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Meaning construal of selected novel eponymous verbs in the current political discourse in Poland: A Cognitive Linguistics account

Konstruowanie znaczenia nowo tworzonych czasowników odantroponimicznych w polskim dyskursie politycznym w ujęciu językoznawstwa kognitywnego

Abstract

The aim of the article is to propose a Cognitive Linguistics analysis of the semantic construal of selected Polish name-based verbal neologisms and occasionalisms currently used in Polish mass media, such as *kidawić* [←Małgorzata Kidawa-Błońska], *jandować* [←Krystyna Janda], *obajtkować* [←Daniel Obajtek]. In particular, eponymous verbs are treated as constructions whose meanings are negotiated in the dynamic interaction between language users on the basis of the local co-text and shared background knowledge. Name-based verbs convey a wide range of rich, context-dependent meanings as well as the speaker's (usually negative) evaluation in a very condensed manner. Their holistic interpretation is arrived at in the process of conceptual integration. It has been shown that a chain of paragon-like metonymies licenses the understanding of the proper name in the verb's base. What is more, depending on the context of use, metonymies may be coupled with syntaphoric or metaphorical mapping(s).

Keywords: name-based verbs, neologism, occasionalism, motivation, metonymy, syntaphor, conceptual integration

Abstrakt

Celem artykułu jest zaproponowanie analizy znaczenia wybranych neologizmów i okazjonalizmów czasownikowych, derywowanych od nazwisk osób publicznych, takich jak *kidawić* [←Małgorzata Kidawa-Błońska], *jandować* [←Krystyna Janda] i *obajtkować* [←Daniel Obajtek], w oparciu o metodologię językoznawstwa kognitywnego.

W szczególności przyjęto, że czasowniki odantroponimiczne to konstrukcje, których znaczenie jest negocjowane w interakcji pomiędzy użytkownikami języka na podstawie lokalnego kontekstu tekstowego i wiedzy ogólnej. Pokazano, że czasowniki, których bazą derywacyjną jest nazwisko osoby powszechnie znanej, mogą w skondensowanej formie wyrażać całą gamę znaczeń, które są konkretyzowane w kontekście. Dodatkowo czasowniki te są nośnikami (zwykle negatywnego) nacechowania aksjologicznego. Autorki zastosowały model integracji konceptualnej do interpretacji holistycznego znaczenia badanych derywatów. Przeprowadzona analiza wykazała, że kluczowy dla właściwego rozumienia znaczenia nazwy własnej w podstawie czasownika jest ciąg metonimii typowy dla konstrukcji znaczenia paragonów. Zależnie od kontekstu użycia, motywacja metonimiczna może być dopełniona przez syntaforę lub metaforę konceptualną.

Słowa kluczowe: czasowniki odantroponimiczne, neologizm, okazjonalizm, motywacja, metonimia, syntafora, integracja konceptualna

1. Introduction

The analysis focuses on recent eponymous verbal neologisms and occasionalisms derived by affixation from surnames or – less frequently – from first names of well-known politicians and other public figures that feature in the current media discourse in Poland. Examples include: *bodnaryzować* [←Bodnar], *mateuszować, morawieckować* [←Mateusz Morawiecki], *obajtnąć* [←Obajtek], *lemparcić* [←Lempart], *terleckizować* [←Terlecki], etc.[1]

Novel name-based verbs appear to be severely understudied in linguistic research devoted to Polish word-formation. Exhaustive studies of the morpho-syntax and/or semantics of various types of name-based derivatives in Polish mostly concentrate on derived nouns and adjectives, while derived verbs merit only brief mentions (e.g. Witaszek-Samborska 2006: 166; Berend 2007: 295; Dereń 2005: 26–7; Waszakowa 2017: 129). One of the reasons behind the apparent neglect of eponymous verbs might be that verbal neologisms are far less frequent in the vocabulary of Polish than nominal and adjectival ones (Ostromęcka-Frączak 2001: 67–68; Berend 2007: 287–290).

Eponymous verbs are highly innovative creations with opaque, often idiosyncratic and underspecified meanings that rely heavily on the local context of a communicative event and may involve speaker-dependent differences in interpretation (Waszakowa 2017: 14). They normally carry expressive or evaluative meanings and reveal either purely negative or ludic and half-serious attitudes of the speaker, or their readiness to indulge in language games. Novel verbs not only exhibit language users'

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[1] Due to strict space limitations, background information about the referents of the names employed as verbal bases is provided only for those predicates whose meaning construal is analyzed in this contribution (see Section 5).

enormous creativity but also serve to convey their unique, subjective and dynamic conceptualizations of reality in a highly condensed manner (Kudra 2016: 54–55). There is a tendency for eponymous verbs to be formed by analogy with existing ones (Milewska 2019: 123). Occasionally, the phonetic similarity between a public figure's name and a common verb with negative connotations is exploited, cf. *walzować* [←Gronkiewicz-Walz], whose negative meaning is intensified by its similarity to *walcować* 'to use a roller to press something down' (Waszakowa 2017: 128f.). Moreover, the verb's morpho-syntactic structure may reveal an intended association with a vulgarism, e.g. *stuszczyć się* [←Tusk] and *skaczyzować się* [←Kaczyński] employ the same derivational pattern as the vulgarism *skurwić się* 'become a female prostitute' [←kurwa_{common N} '(slang) prostitute'] (Waszakowa 2020: 157).

