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## WHICH ROOTS TAKE THE SUFFIX?

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Some Latin verbs have the inchoative suffix -ISC- or -ESC-, meaning 'begin to' or 'become.' For example, AUG-ESC-O may mean 'begin to grow' in contrast to AUG-EO 'grow,' and DULC-ESC-O means 'become sweet' from the adjective DULC-IS 'sweet.' These inchoative verbs are typically derived from stative verbs or from adjectives. In Late Latin, a few inchoative verbs take on a transitive and causative meaning; SUESCO thus may mean 'I accustom' in the transitive sense as well as 'become accustomed,' which is intransitive. Sometimes, the inchoative suffix loses its meaning entirely, so that AUGESCO can mean simply 'grow' and CURVESCO may mean 'be crooked or curved.'

Similar developments are reflected in the history of this suffix in Spanish. That is, most verbs in -ecer are derived from other verbs and adjectives and have an inchoative and transitive meaning. Thus, palidecer means 'grow pale' from the adjective palido 'pale.' Most often, the Spanish verbs are transitive like ablandecer 'soften' from blando 'soft.' More frequently than in Latin, the suffix adds no meaning whatsoever, so that conferecer means the same as conferir 'give, confer.' Finally, the inchoative suffix is added to noun roots much more often than in Latin. It is these noun roots that constitute the main topic of this paper.

As indicated above, the inchoative suffix takes on a life of its own in Spanish in the production of new verbs. The nineteenth edition of the Royal Spanish Academy Dictionary (RAE 1970) contains 337 -ecer verbs, and only 40% of these verbs are listed with Latin etymologies. About 56% of the -ecer verbs have developed within the history of Spanish, and a remaining 4% of the verbs have etymologies that were neither indicated in the dictionary nor readily deduced. About 20% of the -ecer verbs that developed within Spanish have nouns as their roots, and it is these 39 verbs that we will examine closely.

The first recorded appearance for over half of these verbs is indicated in Corominas (1954). From the dates of first attestation, we notice that all of the nouns make their first appearance either before or at the same time as the corresponding verb. In no instance has the verb turned up prior to the noun to yield a noun as a back-formation. Here is the list of dated verbs and nouns with translations from Velázquez (1973), where possible, or from translated definitions from RAE 1970; for a few words, Roman numerals indicate the century of

the date of first attestation:

en-sarn-ecer 1251	sarna 1251
'to get the itch'	'itch, mange'
em-barn-ecer 1300	barón XI
'to grow plump or fat'	'baron'
orgull-ecer 1386	orgullo XIII
'to make proud'	'pride'
orin-ecer 1399	orín 1256-1276
'to mold, become rusty'	'mildew, rust'
albor-ecer XIII	albor 1140
'to dawn'	'whiteness; dawn'
carcom-ecer 1463	carcoma 1256-1276
'to gnaw'	'wood-borer (beetle)'
favor-ecer 1490	favor 1490
'to favor, protect'	'favor, protection'
en-tall-ecer, tall-ecer 1495	tallo 1400
'to sprout'	'sprout, stem'
retoñ-ecer 1495	retoño 1495
'to sprout again'	'sprout'
hoj-ecer 1495	hoja 1191
'to shoot forth leaves'	'leaf'
en-moc-ecer, re-moc-ecer 1495	mozo 1182
'to recover the vigor of youth'	'youth, young man'
em-put-ecer 1495	puta XIII
'to prostitute, corrupt'	'whore'
em-plum-ecer 1495	pluma 1195
'to grow feathers'	'feather'
call-ecer, en-call-ecer 1495	callo 1300
'to develop calluses'	'corn, callus'
arbol-ecer 1495	árbol 1220-1250
'to grow into a tree'	'tree'
en-carn-ecer 1542	carne 1095
'to grow fat and fleshy'	'flesh'
es-pavor-ecer 1553	pavor 1140
'to take fright, become frightened'	'fear'
en-moh-ecer 1585-1616	moho 1270
'to mold, make mildewy'	'mold, mildew'
tard-ecer, a-tard-ecer XIX	tarde 1220-1250
'to draw towards evening'	'afternoon, evening'
en-orgull-ecer 1817	orgullo XIII
'to make proud'	'pride'
fosfor-ecer 1884	fósforo
'to be phosphorescent'	'phosphorous'

Most of the verbs first appear in the period from 1300 to 1600. Of the later verbs, enorgullecer is listed as a belated formation in imitation of Old French enorgueillir (Corominas 1954). The verb fosforecer, as suggested by its Latinate original spelling fosforescer (Corominas 1954), is part of the international learned scientific vocabulary that arose during the nineteenth

century.

