

# Analogical modelling and paradigmatic word formation as attention-seeking devices

Ewa Konieczna  
Instytut Filologii Angielskiej  
eakon@poczta.onet.pl

## 1. Introduction

This paper is an attempt at showing that analogical modelling (Booij 2007; Plag 2006; Krott 2001) and paradigmatic word formation (Booij 2007, 2010) are successfully used as the so called *attention-seeking devices* (Lipka 1987, 2000) in the journalistic register in modern English. As Lipka (2000) and Hohenhaus (2007) maintain, naming and syntactic recategorisation are not the only functions of WFs, which, among other things, can also serve as attention seeking devices (ASDs). ASDs are often employed in the texts aimed at attracting the reader's attention, such as press articles and advertisements. The purpose for which they are used is the formation of creative coinages that tend to be *noteworthy*, or in other words, *foregrounded*, which means that they draw attention to themselves (Hohenhaus 2007: 16) by being not, or at least not completely rule-governed, or by being a play on words well-established in the lexicon.

Thus, the aim to be pursued here is to provide some partial evidence that the outputs of both analogical modelling and paradigmatic word-formation are successful in seeking the reader's attention. This is achieved by the fact that, as Crystal (1998: 104) has put it, they [...] *appeal directly to our ludic sensibilities*. Their playfulness is accomplished by manipulating the language, understood as bending and breaking its rules: *the unexpected language attracts our attention, making us read a piece which we might otherwise have passed over* (Crystal 1998: 105). The analysis to follow is going to be carried out within the framework of Construction Morphology (Booij 2007, 2010) in which the notion of analogy as well as paradigmatic word-formation occupy an important place.

## 2. Analogy in Construction Morphology

The debate as to whether innovative complex words are created through analogy, or by means of word-formation rules seems far from being solved (see, e.g. Bauer 2001; Becker 1990; Derwing and Skousen 1989). Construction Morphology seems to offer reconciliation between these two divergent attitudes, as it assumes a hierarchical lexicon with different levels of abstraction, which is tantamount to co-existence of analogical word-formation and word formation based on abstract schemas, which differ in terms of the degree of their abstractness (Booij 2007, 2008). In the light of this theory, there are some clear cases of analogical word-formation, where an individual word serves as a model, which can be exemplified by the set of analogically coined compounds in Dutch (Booij 2010: 89):

(1)

*existing compound with an idiosyncractic meaning*

a. *angst-haas* 'lit. fear-hare, terrified person'

b. *moeder-taal* 'lit. mother language, native language'

*analogically coined compound*

*paniek-haas* 'lit. panic-hare, panicky person'

*vader-taal* 'lit. father-language, native language of father'

With these compounds it is indeed possible to point to one particular compound used as a model for the formation of a novel compound and, what is more, one can retrieve the meaning of this novel compound only when being acquainted with the idiosyncratic meaning of the model compound.

However, an analogical pattern may become subject to generalization and turn into a constructional idiom, that is a schema which generalises across a set of existing complex words. An example of that may be the word *Watergate*, which functioned as a model for a number of words, denoting a political scandal. Since with the passage of time a significant amount of words, ending in *-gate* has been formed, it cannot be now stated that the word *Watergate* was always used as a model. Instead, it seems quite plausible that given a certain number of compounds, containing a combining form *-gate*, language users abstracted from them the following schema:

$$(2) \quad [[x]_{N_i} [\text{gate}]_N]_{N_j} \leftrightarrow [\text{political scandal pertaining to SEM}_i]_j$$

Still, the formation of a symbolic schema, containing *-gate* does not mean that there is no link between the novel word ending in *-gate* and the model word *Watergate*. According to Booij (2010: 91), *this word is still linked to the subschema and reinforces its entrenchment*.

As Booij (2010) has stated, the extent to which individual language users rely on abstract schemas, or on analogy would need to be tested empirically. Yet, it seems that language speakers may differ quite considerably in the degree to which they develop abstract subschemas for creating complex words, as they differ in their lexical knowledge, that is the amount of lexical items stored in their memory, which is directly proportional to the ability to abstract a pattern through generalising across sets of words they have internalised so far.

### 3. Paradigmatic word formation

Analogy is also relied on in paradigmatic word formation which is deriving a word from another complex lexeme in a paradigm (Booij 2010). It means that a new word is formed not through a pure morpheme concatenation but by substituting one constituent (an affix, or a compound constituent) for another, with the simultaneous preservation of the idiosyncratic meaning of a complex lexeme. Bauer (2001) refers to this phenomenon as paradigm pressure.

For example, the English compound *dot bomb* 'a failed dot com' (see example nr 3) was derived from the compound *dot com* by replacing the constituent *com* with *bomb* rather than by combining *dot* and *bomb* into a compound, taking into account the fact the two compounds share the idiosyncratic meaning, as they both denote the Internet company. As Booij (2005: 13) proposes, *such a case of word-formation cannot be accounted for in a purely syntagmatic approach to morphology, neither a morpheme-based, nor a rule-based one. It is based on specific words, and therefore a typical case of analogy*.

Paradigmatic word-formation leads to the creation of paradigmatic relations between novel co-derivatives, which, in turn, may lead to the establishment of a new subchema (Booij 2005). Paradigmatic relations can be built around one specific model word, as is the case in the following examples:

$$(3) \quad \begin{array}{ll} \text{model compound} & \text{paradigmatically formed compounds} \\ \textit{dot com} \text{ 'Internet company'} & \textit{dot bomb} \text{ 'failed Internet company'} \\ & \textit{dot snot} \text{ 'arrogant owner of Internet company'} \end{array}$$



contrast which is responsible for the creation of a novel coinage (see the discussion below).

### 5.1.1. Analogically modelled blending

Analogically modelled blending should be understood as the type of blending which yields outputs paronymic to one of the source words (SW)<sup>1</sup>:

(6)	analogically modelled blend	source word 1 (SW1)	source word 2 (SW2)
a.	<i>shuicide</i>	<i>shoe</i>	<i>suicide</i>
b.	<i>intexticated<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>text</i>	<i>intoxicated</i>

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*shuicide* 'suicide committed in the terrorist attack by means of a shoe bomb'  
*intexticated* 'distracted by texting while driving a car'

Out of 48 analogically modelled blends as many as 27 constitute a minimal pair with the source word 2, which means that they stand in the relation of contrastive distribution, or, in other words, commutation, understood as the paradigmatic relationship between two segments such that the replacement of one segment by the other generates a different lexeme (Crystal 2008):

(7)	analogically modelled blend	source word 1	source word 2
	minimal pair member 1		minimal pair member 2
a.	<i>sexting</i>	<i>sexual</i>	<i>texting</i>
b.	<i>sofalise</i>	<i>sofa</i>	<i>socialise</i>

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*sexting* 'sending sexual messages'  
*sofalise* 'socialise with friends from your home through electronic devices'

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In the above examples, as well as in other blends discussed in this section (apart from four examples in (8) below), the splinter of source word 1 consists of one, or two segments and its use in the blend formation produces both phonemic and lexical contrast between an analogically modelled blend and the source word 2. Consequently, it can be stated that the morphological process of blending employs phonological contrast to create a novel blend. This novel blend is a play on the word well-established in the lexicon by being phonetically similar to it.

As far as the phonological structure of an analogically modelled blend is concerned, it usually follows the typical pattern in which the number of syllables in the blend tends to be the same as the number of syllables of the source word 2 if it is longer than the source word 1 (Plag 2003; Lehrer 2008). Consequently, there are just four blends which constitute a minimal pair with the source word 1:

(8)	analogically modelled blend	source word 1	source word 2
	minimal pair member 1	minimal pair member 2	
a.	<i>protohype</i>	<i>prototype</i>	<i>hype</i>
b.	<i>botax</i>	<i>botox</i>	<i>tax</i>

<sup>1</sup> Source words should be understood as lexemes fused in the blend formation. Source word 1 provides the phonological string that appears first in the blend and source word 2 enters the blend second.

