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An introduction to a cognitive linguistic analysis of novel name-based derivatives in the current political discourse in Poland

Wstęp do analizy nowych derywatów odonimicznych w polskim dyskursie politycznym w ujęciu językoznawstwa kognitywnego

Abstrakt

Niniejszy artykuł przedstawia teoretyczne i metodologiczne założenia do analizy najnowszych nominalnych derywatów sufiksalnych w języku polskim, które tworzone są od nazw własnych, i które funkcjonują w aktualnym dyskursie politycznym. Zarysowane zostały kluczowe aspekty opisu słowotwórstwa w oparciu o założenia językoznawstwa kognitywnego, a w szczególności jednego z modeli przyjętych w obrębie tego paradygmatu, morfologii konstrukcji. Pokazano, że wyrazy złożone i schematy derywacyjne mogą być traktowane jako konstrukcje, które mogą być kategoriami polisemicznymi, i których znaczenia mogą być motywowane przez metonimię i metaforę. Z przeprowadzonych rozważań wynika, że metonimia konceptualna motywuje proces konwersji, derywaty z ucięciem, i różnego typu skrótowce, jednak derywacja sufiksalna jest potencjalnie metonimiczna tylko wówczas, gdy współwystępuje z rozszerzeniem znaczenia podstawy słowotwórczej albo sufiksu lub gdy przesunięciu semantycznemu ulega derywat jako całość.

Słowa kluczowe: derywat odonimiczny, konstrukcja morfologiczna, motywacja, metonimia, metafora, neologizm, okazjonalizm

Abstract

The present contribution provides a theoretical and methodological background for an analysis of novel suffixal derivatives that are based on proper names and function in the current political discourse in Poland. We delineate the most important assumptions behind a cognitive linguistic approach to word-formation, focusing particularly on one of the models within this paradigm, namely Construction Morphology. It has been

demonstrated that complex words and abstract word-formation patterns can be viewed as constructions, which may be polysemous, and whose meanings may be motivated by metonymy and metaphor. It is also demonstrated that conceptual metonymy motivates the process of conversion, clipping and various types of morphological truncation. However, suffixal derivation is potentially metonymic only if the base morpheme or the suffix exhibit extended senses, or if a semantic shift applies to the derivative as a whole.

Key words: name-based derivative, morphological construction, motivation, metonymy, metaphor, neologism, occasionalism

1. Introduction

In the present study, we provide a theoretical background for a detailed examination of recent innovative nominal affixal derivatives based on names that are currently employed in Polish media discourse about politics. The paper adopts the methodology of Cognitive Linguistics, with its focus on contextually construed meaning (Croft & Cruse 2004: 97) and commitment to seeking motivation behind linguistic structure (Goldberg 1995: 67–72).

This contribution is part of a wider project devoted to expressive, creative uses of proper names, predominantly surnames of well-known politicians, as well as names of political parties, public institutions and organizations, in informal and semi-formal communication. The database comprises over 500 tokens, which have been culled between the years 2010−2020[1]. The primary sources of data include: news websites, online newspaper and magazine articles and the comments sections therein, blogs, discussion forums, as well as posts on Twitter and Facebook.

The compiled corpus of Polish nominal neologisms and occasionalisms derived from proper names includes suffix derivatives as well as products of non-affixal morphological processes, viz. conversion (or: paradigmatic derivation[2]), and various types of truncation (especially acronymization,

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[1] The adoption of an extralinguistic criterion for data selection is motivated by the fact that the recent developments on the political scene in Poland seem to have created deep polarisation and strong conflicts in Polish society, which appear to foster linguistic creativity in public discourse.

[2] Nagórko (2007: 194) applies the term ***conversion*** (Pol. 'konwersja') to instances of shifting a lexeme to a different lexico-grammatic class without adding a suffix. As is well-known, conversion is much less wide-spread in Polish word-formation than it is in English (cf. Szymanek 1989: 85–86). Nevertheless, examples such as $palący_{\text{ADJ}}$ ('smoking') and $palący_{\text{N}}$ (a smoker) are not infrequent. Due to the rich system of inflection in Polish, it is necessary to distinguish conversion proper, where no formal change is involved, from ***paradigmatic derivation***, also referred to as *inflectional derivation* (Pol. 'derywacja paradygmatyczna', 'derywacja fleksyjna'), which appears to be one of the "major derivational techniques" in contemporary Polish (Szymanek 2010: 233–234). It is accomplished by shifting a lexeme

abbreviation, and clipping). They can be categorized into the following morpho-semantic types[3]:

1) Nouns denoting human beings:
   A) *nomina attributiva* referring to supporters or followers of politicians, political parties or organizations named in the base (the suffixes: *-ista/-ysta, -ec/-(o)wiec, -(e)wicz, -wczyk/-wczak, -oida, -arz, -ers*), such as *ziobrysta, pisowiec, pisiewicz, POwiec, peowczyk, tuskoida, KODziarz, platformers*;
      (i) with a subgroup of diminutives and augmentatives, created with the suffixes *-ek, -orek, -or, -ur*, which contribute a negative evaluation of the referent(s), e.g.: *tusek, kaczorek, gowinek, pisior, pisiur*;
   B) paragonic[4] common nouns, denoting classes of people that exhibit some essential (negative) properties that the speaker ascribes to the name's referent, cf.: *misiewicze, dudy, ziobra, T/tuski, Trumpy*;
   C) *nomina collectiva*, suffixed with *-arnia, -stwo/-ctwo*, referring collectively to followers or supporters of a given party or organization, e.g.: *platformiarnia, pisiarnia, pisiactwo, gowinowstwo, kodziarstwo*.

2) *Nomina actionis* denoting:
   A) actions and practices initiated by or modeled on the behaviour of the name's referent (the suffix *-owanie* [*-anie*]): *tuskowanie, sasinowanie*;
   B) processes initiated by or associated with the name's referent, and their results (the suffix *-izacja/-yzacja* [*-acja*]), e.g.: *dudyzacja, kaczyzacja, misiewizacja, pisizacja*;
   C) a reversal or undoing of the results of such processes (prefixation with *de-* and suffixation with *-izacja/-yzacja*): *dedudyzacja, dekaczyzacja, demisiewizacja, depisyzacja*, etc.