Many of the above verbs have overt markers of the inchoative in their translation with such auxiliaries as 'get,' 'grow,' 'become,' and 'develop.' Other glosses, while not explicitly showing an inchoative auxiliary, clearly suggest the beginning of a process or change of state, as in 'to dawn,' 'to sprout,' and 'to mold.' Some other verbs are transitive-causative like 'to make proud' and 'to make mildew.' Thus, the suffix keeps fairly close to its original inchoative and later transitive-causative meaning. Only rarely does -ecer lose all meaning in the denominative verbs as in carcomecer 'to gnaw,' where the root has also changed semantically. As a rule, there is little semantic development or metaphorical extension in the verbs, which can easily be interpreted from context and a knowledge of the nouns. Only embarnecer 'to grow plump or fat' and carcomecer 'to gnaw' show metaphorical extension from their root-nouns baron 'baron' and carcoma 'wood-borer.' The verb embarnecer illustrates the cooccurrence of phonological and semantic change, since the /o/ of baron is deleted in the same verb that shows considerable metaphorical extension.

The patterns of derivation from the noun, semantic consistency of the root, and the maintenance of the meanings of the suffix also hold true for the verbs and nouns not dated in Corominas (1954); these words also come from RAE 1970:

herman-ecer	hermano
'to have a brother born'	'brother'
en-tigr-ecer	tigre
'to be as enraged as a tiger'	'tiger'
en-cor-ecer	cuero
'to skin, heal the skin'	'pelt, skin'
en-grum-ecer	grumo
'to clot'	'clot, curd'
cal-ecer-se (Salamanca)	calesa
'to spoil (of meat)'	'maggot'
en-mal-ecer-se	maleza
'to be covered with undergrowth'	'undergrowth'
em-bosqu-ecer	bosque
'to become woody'	'woods'
pimpoll-ecer	pimpollo
'to sprout, bud'	'sprout, shoot'
moh-ecer	moho
'to cover with moss'	'moss, mold'
calumbr-ecer-se	calumbre
'to grow moldy'	'mold'
en-mugr-ecer	mugre
'to cover with dirt'	'grime, dirt'
plast-ecer	plaste
'to size, besmear with size'	'size (glue & lime)'

Two of these verbs, calecerse and enmalecerse, undergo haplology to avoid the succession of syllables beginning with voiceless fricatives that would result in \*cales-ecer-se or \*en-malez-ecer-se. As with the earlier list, the inchoative may be overtly expressed by auxiliary verbs like 'grow' and 'become,' or it may be implicit in the verbs as in 'heal,' 'cover,' and 'sprout.' In some verbs, noun-roots like 'sprout,' 'mold,' and 'maggot' suggest stages of development or decomposition. Of the denominal verbs, the following thirteen have kept the inchoative meaning of the suffix:

en-moc-ecer 'to recover the vigor of youth'  
 es-pavor-ecer 'to take fright, become frightened'  
 em-barn-ecer 'to grow plump or fat'  
 en-carn-ecer 'to grow fat and fleshy'  
 call-ecer, en-call-ecer 'to develop calluses'  
 en-sarn-ecer 'to get the itch'  
 em-plum-ecer 'to grow feathers'  
 arbol-ecer 'to grow into a tree'  
 em-bosqu-ecer 'to become woody'  
 hoj-ecer 'to shoot forth leaves'  
 orin-ecer 'to mold, become rusty'  
 calumbr-ecer-se 'to grow moldy'

Without stretching the point, we can observe inchoative features in the meanings of the following verbs:

herman-ecer 'to have a brother born'  
 en-cor-ecer 'to skin, to heal the skin'  
 en-grum-ecer 'to clot'  
 albor-ecer 'to dawn'  
 tard-ecer, a-tard-ecer 'to draw towards evening'  
 en-tall-ecer, tall-ecer 'to sprout'  
 pimpoll-ecer 'to sprout, bud'  
 retoñ-ecer 'to sprout again'

Although the above verbs are not translated with inchoative auxiliaries, they express inchoative concepts like 'dawning,' 'sprouting,' 'developing,' 'drawing towards,' 'healing,' and 'clotting.' Once again, many of the noun-roots express stages of growth or development.