<sup>2</sup> Note that Kemmer (2003) refers to such blends as intercalative. See also 8 (c) and 8 (d).

- |    |             |             |                            |
|----|-------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| c. | <i>spim</i> | <i>spam</i> | <i>instant (messaging)</i> |
| d. | <i>scam</i> | <i>spam</i> | <i>confidence (trick)</i>  |

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*protohype* 'device promoted by a website before it is ready to go'

*botax* 'tax imposed on plastic surgeries'

*spim* 'spam targeting users of Instant Messaging service'

*scam* 'e-mail from a fraudster aimed at getting financial benefit by getting the addressee's confidence'

As regards *spim* and *scam*, see (8c) and (8d), they are interesting cases. First of all, these blends can be labelled intercalative (Kemmer 2003: 72), which means that *two words involved in the blend are so tightly integrated in the blended word that it the sounds of one source lexeme are interspersed between the sounds of the other*. Secondly, what has been incorporated into the source word 1 is the initial letter of the source word 2 which itself constitutes part of a noun phrase, which is not a typical example of a blend.

Note that 16 blends differ from source word 2 with respect to the onset of the word initial syllable. Consider some other examples belonging to this category (bold indicates the contrasting syllable onset):

- (9)
- |                             |               |                       |
|-----------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| analogically modelled blend | source word 1 | source word 2         |
| minimal pair member 1       |               | minimal pair member 2 |
| a. <b>show</b> mance        | <i>show</i>   | <i>romance</i>        |
| b. <b>carb</b> age          | <i>car</i>    | <i>garbage</i>        |
| c. <b>mock</b> umentary     | <i>mock</i>   | <i>documentary</i>    |
| d. <b>nouse</b>             | <i>nose</i>   | <i>mouse</i>          |

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*showmance* 'romance that actors engage in for the run of the show'

*carbage* 'distastefully modified car'

*mockumentary* 'programme in which actors pretend to be ordinary people'

*nouse* 'computer mouse controlled by the nose'

The remaining blends form minimal pairs, differing in the left-branch (Rogers 2000) of a branching syllable onset, see (10a), or the onset of the second, or third syllable, see (10b) and (10c). There are four examples of analogically modelled blends which differ from the source word 2 in a syllable peak, see (10d) and (10e), and just one example which differs with respect to the coda of its initial syllable, see (10f).

- (10)
- |                             |                  |                       |
|-----------------------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| analogically modelled blend | source word 1    | source word 2         |
| minimal pair member 1       |                  | minimal pair member 2 |
| a. <b>freem</b> ium         | <i>free</i>      | <i>premium</i>        |
| b. <b>sofal</b> ise         | <i>sofa</i>      | <i>socialise</i>      |
| c. <b>proto</b> hype        | <i>prototype</i> | <i>hype</i>           |
| d. <b>bot</b> ax            | <i>botox</i>     | <i>tax</i>            |
| e. <b>not</b> working       | <i>not</i>       | <i>networking</i>     |
| f. <b>wed</b> site          | <i>wedding</i>   | <i>website</i>        |

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*freemium* 'programme which is free but which offers extra features for money'

*notworking* 'surfing social networking instead of working'

*wedsite* 'website dedicated to an impending wedding'

Paronymic blending can be expressed by means of paradigmatically related schemas containing phonemes which stand in relation of contrastive distribution. Following the idea of hierarchical lexicon with more abstract schemas dominating specific subschemas (Booij 2010), the following schema dominating all the paronymic blends (with the exclusion of those form (8)) can be proposed:

(11)  
 $[[S1]_i[S2]_j]_{N_{[PB]k}} \leftrightarrow [ENTITY \text{ WHICH IS A HYPONYM OF } SW2 \text{ AND RELATED TO SEM } j]_{N_{[PB]k}}$  (where S1 and S2 are splinters of SW1 and SW2, respectively). Note that PB stands for the paronymic blend.

Paronymic blends, coined by means of this schema, are a play on the source word 2, at the same time naming a subcategory of the concept that SW2 denotes, with features of this category specified and represented by S1.

As far as the specific types of paronymic blends discussed above are concerned, their formation can be represented by the following subschemas:

(12)

$$\begin{array}{c} \omega_i \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ OSW1_j \quad S2_k \end{array} \leftrightarrow N_{[PB]i} \leftrightarrow [ENTITY_k \text{ CHARACTERISED BY THE PROPERTY}]_i$$

(where OSW1 is the onset of the initial syllable of SW1)

An instantiation of this subschema are the blends from (9) above.

Note another schema which represents intercalative blends, see e.g. (10b), (10c), (10d), (10e), or (10f):

(13)

$$\begin{array}{c} \omega_i \\ \swarrow \quad | \quad \searrow \\ S2_j \quad S1_k \quad S2_j \end{array} \leftrightarrow N_{[PB]i} \leftrightarrow [ENTITY_j \text{ CHARACTERISED BY THE PROPERTY}]_k$$

Other blends (21 in number) either differ in more than one phoneme from a source word 2, see (11a) and (11b), or they have been created through blending of the onset of the source word 1 with the source word 2, if the latter begins with the vowel, see (11c) and (11d):

(14)	analogically modelled blend	source word 1	source word 2
a.	<i>bragabond</i>	<i>brag</i>	<i>vagabond</i>
b.	<i>bankster</i>	<i>bank</i>	<i>gangster</i>
c.	<i>slacktivism</i>	<i>slack</i>	<i>activism</i>
d.	<i>globesity</i>	<i>globe</i>	<i>obesity</i>

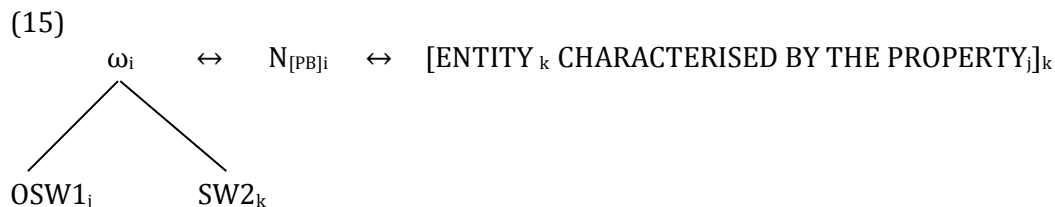
*bragabond* 'person who travels aimlessly and brags about it'

*bankster* 'banker whose aim is to swindle you out of money'

*slacktivism* 'doing projects that require the least amount of effort'

*globesity* 'worldwide epidemic of obesity'

Paronymic blends created through fusing the onset of the source word 1 with the source word 2, beginning with the vowel are an instantiation of the following subschema:



Note that all the blends analysed in this section are characterised by the presence of overlapping, which means that they contain a phonological string that is present in both source words (Kemmer 2003). This contributes to their intelligibility and goes in line with the results of experiments conducted by Gries (2004), who claims that the formation of blends is governed, among other things, by the tendency to preserve as much as possible from both source words. They also constitute a piece of evidence in favour of Kubozono's (1990) and Gries's (2004) observation that blends tend to preserve the syllable structure of source word 2. Consequently, analogically modelled blends discussed in this paper turn out to be paronymic to the source word 2 (apart from four cases discussed above). They constitute an example of *unexpected language* (Crystal 1998), as they can be regarded as the phonological and graphemic distortion of words well-established in the lexicon. For this reason, they evoke the effect of playfulness, which is tantamount to winning the reader's attention.