This contribution undertakes to provide a morpho-syntactic and semantic analysis of selected coinages that are derived by suffixation of a Polish or foreign (sur)name. We further seek to advance the understanding of the verbs' semantic complexity and diversity by clarifying some facets of figuration that are involved in the construal of their contextualized meanings and their pragmatic effects. By adopting the Cognitive Linguistics perspective on name-based verbs, we intend to broaden the scope of the existing analyses with respect to the role played in the derivation of eponymous verbs by metonymy and metaphor as well as conceptual integration. It will be argued here that those cognitive processes are pivotal in the dynamic, context-dependent interpretation of the eponymous verbs' semantics, which is only partly compositional and not fully predictable (cf. Bierwiaczonek 2013: 109).

The database for our analysis has been sourced from online political discourse, including electronic press articles and a variety of short texts, such as readers' comments, tweets, and forum messages. The collected data set comprises around 100 eponymous verbs, motivated by well over 80 surnames. The majority are recent ones, attested after 2015. They are mostly low-frequency tokens, yet, some have already become well-entrenched and are of relatively high frequency, e.g. *orbanizować* [←Orban], (*prze*)*sasinić* [←Sasin], (*s*)*kałużyć* (*się*) [←Kałuża][2].

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[2] Still, they are not (yet) listed as dictionary entries, unlike such well-entrenched examples as *hamletyzować* [←Hamlet].

2. The key assumptions of Cognitive Linguistics relevant for the present study

The present article employs the main tenets of Cognitive Linguistics (Geeraerts & Cuyckens [eds.] 2007), especially Construction Grammar (Hoffmann & Trousdale [eds.] 2013) and its application to the study of words, namely Construction Morphology (e.g. Booij 2013). In particular, we espouse the claim that language is a structured inventory of *constructions*, which range from individual words, treated as *morphological constructions*, to abstract semantic and syntactic rules.

Cognitive and constructional semantics rests on the assumption that meaning is not fixed but *contextually construed* by language users (Croft & Cruse 2004: 3, 97). Moreover, meaning is a cognitive (or: mental) phenomenon (Langacker 2008: 30), shaped by a variety of *motivational factors*, which include *cognitive motivations* – the focal point of our analysis. They encompass metonymy, metaphor, conceptual integration and non-metonymic and non-metaphorical inferencing (Panther & Radden 2011: 10).

Following Radden and Kövecses (1999: 21), *conceptual metonymy* is defined here as a *domain-internal* process, whereby one conceptual entity (the vehicle or source), "provides mental access to another conceptual entity" (the target), within the same overarching domain or a domain complex. *Conceptual metaphor*, in turn, is viewed as a cognitive mapping (or a set of correspondences) across *discrete conceptual domains* (Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal Usón 2007: 33)[3]. Conceptual metonymy is a relationship of conceptual contiguity or association, while conceptual metaphor is a relationship of analogy and correlation in experience (Bierwiaczonek 2013: 15–16, 30; Panther & Radden 2011: 2). The two cognitive operations may interact, resulting in metaphtonymy (Goossens 2002), i.e. metaphor-metonymy complexes, which may involve chains of metonymic mappings interspersed with metaphorical ones (Brdar & Brdar-Szabó 2007).

We concur with Brdar's (2017) and Brdar & Brdar-Szabó's (2013) approach to the role of metonymy in affixation. The scholars maintain that affixal derivation cannot automatically be equated with the operation of metonymy by analogy to conversion, which is motivated by event-schema metonymies[4]

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[3] The distinctions between metonymic and metaphorical motivations are matters of degree; therefore, positing a "literalness-metonymy-metaphor continuum" seems justified (Radden 2002: 409–410; Brdar & Brdar-Szabó 2007: 139–140). Individual speakers' conceptualizations may also differ in this respect.

[4] *Conversion* is taken to be an "unmarked change of word category", where the base and the derived word are formally identical (Schönefeld 2005: 134). For instance, the bare

(Dirven 1999). In affixal derivation, metonymic mappings operate either on the base and/or the affix (the input to derivation) or on the complex derived lexeme (the output of derivation) (Brdar & Brdar-Szabó 2013: 42–43). Put differently, metonymic shifts take place prior or posterior to derivation but they cannot be equated with it. Similarly, Bierwiaczonek (2013: 113) argues that metonymy may operate on the components of an affixal derivative, but its composite meaning is a result of conceptual integration. This stance is adopted in the present research. It will be shown that meaning construal of name-based verbs is licensed by metonymic or metaphtonymic understanding of the proper noun in their base.

