Word formation creativity/productivity in the language of TV series and movies

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Undergraduate thesis / Završni rad

2022

Degree Grantor / Ustanova koja je dodijelila akademski / stručni stupanj: **Josip Juraj Strossmayer University of Osijek, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences / Sveučilište Josipa Jurja Strossmayera u Osijeku, Filozofski fakultet**

Permanent link / Trajna poveznica: https://urn.nsk.hr/urn:nbn:hr:142:824962

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Download date / Datum preuzimanja: **2024-08-04**

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Sveučilište Josipa Jurja Strossmayera u Osijeku

Filozofski fakultet u Osijeku

Dvopredmetni sveučilišni preddiplomski studij Engleskog jezika i

knjjževnosti i Mađarskog jezika i književnosti

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Tvorbena kreativnost/produktivnost u jeziku TV serija i filmova

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Mentor: Prof.dr.sc. Gabrijela Buljan

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Znanstveno polje: filologija

Znanstvena grana: anglistika

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Scientific area: humanities

Scientific field: philology
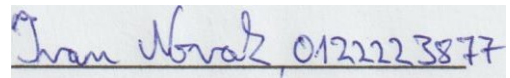
Scientific branch: English studies

Supervisor: Gabrijela Buljan, Ph.D. Full Professor

Osijek, 2022

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Word formation productivity and creativity in the language of TV series and movies

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to identify and analyse novel lexemes formed by various word formation processes, as featured in a selection of American TV series and movies. A variety of word-forming processes is explored, including affixal and non-affixal derivation, as well as more marginal word-formation processes like blending. They are discussed in the context of the distinction between word-formation productivity and creativity. Both terms are explained in the paper and exemplified with authentic examples from the TV material analysed. The data was collected from two electronic corpora by Mark Davies, The TV Corpus and The Movies Corpus, and from transcripts of selected TV series. The analysis has yielded a variety of quite creative formations which span the divide between "creativity" and "productivity", since even those formations created using some of the system-guided word-formation processes, like suffixations, often feature deliberate anomalies which cannot be explained using productive rules of word formation.

Key words: productivity, creativity, word-formation, TV series, movies.

Contents

1. Introduction

An important purpose of TV series and movies is to engage and entertain the audience. Never mind which genre it is, being comedies, action movies, thrillers, or any other, the goal is always the same. Comedies in particular are designed to make us laugh and enjoy spending time in front of the TV. As many examples from contemporary TV shows show, one important element of the "entertainment" aspect of TV material is the creation of new vocabulary either by rule-governed productive word formation, its opposite – root creation (invention of completely novel lexical items, without using pre-existing morphological material), or any of the other creative ways of extending vocabulary, like lexical blending, acronyms or clippings etc. On the theoretical plane, this means that the function of word formation does not end with the "labelling" purpose, viz. the creation of new vocabulary to satisfy some "naming need", although this seems to be its primary purpose and has often been foregrounded (Kastovsky 1982). The production or creation of new vocabulary is also triggered by a number of other pragmatic and stylistic factors, among which is the desire to entertain and evaluate. The latter is especially the case with so-called evaluative morphology, i.e., word formation devices expressing diminution, augmentation, pejoration and amelioration (Grandi & Körtvélyessy 2015) but the former is probably just as likely in the kind of language one sees in TV material.

The goal of this paper is to describe this aspect of word-formation by studying a corpus of examples featured in a selection of contemporary American English TV series and movies. The idea is to come up with a reasonably representative list of novel lexemes featured in the TV material studied, and to describe them from the point of view of their formal structure, i.e. type of word-formation pattern or creative process by which they were formed. The focus will be on word formation devices that can reasonably be described under the heading of "productivity", such as the highly productive suffixes -er or -ness, where novel lexemes can be expected to occur with some frequency, but also on the more "marginal" devices in the word formation system, that have often been described as reflecting speaker's lexical creativity, rather than their productive word formation ability, such as – most notably – blending.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 lays out the theoretical background by briefly discussing (i) some theoretical points concerning "productivity" and "creativity" in word formation and (ii) the nature of some of the specific means of word formation that will figure in the analysis, most notably productive word formation devices such as suffixation (and the specific suffixes selected for this paper) and the more creative means of building vocabulary,

perceived to sit at the margin of the word-formation system, such as blending, clipping, acronyms etc. In Section 3 I describe the methodology. My results are presented in Section 4. The paper ends with conclusions in Section 5.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. On "productivity" and "creativity" in word formation

To better understand processes driving the building of new words, we need to first explain what word formation is, both as a scientific discipline and as a process. According to Plag (2003: 17), the study of word-formation can be defined as the study of the ways in which new complex words are built on the basis of other words or morphemes. Word formation can also be thought of as the very act of building new words by processes that involve other morphemes (derivation) or words (compounding) (Plag 2003: 14), with various subdivisions of more specific processes within each. Plag for instance divides derivation into affixation and non-affixation (2003: 17). Like Plag, most authorities dealing with word formation also include, albeit at the fringes of word formation, processes they perceive to be more creative forms of word creation, like blending, clipping, etc. (Bauer 2001, Munath 2007, Plag 2003). So what is the difference between productive word formation and word creation?

Both "productivity" and "creativity" can be described as the potential to form new lexical items. However, there seems to be an important difference here. Productivity in word formation is defined as being a rule-governed matter (Bauer 2001), which means that any new word created by productive means of word formation can be described as the outcome of a productive word formation rule/pattern, and as fulfilling the well-established semantic, morphological and phonological requirements of the rule/pattern. For instance, a relatively recent formation like *influencer* exemplifies the otherwise productive pattern of deverbal *-er* suffixations for building nouns denoting people who habitually or professionally perform the action named in the base (Panther and Thornburg 2002). The word *influencer* fits the word formation rule/schema 'one who vbs habitually/professionally' and its more detailed lexical meaning can be described as 'a person who is paid by a company to show and describe its products and services on social media, encouraging other people to buy them' (online Cambridge Dictionary).[1] The word is a fairly recent arrival, but fits perfectly the whole big system of other words in *-er* that have been built on the same agentive pattern, like the well-established word *jogger*, *entertainer*, *swimmer* etc. As a rule-governed matter, the productivity of a pattern can be assessed or even measured by observing various systematic