3) *Nomina essendi* denoting:
   A) an ideology, doctrine or views held by (supporters of) a politician or party or characteristic properties ascribed to them (the suffixes *-izm/-yzm, -ość, -szyzm*): *dudyzm/dudzizm, kaczyzm, tuskizm, Poizm; tuskość; kaczyszyzm*;

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from one inflectional paradigm to another, cf. the adjective *zł-y* ('bad, evil') and the derived abstract noun *zł-o* ('badness, evil'). There is no formal difference between the nominal and adjectival stems, but the adjective and the corresponding noun select distinct sets of inflectional endings (ibid.).

[3] The typology incorporates insights from the classifications put forward by Grzegorczykowa (1979), Grzegorczykowa & Puzynina (1999), Nagórko (2007), Szymanek (2010), and Waszakowa (1994, 2005).

[4] *Paragonic* nouns are proper names that are "used as common nouns to denote the most salient property of the individual they normally refer to" (Bierwiaczonek 2013: 51–52).

B) an illness (the suffixes *-oza, -izm/-yzm*): *macierioza, PiSoza/pisoza, tuskoza, trumpoza; wałęsizm, tuskizm, kaczyzm, dudzizm*[5].

4) Less numerous classes:

A) count nouns denoting the referent's idiolect (the suffix *-izm/-yzm*), such as *błaszczakizm(y), kopaczyzm(y)*;

B) count nouns denoting units of measurement or units on a scale, e.g. *gowin(y), soros(y), ziemce*[6];

C) mass nouns designating social benefits introduced by the politician named in the derivational base: *jarkowe, kaczorowe, kosiniakowe, Mateuszowe, dudowe.*

Some newly coined words in our database are *neologisms* that have already become well-entrenched and are of relatively high frequency. Examples include the noun *kaczyzm* ('kacz-ism'), based on a truncated form of Jarosław Kaczyński's[7] surname. It has already been noted in the Polish version of *Wiktionary* [https://pl.wiktionary.org]. However, the majority of coinages are short-lived, idiolectal *nonce-formations*[8], such as *derydzykizacja Polski* ('de-Rydzyk[9]$_{N(PROP)}$-ization of Poland'), that do not feature as entries either in Polish dictionaries or corpora, for instance *NKJP* or *Monco*[10]. They can only be hand-picked from (mostly online) sources.

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[5] Cf. Duda cierpi na *dudzizm* konstytucyjny z elementami paranoi (…). '[President] Duda suffers from constitutional *dudzism* with element of paranoia (…)'. [24.10.2018, https://holtei. wordpress.com/].

[6] Common nouns of this type are used in such contexts as: *garść sorosów* ('a handful of Soros-es$_{GEN}$'), *Kto nazbiera więcej gowinów* ('Who will collect more Gowin-s$_{GEN}$'); *Siedem ziemców na dziesięć* ('seven Ziemiec-es$_{GEN}$ in ten').

[7] Jarosław Kaczyński is the leader of the Law and Justice party (*Prawo i Sprawiedliwość*).

[8] *Neologisms* and *nonce-words* (or: *nonce-forms, nonce-formations, occasionalisms*) are distinguished primarily on the basis of the degree of lexicalization, institutionalization, and entrenchment (see Schmid [2011: 71–81] for details), that is, the degree to which a given novel coinage can be treated as "part of the norm of the speech community involved" (Bauer 2001: 38). While *nonce-words* are "absolutely new" and only potential vocabulary items, *neologisms* are already recognized by language users as item-familiar, although they are "relatively new" from the diachronic perspective (Hohenhaus 2005: 364). More specifically, *nonce-formations* can be defined as both rule-governed and stylistically or otherwise deviant creative coinings that are not yet part of the linguistic norm but are "formed actively (…) by a speaker" (ibid.). They have an unstable meaning that is highly dependent on the context, the cultural background and the encyclopedic knowledge of language users (Kamińska-Szmaj 2006: 104; Jadacka 2001: 37–38). *Neologisms*, in turn, are those items that are perceived as new but already belong to the repository of established lexicon units (Hohenhaus 2005: 364; Bauer 2001: 39; Mattiello 2017: 25).

[9] Tadeusz Rydzyk is a Polish priest and businessman, known for his involvement in politics and close relations with the Law and Justice party.

[10] The abbreviations stand for the *National Corpus of Polish* (nkjp.pl) and the *Monco Corpus* (monco.frazeo.pl), respectively. The latter is a daily updated web corpus of contemporary Polish with around 2,5 billion tokens.

An increasingly more frequent use of anthroponyms as morphological bases in affixal word-formation[11] is a relatively modern tendency, attested in the twentieth-century Polish (Piela 2001: 31). Proper names have become an important source of expressive coinage particularly in the last couple of decades (Jadacka 2001; Waszakowa 2001). Despite a long research tradition and lasting interest in the role of neologisms in Polish political discourse (see Idzo 2015; Kamińska-Szmaj 2006; Kudra 2001; Sękowska 2012; among others), relatively little attention has been devoted to the processes involved in the construction of meaning of proper-name-based coinages as well as their discourse- and register-bound properties.

The overall aim of the present contribution is to delineate the theoretical assumptions for future constructional analyses of the most productive classes of derivatives based on proper nouns that are employed in the current political discourse in Poland. The theoretical claims proffered in the ensuing parts of this contribution will be implemented in a series of articles examining the semantics of and motivations behind the particular types of the above-listed novel coinages (see Góralczyk & Paszenda [forthcoming], where derivatives in *-izm* have been analyzed).

The article is structured as follows: Section 2 surveys the key tenets of Cognitive Linguistics, which have been adopted as the theoretical and methodological foundation of our project. In Section 3, a constructional theory of word formation is presented. Section 4 offers a description and critical appraisal of various metonymic and – to a lesser extent – metaphorical motivations that have been proposed in cognitive linguistic literature to account for the interpretation of (novel) products of particular concatenative and non-concatenative morphological processes. The conclusions of the paper and prospects for further research are provided in Section 5.

2. The foundational assumptions of Cognitive Linguistics

The following tenets appear to be pivotal to the cognitive linguistic approach to language:

a) Language is a depository of *meaningful* categories, which renders *meaning* central to the study of language (Geeraerts & Cuyckens 2007: 5).