As regards the relevance of paronymic blending to the theory of Construction Morphology, this process can be presented by paradigmatically related schemas with contrasting phonological segments which perform a morphological function. Assuming that blends can be treated as abbreviated compounds (Lehrer 2003), a phonological segment of SW1 usually functions as a modifier, and the whole SW2, or the splinter of SW2 is both a semantic and syntactic head of the shortened compound, i.e. blend. Consequently, paronymic blends can be treated as morphological constructions which are instantiations of various subschemas presented in this section.

### 5.1.2. Phonetic analogy

The theory of Construction Morphology assigns considerable importance to the phenomenon of analogy in the formation of novel lexemes (see section 2). Evidently, analogy is seen as the word formation process operating on the morphemic level, while phonetic analogy to be discussed here operates on the phonemic (segmental) level. Yet the starting point is the same: it is the existing word which spurs the formation of a novel coinage that draws on a model lexeme.

The phenomenon of phonetic analogy should be understood as the formation of words which is motivated by paronymy, that is phonetic similarity to their bases, without semantic fusion taking place, which must occur in blending (Gries 2004). In the corpus I have collected there are just seven cases of nonce-formations created through phonetic analogy:

(16)	
paronymic coinage	model lexeme
a. <i>naughties</i>	<i>nineties</i>
b. <i>freegan</i>	<i>vegan</i>

- |    |                       |                      |
|----|-----------------------|----------------------|
| c. | <i>shopgrifting</i>   | <i>shoplifting</i>   |
| d. | <i>retrosexual</i>    | <i>metrosexual</i>   |
| e. | <i>Baracknophobia</i> | <i>arachnophobia</i> |
| f. | <i>wombanisation</i>  | <i>womanisation</i>  |
| g. | <i>hobby bobby</i>    | <i>bobby</i>         |

Just one of these coinages, namely *retrosexual* 'classically male' (16d) constitutes a minimal pair with the model lexeme. An interesting example is the compound *hobby bobby* 'volunteer part-time policeman' (16g) which is very much different from any other paronymic items discussed in this section, as it contains both the model lexeme, i.e. *bobby* and the word that has been juxtaposed with it through analogy not analogically created, as all the lexemes analysed here, i.e. *hobby*. Thus, for this particular word analogical modelling does not consist in creating a paronymic novel lexeme, but in combining two already existing lexemes, which are phonetically similar.<sup>3</sup> As regards the semantics of the above paronymic coinages, they can belong to the same semantic field, e.g. *Baracknophobia* and *arachnophobia* are both a kind of phobia, *freegan* and *vegan* denote people with particular eating habits, *shopgrifting* 'buying and item, using it and then returning it for a full refund' and *shoplifting* stand for illegal activities that one may engage in while shopping. Yet another coinage, i.e. *naughties* 'the decade 2000-2009' is not semantically related to the model lexeme, it merely demonstrates the graphemic and phonetic similarity. One of these coinages is the synonym to the model lexeme, namely *wombanisation*, while yet another one is the antonym, i. e. *retrosexual*.

It is worth noting that there are also two examples of novel lexemes in the formation of which not the phonetic similarity to the model lexeme has been employed but the phonetic identity with it. At the same time, no semantic proximity can be observed as in some of the examples from (16); on the contrary, the resultant meaning turns out to go against the reader's expectations, which is attention-grabbing.

(17)		
	model lexeme	homonymic coinage
	<i>skier</i>	<i>SKI-er</i>
	<i>pardon</i>	<i>Par-Don</i>

*SKI-er* is an acronym, standing for 'spend the kids' inheritance' and it denotes a retired person who decides to spend his/her money instead of leaving it to his/her children. This acronym has been coined according to a prop-lexeme (Ungerer 1991) *skier* with which it is homonymous. As regards *Par-Don* 'person who splits his or her life between Paris and London', it has been modelled on *pardon* of Anglo-Norman (*pardoun*) origin (OED), so there is some historical justification behind it.

The attention-seeking function of the above lexemes is fulfilled by the contrast between the form and meaning of the model lexeme and paronymic coinage. The opposition between the established word and the new lexeme turns out to be surprising, as the lexical innovation of this kind stands the chance of being perceived as misrepresentation of another word, well-known to the reader, which is tantamount to excellent potential for *noteworthiness*.

### 5.1.3. Analogical extension resulting from morphological reinterpretation

<sup>3</sup> Compounds can be quite frequently motivated by ablaut, or the consonant which is similar, e.g. *hurly-burly*



Morphological reinterpretation, or, in other words folk etymology, is a common linguistic phenomenon, both of synchronic and diachronic importance. It stems from people's striving to make sense of opaque words and it results in the creation of a wide array of novel derivations by analogy, not only in the journalistic register but also, for example in the child language (see, e.g. Chmura-Klekotowa 1971; Slobin 1985; Tomasello 2003) and in everyday language, e.g. *shopaholic*, *fishburger*, *walkathon*, etc. It appears that in the journalistic register morphological reanalysis is aimed not so much at coming up with semantically transparent words but *at making the language do things it does not normally do* (Crystal 1998) through violating and transgressing morpheme boundaries. In effect, ingenious lexemes are formed that do make an impact on readers.

The journalistic register has bred numerous examples of novel schemas which emerged from reanalysing lexemes that are monomorphemic from a synchronic point of view, or were created through morpheme secretion brought about by blending. While the former category proves to be far less productive than the latter, sometimes a clear-cut boundary between the two cannot be established.

First of all, let us look into schemas established as a result of a morphological reinterpretation of monomorphemic lexemes:

- (18)
- |                                |                                   |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| morphological reinterpretation | subsequent coinages               |
| a. <i>typo</i> > <i>typ-o</i>  | b. <i>speak-o</i> 'oral mistake'  |
|                                | c. <i>thumb-o</i> 'texting error' |

As a result, two subschemas have been formed:

- (19)
- |  |
|--|
| $[[x]_{Vj-o}]_{Ni} \leftrightarrow [MISTAKE RELATED TO SEM]_i$ |
| $[[x]_{Nj-o}]_{Ni} \leftrightarrow [MISTAKE RELATED TO SEM]_i$ |

It means that the ending *-o* has acquired the status of a morpheme and the meaning 'a kind of an error' when attached to nouns or verbs. As stated by, e.g. Adams (2001: 58), the suffix *-o* is used in English to evoke *various attitudes according to the context*, as in *boy-o*, *cheap-o*, etc. Lopez-Rua (2007) notices that the last letter from the clipping *typo* can be used in the online jargon in words such as *scanno* 'error due to a scanning problem', or *mouso* 'error because of the malfunction of a mouse' but considers it merely the meaning extension of the low frequency suffix *-o*. It seems however, that *-o* as used in *boy-o* and *typo* can be regarded as two different homonymic suffixes, as the former is used in the formation of diminutives to express affection, or contempt, which is not the case with the latter.