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[1] Retrieved from https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/influencer. Accessed 26 July 2022.

phonological, morphological and/or semantic restrictions on its applicability. Alternatively, it can even be gauged by specific quantitative measures considered by various authors like Aronoff (1976), Baayen and Lieber (1991) to name but a few. To give an example of morphological restrictions on the productivity of a pattern, we may legitimately ask whether the prefix *un-* can be appended to just any noun (**untable* has no meaning whereas *unease* is a known word) or any verb (**unsing* does not exist and it has no meaning but *undress* has a meaning of taking off one's clothes, cf. Plag 2003: 30–31). To give an example of a quantitative measure, Aronoff (1976) proposes that the productivity of a pattern be measured by considering the ratio of actual words and words that could possibly be formed using that pattern. Baayen and Lieber (1991), in turn, suggest dividing the number of words built by a particular pattern that occur only once in the corpus by the total number of occurrences of all words in the corpus that fall into the same pattern. My goal here is not to discuss the pros and cons of any of these approaches, but just to state that productivity is usually considered as a "measurable" feature of rule-governed word-formation. Conclusions about productivity have to be considered relative, however, since it is also a diachronic matter. Meaning, some rules that apply in this day and time may not apply in the next or did not apply some time before. As Bauer (2001: 206) mentions, the words *gloomth* and *greenth* were made in eighteenth century but are not in use today and cannot be taken to show the productivity of *–th*.

According to Hohenhaus (2005), Munath (2007) and many more, creativity is a different kind of process because it involves creating novel lexemes in a non-rule governed way. This means that rather than abiding by some rule, like e.g., the attachment of specific suffixes, prefixes, etc., language users either use those prefixes/suffixes etc. without observing their formal, semantic etc. stipulations or, better still, not using such "system-derived" rules/patterns at all, but e.g. manipulating the phonetic opportunities provided by existing words. This may take the form of shortening words in ways that do not respect any pre-existing morphological structure in the input word (truncation or clipping, see more below), or creating lexical blends, i.e. hybrids that merge two pre-existing lexical units into one usually by retaining the beginning of one input word and the end of the other word (see below). On that note, we should add that simplex words are also formed creatively since their coinage isn't linked to system-guided morphology. In a way, these kinds of processes may be thought of as easier, since the user does not have to bother with respecting (even if only subconsciously) whatever restrictions exist on the application of a word formation rule/pattern. Nevertheless, creative word formation requires a different kind of ability, viz. the ability to exploit usually phonetic opportunities in existing words creatively to manipulate

their form for creative or expressive purposes. Naturally, even creative formations have to be interpretable, which means that even clipping and blending must also involve respecting some boundaries.

2.2. On some productive and creative means of word formation in English

To lay the groundwork for analysis in part 4, in this section I will describe those productive and creative processes of word formation that will figure in my analysis, starting with affixation, a word forming process which includes suffixation and prefixation.

According to Plag (2003: 72), an affix is a bound morpheme that attaches to bases. By attaching affixes to bases we are able to transform the base word, change its meaning and shift it from one syntactic category to other. For example, affixing the suffix –*ly* to the base *father,* a noun, results in the adjective *fatherly,* meaning 'having father-like properties (of behaviour)'. In other words, every suffix and prefix can be associated with a specific set of syntactically, semantically, maybe even phonologically defined stipulations that govern their attachment to bases to form new words of particular syntactic classes, viz. nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc. Therefore, affixation should fall into the "productivity" rather than "creativity" domain of word-formation. Still, it is possible to attach suffixes and prefixes by deliberately violating any existing restrictions on their use, in which case even there we might speak of a creative exploitation of a word formation device. The suffixes and prefixes selected for my analysis, as well as other processes including compounding, conversion, blending and clipping will be described next.

2.2.1. A brief overview of some English suffixes

Suffixes can be divided into nominal, verbal, adjectival and adverbial. Nominal suffixes may form abstract nouns from verbs, adjectives and nouns to denote actions, results of actions, various other abstract concepts, properties or qualities. Alternatively, nominal suffixes may be used to build nouns denoting persons.

Starting with some abstract nominalizing suffixes. Potentially the most productive suffix attaching to almost any adjective is –*ness*. This suffix forms nouns expressing quality, *over-the-top-ness*, and the state of being as in *thingness*. The suffix –*dom* forms nouns that symbolize domains or realms, e.g. *kingdom, cameldom, maoridom,* meaning the domain ruled by a king, world of camels or Maoris, respectively. It may also be found with nouns used collectively, as in *professordom* 'the collectivity of professors' or *studentdom* 'the collectivity of students'. Another semantic development of the suffix -*dom* is in the expression of abstract

states, like *apedom* meaning 'the state of being an ape'. It is interesting that the range of meanings of the suffix *–dom* overlaps with that of the suffix *–ship.* The main usage of the suffix *–ship* is to build nouns denoting state or condition but there are some instances in which it refers to an activity of some sort as in *courtship* or *censorship,* acts of courting or censoring. Another example of a suffix that indicates actions is *–(e)ry, crookery,* committing foul deeds, and *summitry,* meaning 'keep having political summits often'. To express a system of belief, theories, conditions, concepts and attitude the suffix *–ism* is used, e.g., *Marxism, blondism, racism.* In connection to *–ism,* there is the suffix *–ist*, which denotes the holder of the associated attitudes, beliefs or theories. For example, the word *Marxism* can be changed into *Marxist* to describe someone who believes in the ideology of *Marxism*. Similarly to the suffix *–er, -ist* always denotes a person who implements the action expressed or implied in the base of the word, e.g. *balloonist,* a person who flies in a balloon. A *careerist* is someone who is concerned with their career. Obviously, we have already shifted to examining person-denoting suffixes. Among them, of course, the suffix *–er* is most interesting. Most typically, it attaches to verbs to produce nouns denoting people who perform the action denoted by the base either professionally or habitually. In essence, if someone were to sing a lot he would be described as a *singer.* Examples in this paragraph were taken from (Plag 2003).