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[11] In this study, the terms *derivation* and *word-formation* will be used interchangeably to refer to "the methods of forming new lexemes from the already existing ones […]" (Szymanek 1989: 20).

b) Neither words nor sentences have fixed meanings; on the contrary, meaning *emerges* in context and is *contextually construed* (Croft & Cruse 2004: 97).

c) Syntax, morphology, and lexicon form a continuum of constructions (Langacker 2005: 158). The generalized definition of *construction* is as a conventionalized symbolic unit, pairing a specific form with a specific function or meaning (Croft 2001: 18; Langacker 2008: 6, 16). Individual words as well as abstract semantic and syntactic rules, are uniformly represented as constructions, without making any principled distinctions between constructions found within the realms of lexicon, morphology and syntax (Croft 2001: 17).

d) The notion of *construction* is central in various strands of Construction Grammar, found within Cognitive Linguistics[12] (Hoffman & Trousdale 2013a: 1; Goldberg 2013: 30). One of them is Booij's (2010, 2013, 2017) model of Construction Morphology (cf. Hoffmann & Trousdale 2013a: 5). It appears to be the most comprehensive cognitive linguistic framework to date that applies the construction-grammar approach to word formation.

e) *Metonymy* and *metaphor*, treated as conceptual and not purely linguistic phenomena, play a key role in the process of meaning construction throughout the whole lexicon-grammar continuum, including morphology (Radden & Panther 2004: 29–30; Dirven & Verspoor 2004: 32–41). The now classic cognitive linguistic definition of *conceptual metonymy*, formulated by Radden and Kövecses (1999: 21), reads: metonymy is "a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle [or: source], provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target", within the same overarching domain (or: idealized cognitive model). Oft-quoted examples of metonymically construed lexical items include: **Wall Street** *is in panic* (PLACE FOR INSTITUTION), and *We don't hire* **longhairs** (PART FOR WHOLE[13])

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[12] As pointed out by Bergs (2012: 1636), no single Construction Grammar framework exists. The term is only a 'short hand' for a whole set of theories which heavily rely on the notion of construction. The most influential and best known strands include: *Cognitive Construction Grammar* (CCxG), advocated by Adele Goldberg and George Lakoff, Ronald Langacker's *Cognitive Grammar* (CG), and William Croft's *Radical Construction Grammar* (RCxG). For a detailed overview of models that can be subsumed under broadly understood Construction Grammar, the interested reader is referred to Hoffmann & Trousdale's (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Construction Grammar* (2013). It deserves to be noted that Booij's model has been selected in this compilation to represent construction-based analyses of morphology.

[13] Peirsman & Geeraerts (2006) put forward an extensive inventory of metonymy-producing patterns of contiguity, including: PART & WHOLE, ENTITY & ADJACENT ENTITY, LOCATION & LOCATED, CONTAINER & CONTAINED, POSSESSOR & POSSESSED, MATERIAL & OBJECT, SUBEVENT & COMPLEX EVENT, CAUSE & EFFECT, and CHARACTERISTIC & ENTITY, and many others.

(Lakoff & Johnson 1980[2003]: 38). The source concept (e.g. a place or a part of an entity) functions as a "cognitive trigger" that enables access to the target concept (e.g. an institution or the whole entity). Crucially, both the source and target concepts need to be 'contiguous', i.e. "associated (…) within the *same* single integrated conceptualization" (Bierwiaczonek 2013: 15; emph. added). While conceptual metonymy is based on contiguity and associative thinking, *conceptual metaphor* involves analogizing (Panther & Radden 2011: 2). It is a conceptual mechanism linking two *separate* domains, whereby the target domain (A) is comprehended through a source domain (B) via a pattern of conceptual correspondences (or: mappings) existing between elements of A and elements of B (Kövecses 2002: 4; Croft & Cruse 2004: 194). For instance, the conceptual metaphor TIME IS MONEY is linguistically manifested in such expressions as *You're **wasting** my time*, and *This gadget will **save** you hours* (Lakoff & Johnson 1980[2003]: 8).

f) *Motivation* behind language structures is of fundamental importance since discovering the forces that shape linguistic phenomena helps to gain insights into the nature of language itself (Langacker 2011: 29; Radden & Panther 2004: 14, Goldberg 1995: 67–72). As argued by Langacker (ibid.: 30), "while very little in language is strictly predictable, virtually everything is motivated". Although there is no consensus among cognitive linguists concerning the precise definition of motivation (Radden & Panther 2004: 2), it appears generally agreed that a linguistic sign is *motivated* if "the relationship between its form and its meaning is not completely arbitrary" (Booij 2017: 236). In this paper, we adopt a more specific understanding of the term, put forward by Radden & Panther (2004: 4), who distinguish between language-internal and language-external motivations: "a linguistic unit (target) is motivated if some of its properties are shaped by a linguistic source (form and/or content) and language-independent factors". The latter include bodily experience, emotion, perception, action, (social and communicative) interaction, and culture. In consequence, a variety of language-independent motivational factors are distinguished[14]; they are depicted in Figure 1.

It should be remembered that both metonymy and metaphor are themselves prototypical categories with fuzzy boundaries, and that they form a continuum (Radden 2003: 437). Therefore, the distinction between them, based primarily on the domain-internal vs. domain-external nature of mappings, is not always clear-cut (Ruiz de Mendoza & Diéz 2003: 496).

