Analogical modelling and paradigmatic word formation as attention-seeking devices

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The present proposal provides evidence in support of the following claims:

- The outputs of analogical modelling and paradigmatic word formation are successful in attracting the listener's, or reader's attention through **linguistic manipulation**.
- Analogical modelling makes novel coinages *noteworthy* (in the sense of Hohenhaus 2007) by ***bending and breaking linguistic rules*** (Crystal, 1998).
- Paradigmatic word formation, used as an attention-seeking device, relies on **wordplay**.

The analysis is carried out within the framework of **Construction Morphology** (Booij 2007, 2010) and is based on the following theoretical assumptions:

- Analogical word formation and word formation based on abstract schemas can co-exist.
- Analogical pattern may become subject to generalization and turn into a **constructional idiom/subschema.**
- The outputs of paradigmatic word formation are characterized by the preservation of the **idiosyncratic meaning.**
- Paradigmatic word formation generates **constituent families.**

The proposal is based on the author's study of innovative coinages in the journalistic register in modern English, most of which were formed in the years 1990-2010 derived from online sources (see References)

1. Analogical modelling

- **Analogically modelled blending**

Analogically modelled blending yields **outputs which are paronymic (phonetically similar) to one of the source words:**

(1)	**analogically modelled blend**	**source word 1**	**source word 2**
a.	*shuicide*	*shoe*	*suicide*
b.	*intexticated*	*text*	*intoxicated*

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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**

(2)	**analogically modelled blend minimal pair member 1**	**source word 1**	**source word 2 minimal pair member 2**
a.	***s****exting*	*sexual*	***t****exting*
b.	*so****f****alise*	*sofa*	*so****ci****alise*

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

- Out of these 27 blends **16** blends **differ from the source word 2 with respect to the onset of the word initial syllable:**

	analogically modelled blend minimal pair member 1	**source word 1**	**source word 2 minimal pair member 2**
a.	***sh****owmance*	*show*	***r****omance*
b.	***c****arbage*	*car*	***g****arbage*

c.	***m****ockumentary*	*mock*	***d****ocumentary*
d.	***n****ouse*	*nose*	***m****ouse*

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sh*owmance* 'romance that actors engage in for the run of the show'
c*arbage* 'distastefully modified car'
m*ockumentary* 'programme in which actors pretend to be ordinary people'
n*ouse* 'computer mouse controlled by the nose'

There are **just four blends which constitute a minimal pair with the source word 1**:

(3) analogically modelled blend minimal pair member 1	**source word 1 minimal pair member 2**	**source word 2**
a. *proto**h**ype*	*proto**t**ype*	*hype*
b. *bot**a**x*	*bot**o**x*	*tax*
c. *sp**i**m*	*sp**a**m*	*instant (messaging)*
d. *s**c**am*	*sp**a**m*	*confidence (trick)*

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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'

The remaining blends form minimal pairs, differing in the left-branch (Rogers 2000) of a branching syllable onset, see (4a), or the onset of the second syllable, see (4b). There are four examples of analogically modelled blends which differ from the source word 2 in a syllable peak, e.g. (4c) and (4d), and just one example which differs with respect to the coda of its initial syllable, see (4e):

(4)

analogically modelled blend minimal pair member 1	**source word 1**	**source word 2 minimal pair member 2**
a. ***f****reemium*	*free*	***p****remium*
b. *so****f****alise*	*sofa*	*so****ci****alise*
c. *bot****a****x*	*botox*	*t****a****x*
d. *n****o****tworking*	*not*	*n****e****tworking*
e. *we****d****site*	*wedding*	*we****b****site*

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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'

Other blends (21 in number) either differ in more than one phoneme from a source word 2, see (5a), 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 (5b):

(5) analogically modelled blend	**source word 1**	**source word 2**
a. ***br****agabond*	*brag*	***v****agabond*
b. ***gl****obesity*	*globe*	***o****besity*

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bragabond 'person who travels aimlessly and brags about it'
globesity 'worldwide epidemic of obesity'