Verbal suffixes, as the name itself says, form verbs usually from words of other categories. For instance, the suffix *–ate*. It is usually used to build verbs that mean generally 'to cause someone or something to have, in some sense, X', like in the verb *hyphenate* 'to put a hyphen on something' (Adams 2001: 23). The second suffix *–ify* builds verbs that can describe the same type of action as that described above for -*ate*, for instance *zincify* 'to cause to have more zinc' (Adams 2001: 23). However, it can also be "resultative", i.e., build verbs that denote an action of bringing about a change of nature or form or bringing into existence whatever is denoted by the base verb, e.g., *pulpify* 'to change into pulp'. In similarity to *–ify, -ize* is a suffix which, among its other functions, also builds resultative verbs, for instance in *carbonize* 'to make something into carbon' or in the intransitive sense *crystallize* 'to turn into a crystal'. It can also be used in the "ornative" sense 'provide with something' *patinatize, flouridize*. However, it can also be locative and mean generally 'put something into N base' as in *containerize* 'to put into a container', or "performative" (Adams 2001: 25) both in the transitive and intransitive verbs that can be paraphrased as 'perform, practice, be what the base denotes'. Examples of the latter include *cannibalize* 'to be/act as the cannibal or, anthropologize (*Plag 2003: 93– 94).

Let me now review some of the more common adjectival suffixes. The relational suffix *-al* attaches normally to bases of foreign origin, e.g., *scribal, accidental*. The suffix *–able* forms adjectives indicating the ability of being subject to whatever action is denoted by the base verb, for instance *breakable* and *readable.* To symbolize the style or manner seen in the base of the word the suffix *–esque* is used: *Chaplinesque, Hemingwayesque.* The suffix *–ful* is normally attached to nouns whereby it can be glossed as 'having NOUN', e.g., *insightful* 'having insight', *tactful* 'having tact'. The opposite of *–ful,* is the suffix *–less*, which denotes the loss or being without the trait e.g., *expressionless, hopeless, speechless.* The qualitative suffix *–ish* expresses the vagueness of being something or being somewhat something as in *clearish* 'being somewhat clear'. As I exemplified earlier with the example *fatherly*, the suffix *–ly* states that something is like or acts in a manner. The last adjectival suffix expressing relation is *–ous,* denoting the characteristics of something, *barbarous,* having characteristics of a barbarian. The suffix *–ly* can also be an adverbial suffix as in *shortly* or *hardly.* Examples in this paragraph were taken from (Plag 2003).

2.2.2. A brief overview of some English prefixes

Most prefixes can be grouped into the following semantic classes: quantitative (*multi-, semi-*), locative (*circum-, inter-*), temporal (*ante-, post-*) and negative (*dis-, un-*). However, there are also exceptions – i.e., not all prefixes fit into the above-mentioned groups. This is the case with prefixes that express the notions of evil (*mal-*), falseness (*pseudo-*), joint efforts (*co-*) and other (Plag 2003: 98– 99). Acting mostly as modifiers of the base words, most prefixes do not change the syntactic category of the words they attach to, cf. *do* (verb) vs. *undo* (verb). For reasons of space, I will here provide only a very limited overview of prefixes; prefixes that show up in the analysis but are not included in this overview will be briefly presented further below in the analytical section.

The prefix *anti-* is mostly used to express the opposition to something but also the lack of characteristics of something. *Antiwar* as in *anti-war* movement and *antiabortion* 'against abortion' express that something is the opposite of what the base word means. *Antihero* and *antiprofessor* denote the lack of characteristics implied in the base word. In order to reverse the action of the base word we use prefix *de-*. For example, *decolonize* means 'to reverse the action of colonization', *depollute* 'to get rid of pollution'. Similar to the prefix *de-,* prefix *dis-* also means the reversal of the action denoted typically by the base verb, for example, *disassemble* or *disconnect.* The prefix *non-* may attach to nouns, verbs and adjectives and is also a negative prefix. When it attaches to nouns, the resulting formative may be interpreted

as 'not having what the base noun means' so that *non-member* means that there are no members in a group of some sorts. Negation can also be expressed with the prefix *un-*, but usually, the base is a gradable adjective, as in *uncomplicated* 'not complicated', *unhappy* 'not happy', or *unsuccessful,* meaning 'not successful'. An interesting development here is the use of the prefix *un-* with noun bases, such as *unbelief* or *uneducation,* where the first one means 'a lack of belief' and the latter one means 'a lack of education'. With this prefix we can also express reversal as in *uncork* 'to open a bottle'; *unsaddle* 'to take a saddle off a horse' or *unleash* 'take a leash off' or a bit metaphorically 'release something'. Examples in this paragraph were also taken from (Plag 2003).

2.2.3 A brief overview of non-affixal word formation

Besides affixation processes, there exist non-affixation word-forming processes amongst which is conversion. Conversion, according to Plag (2003: 107), is the derivation of a new word without any overt marking. In other words, a new word is formed without making any changes to the base word. Most typically conversion changes nouns to verbs (*bottle – to bottle*; *hammer – to hammer*), verbs to nouns (*to call – call*; *to jump – jump*), adjectives to verbs (*better – to better*; *empty – to empty*) and adjectives to nouns (*poor – the poor*; *blind – the blind*). It is hard to see which word is the new word derived from the old, since there is no overt marker of change. So, one way to address this issue would be to check which form preceded the other, viz which one had existed in the language longer. Moreover, the derived word has to be semantically more complex. In essence, the new word cannot be formed unless the concept of the word from which it is derived does not exist.

Apart from conversion, there is also truncation (also called clipping, but see Plag 2003: 121) as one of the non-affixation processes. Truncation can be described as the process of derivation where the derived word lacks the phonetic material of the base word (Plag 2003: 116). For instance, truncated names (nicknames) are used among friends to express their fondness. Truncated names are always monosyllabic and usually have one of three types of structure: (i) they begin and end in a consonant sound with a vowel in between (*Ron*, *Mel*); (ii) they begin with a consonant and end in a vowel, also containing a vowel between (*Lou*, *Ray*); (iii) they begin with a vowel and end with a consonant (*Al*, *Ag*). The second and third structures are not so frequent as the first. There are no cases where truncated names consist only of vowels. It can usually be predicted which syllable will be truncated. For instance, the first syllable survives in *Albert –Al* or *Abraham – Abe*, the second stressed syllable survives in *Abigail – Gail* (examples borrowed from Plag 2003: 119). In essence, the name *Abraham*

cannot be truncated in a way so that *–brah* or *–aha* are left. There are also rules when /r/ is replaced by /l/ or when vowels are changed. A version of truncation that involves the addition of a suffix are so called Y-diminutives. They end in *–y* or in *–ie* with the same pronunciation and are used to refer positively to someone (*Andy*, *Marty*). Every diminutive is stressed on the first syllable followed by an unstressed one which consists of consonant and the suffix.