A good number of verbs that are not explicitly or implicitly inchoative are transitive-causative. This development of the inchoative suffix is observed in the following verbs:

em-put-ecer 'to prostitute, corrupt'  
 en-moh-ecer 'to mold, make mildewy'  
 moh-ecer 'to cover with moss'  
 en-mugr-ecer 'to cover with dirt'

orgull-ecer, en-orgull-ecer 'to make proud'  
 en-fervor-ecer 'to heat, incite'  
 en-lustr-ecer 'to clean, brighten'  
 plast-ecer 'to size, besmear with size'

There remain a few noun-root verbs in which -ecer seems to have lost all meaning:

en-tigr-ecer-se 'to be as enraged as a tiger'  
 carcom-ecer 'to gnaw'  
 en-mal-ecer-se 'to be covered with undergrowth'  
 fosfor-ecer 'to be phosphorescent'  
 favor-ecer 'to favor'

This terminal semantic stage of the suffix occurs much less often with noun-roots than with other roots. In fact, high-frequency -ecer verbs do not have an explicit inchoative or causative meaning, as we can observe from the ten most common inchoatives in Spanish: parecer 'to seem,' aparecer 'to appear,' ofrecer 'to offer,' merecer 'to deserve,' desaparecer 'to vanish,' establecer 'to set up,' pertenecer 'to belong,' padecer 'to suffer,' permanecer 'to stay,' and crecer 'to grow.'

As well as showing a relatively strong preservation of the meanings of the suffix, the denominal verbs demonstrate clear semantic patterns in the meanings of their roots. These roots are usually animate nouns that suggest stages of growth, inanimate nouns indicating periods of time, or abstract nouns corresponding to stative verbs. Some of the animate nouns represent humans: barón 'baron,' mozo 'youth, young man,' puta 'prostitute,' and hermano 'brother.' Others indicate members of the animal category: tigre 'tiger' and carcoma 'wood-borer (beetle).' Many nouns refer to outgrowths of an animal or human, often at a particular stage of development: callo 'corn, callus,' carne 'flesh,' cuero 'skin,' pluma 'feather,' sarna 'itch, mange,' grumo 'clot,' and calesa 'maggot.' Other nouns signify plants: árbol 'tree,' bosque 'woods,' and maleza 'undergrowth.' In a pattern similar to that of nouns referring to animals, plant-nouns also have a sub-class for outgrowths and stages of growth: tallo 'sprout,' retoño 'sprout,' pimpollo 'sprout, bud,' hoja 'leaf,' orín 'mildew, rust,' moho 'mold, mildew,' and calumbre 'mold.' Two nouns that do not fit into our semantic scheme nevertheless have a physical appearance or position similar to that of mold or rust: mugre 'dirt' and plaste 'size (mixture of glue and lime).' The inanimate concrete nouns indicating time periods are tarde 'afternoon, evening' and albor 'dawn.' Such expressions of time are easily combined with the inchoative. Finally, a few abstract nouns refer to mental or physical states: orgullo 'pride,' pavor 'fear,' fervor 'fervor,'

and lustre 'gloss, luster.' Although a mass noun, fósforo in fosfor-ecer 'to be phosphorescent' serves the same function as lustre, which indicates appearance. Such nouns semantically resemble the stative Latin verbs of the -ERE conjugation, which often formed the basis for inchoative verbs.

In conclusion, the data shows a clear pattern of -ecer verbs derived from animate nouns, nouns indicating stages of growth or periods of time, and abstract stative nouns. Furthermore, the inchoative suffix in these verbs usually has either an inchoative or a causative sense and has thus resisted loss of meaning better than -ecer in other verbs. As has been shown, the most frequent -ecer verbs, which are not derived from nouns, do not have a clear meaning for the suffix. Spanish denominal inchoatives were made from nouns semantically closest to the qualitative adjectives and stative and durative verbs which provided the roots for inchoatives since Latin times. It has thus been demonstrated that there are semantic conditions on the spread of this suffix. Furthermore, the retention of meaning of both noun-roots and the suffix confirms the observation that the spread of the suffix occurred in relatively recent times, as compared, for example, to the verbs inherited from Latin which often do not show the meaning of the suffix. An interesting question for future research is whether these two general tendencies of morphological spread are universals that show up in other languages not so well documented as Spanish: (1) identifiable semantic conditions on the spread of a derivational suffix, and (2) preservation of the meanings of a suffix as evidence for relatively recent spread of the morpheme.

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