Conceptual integration (or: *blending*) is an on-line, dynamic process whereby partial structures from two or more input spaces are projected onto a third space, the blend, which develops its own 'emergent' content (Fauconnier 2009: 21). We concur with Augustyn's (2017: 2–3) view that crucial in the interpretation of novel expressions is the discourse-particular interaction between the addresser and addressee, which is anchored in text-internal and text-external context. It can conveniently be represented with Langacker's (2008: 59) Current Discourse Space, namely "a mental space comprising everything presumed to be shared by the speaker and hearer as the basis for discourse at a given moment". Current Discourse Space supplements the original model of conceptual integration put forward by Fauconnier & Turner (2002).

3. Eponymous verbs as morphological constructions

Name-based verbs are complex lexemes, and as such they can be viewed as *morphological constructions*, i.e. word-level pairings of (phonological and morphosyntactic) form with (semantic and pragmatic) content that may exhibit holistic properties, which are not derivable from constituent parts (Booij 2013: 7, 22). The description of their semantics needs to take into account the semantics of: eponymous bases, verbalizing suffixes, prefixes (when applicable), and the holistic semantic properties of the verbal derivative, arrived at in the process of dynamic, context-dependent meaning construal. As noted above, the holistic conceptualization is arrived at in the process of conceptual integration. Its precise nature will be delineated in Section 5.

Eponymous verb constructions are morpho-syntactically transparent in so far as the full or truncated surnames of high-profile individuals in the

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verbalization *to boycott*, derived from the surname of Captain C.C. Boycott, is licensed by the event-schema metonymy Agent for Action (Brdar-Szabó & Brdar 2017: 86).

base are known to language users from the public sphere. The constructions examined here minimally consist of a stem and a *thematic suffix* (the suffix *-ć* marks the infinitive form). The most frequent ones in our database are *-owa-* and *-i-/-y-*, cf. *braun-owa-ć* [←Braun] and *kemp-i-ć* [←Kempa], *piterz-y-ć* [←Pitera], respectively. Some predicates, for instance *orban-iz-owa-ć* [←Orbán], *schetyn-iz-owa-ć* [←Schetyna], feature the additional derivational suffix *-iz-/-yz-*, which is the counterpart of the English suffix *-ize* (e.g. *orbanize*, *putinize*)[5]. Moreover, many novel verbs include a prefix, e.g.: *z-de-kaczyz-owa-ć*, *prze-ziobrz-y-ć* [←Ziobro] and *wy-rydzyk-owa-ć* [←Rydzyk], illustrated in sentences (1)−(3), respectively.

(1) […] można użyć […] naszej armii, europejskiej, po to, żeby *zdekaczyzować* Polskę […].
One can use […] our army, European army, in order to z_{PREF} -de_{PREF}- kaczyz-o-wa-$ć_{INF}$ Poland.

(2) Jak ziobrzyć, żeby nie *przeziobrzyć*???
How to ziobrz-y-ć $_{INF}$ so as not to $prze_{PREF}$-ziobrz-y-$ć_{INF}$?

(3) Nie wszyscy dali sobie *wyrydzykować* […] mózg.
Not all have let them wy_{PREF}-rydzyk-owa-$ć_{INF}$ […] [his/her] brain.

The analysis of prefixed name-based verbs goes far beyond the scope of the present contribution. Let us only note that prefixes may mark the perfective aspect of the verb, cf. *z-dekaczyzować*$_{PERF}$ vs. *dekaczyzować*$_{IMPERF}$. More importantly, however, they contribute to the composite meaning of the name-based verb their own specialized semantics, which may be idiosyncratic and unpredictable (cf. Szymanek 2010: 141)[6].

In this paper, we zoom in on non-prefixed verbs created by suffixation with a *thematic* suffix and, in some cases, also with the *derivational* suffix *-iz-/-yz-*. It needs to be noticed that suffixation with a thematic suffix, involved in the creation of novel verbal coinages, poses a methodological problem as to the status of the suffix. Some scholars treat verbal thematic suffixes as exponents of paradigmatic derivation within the realm of inflection, while for others they instantiate derivational operations. Since the distinction appears to have significant consequences for the type of motivating factors that license meaning construal of the verbs in question, it seems expedient to briefly elucidate the phenomenon of paradigmatic derivation and the contrasting views on the matter espoused in the literature.

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[5] It deserves note that some anthroponyms give rise both to verbs without the suffix *-iz-/-yz-* and to expanded verbs (with *-iz-*), cf.: *ziobrować* and *ziobryzować* [←Ziobro], *tuskować* and *tuskizować* [←Tusk], *obajtkować* and *obajtkizować* [←Obajtek], which do not exhibit any significant differences in meaning.

[6] For instance, the prefix *wy-* in (3) seems to add the meaning of removing something out of a container (here: the brain from one's head) with the help of the referent in the nominal base (here: Father Rydzyk, see Section 5) (cf. Wróbel 1999: 582).