[14] It needs to be borne in mind that all types of licensing factors are mediated through conceptualization, which means that linguistic motivation is "ultimately guided by cognition" (Radden & Panther 2004: 23). Motivation is a "multifactorial phenomenon" – both language-internal and language-independent types of factors interact, either jointly motivating a given linguistic unit or competing with each other (Radden & Panther 2004: 33). For further details
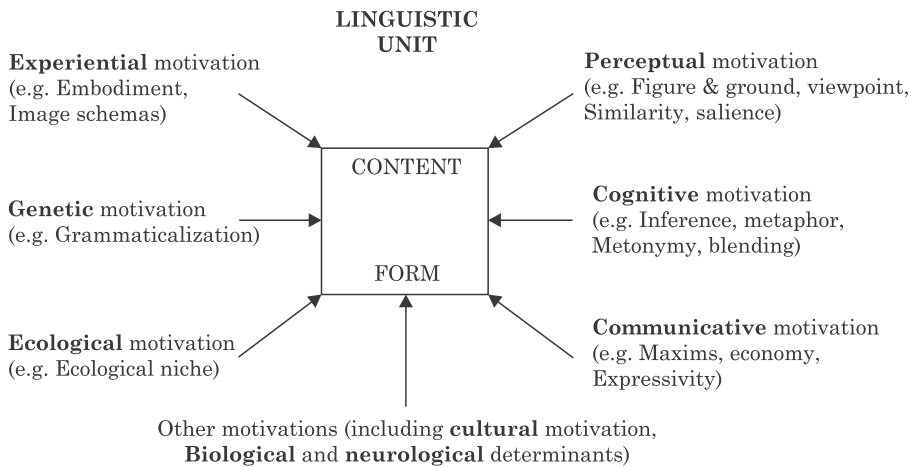
LINGUISTIC UNIT

Experiential motivation
(e.g. Embodiment,
Image schemas)

Perceptual motivation
(e.g. Figure & ground, viewpoint,
Similarity, salience)

CONTENT

Genetic motivation
(e.g. Grammaticalization)

Cognitive motivation
(e.g. Inference, metaphor,
Metonymy, blending)

FORM

Ecological motivation
(e.g. Ecological niche)

Communicative motivation
(e.g. Maxims, economy,
Expressivity)

Other motivations (including **cultural** motivation,
Biological and **neurological** determinants)

Figure 1. Language-independent motivational factors
(based on Radden & Panther 2004: 24−31)

In this paper, prominence will be accorded to cognitive motivations[15] that license the interpretation of name-based derivational neologisms and occasionalisms. In particular, we are going to concentrate on the role of conceptual metonymy, and – to some extent – also metaphor, in meaning construction of novel derivatives. This choice of focus is a consequence of adopting of the cognitive linguistic approach to grammar, which requires that motivation behind constructions, including morphological ones, be sought (cf. Goldberg 1995: 67–72). An additional reason for concentrating on metonymic (and metaphorical) licensing factors behind novel derivatives is that this aspect appears to be understudied in linguistic research devoted to Polish morphological constructions. Special focus on conceptual metonymy, in turn, is a consequence of its importance in interpreting extended meanings of linguistic units[16], and morphological constructs in particular (cf. Brdar 2017; Bierwiaczonek 2013: chp.3). Last but not least, we wish to address the controversies that still seem to surround the status and role of metonymic mappings in motivating constructions within the realm of word-formation.

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concerning the cognitive linguistic approach to motivation in grammar see the collections of papers in Radden & Panther (eds.) (2004) and Panther & Radden (eds.) (2011).

[15] Cognitive motivational factors subsume the human capacity to develop and access knowledge structures (categories, frames and mental spaces), and to perform cognitive operations on them. The latter include inter- and cross-domain mappings, drawing inferences, and blending concepts (Radden & Panther 2004: 29) .

[16] We fully endorse Taylor's (1995: 124) claim that metonymy is "one of the most fundamental processes of meaning extension, more basic, perhaps, even than metaphor".

3. A construction-based model of morphology

The view that the notion of *construction* can be applied to individual lexical items that are morphologically complex[17] is propagated by such leading cognitive linguists as Croft (2001: 17), Goldberg (2006: 5), Hilpert (2014: 14), and Bierwiaczonek (2017: 320–326), among others. In this section, we clarify the terms *morphological construction* and *morphological schema*, implementing insights from Booij's (2007, 2010, 2013, 2017) model of Construction Morphology.

3.1. Morphological constructions

Morphological constructions can be defined as pairings of (phonological and morphosyntactic) form with (semantic and pragmatic) content at the word level (cf. Booij 2013: 22). They differ from grammatical constructions only in terms of their internal complexity (ibid.: 1). While syntactic constructions consist of words and phrases, morphological constructions typically involve bound morphemes (Croft & Cruse 2004: 254).

The meaning of a morphological construction is typically "only partly compositional" (it may not simply be derived from the meanings of component morphemes) and, although motivated, it is "never fully predictable" (Bierwiaczonek 2013: 109; Booij 2017: 232). As pointed out by Kardela (2014: 131), semantic compositionality and analyzability[18] are gradient phenomena. The less compositional or opaque complexes will display *holistic* properties, evoked by the morphological construction as a whole (Booij 2013: 2, 11).

Another indication of the holistic semantic properties of morphological constructions is that they have *coercion* power, that is, they can impose a specific interpretation on the derivational base or the affix and trigger "semantic overrides" (Booij 2017: 233). For instance, prefixation with *un-* coerces a change of the semantic class of the base verb into the causative/inchoative type, entailing a reversible result, cf. *un-have*, *un-see*, and *un-hit* (ibid.).

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[17] It deserves note that some cognitive grammarians treat as constructions also simplex lexical items (Croft 2001: 17) and even individual morphemes (Goldberg 2006: 5).

[18] The term *compositionality* denotes the degree to which the properties of the whole construction are predictable from the properties of its parts (cf. Langacker 1987: 448). *Analyzability*, in turn, refers to "a language user's recognition of the role a given word plays (…) in the composite structure" and his/her ability to analyze it (Kardela 2014: 131).