The next non-affixation process is blending. According to Lehrer (2007: 116), blends are underlyingly compounds, but are composed of one word and a part of another, or of parts of two or occasionally three words. Parts of the words are called splinters and, being clipped from full word forms, they cannot stand alone as words. Blends come in various structural types. The first and the most common type is a full word followed by a splinter. For example, *wintertainment – winter + entertainment* or *vodkatini – vodka + martini*. The second type is a splinter followed by a full word, e.g. *narcoma – narcotic + coma* or *administrivia – administration + trivia.* The third type of blends is when they contain two splinters. These are divided into blends with a beginning splinter followed by the end splinter: *hurricoon – hurricane + typhoon; psychergy – psychic+ energy;* and both splinters being the beginning of a word: *sitcom – situation + comedy*. The final one is quite rare. Blends cannot be created by joining two end splinters. The fourth type is when the words have overlapping syllables. *Sexpert – sex + expert, palimony – pal + alimony* (money paid to a partner after breaking up but before even being married)*, snappetizer – snap + appetizer* (quickly prepared appetizers) are some of the examples of this type. The fifth and the rarest of them is when a splinter acts as an infix inside the word as in *chortle – chuckle + snort* or *enshocklopedia – encyclopedia + shock* (knowing everything about horror films). Examples in this paragraph were taken from Lehrer (2007).

Compounding as a word-formation process has somewhat loose restrictions. It is defined as a combination of two or more words in order to create a new one. Looking at it in that way we come across a problem since it is not only words that are used to form compounds. Besides words, compounding can occur by combining roots and even phrases. Having this in mind Plag (2003: 135) defines compounds as words with the first element being either a root, a word or a phrase and the second element being a root or a word. If the second element were a phrase it would remain as a phrase and the first element would remain the same morpheme it was, therefore, the second element in a compound can never be a phrase. Further looking at the structure of compounds, we see that usually one compound constituent has more importance than the other, the more important being the head of the compound. The head is the right-hand element of the compound and is modified by the left-

hand element. The head of the compound determines the syntactic category it falls into, i.e., if it is a noun, it will be a noun, and so on. Stress rules in compounds state that compounds are stressed on the first element and phrases are stressed on the final. Through further inspection, we can see that there are some deviations from this rule. If the compound is longer and the right-hand side is a compound itself that side will be stressed. In other words, the first syllable of a compound is stressed provided that the second element is not a compound itself. Concerning the syntactic category of the head component, there are nominal (*book cover, pickpocket*), verbal (*proof-read, stir-fry*) and adjectival (*sugar free, knee deep*) compounds (Plag 2003). In addition to these, there is also the fourth type, named neoclassical compound. Neoclassical formations are a combination of Latin or Greek lexemes and other words. These compounding processes can easily be confused with affixation but they need to be differentiated. The difference between affixes and these combining forms is that affixes cannot be combined with one another whereas neoclassical forms can. For instance, *astrology* is made of *astro-* and *–logy*, and neither words functions as an autonomous word in English. Compounding is on the borderline between a productive word-forming process and a syntactic process. For instance, noun-noun compounds are notoriously difficult to differentiate from free syntactic phrases in which a noun modifies the head noun; however, for reasons of complexity and space restrictions, I cannot go into this issue.

3. Methodology

The sources of my examples paper are twofold. The first source is TV material transcripts from which I hand-collected examples. In other words, I read through the transcripts and registered any potentially novel words featured in the TV shows and movies. To make sure that those words are novel, or at least that there is a strong probability that that is the case, I looked those words up in the following dictionaries (Merriam Webster, Oxford English dictionary, Collins English dictionary and Urban dictionary). Ideally, novel words would not be featured in those dictionaries, meaning they are most likely not part of established vocabulary and may not yet be in widespread use. After establishing that the words were indeed or most likely new, I checked the context to understand their meaning and detect the word formation process they exemplify. The TV material from which my examples were sourced includes: *The Big Bang Theory* (from here on: BBT)*, How I Met Your Mother* (from here on: HIMYM)*, How I Met Your Father* (from here on: HIMYF) and *Veep*. The second source of my examples are two electronic corpora from among the English-Corpora.org, viz. The Movie Corpus and the TV Corpus. The TV Corpus includes 325 million words collected

from 75,000 TV comedies and dramas from 1950-2018. The Movie Corpus runs up to 200 million words sourced from 25,000 movie scripts between 1930-2018. Electronic corpora are not the best source for searching creative neologisms, like those built by blending or compounding, because they do not feature any characteristic elements of form that would allow an automatic search. However, they can be searched for any words featuring particular suffixes and prefixes. My choice of the suffixes and prefixes is somewhat arbitrary, but they do include affixes that can be considered reasonably productive This makes it likely to find novel instances of those patterns. The following suffixes and prefixes were included in the analysis: *-dom, -er, -(e)ry, -hood, -ism, -ist, -ness, -ship, -ate, -ify, -ize, -able, -al, -esque, -ful, -ish, -less, -ly, -ous, -y, -ly; anti-, de-, dis-, non-, un-*. After collecting my database, I grouped and discussed all the words according to their respective word formation process.

My study is not meant to be quantitative in any serious sense of the term – i.e., my goal is not to determine which types of processes contribute the most neologisms in TV discourse, but to merely register some of the recent innovations as attested in the selected TV material. While it may seem that creative processes dominate (because there are so many examples of them in my database), the reader should not forget that this may in part be the consequence of data collection bias. Namely, creative processes are much easier to spot and are more likely to be registered during the manual collection of material than examples of productive regular word formation.

