bus* + *-es*), realizing a lexical morpheme and an inflectional morpheme (“plural”). So there are at least two different morphs (-*s* and *-es*, actually /*s*/ and /*əz*/) used to realize the inflectional morpheme “plural.” Just as we noted that there were “allophones” of a particular

phoneme, so we can recognize the existence of **allomorphs** of a particular morpheme. That is, when we find a group of different morphs, all versions of one morpheme, we can use the prefix “allo-” (= one of a closely related set) and describe them as allomorphs of that morpheme.

Let’s look at the morpheme “plural,” which has the consistent function in English of indicating “there is more than one.” Note that it can be attached to a number of lexical morphemes to produce structures like “*cat* + plural,” “*bus* + plural,” “*sheep* + plural,” and “*man* + plural.” In each of these examples, the actual forms of the morphs that result from the morpheme “plural” are different. Yet they are all allomorphs of the one morpheme. So, in addition to /s/ and /əz/, another allomorph of “plural” in English seems to be a zero-morph because the plural form of *sheep* is actually “*sheep* + \emptyset .” When we look at “*man* + plural,” we have a vowel change in the word ($\text{æ} \rightarrow \text{ɛ}$) as the morph that produces the “irregular” plural form *men*.

There are a number of other morphological processes at work in a language like English, such as those involved in the range of allomorphs for the morpheme “past tense.” These include the common pattern in “*walk* + past tense” that produces *walked* or “*help* + past tense” for *helped*. There is also the special pattern that takes “*go* + past tense” and produces the “irregular” past form *went* or “*be* + past tense” to give us *was* and *were*.

Other languages

When we look at the morphology of other languages, we can find other forms and patterns realizing the basic types of morphemes we have identified. In the following examples, from a range of languages originally described in Gleason (1955), we can try to work out how different forms in the languages are used to realize morphological processes and features.

Kanuri

This first set of examples is from Kanuri, a language spoken in Nigeria.

	Adjective	Noun	
(“excellent”)	<i>karite</i>	<i>nəmkarite</i>	(“excellence”)
(“big”)	<i>kura</i>	<i>nəmkura</i>	(“bigness”)
(“small”)	<i>gana</i>	<i>nəmgana</i>	(“smallness”)
(“bad”)	<i>dibi</i>	<i>nəmdibi</i>	(“badness”)

From this set, we can propose that the prefix *nəm-* is a derivational morpheme that can be used to derive nouns from adjectives. Discovering a regular morphological feature of this type will enable us to make certain predictions when we encounter other forms in the language. For example, if the Kanuri word for “length” is *nəmkurugu*, then we can be reasonably sure that “long” is *kurugu*.

Ganda

Different languages also employ different means to produce inflectional marking on forms. Here are some examples from Ganda, a language spoken in Uganda.

	Singular	Plural	
(“doctor”)	<i>omusawo</i>	<i>abasawo</i>	(“doctors”)
(“woman”)	<i>omukazi</i>	<i>abakazi</i>	(“women”)
(“girl”)	<i>omuwala</i>	<i>abawala</i>	(“girls”)
(“heir”)	<i>omusika</i>	<i>abasika</i>	(“heirs”)

From this small sample, we can observe that there is an inflectional prefix *omu-* used with singular nouns, and a different inflectional prefix *aba-* used with the plural of those nouns. If you are told that *abalenzi* is a Ganda plural, meaning “boys,” you should be able to work out the singular form meaning “boy.” It is, of course, *omulenzi*.

Ilocano

When we look at Ilocano, a language of the Philippines, we find a quite different way of marking plurals.

	Singular	Plural	
(“head”)	<i>úlo</i>	<i>ulúlo</i>	(“heads”)
(“road”)	<i>dálan</i>	<i>daldálan</i>	(“roads”)
(“life”)	<i>bíag</i>	<i>bibíag</i>	(“lives”)
(“plant”)	<i>múla</i>	<i>mulmúla</i>	(“plants”)

In these examples, there seems to be repetition of the first part of the singular form. When the first part is *bi-* in the singular, the plural begins with this form repeated *bibi-*. The process involved here is technically known as **reduplication** (= “repeating all or part of a form”). Having seen how plurals differ from singular forms in Ilocano, you should be able to take this plural form *taltálon* (“fields”) and work out what the singular (“field”) would be. If you follow the observed pattern, you should get *tálon*.