3.1. Paradigmatic derivation

The term *paradigmatic derivation* has been applied to suffixation with a thematic suffix by Waszakowa (1993), Wróbel (1999), and Szymanek (1983, 2010), among others. Waszakowa (1993: 17–18) defines this process as a *derivational* relation in which the formal exponent of the dependency between the motivated lexeme and motivating one is a set of *inflectional* affixes and not a derivational morpheme. According to her, the primary and most important exponent of this type of derivation is a change of *inflectional paradigm*.

However, the derivation of denominal verbs, including name-based neologisms examined here, relies on replacing the nominal paradigm of inflection characteristic of a given noun (e.g. *Tusk-a*, *Tusk-owi*, *Tusk-iem*, etc.) with a *verbal thematic suffix* and a verbal inflectional paradigm (e.g. *tusk-owa-ć*, *tusk-uj-ą*, *tusk-owa-li*, etc.) (cf. Szymanek 2010: 185–6; Wróbel 1999: 574). The shift of the nominal stem to the verbal paradigm of inflection is thus formally manifested by the addition of a thematic suffix, which makes the suffix relevant for identifying cognitive motivations behind name-based predicates.

According to Wróbel (1999: 536), thematic suffixes have a special status in Polish morphology since their main function is to constitute inflectional stems. As such, they determine the type of the inflectional paradigm of the derived predicate. Szymanek (2010: 186) argues that a thematic element "does not count as a derivational suffix", and the process can be treated as a counterpart of noun-to-verb *conversion* ('zero derivation') in English, or as "conversion in disguise", i.e. conversion accompanied with "replacement of inflectional material".

Waszakowa (1993: 12–13) admits, however, that the status of denominal verbs is controversial. Grzegorczykowa (1979: 75) contends that the formatives responsible for the change from a nominal to a verbal profile, which are indispensable exponents of action, process or state, are *always* thematic suffixes. As such, thematic suffixes would be *derivational* and not inflectional morphemes. In a similar fashion, Grzegorczykowa & Puzynina (1999: 367) point out that the inclusion of denominal derivation of verbs in paradigmatic derivation is disputable if a distinct inflectional paradigm is regarded as the *only* difference between a paradigmatic derivative and its base, with the absence of any affixal exponents of derivation, since thematic suffixes constitute a necessary part of the verbal stem.

As demonstrated by Štekauer (2014: 357), the boundaries between inflection and derivation, as well as inflectional and derivational paradigms,

are fuzzy rather than clear-cut. Seen from this perspective, paradigmatic derivation can be claimed to occupy the middle ground between inflection and derivation. Yet, the classification of thematic suffixes as either derivational or inflectional morphemes is not a purely terminological distinction, since it appears to have significant consequences for identifying metonymic motivations behind the particular types of verb-formation. If paradigmatic derivation is perceived as part of inflection and thematic suffixes – as markers of an inflectional paradigm only, denominal verbs would necessarily be instances of *conversion*, motivated by event-schema metonymies. If, however, thematic suffixes are considered to be indispensible exponents of the verbal profile, denominal derivation of verbs represents concatenative word-formation, and the verbal profile of the derivate is established by the suffix (Szymanek 1983: 33–34, cf. Bierwiaczonek 2013: 113). In the present analysis, we adopt this latter approach, that is, we treat novel name-based verbs with thematic suffixes as products of derivation, whose composite meaning is a result of conceptual integration (cf. Section 2). In the ensuing sections it will be argued that metonymies operating on the proper name in the base are of a different type than event-schema mappings that motivate conversion.

4. Semantic classes of verbal eponymous derivatives

The present attempt at systematizing and classifying the attested and potential meanings of name-based verbs employs the findings presented by Szymanek (2010) and Wróbel (1999) for Polish denominal verbs, and by Plag (1998) for English ones.

Szymanek (2010: 187–188) distinguishes only three basic semantic types of denominal verbs in general Polish. They are characterized as follows:

1) stative, typically paraphrasable as 'to be (like) N', 'to act as a N', e.g. *król-owa-ć* (to be a king', *król* 'king');
2) processual 'to become N', e.g. *idioci-e-ć* ('to become an idiot', *idiota* 'idiot');
3) causative / resultative 'to cause to become N(s)/ like N', e.g. *proszk-owa-ć* ('to powder something, *proszek* 'powder'), *doktor-yz-owa-ć* ('to confer a doctorate on sb', *doktor* 'doctor (PhD)').

Szymanek (ibid.: 188) points out, however, that Polish denominal verbs exhibit a huge variety of functions (see Wróbel [1999: 545–550, 573 –581] for an extensive list of semantic classes of Polish verbs) and that an exhaustive classification of all of them is not feasible since some verbs exhibit "unpredictable and idiosyncratic" meanings. This observation seems especially pertinent to novel name-based verbs, whose semantic construal

relies heavily on the encyclopedic knowledge of individual language users and on the local context of language use.