As regards the analogical extension through abstraction of a new subschema that emerged from blending, the constituent families from the corpus under discussion are not modelled on one particular blend. Instead, we can talk about the set of words that share a constituent, being here a splinter which emerged in the process of blending, in the same position. Even though it is theoretically possible to point to the earliest established blend in each constituent family, none of these is sufficiently well entrenched to be recognised as a model. As has already been remarked (see section 2), individual language users differ a lot as to their reliance on analogy-based account, or schema-based account, which are not mutually exclusive as they can coexist (Tuggy 2007). Consider the following examples:

(20)

source word 1	source word 2	blend
<i>nay</i>	<i>vacation</i>	<i>naycation</i>
<i>stay</i>	<i>vacation</i>	<i>staycation</i>
<i>day</i>	<i>vacation</i>	<i>daycation</i>
<i>hay</i>	<i>vacation</i>	<i>haycation</i>
<i>man</i>	<i>vacation</i>	<i>mancation</i>

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*naycation* 'vacation spent without travelling and spending money on leisure activities'

*haycation* 'vacation on a farm'

*mancation* 'vacation in which the participants are all men'

For these words it seems indeed impossible to indicate the model blend, as although *staycation* seems to be the most popular, *daycation* was first attested over fifteen years earlier, that is in 1986. What appears fairly unquestionable, however, is the fact that the analogical creation of blends has led to morphological reinterpretation, abstraction of a new morpheme, being a splinter of a source word 2, and consequently the formation of new subschemas:

- (21)
- [[X]<sub>Ni</sub> [cation]<sub>N</sub>]<sub>Nj</sub> ↔ [VACATION RELATED TO SEM<sub>i</sub>]<sub>j</sub>  
 [[X]<sub>ADVi</sub> [cation]<sub>N</sub>]<sub>Nj</sub> ↔ [VACATION RELATED TO SEM<sub>i</sub>]<sub>j</sub>

Note some other constituent families created in a similar manner:

(22)

abstracted splinter	source word 2	constituent family
b. <i>-(a)logue</i>	<i>dialogue</i>	<i>halfalogue, trialogue, civilogue</i>
c. <i>-uppie</i>	<i>yuppie</i>	<i>scuppie, duppie, luppie, huppie</i>
d. <i>-tarian</i>	<i>vegetarian</i>	<i>locatarian, flexitarian, pescatarian</i>
e. <i>-vore</i>	<i>herbivore</i>	<i>locavore, proxivore, vegivore, informavore, opportunivore, lolcavore</i>
f. <i>-moir</i>	<i>memoir</i>	<i>me-moir, momoir, foodoir</i>
g. <i>-fiti</i>	<i>graffiti</i>	<i>shoeffiti, giraffiti, scratchiti</i>
h. <i>-flation</i>	<i>inflation</i>	<i>slowflation, stagflation, agflation</i>

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a. *halfalogue* 'one side of a dialogue', *trialogue* 'conversation between three people', *civilogue* 'civil dialogue in which participants avoid insults';

b. *scuppie* 'socially conscious yuppie', *duppie* 'depressed yuppie', *luppie* 'Latino yuppie', *huppie* 'Hispanic yuppie';

c. *locatarian* 'person eating locally grown food', *flexitarian* 'vegetarian who sometimes eats meat or fish', *pescatarian* 'vegetarian eating fish';

d. *locavore, proxivore* the same as *locatarian*, *vegivore* 'person with special fondness for vegetables', *informavore* 'somebody who consumes information', *opportunivore* 'person consuming whatever he/she can find', *lolcavore* 'somebody spending a lot of time watching lolcats'

e. *me-moir* 'memoir that is exceptionally self-centered', *momoir* 'memoir about motherhood', *foodoir* 'memoir focused on food and cooking'

f. *shoeffiti* 'shoes tied together by the laces and dangling from a powerline', *giraffiti* 'graffiti up high', *scratchiti* 'graffiti in which marks are etched into hard surfaces'

g. *slowflation/ stagflation* ‘slow growth and high inflation’, *agflation* ‘inflation driven by rising prices of agricultural products’

as well as some schemas abstracted from them:

(23)

[[x]<sub>DETi</sub> [(a)logue]<sub>N</sub>]<sub>Nj</sub> ↔ [DIALOGUE RELATED TO SEM<sub>i</sub>]<sub>j</sub>  
[[x]<sub>ADJi</sub> [(a)logue]<sub>N</sub>]<sub>Nj</sub> ↔ [DIALOGUE RELATED TO SEM<sub>i</sub>]<sub>j</sub>

(24)

[[x]<sub>ADJi</sub> [uppie]<sub>N</sub>]<sub>Nj</sub> ↔ [YUPPIE RELATED TO SEM<sub>i</sub>]<sub>j</sub>  
[[x]<sub>ADJPi</sub> [uppie]<sub>N</sub>]<sub>Nj</sub> ↔ [YUPPIE RELATED TO SEM<sub>i</sub>]<sub>j</sub>,  
etc.

As can be observed, it is the source word 2 that generates a splinter which is then subsequently used in analogical formations as the syntactic head. As for (22e), one of constituent family members, namely *locavore* has spurred some other paronymic coinages, such as *locapour* ‘somebody who drinks locally produced wine or beer’ and *lolcavore*. Thus, an analogically coined word can become a model lexeme itself.

Let me now point to one more instance of analogical modelling through morphological reinterpretation, which, however, does not end in the isolation of a new morpheme. Consider the following examples from my corpus:

(25)

- a. *inherit-ance* > *in-heritance* → *pre-heritance* ‘passing the capital to your children before you die’
- b. *postpone* > *post-pone* → *pre-pone* ‘arrange something at an earlier time’
- c. *retire* > *re-tire* → *pro-tire* ‘give up your present career to take up a hobby’
- d. *obituary* > *o-bituary* → *pre-bituary* ‘obituary prepared prior to person’s death’
- e. *revenge* > *re-venge* → *pre-venge* ‘revenge taken in advance of the expected harm’
- f. *recrimin-ation* > *re-crimination* → *precrimination* ‘recriminination made in advance’
- g. *rehab* > *re-hab* → *pre-hab* ‘preemptive enrollment in a rehab facility’
- h. *surviv-or* > *sur-vivor* → *pre-vivor* ‘a person with some genetic mutation causing cancer’
- i. *rebut-al* > *re-buttal* → *pre-buttal* ‘preemptive rebuttal’

While in (18), (20) and (22) above morphological reinterpretation rests on the secretion of a new form, then used in analogical word formation, which subsequently develops into an abstract schema, the reanalysis from (25) does not end in resegmentation of a word by creating morpheme boundaries, as in (25b), (25c), (25d), (25e) and (25g), or shifting them, as in (25a), (25f) and (25h), but it goes one step further, which is the addition of the prefix *pre-* to the newly established ‘base’. Whatever the kind of morphological reanalysis we are dealing with it is certainly a kind of linguistic manipulation aimed at showing off the writer’s wit and imagination through rearranging morpheme boundaries, or creating them anew, which ends in creating novel morphemes, or establishing new patterns of morphological parsing. As the violation of morpheme boundaries does not take place on a regular basis in the language, it definitely enjoys the capacity for *foregrounding* lexical innovations.

#### 5.1.4. Analogical rule bending and breaking

As noted in the introduction, Crystal (1998) regards breaking and bending the rules as the manifestation of the writer's creativity and ingenuity, which is tantamount to attracting the reader's attention. The analysis of rule breaking in the journalistic register has shown that a particular morphological rule can be violated on a one-off basis, as the creation of a multiply complex noun *togethering* 'spending time together with many of your relatives' by combining two morphological processes, i.e. conversion of an adverb to a verb: *together* (adv) → *together* (v) and suffixation with *-ing*. This process is known in the theory of Construction Morphology as schema unification defined as the simultaneous application of two or more morphological patterns (Booij 2010):

(26)  
[[[together]<sub>ADV</sub>]<sub>V</sub> ing]<sub>N</sub>

Apart from that, there are many instances of analogical rule breaking understood as multiple rule violation, that is a non-canonical use of a particular affix in the formation of a number of derivatives. This phenomenon can manifest itself through, e.g. attaching the agentive suffix *-er*, i.e. to nouns, N + N compounds, or even numbers:

- (27)
- a. *birther* 'a person questioning whether Obama was born in the USA'
  - b. *99er* 'somebody who is unemployed for a long time'
  - c. *truther* 'a person who believes that the US government allowed the 9/11 attacks'
  - d. *deathier* 'a person who believes that the US health reform will lead to more deaths'
  - e. *tea-bagger* 'Tea Party movement participant'
  - f. *griever* 'a person who intentionally harasses others online'
  - g. *domainer* 'a person who makes a living from domain name speculation'
  - h. *binner* 'a person who collects and sells used bottles and cans'

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Although it is maintained by Plag (2003) and Adams (2001) that the agentive suffix *-er* is used not only in deverbal derivatives but also in denominal, e.g. *sealer* 'a person hunting seals', or even with numerals in some lexicalised derivatives, e.g. *fiver*, it is definitely the most productive with verbal bases. Plag (2003) even admits that *-er* is traditionally described as a deverbal suffix. For this reason, any coinages in which this prefix is attached to a numeral, a compound, or even a noun may and do strike as an instance of rule bending, as they run counter the prevalent linguistic trend.