Tagalog

Here are some examples from Tagalog, another language of the Philippines.

<i>basa</i> (“read”)	<i>tawag</i> (“call”)	<i>sulat</i> (“write”)
<i>bumasa</i> (“Read!”)	<i>tumawag</i> (“Call!”)	<i>sumulat</i> (“Write!”)
<i>babasa</i> (“will read”)	<i>tatawag</i> (“will call”)	<i>susulat</i> (“will write”)

If we assume that the first form in each column can be treated as a stem, then it appears that, in the second item in each column, an element *-um-* has been inserted

after the first consonant, or more precisely, after the syllable onset. It is an example of an **infix** (described in [Chapter 5](#)). In the third example in each column, note that the change involves a repetition of the first syllable. So, the marking of future reference in Tagalog is accomplished via reduplication. Using this information, we can complete these examples:

lakad (“walk”) _____ (“Walk!”) _____ (“will walk”)

lapit (“come here”) _____ (“Come here!”) _____ (“will come here”)

In the second column, with an infix, we’ll put *lumakad* and *lumapit*, while in the other column, with reduplication, we’ll put *lalakad* and *lalapit*. So, next time you’re in Manila and you hear *lumapit!*, you’ll know what to do.

STUDY QUESTIONS

- 1 What are the functional morphemes in the following sentence?
When she walked into the room, the doctor asked me if I had a sore throat or an annoying cough.
- 2 (i) List the bound morphemes in these words: *fearlessly, happier, misleads, previewer, shortening, unreconstructed*
(ii) Which of these words has a bound stem: *consist, deceive, introduce, repeat?*
(iii) Which of these words contains an allomorph of the morpheme “past tense”: *are, have, must, sitting, waits?*
- 3 What are the inflectional morphemes in these expressions?
(a) *Have you eaten yet?*
(b) *Do you know how long I've been waiting?*
(c) *She's younger than me and always dresses in the latest style.*
(d) *We looked through my grandmother's old photo albums.*
(e) *My parents' parents were all from Scotland.*
- 4 What are the allomorphs of the morpheme “plural” in this set of English words?
criteria, dogs, oxen, deer, judges, stimuli
- 5 In Indonesian, the singular form translating “child” is *anak* and the plural form (“children”) is *anakanak*. What is the term used to describe this relationship?
- 6 Provide equivalent forms, in the languages listed, for the English translations shown on the right below.

Ganda	<i>omuloygo</i>	(“twin”)	– (“twins”)	_____
Ilocano	<i>tawtáwa</i>	(“windows”)	– (“window”)	_____
Ilocano	<i>tálon</i>	(“field”)	– (“fields”)	_____
Kanuri	<i>nəmkəǰi</i>	(“sweetness”)	– (“sweet”)	_____
Tagalog	<i>bili</i>	(“buy”)	– (“will buy”)	_____
Tagalog	<i>kain</i>	(“eat”)	– (“Eat!”)	_____

TASKS

- A What is “suppletion”? Were there any examples of English suppletive forms described in this chapter?
- B The selection of appropriate allomorphs is based on three different effects: lexical conditioning, morphological conditioning or phonological conditioning. What type of conditioning do you think is involved in the relationship between the words in each of the following pairs?

- (1) *stitch – stitches*
- (2) *exclaim – exclamation*
- (3) *child – children*
- (4) *conclude – conclusion*
- (5) *cliff – cliffs*
- (6) *tooth – teeth*

C What are enclitics and proclitics? Does English have both? What are some typical English examples? Why aren't they just called affixes?