Finally, let us point out that both schematic morphological constructions (morphological schemas) and individual morphemes may display prototype structure with a central meaning and a number of extended (more peripheral) senses, which form a radial network (Waszakowa 2017: 164f.). For instance, the abstract diminutive construction (*NOUN-DIMINUTIVE*), as well as individual diminutive suffixes in particular languages typically exhibit a range of meanings centered around 'small size' in the physical domain, with motivated extensions into the domains of 'gender', 'social power', and 'conceptual centrality', among others (Jurafsky 1996: 542–543), as shown in Figure 2. Some of the extensions are imbued with rich pragmatic content.
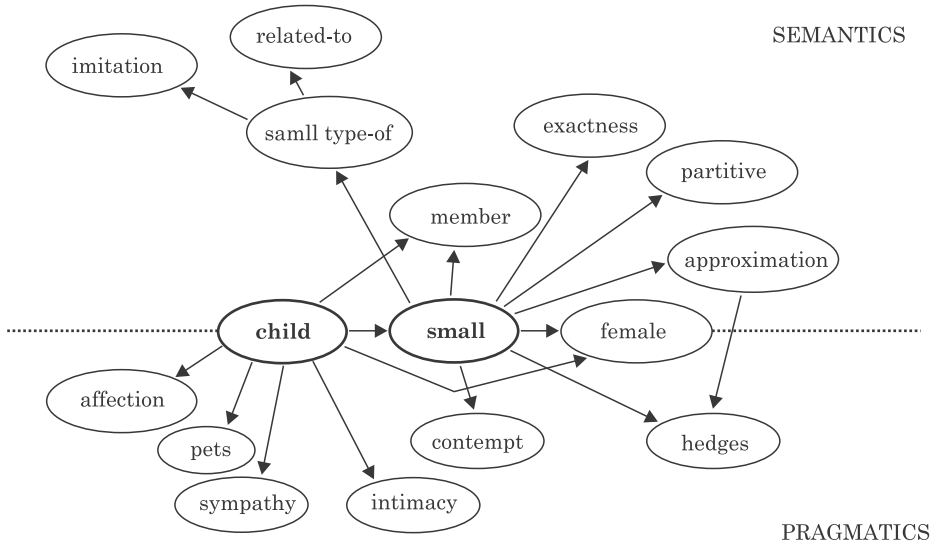

Figure 2. A universal radial network of the diminutive construction
(adapted from Jurafsky 1996: 542)

As reported by Lehrer (2003: 220), English diminutive suffixes *-ette*, *-kin*, and *-let* exhibit the central sense of 'smallness' as well as more peripheral senses, cf.: *kitchenette* ('a small kitchen') vs. *majorette* (feminine gender), *napkin* vs. *babykins* (affection/intimacy), and *piglet* vs. *kinglet* (pejoration).

3.2. Levels of schematicity in morphology

Morphological constructions can be placed on a *continuum of schematicity*, ranging from fully specific to fully schematic patterns (Booij 2017: 235; Langacker 2008: 21, 168). Maximally specific morphological expressions, such as *book-s,* occupy one end of the continuum. They have a highly specified form and a rich semantic content. On the other end there are fully schematic patterns, that is, lexically unfilled abstract morphological schemas like *NOUN-NUMBER*. In between the two extremes we find partially schematic morphological constructions (subschemas), represented by *book-NUMBER* and *NOUN-s* (Croft & Cruse 2004: 254). The relations between schemas of greater abstractness and those that are (partly) lexically-filled is that of *inheritance* (Booij 2017: 235). A maximally specific construction, for instance a noun suffixed with *-s*, such as *book-s*, inherits its formal and semantic properties from the abstract morphological schema (here: *NOUN-NUMBER*) and the head noun. Put differently, the schema fulfills a motivational role.

Morphological constructional schemas are *usage-based* in that they generalize over a number of specific exemplars, and develop in the mind of a language user as a result of their exposure to a sufficient number of instances that conform to a recurrent pattern (ibid.: 230). However, apart from capturing the properties of existing complex words, constructional schemas also serve as templates guiding the formation of novel expressions and their interpretation. By way of illustration consider novel deverbal adjectives in *-able*, such as *unputdownable, deterioratable* and *sexable*, which are listed in *The Rice University Neologisms Database* (https:// neologisms.rice.edu/). By analogy to well-established adjectives like *answerable*, *acceptable*, and *bakeable* (ibid.: 229), the semantics of novel derivatives is interpreted as 'can be V-ed', where V represents the meaning of the corresponding verbal base. Encountering a number of adjectives in *-able*, language users can generalize a schema for their construction, based on their actual linguistic experience. It is represented by Booij (ibid.) in the following format:

(1) $<[[x]_{Vi}\ able]_{Aj} \leftrightarrow [\text{can be Patient of SEM}_i]_{\text{PROPERTYj}}>$

The schema matches the constructional form (on the left of the arrow) with its meaning (on the right). SEM_i stands for the semantics of the verbal base.

As demonstrated by Booij (2013, 2017), morphological schemas can be employed both in the domain of word-formation and inflection; they serve to represent complex words formed not only by affixation, but also by compounding, truncation, stress shift or conversion. In addition, they are used to capture paradigmatic links between related word types, for instance between nouns, nouns in -*ist* and nouns in -*ism*.

4. Selected cognitive motivations in word-formation

As stated in the Introduction, the main aim of the present paper is to examine the most prominent cognitive licensing factors that guide meaning construction in word-formation. The ensuing sections address metonymic (and metaphorical) motivations for the interpretation of novel name-based derivatives. In particular, we are going to explicate the types of mappings that appear to guide the interpretation of: (i) suffixal derivatives, (ii) products of conversion, and (iii) morphological truncations, since these word-formation processes are best represented in our database (see the classification in Section 1). For reasons of space, the types of metonymies that can be proposed as motivation underlying conversion and morphological truncation will be reviewed very briefly. Prominence will be accorded to the role of metonymy in suffixation.

4.1. Metonymy in suffixal derivation

A vast majority of novel derivatives attested in our database are suffixal derivatives. Therefore, the role of metonymy in suffixation will be discussed here in considerable detail. As evidenced by the conflicting views voiced by Janda (2011, 2014), Brdar & Brdar-Szabó (2013) and Brdar (2017), major controversies still seem to surround this issue.

4.1.1. Janda (2011, 2014) on metonymy in suffixation

Janda's (2011: 360) characterization of metonymy, resembling the one accepted in Cognitive Linguistics, reads: "Metonymy is an inferential relationship between two concepts: a source concept is overtly named and provides mental access to a target concept in a given context".

Crucially, the scholar (2014: 341, 343–345) attempts to distinguish between what she terms "lexical metonymy" and "grammatical (word-formational) metonymy", and, then, to draw parallels between them.

She argues that while in the operation of lexical metonymy the source concept is associated with the uttered word and the target concept is the meaning accessed, in affixal derivation the source concept is associated with the derivational base, and the target concept is expressed by the derived complex lexeme.

