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Notes on the history of suffixation in *-ize*:

The historical competition between *-ize* and *-ify*

Symposium on Historical Phonology, 13-14 January 2014, Edinburgh

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Final-stressed disyllabic adjectives

Bauer (1983: 222) and Lieber (1998, 2010)

(1) no trace of deadjectival verbs from:

ab'rupt, *ab'struse*, *ab'surd*, *ar'cane*, *au'gust*, *con'cise*, *co'rrupt*, *dī'ffuse*,
dis'creet, *ī'mmense*, *na'ive*, *o'paque*, *pī'quant*, *po'lite*, *pre'cise*, *pro'found*,
re'verse, *ro'bust*, *se'vere*, *sin'cere*, *su'perb*, *su'preme*

(2) those few that do take a suffix fall into 2 groups:

if final σ has $C_1C_2 > -ify$

in'tense – *in'tensify* (1817)
dī'verse – *dī'versify* (1490)
dis'tinct – *dis'tinctify*
 (only citation is from 1877)

if final σ $\bar{V}+C > -ize$

but stress shifts to $'\sigma\sigma+ize$

dī'vine – *'divinize* (1656)
ī'mmune – *'immunize* (1889)
sub'lime – *'sublimize* (1729)
ma'rine – *'marinize* (1962)
pro'fane – *'profanize* (1876)
se'rene – *'serenize* (1598, rare in OED)

- > there *is* a (faint) pattern among these verbs
- > what if the adjective gets final stress independently from the *-ize* verb?

Adjectives in *-id* often take *-ify*

(3a) *-ify*: *a'cidify* (1783), *so'lidify* (1799), *reso'lidify* (1825), *sto'lidify* (1827)
rī'gidify (1829), *flu'idify* (1851), *disa'cidify* (1864), *hu'midify*
 (1885), *ran'cidify* (1908), *a'ridify* (1920), *dehu'midify* (1932)

(3b) *-ize*: *'liquidize* (1837), *'squalidize* (1837), *'hybridize* (1845), *'morbidity*
 (1850), *'acidize* (1852), *'fluidize* (1855), *'rigidize* (1858), *'viscidize*
 (1859), *'frigidize* (1868), *re'hybridize* (1894)

(4) there are doublets: *a'cidify* (1783) – *'acidize* (1852)
flu'idify (1851) – *'fluidize* (1855)
rī'gidify (1829) – *rigidize* (1858)

- > for all doublets: *-ify* form antedates *-ize* form
- > temporary uptick in *-ize* around the 1850s, but *-ify* forms predominate
- > *-id* adjectives are logically expected to take *-ize*
- > *-ify* shifts stress with respect to base Adj, while *-ize* does not

Very rare bases in an $NC_{obs}C_{obs}$ cluster

(5) *sanctify* (attested since 1390) besides
sanctize (1691, recorded in one citation)

sanctize was the only verb with a bound and monosyllabic base in an $NC_{obs}C_{obs}$ cluster with *-ize*

-ify has *distinctify* and *sumptify* (nonce, in a gloss from 1656)