Apart from the unconventional use of the suffix *-er*, the corpus also yields instances of rule breaking through the unusual use of two prefixes, that is *un-* and *de-*. As regards the prefix

*un-*, it is quite extensively used in online communication:

- (28)
- a. *unfriend* 'remove a person from a list of friend on a social networking site'
  - b. *unfollow* 'stop following a Twitter account that you were previously following'
  - c. *unlike* 'take your approval of something said online'
  - d. *unschooling* 'learning not at school but by experience'
  - e. *unbreed* 'a dog of uncertain pedigree'

As can be seen, *-un* attaches either to verbs, see (28a), (28b) and (28c), or gerunds, see (28d) and (28e). In English the prefix *un-* is used with verbs to denote reversal. The verb

base needs to be transitive and resultative, which means no combinations with durative verbs, such as *play*, *walk*, or *sing* are allowed (Szymanek 1989). Additionally, *the condition for a verb to be formed depends on whether the physical possibility to undo the result of an action is conceivable. This explains why such verbs as unbeat, unhit, unkill, unpoison are not found* (Marchand 1969). In view of these conditions, the rules for the formation of reversative verbs have been broken for *unfollow* (28b) and *unlike* (28c). Although both of them are transitive neither of them can be considered resultative, as the idea of duration is inherent in their semantics. However, what is the most important is the fact that the prefix *un-* as used with these verbs does not denote reversal, but indicates that a certain activity stopped. In contrast, the meaning of *unfriend* (28a) is typically reversative, as *friend* (v) ‘put somebody onto the list of friends’ (as used in the context of social networking services) has been created from *friend* (n) through conversion, while *unfriend* has got exactly the opposite meaning. As for *unschooling* (28d) and *unbreed* (28e), these are typical instances of rule breaking as the prefix *un-* may attach to nouns but only in the meaning ‘lack of’, as in *unbelief*, *unease*, *untruth* (Plag, 2003; Marchand, 1969), while with these two nouns the meaning of the prefix is ‘not’, which is typical for adjectives, as in *unavailable*, *unbroken*, etc.

Yet another instance of the attention-catching derivation can be represented by the non-canonical use of the prefix *de-*:

(29)

- a. *de-Scottishify* ‘rebrand a product to remove its Scottish connotations’
- b. *depolicing* ‘ignoring by the police petty crimes committed by minorities’
- c. *deshopping* ‘buying something and returning it to get the money back’
- d. *deconflict* ‘to avoid conflict while planning a military strategy’
- e. *dealert* ‘to separate a nuclear weapon’s warhead from its delivery system’
- f. *de-elect* ‘remove an elected official from office’
- g. *deproliferate* ‘reduce in number’

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According to Szymanek (1998), Adams (2001) and Plag (2003), the prefix *de-* is used to form reversative and privative verbs. Marchand (1969) notes just a few examples of nouns formed by means of *de-* with the meaning ‘loss, lack, removal of \_\_’, such as *deactivation*, *decontrol*, *decompression*, *deemphasis* and *demerger*. What is more, two semantic classes of privative verbs have been distinguished (Marchand 1973): verbs that can be paraphrased as ‘deprive of \_\_’ ‘free from \_\_’, e.g. *unmask*, *delouse*, etc. and verbs known as ablatives, which can be rephrased as ‘remove from \_\_’, e.g. *unhook*, *deplane*, etc.

As for the above examples, the rules for forming reversative and privative verbs by means of the prefix *de-* have been broken, or at least bent. Sometimes they have been followed but by attaching this prefix to bases to which it attaches very rarely, they can be said to perform the function of attention-seeking devices. The verb *de-Scottishify* (29a) can be considered to be privative, as its meaning is ‘to remove the signs of Scottish origin from the product’. As Szymanek (1996) maintains, the prefix *de-* only occasionally is used as part of a parasynthetic, prefixal-suffixal complex to form privative verbs, as in *decaffeinate*, *deacidify*, *deodorize*. Moreover, I have not found a single example of a privative verb created from the proper name. The rarity and oddity of this pattern is emphasised here graphically through hyphenation and subsequent capitalisation of *Scottishify* which has not been attested as a verb.

*Depolicing* (29b) and *deshopping* (29c) are two nouns and as it has been observed above, there are just a few cases of substantives in English formed with *de-*. Moreover, it can be postulated that the meaning of these two nouns is only partially privative since *depolicing* does not stand for ‘the complete lack of policing’ only for ‘the lack of policing

with regard to petty crimes committed by certain social and ethnic groups in order to avoid accusations of racial profiling'. Along similar lines, *deshopping* cannot be interpreted as 'lack of shopping', as the element of buying is involved in the activity, being its starting point. Thus, *deshopping* is 'buying a thing and then returning it for a refund', because of that, from the point of view of the outcome of the activity *deshopping* could be understood as 'not shopping', so its meaning can also be regarded as reversative.<sup>4</sup>

*Deconflict* (29d) and *dealert* (29e) are privative because their meaning can be paraphrased as 'free from \_\_\_\_', that is 'to free the craft or weapon from accidental collision by changing its flightpath' and 'free nuclear weapons from the state of alert', respectively. According to Szymanek (1996), the prefix *de-* derives privative verbs predominantly from monosyllabic nouns, e.g. *deflea*, *dehorn*, *dewool*, etc. Besides, in a vast majority of cases privative verbs are formed from concrete nouns not abstract ones. Both *conflict* and *alert* are abstract, besides they are disyllabic, so they are not 'typical candidates' for forming privative verbs, which makes them noteworthy.

*De-elect* (29f) and *deproliferate* (29g) are reversative, even though the possibility of undoing the action of electing is inconceivable, so here the semantic restriction on the reversative verb formation has been violated. As for *proliferate*, it belongs to the group of verbs which express the idea of reversal suppletively, i.e. *proliferate* - *plummet*. However, since *plummet* is an institutionalised word, it does not have the potential of attracting the reader's attention, the task that *deproliferate* performs quite easily.

## 5.2. Paradigmatic relations

As stated in section 3 above, analogy is also employed in paradigmatic word formation which is deriving a word from another complex lexeme in a paradigm (Booij 2010). As a result, paradigmatic relations between novel co-derivatives are formed, which, in turn, may lead to the creation of a new subchema. The analysed corpus has yielded the following instances of paradigmatic word formation: replacement of a compound constituent, replacement of an affix by a compound constituent, replacement of a compound constituent by an affix, or particle and paradigmatic acronymisation.