Lexical metonymy is illustrated with such uncontroversial examples of metonymy-induced lexical polysemy (cf. Brdar 2017: 59; Bierwiaczonek 2013: ch.5) and metonymic conversion as: *We need a good **head** for this project* (licensed by the metonymy PART FOR WHOLE), *The **milk** tipped over* (CONTAINED FOR CONTAINER), and the English verb *milk* (e.g. in *The farmer will **milk** his cows*), formed from the noun *milk* via the metonymy PRODUCT FOR ACTION (Janda 2011: 360; 2014: 345).

Those examples are juxtaposed with and regarded as being on a par with products of suffixal derivation, where an affix is claimed to function as an *overt cue* signalling the operation a word-formational metonymic mapping and as the context for it (2011: 360, 388). For example, the Czech *květin-ač* (lit. 'flower'-*ač*$_{SUF}$, 'flower pot') is purportedly metonymic in that the concept of CONTAINER, expressed by the derived lexeme, is accessed through CONTENTS (a metonymic trigger), overtly expressed by the base. The semantic shift is achieved via suffixation with -*ač*, by virtue of the metonymy CONTAINED FOR CONTAINER (ibid.: 360–361). The word *beranina* (from *beran* 'ram'), denoting 'mutton', is licensed by the metonymy ENTITY FOR MATERIAL (ibid.: 371). By the same token, the English noun *milker* (as in *She is a good milker*), derived from the verb *milk*, is claimed to be licensed by the metonymy AGENT FOR ACTION (2014: 345).

Janda (2011) also provides name-based suffixal derivatives, such as the Czech *hitlerovec* 'follower of Hitler', the adjective *kafkovsky* 'Kafkaesque', and the Russian *dostoevščina* 'Dostoevskian style'. The names of well-known figures in the base are argued to be metonymic vehicles providing mental access to the target concepts expressed by the derived words, as licensed by the metonymies: LEADER FOR ENTITY, ENTITY FOR CHARACTERISTIC and ENTITY FOR ABSTRACTION, respectively (ibid.: 373f., 379).

Janda's (2011, 2014) most vital conclusion seems to be that suffixal word-formation is "largely motivated by the general cognitive strategy of metonymic association" (2014: 342); hence, the same type of analysis can be applied to all the above types of derived words. The only justification offered is that resorting to different conceptual strategies in order to account for the processes of conversion and overt affixal derivation "would be strange" (ibid.: 345), which seems far from satisfactory.

Below, we discuss the criticisms levelled at Janda's (2011, 2014) approach, and present Panther & Thornburg's (2003) alternative analysis of the role played by metonymy in suffixal derivation.

4.1.2. Brdar's (2017) and Brdar & Brdar-Szabó's (2013) alternative approach to metonymy in suffixation

The most important problem inherent in Janda's (2011, 2014) analyses seems to be her understanding of the notion of *metonymy* itself. As pointed out by Brdar & Brdar-Szabó (2013: 44–45), in the operation of the putative 'word-formational metonymy', the source concept is associated with the derivational base, and the target concept is expressed by the word-formation construction (the derived word) (cf. Janda 2011: 360). Both are linguistically manifest and explicit[19]. Recall, however, that in cognitive linguistic terms, the essence of metonymic shifts lies in providing *indirect* mental access – via an overt metonymic vehicle – to the covert target concept.

Application of Janda's approach to examples involving word-class changing suffixes, such as *-er* in English, results in further complications. The verbal base *bake* in the derived noun *baker*, for instance, would have to "provide simultaneous access to both the concept of 'baking' as activity and 'baker' as the participant in the activity", which is hardly conceivable (Brdar & Brdar-Szabó 2013: 45).

Furthermore, Brdar (2017: 66, 158, 162) argues that if complex words were motivated by metonymies only "by virtue of being constructions consisting of a base word and a suffix", all suffixations and, consequently also all prefixations would have to be treated as "results of metonymic extensions as such". In fact, all concatenative morphology would then be metonymic. This, in turn, would 'inflate' the notion of metonymy "beyond any acceptable measure", rendering it "theoretically and descriptively useless".

Contrary to Janda (2011, 2014), Brdar & Brdar-Szabó (2013: 42–43) contend that metonymic shifts take place either prior or posterior to suffixation, but not simultaneously with it. That is, metonymies operate

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[19] On Janda's approach, the metonymic source need not be overt and readily accessible at all since it is "nested in" the metonymic target (the complex word), which makes it is only "backwards manifest" (Brdar & Brdar-Szabó 2013: 44–45). The source concept has to be reconstructed via decomposition of the derivative. As is well-known, decomposing the derived lexeme and identifying the base is not necessarily always straightforward due to allomorphy or idiomaticization.

either on the input (the base and/or affix) or on the output of derivation (the complex derived lexeme). For instance, in the formation of *Wall Streeter*, metonymy precedes suffixation – the base *Wall Street* is first metonymically interpreted as denoting the action performed in this place, and only then suffixed with *-er*. The Polish word *wieprzowina* (from *wieprz* 'boar'), in turn, can be adduced as illustration of metonymy that follows derivation. The derivative can refer both to 'pork' and 'a portion of a dish made of pork', and its polysemy is motivated by a metonymy operating on the output of suffixation (cf. ibid.: 48).

Summing up, according to Brdar & Brdar-Szabó (2013: 42), "very little metonymic takes place in word-formation per se", and those metonymies that operate in word-formation are lexical. Hence, the identification of 'word-formational metonymy' as a distinct phenomenon is not justified. Moreover, the divide between the lexicon and grammar that this contrast implies is artificial and "goes against every grain of cognitive linguistics" (Brdar 2017: 66).

Supporting evidence for the above claims comes from Panther & Thornburg (2003), who examine the role of metonymy in present-day English *-er* nominalizations, and Bierwiaczonek's (2013) analysis of Polish action nominalizations. Their main findings are presented in Sections 4.1.3 and 4.1.4.

4.1.3. Panther and Thornburg (2003) on metonymic (and metaphorical) extensions in *-er* nominalization

The key assumption behind Panther & Thornburg's (2003) analysis of English *-er* derivatives is that the *-er* suffix constitutes a highly polysemous category. Its central sense, defined as 'a human occupationally performing an action' (ibid.: 296), is linked to a number of metonymic (and metaphorical) extensions. In addition, conceptual metonymies and metaphors may also operate on the derivational base, particularly when it is non-verbal.