It deserves note that both Szymanek (2010: 187) and Wróbel (1999: 576), employ the term 'stative' not only for verbs that express states ('be (like) N') but also for those denoting actions ('act/behave like N'). In our corpus, eponymous verbal neologisms expressing pure states appear hard to find. The vast majority express actions and behaviours. Therefore, we employ the label 'similative', proposed by Plag (1998) for eponymous verbs like *Marxize, Stalinize*, glossed as 'act like X', 'imitate X'[7]. English similative verbs are predominantly transitive, and they mostly have proper nouns as their bases (ibid.: 233). The names are interpreted metonymically in so far as they stand for frameworks of ideas (ibid.).

The examination of the semantics of the novel predicates in our database validates the fuzzy nature of semantic classes observed by Plag (1998). It appears that the vast majority of intransitively and transitively-used eponymous verbs in our corpus can be subsumed under broadly understood 'similative' verbs. Consequently, we propose that two main semantic classes suffice for the analysis of name-based verbs:

1) similative verbs

   a. used intransitively ['to be (like) N_{PROP}', 'to have (some) features of N_{PROP}', or 'to act like/as N_{PROP}', 'to behave like N_{PROP}', 'to imitate N_{PROP}'[8]], e.g. *suskować* [←Marek Suski] 'to talk nonsense (like M. Suski does)';

   b. used transitively ['to cause to become (like) N_{PROP}', 'to cause to acquire (some) properties of N_{PROP}', 'to apply the ideas or manners of N_{PROP}' (Plag 1998: 234)], e.g. *orbanizować* (Polskę) 'to introduce Orban's ideology and policies (in Poland)' or 'to cause Poland to acquire features of Hungary under Orban's rule';

2) processual verbs (intransitive) ['to become like N_{PROP}', 'to acquire (some) properties of N_{PROP}'], e.g. *wałęsieć, wałęsizować się* [←Lech Wałęsa].

The class of similative verbs is by far the most numerous and best represented in our database. In the remainder of this article, meaning construal in intransitive similative verbs will be explored in detail. Space limitations preclude us from discussing transitively used similative and processual verbs.

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[7] Plag's (1998) typology of English derivatives in *-ize* subsumes six semantic classes: locative, ornative, causative/ resultative, inchoative, performative, and similative. Interestingly, it does not include stative (state) verbs at all.

[8] The glosses of verbal meanings are based on meaning definitions for respective verb classes in Plag (1998), Szymanek (2010: 187–188), and Wróbel (1999: 574, 577–581).

5. Eponymous similative verbs used intransitively: A proposal of analysis

A considerable body of the collected verbs are employed to encode an event in which a human Agent deliberately acts, or behaves, like the referent of the proper name in the base, or is perceived by the language user as resembling them. For illustration, consider the following examples:

(4) Nie *owsiakuj* więc, tylko rób co trzeba.
So do not owsiak-uj$_{V\ IMPER}$ but do what is necessary.

(5) Najpierw zgarniał kasę, a teraz *dziwiszuje*, że to nie on.
First, he pocketed the cash and now he dziwisz-uj-e$_{V\ 3RD\ SG\ PRES}$ that he didn't do it.

(6) W Polsce 'żebrak' powinniśmy zastąpić słowem 'Rydzyk'. Można *rydzykować* legalnie i publicznie, można!
In Poland, we should replace the word 'beggar' with the word 'Rydzyk'. One can rydzyk-owa-ć$_{V\ INF}$ legally and publicly, yes!

The above eponymous verbs prove to be mental shortcuts to rich conceptual content. In (4), the surname of the famous charity campaigner Jurek Owsiak is employed to access the meaning 'behave like a celebrity, to crave attention, media hype and applause'. In (5), the referent of the agentive subject is construed as acting in the characteristic manner attributed by some Poles to Cardinal Stanisław Dziwisz, Metropolitan Archbishop Emeritus of Kraków. The verb's meaning can be glossed as 'not to tell the truth, pretend not to know, put the blame on somebody else, act manipulatively explaining the accusation away'. The verb in (6) is based on the surname of a highly influential Polish Roman-Catholic priest, Tadeusz Rydzyk. Its meaning can be specified as 'act like a beggar despite the accumulated wealth; to shamelessly ask for more taxpayers' money', as Father Rydzyk does.

Since the trait(s) and/or the exact nature of the action or behaviour expressed by eponymous verbs is typically left underspecified, in order to decode the intended interpretation speakers rely heavily on background knowledge and inferences drawn from the co-text. Ephemeral, low-token occasionalisms often co-occur with a paraphrase of the target meaning. Its function is to guide the interlocutor in the construal of the verbs' semantics.

We would like to propose that the context-dependent meaning construal of eponymous verbal neologisms is licensed by the *paragon*[9]-like

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[9] *Paragons* are proper nouns that are "used as common nouns to denote the most salient property of the individual they normally refer to" (Bierwiaczonek 2013: 51–52). For example, '*a new Trump*' refers to someone who exhibits some of Donald Trump's salient

understanding of proper names in their base. In the ensuing analysis, we employ the model of consecutive metonymic tiers advanced by Brdar & Brdar-Szabó (2007) for the interpretation of paragons, and supplement it with Bierwiaczonek's (2020a) *syntaphoric* mappings.