4. Analysis

The results of my analysis are presented in two major sections. I start in the first subsection with new lexemes built by what would be generally be considered productive means of word formation, viz. affixation and compounding. The second subsection is devoted to novel words built by the obviously more creative processes of blending and truncation etc. At this point I should repeat that the line between creativity and productivity is not so clear, since even among processes normally considered to fall within the domain of productive word formation, such as suffixation, there are examples where the coiners flouted the rules for various effects. This is typically regarded as a feature of creative coinages, i.e., "rule-violation" can be thought of as a conscious, deliberate act.

4.1. Novel lexemes built by productive types of word formation

In this section, I will display my findings concerning the novel forms built by what would be considered rule-governed (productive) word-forming processes. The data is organized by suffixes, followed by prefixes, then compounding.

-dom

In my database I found the following novel nouns built with this suffix: *wolfdom, ninjadom, fundom, eagledom, nerdom, elfdom, singledom.* Judging from these examples, we can propose that the suffix *–dom* is both productive and semantically versatile. It was attested in three semantic readings: (i) 'the state of being N', (ii) 'domain' and (iii) 'collectivity'. The examples are listed below

(1) "I will become the most terrifying of all creatures – the Werewolf… The change into *wolfdom* is upon me." (TV corpus)

(2) "The *elfdom* needs its prince alive." (TV corpus)

(3) "Will *ninjadom* be vindicated or shamed?" (TV corpus)

It is clear from the context that *wolfdom* is intended to mean 'the state of being a wolf'; *elfdom* represents 'the domain of elfs' and *ninjadom* is understood in the sense of a collective entity, i.e., 'the collectivity of ninjas'.

-er

The nominal agent suffix *-er* is typically regarded as an extremely productive suffix. However, I was able to retrieve not more than two words that might be truly novel, viz. *enableizer* and *comprender*. Due to technical limitations (probably ultimately caused by the large number of different words in *-er* and a high number of their tokens), I was unable to retrieve from the corpora any *-er* words that occur with a token-frequency of less than 8. This made it impossible to find any hapaxes that I could include in this study. Most of the other agentive *-er* nouns found in the corpora appear to already be well-established, despite having a fairly low frequency in the corpus (*shampooer*, *dealmaker*, *firemaker*). The two words in *-er* I was able to collect which were not lexicalized are *enableizer* 'a person who enables' and *comprender* was 'one who does not comprehend'

(4) "Do you know what you are? You're an *enableizer*." (TV corpus)

In contrast to *enabler*, which is a well-estabished word with the same meaning created in line with the rule of deverbal agentive noun formation (*enable* + *er*), *enableizer* seems ill-formed (*enableize?* + *er*), so it may be more on the lines of creativity. As can be seen from the bracketed analysis, the verb base does not seem to be well-formed. Why would there be a word like *enableize* when there already is the verb *enable*, which means the same?

(5) "The *non-comprender* factor has gone sky-high this year. Your students can't understand you." (TV corpus)

In this TV series American English is used but the lines above came from a professor of Spanish. *Comprendo* in Spanish means 'to understand'. This is the reason for not using the word *comprehender*, which would be the well-established Standard American alterantive. Instead, a synonymous -*er* word was built creatively, but deliberately combining the -*er* suffix with Spanish language material in the base.

-(e)ry

This appears to be one of the less productive suffixes. Although it builds nouns of various meanings, according to Adams (2001: 59) the contribution of this suffix to vocabulary is low. It builds nouns denoting activities, results of actions, collectives, locations, but I have managed to find examples only from the first group, viz. activity (examples 6 and 7).

(6) "This ridiculous *James Bondery,* do we need it?" (Movie corpus)
(7) "Come to think of it, with all his *tantrumery…*" (Movie corpus)

In the latter case, the noun is used to refer to the repeated action of throwing tantrums.

-hood

This is a highly productive suffix denoting collectives or the state of being and it can be affixed to almost any noun (Adams 2001: 59). Cf. below the nouns I collected denoting 'state' (examples 8–10), and those denoting collectivities (examples 11–12):

(8) "…To commodify my *freakhood*." (TV corpus)
(9) "I said, do you, Kevin, assume legal responsibility for this overripe specimen of *femalehood* standing next to you?" (TV corpus)

(10)   "In fact, all my dates fall into two categories: geeks and those studying to enter the *geekhood*." (TV corpus)

(11) "Don't worry, professor. If the *loserhood* is up to something we'll head them off." (TV corpus)

(12) "A brotherhood of Santas. A *Santahood,* if you will." (TV corpus)

This suffix is also found in the sense 'area' that does not fit the above two meaning patterns – viz. *neighborhood* (Adams 2001: 63). This is of course an old word, but I found a fascinating example of a locative reading of the suffix in a noun built by analogy to *neighborhood,* viz. *buildinghood*

(13) "It's not the buildings that are important, it's the people. Otherwise they'd call it a *buildinghood* instead of a neighbourhood." (TV corpus)

-ism

As stated earlier, this suffix attaches mainly to other nouns and adjectives to build nouns denoting concepts, conditions, systems of belief, state. Examples (14–21) showcase nouns in -*ism* attested in my database. Examples (14–15) can be interpreted as denoting ideologies. Specifically, *Carrollism* in example (14) is used in reference to the ideology of the character Joe Carroll in The Following, and *Clothism* from Marty (example 15) is another example of that.

(14) "That's how you reach the highest level of Carrollism." (TV corpus)

(15) Mr. Phillips the game organiser told us to him, *clothism* was a way of life." (TV corpus)

Example (16), in turn features a state reading of the *-ism* nominal.

(16) "Let the full strength of your *caucasianism* rain down upon them." (TV corpus)

Some examples for suffixations denoting activities are *burglarism, clownism, complimentism,* and *cautionism* in (17–20):

(17) "They're all scraped up from burglarizing. Burglarization? *Burglarism."* (TV corpus)

(18) "This pill reduces class clownism 44%." (TV corpus)

(19) "It's quite the *complimentism.* You really should feel honoured." (TV corpus)

(20) "Use *cautionism*, master. You don't know this one's abilities." (TV corpus)

Example (20), *cautionism*, is rather interesting since the attachment of the suffix appears redundant. The example would work, even preferably so, without the suffix, cf. "*Use caution*". If so, the suffix appears to be redundant and we might say that this is a case of deliberate, or creative flouting of the rules of word formation. However, although it is really not immediately obvious, the speaker may have had a specific nuance of meaning in mind when they decided to attach the suffix on *caution*. Arguably, they may have wanted to convey the idea that 'being cautious' is a skill, an activity you can do at will.