### 5.2.1. Replacement of a compound constituent

Replacement of a compound constituent should be understood as the formation of a novel compound not through concatenation of two independent lexemes but from the compound already existing in the language by replacing one of its constituents with another one (usually it is the modifier that gets replaced). This type of paradigmatic word formation is by far the most productive in my corpus. The majority of compounds created through paradigmatic word formation are modelled around one specific complex lexeme, and usually a new subschema is abstracted from them, as has been shown in section 3 above. What is essential in paradigmatic compound formation is the fact that novel compounds are characterised by the preservation of the idiosyncratic meaning. Apart from that, the extension of meaning of the head and modifier through conceptual mechanisms of metaphor and metonymy as well as the phenomenon of semantic concentration (to be explained below) is taking place. Note the following cases of paradigmatically created compounds:

(30)	
model compound	paradigmatically formed compound
<i>sitcom</i>	<i>bitcom</i> 'short sitcom available on the Internet'
	<i>zitcom</i> 'sitcom featuring teenagers'
	<i>slackcom</i> 'sitcom featuring slackers'

<sup>4</sup> An interesting coinage is also *deshopper*, that is a person who engages in *deshopping*.

The above paradigmatically formed compounds exhibit semantic concentration (Meesters 2004), which means that the meaning of the whole compound *sitcom* is projected, or in other words 'concentrated' on one of its constituents, in this case a head, that is *com*. Consequently, *com* does not stand for any type of a comedy but for its particular type, namely situation comedy. As for *zitcom* and *bitcom*, they are phonetically motivated, differing from the model compound only in the initial consonant. It is interesting to remark that *zit* has been used here metonymically, as it stands for 'pimple' and here represents a teenager, being an example PART for WHOLE metonymy.

(31)

*bookworm*                    *muckworm* 'miser'  
                                   *muskworm* 'perfume dealer'  
                                   *ringworm* 'person regularly attending boxing matches'  
                                   *red tapeworm* 'person who adheres excessively to official rules'

This subchema has been motivated through the metaphorical extension of meaning of the lexeme *bookworm*. According to OED (online version), *bookworm* is 'a kind of maggot which destroys books by eating its way through the leaves' in a literal sense, while figuratively it denotes a person who is very fond of reading. Thus, the meaning of *bookworm* has been extended to apply not only to a worm's fondness of books but also that of a person. As regards paradigmatically formed compounds with *worm* as a head, its meaning has been reinterpreted as 'a person very fond of x', where x is the premodifier, forming the following subschema:

(32)

[[X]<sub>Ni</sub>[worm]<sub>Nj</sub>]<sub>Nk</sub> ↔ [PERSON VERY FOND OF SEM<sub>i</sub>]<sub>k</sub> (where SEM<sub>i</sub> can be used metonymically)

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Consequently, *muckworm* is a person very fond of money (*muck* 'worldly wealth, money' (OED)), *muskworm*, where *musk* metonymically stands for any kind of perfume, denotes a person with a special liking of perfumes, in this case a perfume dealer, *ringworm* stands for the fan of the boxing matches, where *ring* is again the metonymic representation of boxing, etc. Thus, in the above compounds the head is metaphorical, while the modifier is metonymical with the exception of *muck*.

Consider some other paradigmatically formed compounds in which metaphorical extension has also taken place:

(33)

a. *couch potato*                    *cot potato* 'baby watching a lot of TV'  
     *mouse potato* 'person spending a lot of time over the Internet'  
     *baked potato* 'drug user watching TV while intoxicated'

b. *blue chip*                        *red chip*  
     1. 'stock less reliable than blue chip but still a good investment'  
     2. 'stock of a company based in a communist country'

c. *whitewash*                        *new chip* 'stock from a young Chinese company'  
     *greenwash* 'mislead the public by pretending to be environmentally responsible'  
     *blackwash* 'to blacken the character of/calumniate'

As for the first model compound, that is *couch potato* (33a) it is the head which is metaphorical. According to OED, *potato* may have been coined punningly after (*boob-*) *tuber* = television addict and vegetable tuber, but perhaps simply by association with *vegetable* (slang orig. U.S.) 'a person who spends leisure time passively or idly sitting around, especially watching television, or videotapes'. *Cot potato* and *mouse potato* are two other examples of endocentric compounds with a metaphorical head, while in *baked potato* both the modifier and the head are metaphorical as *baked* stands for 'intoxicated' in the US slang. *Couch*, *mouse* and *cot* represent the case of metonymic sense extension as they constitute an example of THING for PERSON metonymy.

When it comes to the model compound in (33b), *blue chip* stands for 'stock thought to be safe and likely to make a profit' and in this case the whole compound has undergone a metaphorical transfer of meaning because in a literal sense it is 'blue counter used in poker, usually of high value'. Thus, the stock of a potentially high value is conceptualized as a blue counter which is valuable in poker, probably due to the fact that sometimes the situation at the Stock Exchange is as unpredictable as the outcome of a game of poker. In the subsequent coinages, that is *red chip* (2) and *new chip* the idiosyncratic meaning of *chip*, that is 'share' has been preserved, while the adjective *red* has been used metaphorically as it represents the communist system. As for *red chip* (1), the whole compound has again undergone a metaphorical transfer because in poker a red chip is fairly valuable although not as valuable as a blue one.

Lastly, *whitewash* (33c) which means 'free from blame', or 'try to hide unpleasant facts about somebody or something' is a metaphorical extension of the verb *whitewash* in its literal sense, i.e. 'cover the walls with the mixture of chalk, lime and water to make them white'. In this particular case hiding unpleasant facts about a person, or a thing is conceptualised as making them purer than they really are. Thus, *white* represents purity and innocence, *green* conceptualises being ecological, while *black* stands for guilt and wickedness. The idiosyncratic meaning of *wash* has been preserved in all these compounds and it can be paraphrased as 'falsely make somebody believe in something', namely 'falsely make somebody believe that people or things are better than they really are' for *blackwash*, 'falsely make somebody believe that a company leads an environmentally friendly policy' for *greenwash*, and 'falsely make somebody believe that people are worse than they really are'.

Consider yet another group of paradigmatically formed compounds:

(34)

*software*

*adware* 'software used in advertising

*sensorware* 'filtering software'

*firmware* 'permanent form of software built into certain computers'

*groupware* 'software aimed at facilitating collaborative working'

*cloudware* 'software running on the Internet server'

*malware* 'programmes written with the intent of being damaging'

*ransomware* 'computer malware demanding ransom for the restoration of the system'

*spyware* 'malware spying on computer users'

First of all, it should be said that *software* was modelled on *hardware*, after which also *peopleware* and *liveware* 'computer personnel' were created. It means that the phenomenon of semantic specialisation has taken place (Booij 2010), that is the word *ware* has developed more specialised meanings when embedded as the head of compounds.<sup>5</sup> In this particular case it denotes computer equipment, programmes, or personnel. Moreover, we can talk here about double semantic concentration as first the

<sup>5</sup> Compare the meaning of *ware* in *tableware*, *stoneware*, etc.



meaning of *software* has been projected on the head of the compound in the following coinages: *adware*, *ensorware*, *firmware*, *groupware*, *cloudware* and *malware*, as all them denote various kinds of software. Next, the meaning of *malware* has been concentrated on the head of *spyware* and *ransomware* since both of them stand for types of *malware*.

Semantic concentration also takes place in the following subschema:

- (35)
- |                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| <i>broadcasting</i> | <i>mindcasting</i> ‘posting messages reflecting one’s thoughts’             |
|                     | <i>lifecasting</i> ‘broadcasting one’s activities on the Internet for 24hs’ |
|                     | <i>silvercasting</i> ‘delivering programmes aimed at a small audience’      |
|                     | <i>vodcasting</i> ‘podcasting video content’                                |
|                     | <i>godcasting</i> ‘podcasting religious messages’                           |

All the above coinages stand for a kind of broadcasting, and in the last two examples a double semantic concentration can be observed as well because *vodcasting* and *godcasting* are instances of podcasting, a subtype of broadcasting. There is one coinage *egocasting*, the structure of which fits into the above subchema: N/ADJ + *casting*, however, semantically it is different as it means ‘reading, watching or listening only to the media which reflect one’s opinions’, so *casting* does not stand here for a kind of broadcasting but it denotes the opposite process, that is reception of what is broadcast. It may be argued that the paradigm pressure seems to be so strong that the head of the compound has undergone semantic reinterpretation from ‘broadcasting’ to ‘watching or listening’.