The authors analyze the semantics of all *-er* derivatives relative to the Prototypical Transitive Scenario, that is, "an idealised model of human actions and activities" (ibid.), which includes: (i) an intentionally acting human Agent, (ii) a Patient that is directly affected or effected in the event, and (iii) elements of the setting, such as place and time (ibid.: 285–286).

Prototypical *-er* derivatives, such as *teacher* and *worker*, are deverbal and denote professional human agents. They are non-metonymic as the

Prototypical Transitive Scenario is evoked directly – via the verbal base expressing an activity performed by the Agent[20] (ibid.: 287).

Derivatives expressing the central agentive sense whose derivational base is non-verbal require a metonymic reinterpretation of the base in order to evoke the occupational activity of the Agent. Specifically, non-verbal bases denote a participant or entity "crucially involved" in the action scenario, such as: a substance (as in *tinner*), an affected object (*whaler*), an effected object (*hatter*) or a location (e.g. *Wall Streeter*). The mapping that licenses the activity reading is the high-level metonymy PARTICIPANT[21] FOR ACTIVITY/ACTION. Some derivatives of this type, for instance the above-mentioned *Wall Streeter*, involve chained metonymies (PLACE FOR INSTITUTION and INSTITUTION FOR PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY). Others, for example *hoofer* (a slang term for a professional dancer), additionally involve the high-level personification metaphor NONHUMANS ARE HUMANS operating on the base (ibid.: 288–291).

The interpretation of *-er* derivatives as referring to non-human objects that play an Agent-contiguous role in the Transitive Scenario – an Instrument (cf. *refrigerator, dishwasher, hairdryer*), Location (*sleeper, diner, bed-sitter*) and Patient (e.g. *cracker, broiler, roaster*)[22] – is licensed by metonymies or metaphors operating on the suffix (ibid.: 292–295; 297).

Finally, *-er* nominals may also encode reified events viewed as human Agents (e.g. *thriller, stunner, groaner*), Patients (*forgetter* 'an immemorable event') or Instruments (*fundraiser, (season) opener*). Such readings of *-er* derivatives depend on a metaphorical expansion of the suffix, achieved by the reification metaphor (EVENTS ARE OBJECTS) and its sub-metaphors (e.g. AGENT EVENTS ARE AGENTS, as in *thriller*) (ibid.: 299–302).

In sum, Panther & Thornburg (2003) advocate varied – metonymic and metaphorical – motivations for the interpretation of numerous specific classes of *-er* derivatives, depending on the types of meanings conveyed by those composita as well as the syntax and semantics of the base morphemes. The researchers (ibid.: 287) demonstrate that base in *-er* derivation cannot always be treated as the vehicle for metonymic mappings (in prototypical *-er* nominals it is interpreted literally). Likewise, when the suffix denotes

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[20] Similarly to Brdar (2017) and Brdar & Brdar-Szabó (2013), Panther & Thornburg (2003: 287) argue that if verbal bases in *-er* nominals were treated as vehicles for metonymic mappings, the notion of metonymy would become undesirably over-generalized.

[21] The term 'participant' refers to a component of THE TRANSITIVE SCENARIO (Panther & Thornburg 2003: 291).

[22] The derivatives whose bases are non-verbal, e.g. *three-wheeler* or *upper* ('a drug'), are subject to metonymic operations on the base (Panther & Thornburg 2003: 293).

a human professional Agent, no mappings are involved. It is only when the base element is non-prototypical and/or the *-er* suffix expresses an extended sense that metonymic and/or metaphorical reinterpretation of the base and/or the suffix is required. The analysis thus lends support to Brdar's (2017) and Brdar & Brdar-Szabó's (2013) contention that affixal derivation cannot be treated as necessarily metonymical.

4.1.4. Bierwiaczonek (2013) on metonymic extensions of nomina actionis

Further support comes from Bierwiaczonek (2013: 124–125), who observes that Polish abstract nouns in *-anie/ -enie/ -cie*, denoting reified processes, exhibit extended senses which evoke various participants of the event denoted by the verbal base. The derivatives are treated as cases of subcategorial conversion[23], motivated by event-schema metonymies[24] operating on complex words posterior to suffixation. The following mappings are proposed:

(i) PROCESSUAL THING FOR AGENT, cf. *zmartwienie* ('worrying' → 'worry'),
(ii) PROCESSUAL THING FOR INSTRUMENT, e.g. *zaproszenie* ('inviting' → 'invitation'),
(iii) PROCESSUAL THING FOR (AFFECTED OR EFFECTED) PATIENT, e.g. *picie* ('drinking'→ 'drink'),
(iv) PROCESSUAL THING FOR LOCATION, as in *spanie* ('sleeping' → 'place for sleeping'),
(v) PROCESSUAL THING FOR TIME, cf. *rozpoczęcie* ('beginning' → 'start of something').

4.2. Metonymic conversion

Metonymic underpinnings of categorial and subcategorial conversion in English are well-researched and well-documented within Cognitive Linguistics (see Bierwiaczonek 2013, Dirven 1999, Radden & Kövecses 1999, Peirsman & Geeraerts 2006, and Paszenda 2011, among others).

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[23] Bierwiaczonek (2013: 124) contends that the three nominalizing suffixes represent the phenomenon of 'transposition', i.e. "the change of syntactic category without any change in meaning". They shift "the processual profile into a nominal profile comprising the whole relation".

[24] Event-schema metonymies (generalized as SALIENT PARTICIPANT OF EVENT FOR EVENT) operate primarily in denominal and de-adjectival conversion to verb (see Paszenda 2011 for more details).

Therefore, we restrict our attention to metonymies that have been advanced in the literature to account for Polish data.