Lastly, I have an example of a concept in the sense of an art trend from the series *Pinky and the Brain*, viz. *donutism*:

(21) "I've been able to predict the next great movement – *donutism*!" (TV corpus)

-ist

As mentioned above in 2.1.1. –*ist* denotes, among others, holders of the beliefs, attitudes or theories stated in the base of the word. Examples I have found during my research are *vandalist, vampirologist, reptologist*.

(22) "My family has been in the vampire business for a long time. That's why I became a *vampirologist*." (TV corpus)

(23) "He's the reptile professional. He's a *reptologist*." (TV corpus)

(24) "Felony *vandalist*. Breaking and entering. All of which is bad…" (TV corpus)

Obviously, someone who studies 'vampirology' (like some kind of stud) is a *vampirologist*. A *reptologist* is someone who knows everything about reptiles. *Vandalist* is semantically different, since the noun's interpretation is more along the lines of a habitual activity, i.e., as a denominal agentive noun similar to denominal -*er* agents. Vandalist means the person habitually doing what vandals do. However, the noun again appears redundant, since it has the

same meaning as the base noun *vandal*. This puts it closer to the creativity end of word formative activities.

-ness

This suffix can attach to almost any adjective. It is probably the most productive suffix. In my research I have found an abundance of words ending in –*ness* expressing either the quality of something or the state of being. The problem is with deciding whether they are really novel creations, since most dictionaries do not list words built by the most productive suffixes. So, for example, while *charmingness, stupidityness, stressiness, championishness* may indeed strike one as novel. *Dorkishness* not so much, yet I was unable to find the word in the dictionaries I used. All of these words denote states. Cf. the following examples

(25) "Thank you for all your *charmingness.*" (TV corpus)

(26) "The stupidest stupids in the whole history of *stupidityness*!" (TV corpus)

(27) "He was born with very strong tendencies toward…*dorkishness*." (TV corpus)

(28) "I was taking my *stressiness* out on her, too." (TV corpus)

(29) "More steroids equals more *championishness*." (TV corpus)

-ship

Recall that this is yet another suffix that builds abstract nouns, mainly those denoting a state or condition, activities, but also office or collectivities. The following apparently new formations were attested in my data:

(30) "Since when are you such a scholar on the manly art of *pimpsmanship?*" (TV corpus)

Here, *pimpanship* denotes an activity. The same type of meaning is found in example (31), where reference is made to the activity, or maybe even skill of making quality (shiny and pointy) blades:

(31) "Shiny, pointy…the two hallmarks of quality *bladesmanship*." (TV corpus)

Clientship in (32) is an example of a noun denoting a collectivity of people:

(32) "Congratulations on your *clientship.*" (TV corpus)

Having exhausted the examples of suffixed nouns, I now turn to the novel verbs in my database built by suffixation.

-ate

A coinage I found with this suffix is the word *dismantalate*. As we already know *–ate* is a verb-forming suffix. The problem here is that the base of the word already means the same as the newly formed word. It means 'to disconnect the pieces of' according to Merriam Webster dictionary. The example comes from Star Wars Rebels and my guess is that the author wanted to put a spin on the word and make it more appropriate for the context of the story line, viz. to give it a flair of something droid-like. This example can be seen as flouting the relevant word formation rule, so I would consider this a case of creative use of the suffix.

(33) "I'm gonna *dismantalate* that nut bucket!" (TV corpus)

-ify

Recall that the suffix *–ify* builds verbs of a range of possible meanings like the locative, ornative, causative, performative etc. (see section 2.1.1. above). My corpus features the following examples:

(34) "Five timesify your money supply." (TV corpus)

Timesify in example (34) has the meaning 'to make something a specific amount more' Interestingly, we again seem to have a case of tautologous creative affixation in *enlargify*, since *enlarge* and *enlargify* should mean the same thing 'to make something larger'

(35) "Watch the enzymes *enlargify* your breasts." (TV corpus)

The ornative meaning is featured in the again tautologous and hence deliberately rule-breaking, possibly playful verb *explainfy*:

(36) "Well, I'm not required to *explainify* my past romantical excursions". (TV corpus)

The examples in (37) to (40) all have the causative sense of 'to cause (not) to be'

(37) "I'm detecting abnormal estrogen levels, captain. Set phasers to *dewussify.*" (TV corpus)

(38) "You know, we need something to *dethingify* it." (TV corpus)

(39) "Trying to *japanify* them with your field trips to little Tokyo and your edamame." (TV corpus)

(40) "Once *mermaidified*, there's only one way a woman can go back to being unattractive again, but it's pretty gruesome." (HIMYM)

-ize

The suffix *-ize* covers a pretty similar meaning range as *–ify* but attaches to words that end with an unstressed syllable. These words are also truncated before the addition of the suffix. They are truncated if the word ends in a vowel or if the derivative has two last syllables identical. The rule of truncation is seen in the corpus examples shown in (41) to (44) below. However, note that some of these examples depart from the usual pattern of building *-ize* verbs from nouns or adjectives, and the novel verbs do not fit into the semantic patterns typical of the normal -ize suffixations. Therefore, we may say we're looking at several cases of "rule-twisting", i.e., creativity at work.:

(41) "…and it's got to be right in the orbitals so they can't *identitize* you." (TV corpus)
     identitize < identity + ize 'provide with an identity'

(42) "Anything is possible when you '*imaginize*' it." (TV corpus)
     imaginize < imagine + ize '

(43) "I found a hair removal place that will *depilatize* Mary-Kate and Ashley over there." (TV corpus)
     depilatize < depilate + ize 'to perform depilation'

(44) "I seem to have gotten myself into a bit of a pickle and I need to be… depickled. I think the term you're looking for is *depickleized*." (TV corpus)
     depicklize < depickle + ize 'to get out of pickle'

There are no changes in the base of the word in the example *solutionize* 'to provide a solution to the problem', as seen in corpus example (45)

(45) "To do that we should, uh…develop our strategy and strategize our development. Implement solutions and *solutionize* implementations." (TV corpus)

I have found one more example in the TV corpus which deviates from the norm, viz. *guitarisize* 'playing a guitar'. Rather than the suffix attaching to the base noun *guitar*, we seem to be looking at an idiosyncratically expanded base that cannot function as a self-standing noun. This is then another example of creativity at work.