Yet another constituent family constitutes an example of semantic specialisation:

- (36)
- |                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| <i>watershed</i> | <i>walkshed</i> ‘the area that a person can comfortably cover on foot’                    |
|                  | <i>foodshed</i> ‘region that produces food used by a person, family, or town’             |
|                  | <i>fibreshed</i> ‘region producing fibres for the clothing used by a person, or a family’ |

*Watershed* (36) in North American usage is the ‘drainage basin’ or ‘the catchment area’, that is the area of land *that drains into a large water source, such as a river, lake, or ocean. Thus, it can be said that the noun shed has acquired a more specialized meaning when used the head of compounds, namely ‘area covered by something, e.g. walk, food production, or fibre production.’*

Another model compound, *glass ceiling* meaning ‘unofficial barrier to personal advancement in employment’ (37) is an interesting case of a model compound as it has generated two constituent families: in the first set (37a) the head has been replaced, while in the other (37b) the head has been retained with the modifier being substituted:

- (37)
- a. *glass cliff* ‘an important job (usually given to a woman) with a high risk of failure’
  - glass wall* ‘social prejudice that prevents one from moving within departments of an organisation’
  - b. *grass ceiling* ‘a set of barriers that prevent women from using golf to conduct business’
  - silver ceiling* ‘prejudices preventing older employees from personal advancement’

Both (37a) and (37b) rely on the metaphorical and metonymical sense extension. *Glass* stands for something which is unseen yet breakable, while *ceiling* represents the barrier.

In paradigmatically formed compounds the metaphor is present in (37a) since *cliff* represents failure as you can easily fall down from the cliff and *wall* stands for a barrier preventing lateral movement in a company. Apart from that, (37b) displays instances of metonymy, as *grass* is used to denote golf since it is played on it, and *silver* embodies older people who often have got silver hair.

Apart from compounds created around one particular model lexeme there are also constituent families in which it is impossible to point to one particular word serving as a model. Consider the following examples:

(38)		
<i>insourcing</i>		'obtaining goods or services in-house'
<i>outsourcing</i>		'obtaining something from the outer source'
<i>friendsourcing</i>		'gathering information from online friends'
<i>crowdsourcing</i>		'obtaining services from people outside the company, usually customers, or amateurs'
<i>multisourcing</i>		'relying on the services of external and internal firms'

According to OED, *insourcing* was first attested in 1979 and it was created in the process of prefixation: *in* + *sourcing*, while the first recorded use of *outsourcing* dates back to 1981 and it was derived by suffixation: *outsource* + *ing*. However, it cannot be explicitly stated which of these two spurred subsequent coinages. The chronological criterion speaks in favour of *insourcing*, however, the criterion of frequency definitely opts for *outsourcing*, being a far more popular term, as the number of Google hits from August 16<sup>th</sup> 2011 amounts to 98, 500, 000 in comparison with 2, 900, 000 hits for *insourcing*. This constituent family has yielded the following subschemas:

(39)		
	$[[X]_{\text{Prepi}}[\text{sourcing}]_{\text{Nj}}]_{\text{Nk}} \leftrightarrow$	$[\text{OBTAINING SOMETHING IN THE WAY RELATED TO SEM}_i]_k$
	$[[X]_{\text{Ni}}[\text{sourcing}]_{\text{Nj}}]_{\text{Nk}} \leftrightarrow$	$[\text{OBTAINING SOMETHING IN THE WAY RELATED TO SEM}_i]_k$
	$[[X]_{\text{Prei}}[\text{sourcing}]_{\text{Nj}}]_{\text{Nk}} \leftrightarrow$	$[\text{OBTAINING SOMETHING IN THE WAY RELATED TO SEM}_i]_k$

The constituent family to be analysed below constitutes yet another example of semantic specialisation. The verb *mine* 'to dig holes in the ground in order to find and obtain coal, diamonds, etc' has developed a more specialised meaning, i.e. 'extract data, knowledge, or facts', suggesting some difficulty involved like in the process of getting out raw materials. For that reason, this particular case of semantic specialisation can again be regarded as metaphorical extension.

(40)		
<i>crowd mining</i>		'extracting knowledge from large databases of social information'
<i>audio mining</i>		'extracting words from an audio file'
<i>data mining</i>		'discovering new patterns from large data sets'

Examples (41a) and (41b) are different from all the constituent families analysed so far because of the phenomenon of synonymy.

(41)		
model compound		paradigmatically formed compounds
a. <i>freedom fries</i>		<i>freedom pat/ freedom grope/ freedom fondle/ freedom frisk</i>
		'pat-down procedure at U.S. airports'

- b. *top kill*                      *static kil /bottom kill* ‘pumping mud or cement into the well to stop the flow of oil’

As for (41a), the model compound are well known *freedom fries*, a political euphemism for *French fries*.<sup>6</sup> Consequently, *freedom* underwent semantic reinterpretation (Booij 2010), which means that *freedom*, commonly associated with American values, acquired the meaning ‘to be found/taking place in America’. In (41b) synonymy holds both for the model compound *top kill* and paradigmatically formed compounds: *static kill* and *bottom kill* as they all mean the same.

Lastly, the corpus under discussion yielded several constituent families, consisting merely of two elements, namely the model compound and just one paradigmatically formed compound:

(42)	<b>model compound</b>	<b>paradigmatically formed compound</b>
	<i>doppelgänger</i>	<i>Googlegänger</i>
	<i>daughter track</i>	<i>mommy track</i>
	<i>facelift</i>	<i>bodylift</i>
	<i>Bluetooth</i>	<i>bluejack</i>

*Doppelgänger* ‘evil twin’ gave rise to *Googlegänger* ‘a person with the same name as you whose records and/or stories are mixed in with your own when you enter your name in the Google search engine that is while self-googling’. *Gänger* is a borrowing from German for ‘walker’, however here in the course of semantic reinterpretation it acquired a new meaning, namely ‘your other identity’. *Daughter track* ‘career path that allows a woman to work flexitime in order to take care of aging parents’ spurred the coinage of *mommy track* ‘career path that allows a woman to work flexitime in order to take care of aging parents’, which means that the noun *track* underwent semantic specialisation (through metaphorical extension) from ‘narrow road with uneven surface’ to ‘career path’. *Facelift* triggered the formation of *bodylift* with *lift* having acquired a new meaning ‘medical operation aimed at making you look younger’. *Bluetooth* (an anglicised version of Danish *Blatand*), according to OED, is a byname of Harald I of Denmark credited with unifying the country during his reign, while *bluejack* means ‘send anonymous messages to strangers around you using Bluetooth’. This is a case of semantic concentration as the meaning of *Bluetooth* has been projected onto the modifier, that is *blue*.

### 5.2.2. Replacement of an affix by a compound constituent

(43)	model compound	paradigmatically formed compounds
	<i>re-cycling</i>	<i>up-cycling</i> ‘improving the quality when recycling’
		<i>down-cycling</i> ‘downgrading the quality when recycling’
		<i>free-cycling</i> ‘giving away unwanted items for recycling’

The structure of the above compound nouns can be represented by the following subschemas:

(44)	$[[X]_{p_i}[\text{cycling}]_{N_j}]_{N_k} \leftrightarrow [\text{SEM}_j \text{ with relation R to } \text{SEM}_i]_k$
------	---

<sup>6</sup> This compound dates back to 2003 when it was coined as a result of the anti-French attitude over the France’s opposition to the intervention of United Nations in Iraq.