- **Analogical extension resulting from morphological reinterpretation**

- 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. Consider morphological reinterpretation of monomorphemic lexemes:

(6) morphological reinterpretation	**subsequent coinages**
typo > *typ-o*	*speak-o* 'oral mistake'
	thumb-o 'texting error'

As a result, two subschemas have been formed:

(7)

a. $[[x]_{Vj}\text{-o}]_{Ni} \leftrightarrow [\text{MISTAKE RELATED TO SEM}_j]_i$

b. $[[x]_{Nj}\text{-o}]_{Ni} \leftrightarrow [\text{MISTAKE RELATED TO SEM}_j]_i$

- Far more productive is analogical extension, relying on the use of the splinter which emerged as a result of morphological reinterpretation, resulting from the process of blending. Note that the **splinter** provided by source word 2 **has been reinterpreted as a meaningful unit/morpheme**.

(8) abstracted splinter	**source word 2**	**constituent family**
–(a)logue	*dialogue*	*half**alogue**, tria**logue**, civi**logue***
–uppie	*yuppie*	*sc**uppie**, d**uppie**, l**uppie**, h**uppie***
–tarian	*vegetarian*	*loca**tarian**, flexi**tarian**, pesca**tarian***

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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';
Note the following constructional idioms that have been abstracted:

(9) $[[x]_{DETi}\ [(a)logue]_{Nj}]_{Nk} \leftrightarrow [DIALOGUE\ WITH\ RELATION\ R\ TO\ SEM_i]_k$
$[[x]_{ADJi}\ [(a)logue]_{Nj}]_{Nk} \leftrightarrow [DIALOGUE\ WITH\ RELATION\ R\ TO\ SEM_i]_k$

(10) $[[x]_{ADJi}\ [uppie]_{Nj}]_{Nk} \leftrightarrow [YUPPIE\ WITH\ RELATION\ R\ TO\ SEM_i]_k$
$[[x]_{ADJPi}\ [uppie]_{Nj}]_{Nk} \leftrightarrow [YUPPIE\ WITH\ RELATION\ R\ TO\ SEM_i]_k$

(11) $[[x]_{ADJi}\ [tarian]_{Nj}]_{Nk} \leftrightarrow [PERSON\ WITH\ EATING\ HABITS\ Y\ RELATED\ TO\ SEM_i]_k$
$[[x]_{Ni}\ [tarian]_{Nj}]_{Nk} \leftrightarrow [PERSON\ WITH\ EATING\ HABITS\ Y\ RELATED\ TO\ SEM_i]_k$
(where Y is the semantic variable specifying the kind of food, or its origin)

- Consider analogical modelling through morphological reinterpretation without the isolation of a new morpheme which consists in **resegmentation of a word by creating morpheme boundaries**, as in (12b), (12c), (12d), (12e) and (12g), **or shifting them**, as in (12a), (12f), (12h) and (12i) and **analogical attachment of the prefix *pre-*** to the newly established 'base':

(12)
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* → ***pre****-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* → ***pre****-crimination* 'recrimination 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'

- **Analogical rule bending and breaking**

This phenomenon can manifest itself through, e.g. **attaching the agentive and predominantly deverbal suffix *–er***, i.e. to nouns, N + N compounds, or even numbers:

(13)

a. *birth-**er*** 'a person questioning whether Obama was born in the USA'
a. *99-**er*** 'somebody who is unemployed for a long time'
b. *truth-**er*** 'a person who believes that the US government allowed the 9/11 attacks'
c. *death-**er*** 'a person who believes that the US health reform will lead to more deaths'
d. *grief-**er*** 'a person who intentionally harasses others online'
e. *domain-**er*** 'a person who makes a living from domain name speculation'
f. *binn-**er*** 'a person who collects and sells used bottles and cans'

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.