D Look over the following examples from Hungarian (based on Frommer and Finegan, 2012: 3) and try to answer the questions that follow.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (1) <i>te szép vagy</i> | “you're beautiful” (singular) |
| (2) <i>én beteg vagyok</i> | “I'm ill” |
| (3) <i>te magas vagy</i> | “you're tall” (singular) |
| (4) <i>mi lankadtak vagyunk</i> | “we're tired” |
| (5) <i>ti kedvesek vagytok</i> | “you're nice” (plural) |
| (6) <i>ti betegek vagytok</i> | “you're ill” (plural) |
| (7) <i>mi magasak vagyunk</i> | “we're tall” |
| (8) <i>te kedves vagy</i> | “you're nice” (singular) |
| (9) <i>én lankadt vagyok</i> | “I'm tired” |
| (10) _____ | “you're beautiful” (plural) |

- (i) Did you complete the example in (10)?
- (ii) What are the five free (adjective) morphemes in the data?
- (iii) What are the four pronouns? Are these lexical or functional morphemes?
- (iv) What are the three verb suffixes? Are these derivational or inflectional suffixes?
- (v) What are the two adjective suffixes? What do you think is the basis for choosing one or the other?

E Using what you learned about Swahili and information provided in the set of examples below, create appropriate forms as translations of the English expressions (1–6) that follow.

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| <i>nitakupenda</i> (“I will love you”) | <i>alipita</i> (“She passed by”) |
| <i>watanilipa</i> (“They will pay me”) | <i>uliwapika</i> (“You cooked them”) |
| <i>tutaondoka</i> (“We will leave”) | <i>walimpiga</i> (“They beat him”) |

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) (“She loved you”) | (4) (“We paid him”) |
| (2) (“I will cook them”) | (5) (“She will beat me”) |
| (3) (“You will pass by”) | (6) (“They left”) |

F These examples are from Samoan, as reported in Yu (2007: 24), and based on Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992). (The consonant represented by ? is a glottal stop, as described in Chapter 3.)

	Singular	Plural
("love")	<i>alófa</i>	<i>alolófa</i>
("clever")	<i>atamáí</i>	<i>atamamáí</i>
("work")	<i>galúe</i>	<i>galulúe</i>
("brave")	<i>tóa</i>	<i>totóa</i>

- (i) What is the morphological process involved here and where exactly does it take place in the word form?
- (ii) What would be the plural of *avága* ("elope"), *má* ("ashamed"), *maʔalíli* ("cold") and *toʔúlu* ("fall")?

G Using what you learned about Tagalog, plus information from the set of examples here, create appropriate forms of these verbs for (1–10) below.

basag ("break"), *bili* ("buy"), *hanap* ("look for"), *kain* ("eat")

("Write!")	<i>sumulat</i>	("Call!")	<i>tumawag</i>
("was written")	<i>sinulat</i>	("was called")	<i>tinawag</i>
("is writing")	<i>sumusulat</i>	("is calling")	<i>tumatawag</i>
("is being written")	<i>sinusulat</i>	(is being called")	<i>tinatawag</i>

- (1) ("Buy!") _____
- (2) ("was bought") _____
- (3) ("was broken") _____
- (4) ("was looked for") _____
- (5) ("is looking for") _____
- (6) ("is eating") _____
- (7) ("is breaking") _____
- (8) ("is being broken") _____
- (9) ("is being looked for") _____
- (10) ("is being eaten") _____

H Regular nouns in Tamasheq (spoken in north-west Africa) have different forms when they are singular or plural, masculine or feminine.

- (i) Using the general patterns in the examples listed here (based on Sudlow, 2001), fill in the missing words to complete the chart.
- (ii) Can you describe the general patterns found here relating singular to plural forms of the same noun?
- (iii) Are the affixes involved derivational or inflectional? Is there a special term for affixes that have the structure illustrated in most of the plural nouns here?