$[[X]_{Adj_i}[\text{cycling}]_{N_j}]_{N_k} \leftrightarrow [\text{SEM}_j \text{ with relation R to SEM}_i]_k$

In the above constituent family semantic concentration is at work as well, as the meaning of *recycling* has been projected on all the compounds which denote the process of recycling while the preposition, or the adjective specify its type.

### 5.2.3. Replacement of a compound constituent by an affix or preposition

(45)

model compound	paradigmatically formed compounds
<i>offshoring</i>	<i>inshoring</i> 'bringing foreign workers to one's country'
	<i>onshoring</i> 'establishing companies in one's country'
	<i>nearshoring</i> 'moving jobs to a nearby country'
	<i>homeshoring</i> 'locating companies back at home'
	<i>rightshoring</i> 'restructuring the company so as to achieve balance between domestic and foreign jobs'

The model compound, that is *offshoring* stands for 'moving employment bases abroad'. It was presumably coined from the phrase *off shore*, however, *shoring* has acquired here a new meaning due to semantic reinterpretation, that is 'company's policy of development with regard to foreign or domestic employment and business'. Thus, the following subschemas have been created:

(46)

$[[X]_{P_i}[\text{shoring}]_{N_j}]_{N_k} \leftrightarrow [\text{COMPANY'S POLICY}_j \text{ with relation R to SEM}_i]_k$
$[[X]_{N_i}[\text{shoring}]_{N_j}]_{N_k} \leftrightarrow [\text{COMPANY'S POLICY}_j \text{ with relation R to SEM}_i]_k$
$[[X]_{Adj_i}[\text{shoring}]_{N_j}]_{N_k} \leftrightarrow [\text{COMPANY'S POLICY}_j \text{ with relation R to SEM}_i]_k$

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The constituent family below (47) exhibits semantic concentration as all the paradigmatically formed compounds denote downloading the type of which has been specified by the premodifier, expressed by a preposition:

(47)

model compound	paradigmatically formed compounds
<i>download</i>	<i>preload</i> 'download software before it is required'
	<i>upload</i> 'transfer data from one computer to another'

Consider now an interesting case of the preposition replacement on a one-off basis:

(48)

model compound	paradigmatically formed compounds
<i>bystander</i>	<i>upstander</i> 'a person who decides to take an action'

In English there is no such a noun as *stander*, so *upstander* cannot have been coined from a phrasal verb *stand up* even though its meaning is inherent in it, as *upstander* is somebody who stands up for a person or principle.

### 5.2.4. Affix replacement

Affix replacement is yet another type of paradigmatic word-formation which is represented in my corpus just by one set of examples:

(49)

model derivative  
*aforestation*paradigmatically formed derivatives  
*deforestation* 'destroying the forest'  
*inforestation* 'converting an area into a forest'  
*reforestation* 'reforesting an area'

The formation of *deforestation* from *aforestation* 'converting an area into a forest' has already been discussed by Bauer (2001) who is of the opinion that this is the case of paradigmatic word formation, maintaining that if it were created by suffixation, the choice of *-ation* instead of *-ing* might be not be the first one to make. Along similar lines, *inforestation* and *reforestation* are also instances of prefix replacement.

### 5.2.5. Paradigmatic acronimisation

(50)

model acronym  
*NIMBY*paradigmatically formed acronyms  
*NUMBY* 'not under my back yard'  
*GOOMBY* 'get out of my back yard'  
*YIMBY* 'yes in my back yard'  
*IMBY* 'in my back yard'

As shown above, *NIMBY* 'not in my back yard' has spurred the formation of three other acronyms, denoting either objection to (*NUMBY*, *GOOMBY*), or acceptance of (*YIMBY*, *IMBY*) things happening in a person's neighbourhood. The idiosyncratic meaning of the model lexeme, that is 'the attitude towards things happening in one's neighbourhood' has been preserved in all the acronyms, so there is no doubt that we are dealing here with paradigmatic word formation.

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## 6. Conclusions

The analysis of the corpus under discussion has shown that analogical modelling and paradigmatic word formation produce *unexpected language* either through rule bending and breaking, including phonetic and graphic distortion (analogical modelling), or by means of wordplay (paradigmatic word formation). Most of novel words formed in this way are nonce formations, created to make an impact on listeners, or *to capture the mood of the moment* (Crystal 1998: 30). As for analogical modelling, the most productive turned out to be paronymic blending and analogical modelling resulting from morphological reinterpretation. The outputs of the former seem to break the spelling rules, e.g. *murketing* 'murky marketing' instead of *marketing*, whereas the outputs of the latter represent an example of violating morpheme boundaries, e.g. *surviv-or* > *sur-vivor* → *pre-vivor*, often leading to the abstraction of a new morpheme, e.g. *-uppie* from *yuppie*. Apart from that, the cases of analogical rule breaking were attested, such as for example the use of the prefix *un-* + V not to denote reversal but to indicate that a certain activity stopped.

It seems that it may be proposed that paronymic blending can be treated as a subtype of paradigmatic word formation as it also consists in deriving a novel word from another word well-established in the lexicon. While in 'classical' paradigmatic word formation it is a morpheme that is substituted, in paronymic blending it is a phonological segment of the source word (usually SW2) that is replaced with a splinter (in a vast majority cases of SW1). A splinter can be regarded as a phonological segment that has a morphological function of its own (Booij 2005), as it is used to contribute to blend formation in which it acts as a modifier (see, e.g. (11), (12), or (15)). The blend created

in this way forms a paradigmatic relationship with one of the source words (usually SW2). This is yet another exemplification of a 'tripartite parallel architecture' of the grammar, as proposed by Culicover and Jackendoff (2006), Jackendoff (2007) and also advocated by Booij (2005), according to which morphology deals with the relationships between three types of information: phonological, morphological and syntactic, assuming that word is a complex unit, functioning in these three dimensions.

With regard to paradigmatic word formation, as understood by Booij (2005, 2010), paradigmatically formed compounds constitute the most numerous category, presumably due to a high productivity of compounding in English. All the compounds that the present corpus has yielded are endocentric ones and it is usually the modifier that is replaced with the head preserving its idiosyncratic meaning, e.g. *lifecasting/mindcasting*, etc. from *broadcasting*. Some subschemas produced as a result of paradigmatic compounding display semantic concentration, e.g. *adware* modelled on *software*, or/and semantic reinterpretation, e.g. *mommy track* and *daughter track*, while others have been formed through sense extension by means of conceptual mechanisms of metaphor and metonymy, e.g. *ringworm*. Paradigmatically formed compounds are a play on the compounds well established in the lexicon (in this case model compounds) and as such they are successfully used to attract attention. Paradigmatic affixation and paradigmatic acronimisation turned out to be marginal cases.

On the whole, analogical modelling and paradigmatic word formation are quite pervasive in mass media because they can be successfully used as attention-seeking devices by generating creative coinages, whose formation is not always rule-governed and highly context dependent since they are analogically modelled on the already existing words. Moreover, ludic motivation is of paramount importance here as the reliance on the above mentioned processes creates ample scope for expressing humour and wit. On top of that, their use is pragmatically motivated as they perform the function of naming and are employed for the information condensation effect.

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- <http://www.americandialect.org/index.php/amerdial/categories/C178//> [consulted December 2010 and January 2011]
- <http://blog.oup.com/category/word-of-the-year-reference/feed/> [consulted November and December 2010]
- <http://www.wordspy.com/index.asp> [consulted January 2011]
- <http://www.worldwidewords.org/> [consulted January 2011]
- <http://www.guardian.co.uk/> [consulted December 2010]
- <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/> [consulted December 2010]
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