4.2.1. Metonymic mappings in categorial conversion[25]

Of concern here are instances of name-based deadjectival conversion to the noun category, exemplified by the neologisms *kaczorowe*, *kosinia-kowe*, *jarkowe*, *Mateuszowe*, and *z/Zembalowe* (class 4C in the typology in Section 1). Those uses appear to be elliptical compared to the original expressions with attributive adjectives in *-owy*, such as *dodatek zembalowy* ('Zembala's benefit', from Marian Zembala, former Health Minister) and *jarkowe świadczenie* ('Jarek's benefit', from Jarosław Kaczyński). At present, however, they seem to be established as nouns. Therefore, they can be treated as motivated by the metonymy PROPERTY FOR OBJECT BEARING THAT PROPERTY, proposed by Bierwiaczonek (2013: 195) for such examples as *zielony* ('green' → 'dollar' or 'member or supporter of an ecological party or organisation), rather than by the formal metonymy PART OF FORMULA FOR WHOLE FORMULA (cf. ibid.: 76–79).

4.2.2. Metonymy in subcategorial conversion: the case of paragonic nouns

Feminine nouns, such as *misiewiczki*, are derived from paragons (here: *M/misiewicz*) (class 1B in the above typology), which, in turn, are products of metonymically motivated subcategorial conversion from proper to common noun. Several models have been suggested within Cognitive Linguistics to account for figurative meanings denoted by paragons. They cannot all be examined here for lack of space (see Paszenda & Góralczyk 2018 for a detailed overview). We concentrate on chained metonymies put forward by Brdar & Brdar-Szabó (2007). For illustration, consider the noun *Misiewicz* as used in the sentence: *Mam nadzieję, że to nie będzie* **kolejny Misiewicz** *na tak odpowiedzialnym stanowisku* [5.06.2017, onet.pl] ('I hope this will not be another Misiewicz in a position of trust').

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[25] As is well-known, two broad types of conversion are distinguished in the literature on word-formation, namely: (i) *categorial* conversion (also termed *major* or *full*), involving changes of major word category, cf. *milk* (N) → *milk* (V) or *daily* (Adj) → *daily* (N); and (ii) *subcategorial* (*partial* or *minor*) conversion (Quirk et al. 1985: 1558–1565). The latter is a process whereby "a word of one class appears in a function which is characteristic of another word class" (ibid.: 1559). It can be illustrated with the shift from a proper noun to a common noun, as in *Newton* (a person's name) → *newton* (a unit of force).

The interpretation of the paragonic noun is guided by three metonymies. Firstly, a WHOLE FOR PART mapping reduces the full encyclopedic knowledge about Bartłomiej Misiewicz[26] to the information that is relevant for political discourse. The metonymy BEARER OF PROPERTY FOR CHARACTERISTIC PROPERTY allows the paragonic reading of the name and highlighting the unique properties of its referent that make the person stand out as a paragon (young age, lack of experience, undeserved benefits, etc.) (Paszenda & Góralczyk 2018: 230–231, Góralczyk & Paszenda 2017). Finally, the metonymy WHOLE SCALE FOR UPPER END OF SCALE enables perceiving those properties as exhibited to the maximum.

4.3. Metonymic truncations

As already pointed out, some derivatives comprised in the classification in Section 1 involve morphological truncation. The attested types include: (i) clippings, e.g. *kacz-* in *kaczyzm*, *kaczysta*, etc., (ii) acronyms, such as PiS (from *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość* 'Law and Justice'), from which *pisizm*, *pisiak*, etc. are derived, and (iii) initialisms, e.g. *PO* (*Platforma Obywatelska* 'Civic Platform') in *POwiec*, *poizacja*, etc.

Bierwiaczonek (2013: 64ff.) proposes uniform motivation for all truncations by means of *formal metonymies*[27], which operate on the level of form rather than the level of concepts. In the most generic format, formal metonymy is rendered as SALIENT PART OF FORM FOR WHOLE FORM (ibid.: 27, 61). In morphology, it enables using a part of a word or compound to access the full expression. For instance, such initialisms as *PiS* and *PO* are motivated by the metonymy ALPHABETIC PHONETIC REPRESENTATION OF LETTERS FOR FIRST LETTERS OF WRITTEN REPRESENTATION (ibid.: 66), which is a more specific instance of the generic PART-WHOLE mapping quoted above.

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[26] Bartłomiej Misiewicz is a former spokesman in the Ministry of Defense and assistant of Minister Antoni Macierewicz.

[27] It needs to be emphasized that formal metonymies (also dubbed 'form metonymies' and 'form-level metonymies', cf. Barcelona 2009) are based exclusively on relationships of form. As such, they are different form 'content metonymies' discussed in this paper, because of conceptual invariance – no conceptual shift is normally involved (cf. Bierwiaczonek 2013: 62; Brdar 2017: 74). For an extensive discussion of methodological problems associated with form metonymies see Brdar (2017: esp. 74–90).

5. Summary and conclusions

In this contribution we have argued in favour of adopting the cognitive linguistic, construction-based approach to morphology, which enables analyzing (novel) complex words – products of concatenative and non-concatenative word-formation processes – in terms of morphological constructions of varying degrees of schematicity. Morphological schemas as well as individual morphemes may be polysemous, and their extended meanings may be motivated by a variety of metonymic (and metaphorical) mappings.

The main conclusion that can be drawn from the discussion of conceptual shifts operating in particular word-formation processes is that while conversion "depend[s] on metonymic mappings alone" (Bierwiaczonek 2013: 113), metonymy *cannot* automatically be assumed to underlie and motivate affixation in the manner suggested by Janda (2011, 2014). Specifically, affixal derivation involves integrating two semantic units: the base and the affix, without any automatic, simultaneous metonymic transfer. Both component parts of a complex word may exhibit either prototypical or extended senses. It is only in the latter case that metonymic and/or metaphorical shifts apply to them, prior to their integration during the process of suffixal derivation. In addition, a derived complex word may undergo subsequent semantic extension and become a polysemous lexical item by virtue of metonymy, metaphor or other cognitive operations (Dirven & Verspoor 2004: 31–36).

In more general terms, non-concatenative morphological processes, such as conversion, blending, reduplication, clipping and other types of truncation, coincide with (or: are licensed by) metonymic operations (content metonymies or formal metonymies), while concatenative processes, such as affixation and compounding, may *not* involve any metonymy at all.

It remains a task for future research to implement the results of the present paper in detailed studies of specific types of name-based morphological neologisms and nonce-words.

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