Before I turn to prefixal neologisms, let me survey some neologistic adjectival suffixations attested in my database.

-able

The suffix attaches to nouns, transitive and intransitive verbs. It denotes the capability of being done or being liable and disposed to what the base of the word suggests. In my corpus, I found one instance of what might be construed a novel adjectival suffixation, though it is also a case of prefixation by *un-*. The word is *ungoogleable*, which we may presume is a negative version of the simpler, but innovative adjective of concern here – viz. *googleable.* Be that as it may, *ungoogleable* means 'unable to be googled', by extension *googleable* means something that can.

(46) "Important people, wealthy people. They are *ungoogleable.*" (TV corpus)

-al

I only found one example of a relational adjective built with this suffix, viz. the adjective *infectial.* However, rather than appearing as the result of deliberate perhaps even playful coinage, my impression is that this is an example of the speaker's not knowing the correct word for the type of disease, i.e., a case of non-competence.

(47) "General, surgery, *infectial* diseases, that's where I caught everything." (Movie corpus)

-esque

Nouns built with this suffix denote the manner or style associated with the referents of the common or proper nouns coded by the base noun. *Cavemanesque* in example (48) refers to the manner or style of a caveman. Other examples are *fairytalesque, dungeonesque* and *Disneyesque* in (49–51), respectively:

(48) "He's oozing a musky, *cavemanesque*, primitive satisfaction." (TV corpus)

(49) "The spring dance was the crowning moment… of my *fairytalesque* teen girl life." (TV corpus)

(50) "You know, somewhere secure…and damp. Hmm? Somewhere *dungeonesque*?" (TV corpus)

(51) "It's very *Disneyesque,* but it might just work." (TV corpus)

-ful

Most commonly, it is attached to abstract nouns and verbs creating adjectives. *Prettyful* is again an example deviating from the rules since pretty is already an adjective. This fact puts it closer to the creativity end of the word-building spectrum.

(52) "Well, she's a girl like me, so we know she'll be *prettyful*." (Movie corpus)

-ish

When *-ish* attaches to adjectives to form adjectives like *cheapish, loudish* etc. it has the effect of diminishing the value of whatever the adjective means, in other words, the above examples mean 'somewhat cheap' or 'somewhat loud'. The same approximative sense can be found with adverb bases, e.g., *soonish*. The meaning of 'vagueness' was attested in one possibly novel adjective, viz. *meanish* 'being slightly mean'.

(53) "That people here are a little stand-offish and, well, *meanish.*" (Movie corpus)

-less

Expresses the opposite of *–ful,* the loss or not having something. One presumably novel corpus example illustrates this suffix, viz. *superheroless*:

(54) "Friend to the friendless! Champion to the championless! Superhero to the *superheroless*!" (Movie corpus)

-ly

Having the meaning of similarity, or resemblance, this adjectival suffix attaches to nouns. One corpus example fits this pattern, viz. *cavemanly* 'resembling a caveman, caveman-like'.

> (55) "What's more important is that you leave my cave as soon as *cavemanly* possible." (TV corpus)

-ous

It derives words from nouns or bound roots having stress on the penultimate or antepenultimate syllable. There are more variations of this form like *–eous, -ious, -uous* or *–aceous*. The suffix is associated with the notion of characterization. In my dataset, there was one adjective that fits this pattern, viz. *Herculaceous.* 'being like Hercules':

> (56) "I'm not one of your *Herculaceous* sort." (Movie corpus)

-y

This is an informal suffix that expresses affection, contempt or familiarity, and usually has a shortened base. It is used to describe someone or something as resembling or having (an abundance) of whatever is denoted or implied by the base. Cf. examples (57–63). Incidentally, example (63) is difficult to account for, and even interpret, especially since there seem to be more direct and clearer ways to convey the presumably intended comparative notion, that of the sun getting *shinier*. Either way, here we seem to be looking at a strange case of creativity, or at worst a case of unintended misuse of a word formation device.

> (57) "You stop interrupting me, you stupid fucking *interrupty* guy." *(Veep)*
> (58) "If you use the word 'rape' or '*molesty*' one more time, I'm gonna hit you hard on the side." (TV corpus)
> (59) "It smells kinda *poisony* in the house." (Movie corpus)
> (60) "There's some web, you know, just different sort of like, *podcasty* things." (TV corpus)
> (61) "The pledges are still *pledgy*." (TV corpus)
> (62) "It's just…you're so adult and…together and *readery,* and it just makes me feel… kind of messy." (HIMYF)

(63) "Sun's getting *shinery*." (Movie corpus)

-ly

The only example of adverbial *–ly* I found is *good-naturedly*. The base of this derivative is a compound, and the adverb means 'in the manner involving good will or without malevolent intentions'.

(64) "You're *good-naturedly* ribbing me, aren't you?" (BBT)

The following list features innovative lexemes built by prefixation.

anti-

This is a productive prefix that attaches to nouns, adjectives and verbs creating adjectives denoting 'opposition' or 'being against'. Alternatively, *anti-* derivatives are interpreted as 'being the opposite of' or 'not having the characteristics'. *Anticanine* has the meaning of being against dogs and *antiangel* means being the opposite of an angel.

(65) "Not everyone's *anticanine* here." (TV corpus)
(66) "And I'm your *antiangel*. Say hello to your anti." (TV corpus)

de-

Attaching to verbs and nouns, this prefix creates reversative verbs like: *depoopify, depickle, deage.* It can even form reversative verbs from the yet unlexicalized base verbs (Plag 2003: 99). Such examples are *dewussify* and *dethingify*, whose presumed base verbs *wussify* and *thingify* do not exist. Nevertheless, *dewussify* and *dethingify* mean 'to make someone not a wuss' and 'to make something not a thing', respectively. *Deage* means 'to reverse aging' and *depickle* the factually improbable action of reversing the pickling.