(14) Non-canonical use of prefix *un-*

a. ***un****-follow* 'stop following a Twitter account that you were previously following'
b. ***un****-like* 'take back your approval of something said online'
c. ***un****-schooling* 'learning not at school but by experience'
d. ***un****-breed* 'a dog of uncertain pedigree'

The prefix *un-* is used with verbs to denote reversal. *Unfollow* (14a) and *unlike* (14b) **break the rule for forming reversative verbs, as neither of them can be considered resultative**. Besides, the prefix *un-* as used with these verbs does not denote reversal but indicates that **a certain activity stopped**. *Unschooling* (14c) and *unbreed* (14d) 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.

2. Paradigmatic word formation

2.1 Replacement of a compound constituent

Paradigmatically modelled compounds display the following semantic mechanisms: semantic concentration, semantic reinterpretation, semantic specialisation and meaning extension through metaphor and metonymy. Usually they are modelled around one specific lexeme, to be called here a model compound

- **Semantic concentration**

(15) model compound	**paradigmatically formed compound**
sitcom	*bitcom* 'short sitcom available on the Internet' *zitcom* 'sitcom featuring teenagers' *slackcom* 'sitcom featuring slackers'

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 onset of the initial syllable. It is interesting to remark that *zit* has been used here metonymically, as stands for 'pimple' and here represents a teenager, being an example **PART for WHOLE metonymy**.

- **Semantic reinterpretation**

(16) model compound	**paradigmatically formed compounds**
freedom fries	*freedom pat/ freedom grope/ freedom fondle/ freedom frisk* 'pat-down procedure at U.S. airports'

As for (36a) the model compound are well known *freedom fries*, a political euphemism for *French fries.* 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'**.

(17) model compound	**paradigmatically formed compound**
Doppelgänger	*Googlegänger*

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 **'one's other identity'**.

(18) model compound	**paradigmatically formed compounds**
offshoring	*inshoring* 'bringing foreign workers to one's country' *onshoring* 'establishing companies in one's country' *nearshoring* 'moving jobs to a nearby country' *homeshoring* 'locating companies back at home' *rightshoring* '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, which is **'company's policy of development with regard to foreign and domestic employment and business'**. Thus, the following subschemas have been created:

(19) $[[X]_{Pi}[shoring]_{Nj}]_{Nk} \leftrightarrow [COMPANY'S\ POLICY_j\ with\ relation\ R\ to\ SEM_i]_k$
$[[X]_{Ni}[shoring]_{Nj}]_{Nk} \leftrightarrow [COMPANY'S\ POLICY_j\ with\ relation\ R\ to\ SEM_i]_k$
$[[X]_{Adji}[shoring]_{Nj}]_{Nk} \leftrightarrow [COMPANY'S\ POLICY_j\ with\ relation\ R\ to\ SEM_i]_k$

- **Semantic specialization**

(20)
crowd mining 'extracting knowledge from large databases of social information'
audio mining 'extracting words from an audio file'
data mining 'discovering new patterns from large data sets

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.

(21)

model compound	**paradigmatically formed compound**
daughter track	*mommy track*

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'**.

- **Meaning extension through metaphor and metonymy**

(22)

model compound	**paradigmatically formed compound**
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 metaphorical extension of the meaning of 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 metaphorically 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, their meaning has been reinterpreted as **'a person very fond of x'**, where x is the premodifier, forming the following subschema:

(23)

$[[X]_{Ni}[worm]_{Nj}]_{Nk} \leftrightarrow [\text{PERSON VERY FOND OF } SEM_i]_k$ (where SEM_i can be used metonymically)

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 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*).

(24)

model compound	**paradigmatically formed compound**
whitewash	*greenwash* 'mislead the public by pretending to be environmentally responsible' *blackwash* 'to blacken the character of/caluminate'

***Whitewash* (24) 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 *whitewash*, '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'.

2.1 An example of marginal categories: paradigmatic acronimisation

(25)

model acronym	**paradigmatically formed acronyms**
NIMBY	*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 four 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.

• Concluding remarks

- 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

- With regard to paradigmatic word formation, **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, daughter track,* while others have been formed through sense extension by means of **conceptual mechanisms of metaphor and metonymy**, e.g. *ringworm*.

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