	Singular		Plural
<i>amadray</i>	(younger brother)	<i>imadrayan</i>	(younger brothers)
<i>amanokal</i>	(chief)	<i>imanokalan</i>	(chiefs)
<i>amawad</i>	(adolescent boy)	<i>imawadan</i>	(adolescent boys)
<i>amaqqar</i>	(older brother)	_____	(older brothers)
<i>amaraw</i>	(parent)	_____	(parents)
<i>anharag</i>	(male neighbor)	_____	(male neighbors)
<i>enhad</i>	(craftsman)	<i>inhadan</i>	(craftsmen)
<i>esed</i>	(donkey)	<i>isedan</i>	(donkeys)
<i>esen</i>	(tooth)	_____	(teeth)
<i>tabarart</i>	(female child)	<i>tibararen</i>	(female children)
<i>tagolayt</i>	(stepdaughter)	<i>tigolayen</i>	(stepdaughters)
<i>tahayawt</i>	(female descendant)	_____	(female descendants)
<i>tamadrayt</i>	(younger sister)	_____	(younger sisters)
<i>tamagart</i>	(female guest)	_____	(female guests)
<i>tamaqqart</i>	(older sister)	_____	(older sisters)
_____	(spoon)	<i>tisokalen</i>	(spoons)
_____	(concubine)	<i>tiwayhaten</i>	(concubines)
_____	(road)	<i>zabotan</i>	(roads)
_____	(market)	<i>hebutan</i>	(markets)
<i>bahu</i>	(lie)	<i>bahutan</i>	(lies)
<i>bokəti</i>	(bucket)	<i>bokətitan</i>	(buckets)

DISCUSSION TOPICS/PROJECTS

I In English, plural forms such as *mice* appear to be treated in a different way from plurals such as *rats*. If you tell people that a place is infested with mice or rats, they will accept the compounds *mice-infested* and *rat-infested*, but not **rats-infested*. This would suggest that the forms which have the regular plural affix (-s) follow a different rule in compounding than irregular plural forms such as *mice*. Can you think of a way to state a rule (or sequence of rules) that would accommodate all the examples given here? (The asterisk * designates an unacceptable form.)

<i>teethmarks</i>	<i>the feet-cruncher</i>	<i>lice-infested</i>	<i>a people-mover</i>
<i>clawmarks</i>	<i>the finger-cruncher</i>	<i>roach-infested</i>	<i>a dog-mover</i>
<i>*clawmarks</i>	<i>*the fingers-cruncher</i>	<i>*roaches-infested</i>	<i>*a dogs-mover</i>

(For background reading, see chapter 6 of Pinker, 1999.)

II In Turkish, there is some variation in the plural inflection.

	Singular		Plural	
("man")	<i>adam</i>	–	<i>adamlar</i>	("men")
("gun")	_____	–	<i>toplar</i>	("guns")
("lesson")	<i>ders</i>	–	_____	("lessons")
("place")	<i>yer</i>	–	<i>yerler</i>	("places")
("road")	_____	–	<i>yollar</i>	("roads")
("lock")	_____	–	<i>kilitler</i>	("locks")
("arrow")	<i>ok</i>	–	_____	("arrows")
("hand")	<i>el</i>	–	_____	("hands")
("arm")	<i>kol</i>	–	_____	("arms")
("bell")	_____	–	<i>ziller</i>	("bells")
("friend")	_____	–	<i>dostlar</i>	("friends")
("apple")	<i>elma</i>	–	_____	("apples")

- (i) Can you provide the missing forms?
- (ii) What are the two plural morphs exemplified here?
- (iii) Treat the written forms of *a* and *o* as representing back vowels and *e* and *i* as representing front vowels. Using this information, can you state the conditions under which each of the plural morphs is used?
- (iv) On the basis of the following phrases, how would you describe the Turkish translation equivalents of *your* and the conditions for their use?

dishin ("your tooth") *topun* ("your gun")
okun ("your arrow") *dersin* ("your lesson")
kushun ("your bird") *kibritlerin* ("your matches")

- (v) While English usually marks location with prepositions (*in a house* or *at a place*), Turkish has postpositions (*house-in* or *place-at*). After looking at the following examples, try to identify the three versions of the "location" suffix and the conditions for their use.

("book") *kitap* – *kitapta* ("in a book")
("chair") *koltuk* – *koltukta* ("in a chair")
("room") *oda* – *odada* ("in a room")
("restaurant") *lokanta* – *lokantada* ("in a restaurant")
("house") *ev* – *evde* ("in a house")
("place") *yer* – *yerlerde* ("in places")
("hand") *el* – *ellerimde* ("in my hands")
("road") *yol* – *yollarda* ("in roads")

- (vi) When Turkish speakers borrowed (from French) the word *randevu*, meaning “an appointment,” how do you think they expressed “in an appointment”?

(For more examples, see Gleason, 1955. For more on Turkish, see Lewis, 2000.)

FURTHER READING

Basic treatments

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