By way of illustration, consider the verb *owsiakować* in (4). It seems that the metonymic chain involved in the understanding of the surname *Owsiak* in the verb's base consists of three mappings. Firstly, the holistic domain of an average Pole's encyclopaedic knowledge about Jurek Owsiak as a person is reduced to the subdomain regarding his public service, charity work and involvement in social campaigns, thus giving rise to the concept of 'Jurek Owsiak the famous charity worker' (the metonymy WHOLE DOMAIN OF KNOWLEDGE FOR SUBDOMAIN). Other elements of knowledge about him are suppressed and defocused. In the next step, by virtue of the metonymy INDIVIDUAL FOR HIS/HER CHARACTERISTIC PROPERTY/BEHAVIOUR, the surname *Owsiak* (the metonymic vehicle) serves to access Owsiak's typical behaviour in the public sphere, where he is perceived by some language users as acting like a celebrity or media star, focused mainly on gaining popularity. In this metonymic process, the name functions as a point of reference by means of which Owsiak's traits and behaviour are invoked (cf. Bierwiaczonek 2013: 57). Then, this specific, negatively evaluated behaviour is interpreted as exhibited to the maximum, which is licensed by the metonymy WHOLE SCALE FOR UPPER END OF SCALE. The metonymic chain involved here is schematically depicted in Figure 1.

It deserves to be underscored that a vast majority of the examined verbs, including the ones in (1)–(3), convey a negative axiological evaluation. Examples of positively interpreted novel predicates, such as the verb in (8) below, are extremely rare. The typically negative attitudinal meanings derive from the negative assessment of the metonymically highlighted personal attribute(s) of the name's referent. The source of the axiological interpretation of eponymous verbs is thus the body of salient perceptions, attitudes and judgments about a given public persona, which are not necessarily accurate or based on objective facts, but which are shared by members of a specific in-group, or, potentially, the community at large. The metonymic chain discussed above licenses the association of those subjective judgments, together with their axiological interpretation, with a given public figure.

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features or acts like him. See Paszenda & Góralczyk (2018) for a detailed discussion of recent approaches to paragons.
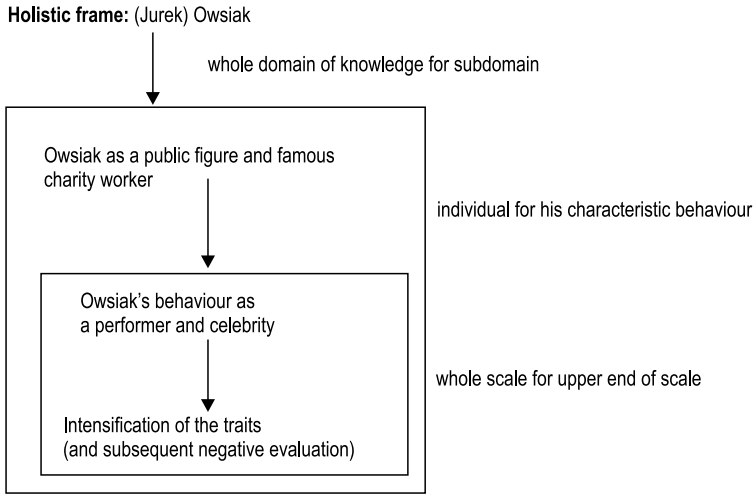
Holistic frame: (Jurek) Owsiak

whole domain of knowledge for subdomain

Owsiak as a public figure and famous charity worker

individual for his characteristic behaviour

Owsiak's behaviour as a performer and celebrity

whole scale for upper end of scale

Intensification of the traits (and subsequent negative evaluation)

Fig. 1. The metonymic chain operating on the verbal base (the surname *Owsiak*) in (4)

Input space 1

Frame: (Jurek) Owsiak

METONYMIC CHAIN

a performer and celebrity whose behaviour is negatively evaluated

DOMAIN REDUCTION + SCALAR MODEL

Input space 2

Form: [X-thematic suffix-*ć*]verb

Meaning: 'to behave like X does'/ 'to be like X'

Form: [*owsiak-owa-ć*]verb

Meaning: 'behave like a celebrity, crave media hype and applause – like J. Owsiak does'

Blended space

• Discourse contextual information

• Background knowledge shared by the speaker and hearer
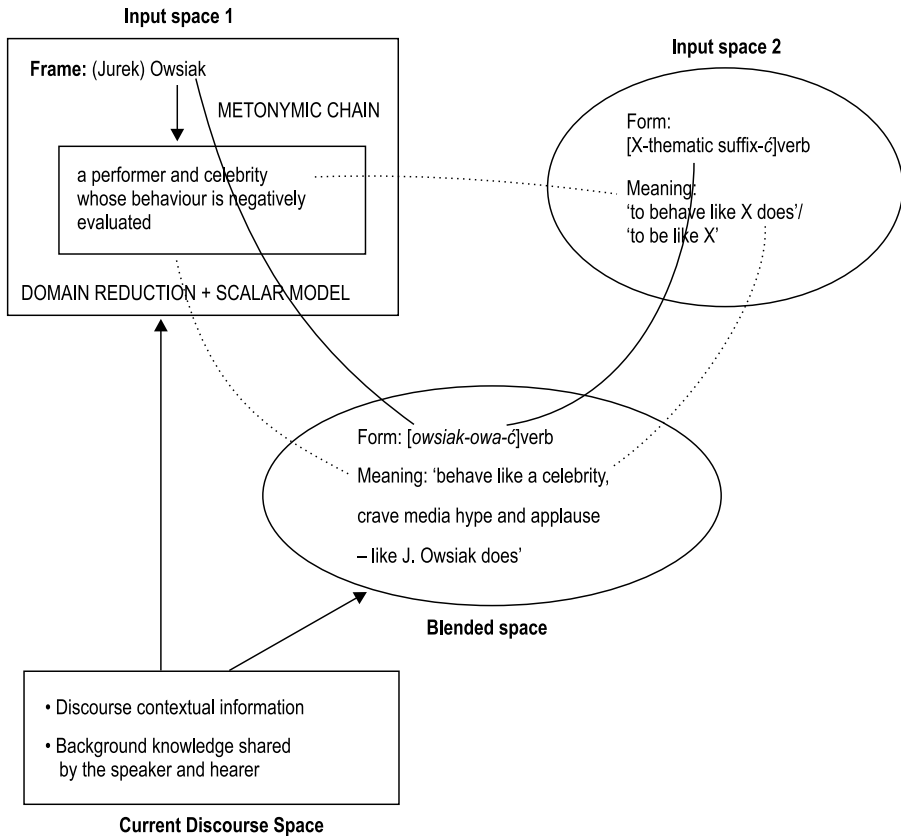
Current Discourse Space

Fig. 2. Formal and semantic integration in the derivation of the verb *owsiakować*

In line with Bierwiaczonek (2020b: 24), we assume that the ultimate meaning of the derivative *owsiakować*, as well as of the remaining suffixed predicates discussed in this contribution, is the outcome of *conceptual integration* (blending) of the verbal constructional schema with the reduced frame of knowledge activated by the anthroponym in the base (see Figure 2). Input space 1 includes the full frame of encyclopedic information about J. Owsiak, marked by the bigger rectangle, and the metonymically reduced frame, corresponding to the information that is relevant for the interpretation of the neologism *owsiakować*, marked by the smaller rectangle. Input space 2 depicts the general constructional schema for similative name-based verbs. Figure 2 also includes the Current Discourse Space, which comprises the discourse-specific contextual information which guides the meaning construal of the neologism. For clarity of presentation, the metonymic chain operating within Input space 1 is not depicted in detail.

Information from the two input spaces and the Current Discourse Space is selectively projected onto the blended space, giving rise to the contextualized interpretation of the verb in a particular instance of its use.

The output of the metonymic tiers serves as input for a further mapping (or mappings), when the verb is used to refer to other public figures or ordinary people in the context of politics or other spheres of life. We assume that if an eponymous verb is applied to a situation from a domain distinct from politics, the additional mapping will be metaphoric. However, as noted earlier, it is not always easy to distinguish between metonymic and metaphorical motivation in the construal of meaning. To illustrate, consider example (7):

(7) Hołownia zaczyna *jachirować*. Czy to zakaźne?
　　Hołownia is beginning to jachir-owa-ć$_{V\,INF}$. Is it contagious?-

The verb in (7) – based on the surname of Klaudia Jachira[10] – means 'not to be either physically or mentally well, act in the erratic manner typical for Jachira'. Interestingly, the female MP has been selected by the speaker in order to criticize the behaviour of Szymon Hołownia[11] – a politician from the same democratic coalition. In this case, the conceptual distance between the source and target is relatively small.

We would like to propose that such uses can conveniently be analyzed as motivated by *synecdochic metaphor* (or: *syntaphor*) (Bierwiaczonek

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[10] Klaudia Jachira is currently a member of the Polish Greens, elected to the Parliament in 2023. She is also an actress, a comedian and a YouTuber.
[11] Szymon Hołownia is the current Marshal of the Polish Parliament (the Sejm) as well as the leader of the Poland 2050 party, which forms a part the now ruling coalition in Poland.

2020a: 235), that is, a SPECIES-SPECIES transfer based on perceived analogy between closely-related concepts. Syntaphor operates between members of the same category on the same basic or sub-basic level of a taxonomy[12] (here: between politicians of different parties within the democratic coalition). It appears that the same mechanisms of metonymic or metaphtonymic meaning construal and conceptual integration are involved in the interpretation of the proper names in the bases of all the eponymous predicates in our database.

Further examples of similative coinages which fuse with the intransitive construction are provided in (8).

(8) *kidawić* [←Kidawa-Błońska] 'be ineffective in one's political actions', *dudować* [←Duda] 'give signature to any document', *glińszczyć* [←Gliński] 'offer state funding to parishes and not public cultural institutions', *sasinić* [←Sasin] 'be ineffective in economic endeavours, waste a lot of money', *witkować* [←Witek] 'contrary to facts claim that one obeys the law and regulations', *obajtkować*, *obajtkizować* [←Obajtek] 'earn tremendous amounts of money without the requisite qualifications; steal', *gryglasić* [←Gryglas] 'betray voters and ideals, act as a traitor'.

Their meanings are construed in the manner described above, on the basis of the local discourse contextual information and the background knowledge shared by the speakers.

Let us also note that a number of similative verbs pertain to communicative behaviour such as: truthfulness/quality of communication, the strength of arguments or the manner of speaking (e.g. *bidenizować* [←Joe Biden] 'make speech errors'). Typically, the intended meanings are very negative, ranging from talking nonsense (e.g. *górniakować* [←Edyta Górniak, pop singer and celebrity], *dziwiszyć*, *dziwiszować* [←Dziwisz], *biedronić* [←Biedroń], *suskować* [←Suski]), to lying and propagandising (e.g. *budkować* [←Budka], *schetynić, schetynizować* [←Schetyna], *korwinić* [←Korwin-Mikke], *mateuszyć* [←Mateusz Morawiecki], *sasinić* [←Sasin], *jarkować* [←Jarosław Kaczyński, leader of the Law and Justice party in Poland], *szydlić* [←Szydło]).

Finally, a given name-based derivative may display a range of different, context-dependent meanings. For instance, four interpretations of *owsiakować* (also *owsiaczyć*) have been attested in our corpus: (i) 'behave like a celebrity, crave media hype and applause', as in (4) above, (ii) 'steal money from charity', as in (9) below, (iii) 'fake charitable activity', as in (10); and (iv) 'achieve huge

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[12] Bierwiaczonek (2020a: 235) explains that syntaphor motivates meaning extensions "based on analogy below the level of metaphor."

success in spite of difficulties and against all odds', as in (11). The latter is a rare instance of use with a positive evaluation, which may, however, be an intentional, ironic, play on the negative meanings typically evoked by the construction.

(9) Już ktoś *zaowsiakował* melona.
Somebody has now za_{PREF}-owsiak-owa-ł$_{V\ 3RD\ SG\ PAST}$ a million (a lump sum).

(10) Nie trzeba *owsiaczyć* i strugać wielkiego dobroczyńcę żeby zrobić coś fajnego dla innych.
You don't need to owsiacz-y-ć$_{INF}$ and pose as a great charity fundraiser in order to do something good for others.

(11) *Owsiaczyć:* antonim sasinić: robić coś z olbrzymim sukcesem i zyskiem, mimo niesprzyjających warunków.
Owsiacz-y-ć$_{INF}$: antonym of sasin-i-ć: to make something a great success at a huge profit, despite unfavourable circumstances.

6. Conclusions

Novel eponymous verbs examined in this paper exhibit a number of characteristic features. They appear capable of expressing a seemingly unrestricted range of very specific meanings, which depend on the speaker's selection and construal of particular traits of a given public person named in the verb's base. A paragon-like metonymic chain, in which the proper name serves as a metonymic vehicle, plays a key role in the composite conceptualization as it enables highlighting any chosen personal feature or aspect of behaviour of the name's referent. It follows that eponymous verbs are semantically 'versatile', i.e. have elastic meanings (cf. Real Puigdollers 2013: 233), which can be adopted to a given co-text and extra-linguistic context in a dynamic interaction between language users. The context and shared background knowledge are particularly important as they enable the encoding and decoding of the intended interpretations.

Further, due to the strong (typically negative) emotive load carried by eponymous verbs and the fact that they crucially rely on the contextualized interaction between the speaker and the hearer, the novel predicates can fulfill a number of key social functions. It appears that revealing one's attitudinal bias in a creative, communicatively attractive and indirect way facilitates the speaker's positioning in the ongoing contextualized discourse and enables the construction of his/her socio-political identity in a given community. In particular, employing a politician's name as a paragon of some negatively valued traits or behaviours may serve the speaker to detach themselves from this public persona and the political option or ideology they represent. Therefore, novel eponymous verbs may be used to build

or strengthen the feeling of in-group membership, as well as to construe the out-group. In this way, they serve to mark social inclusion and exclusion (cf. Duszak 2002: 9). This seems particularly relevant for the current, highly emotional and divisive political discourse in Polish mass-media, which is rooted in the 'us and them' mindset and the contemporary 'otherisation' culture (cf. ibid.). Negative evaluation appears to conform with these socio-political functions most effectively.

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