(67) "I'm detecting abnormal estrogen levels, captain. Set phasers to *dewussify*." (TV corpus)
(68) "You know, we need something to *dethingify* it." (TV corpus)
(69) "What if I *deage* into nothing?" (TV corpus)
(70) "I seem to have gotten myself into a bit of a pickle and I need to be… *depickled*." (TV corpus)

(71) "I'm, um, how can I put this, *depoopifying* the fragments now to piece together some
kind of image." (TV corpus)

dis-

Similarly to *de-*, the prefix *dis-* was found with a reversative reading, i.e. it formed verbs from
other verbs like *to dismantle* (explained above) and from the arguably converted verb *to feng-
shui*. The reversative in the latter case, viz. *to disfeng-shui* means 'to arrange the furniture in
the room contrary to feng-shui belief'.

(71) "Mulder, we should have a warrant. It's only the Constitution. No big deal. Wow.
Disfeng-shui." (TV corpus)

non-

Most commonly this suffix denotes 'the state of not being something' but it can also denote
'the absence of something' or 'not having the characteristics of something'. We found it in a
new formation *non-pony*, which itself is part of the compound *non-pony country*, where it
denotes the absence of ponies in the area: "*non-pony* country".

(72) "Who leaves a country packed with ponies to go to a *non-pony* country?" (TV
corpus)

un-

This is a highly productive prefix, and there are quite a few examples of presumably novel *un-*
words in my database, where *un-* is attached to adjectives, nouns and verbs: *unterrible,
unmermaid, unbirthday, uncouple, unfatter, unlivability, uncompulsion*, *unsuspension.* It
attaches to nouns and verbs to communicate a privative or reversative meaning. The example
unmermaid can be interpreted privatively as 'to revert someone from a mermaid to a human'.
In contrast, un- adjectives are usually interpreted as contraries or negatives of what the base
adjective means, as in *unterrible* or *unfatter.* Attached to nouns, the prefix was also found in
nouns meaning the absence of whatever is denoted by the base noun, e.g*., unlivability,
unbirthday. Ungoogleable* was commented on and exemplified earlier, suffice it to say here
that the semantic contribution of the prefix is to suggest the inability to perform the action of
googling.

(73) "Okay, even if that happens, is there any way to *unmermaid* me?" (HIMYM)

(74) "If this is going to be *unterrible* for the first time ever, I'm not eating off a coffee table." (TV corpus)

(75) "For mind over matter has made the Pooh *unfatter*." (TV corpus)

(76) "The *unlivability* of those cities made it such that there needed to be some sort of a solution." (Movie corpus)

(77) "Ah, but there are 364 *unbirthdays*." (Movie corpus)

Compounding

The following list features examples of novel compounds or at least novel interpretations of existing compounds attested in my database:

(78) "Can we please stop saying coitus? Technically that would be *coitus interruptus*."

(79) "Picture a bib that looks like your suit: a collar, a tie, a jacket. I could call them *bro bibs*!"

(80) "Don't try to change the subject, you *sleep-cheated*."

(81) "You've been *sleep sleeping around*, and I'm sick of it."

(82) "Ma'am, the leader of the free world does not give audience to the unelected head of a *thugocracy*."

(83) "Courtney, this is not a democracy. It's a *cheerocracy*."

(84) "I learned that in my intro to *somethingology* class."

Let me first comment on the interesting case of a novel, atypical, ludic interpretation of the otherwise well-established compound *coitus interruptus*. The example comes from BBT, where the socially awkward character Sheldon was asked by his roommate Leonard to stop using the word *coitus*. The compound here obviously does not mean 'the withdrawal method of birth control', but what is interrupted is *the use of the word coitus*, which is the first compound member. The next three examples, viz. *bro bib, sleep cheated* and *sleep sleeping around* (79–81) are from HIMYM. *Bro bib* is a compound built by the sassy womanizer Barney, who combined the abbreviated form of *brother*, viz. *bro* with *bib* to refer to a bib that looks like a suit and is therefore, in his quite distorted perception of the world, macho and cool enough (rather than inappropriately juvenile) to be worn by an adult male. The other two are creations by the more down-to-earth character Marshall, after he found out that his girlfriend Lilly was dreaming about sleeping with someone else. To say that she cheated on him in a dream he uses *sleep-cheated*. He used *sleep sleeping around* for the same thing,

implying promiscuity. This form is a good example that compounds can be made by combining a word and a phrase. Finally, I also found some novel instances of neoclassical compounds, i.e., *thugocracy, cheerocracy* and *somethingology*. The neoclassical element *–cracy* is of Latin origin meaning 'rule'. Adding it to an informal word like *thing* or abbreviated word for *cheerleader* can be considered as a case of deliberate stylistically-motivated flouting of the "learned" character of neoclassical compounds and therefore a clear case of creativity. From the context we can deduce that *thugocracy* and *cheerocracy* are regimes ruled by thugs or cheerleaders. On the other hand, *-ology* as a neoclassical element means 'science of', meaning that something can be studied. As we can see from the example found in HIMYM *somethingology* is a study of some sort since there is a lecture from it, but we do not know to which science it refers exactly because we are oblivious as to the name of the class.

4.2. Novel lexemes built by types of word formation considered to be creative

In this section I will describe examples of novel words in my database that have been built by processes generally considered to lie outside the boundaries of the rule-governed word-formation system. I include conversion here, because, according to some (e.g., Lieber 2004), conversion is unlike other word-formative processes because it appears virtually unconstrained and allows words, especially verbs, to be built at will with no apparent system-guidance. In some sense that makes it fully productive, but in another it may appear as if it lies outside the grammatical system.

Conversion

As I mentioned before, conversion is a process in which we change the syntactic category of the base word without attaching any explicit word-formation marker. I found the following clearly novel examples in my database

(85) "…and then they cut off his trust fund! They *Meghan Markled* you guys."

(86) "Oh, yeah we do that behind your back. *Ted out*: to overthink. Also see *Ted up*. *Ted up*: to overthink something with disastrous results."

To be able to interpret all these examples, we need to understand the context of situation that gave rise to these new verbs. The example in (85), *Meghan Markle* can only be interpreted if we know the recent happenings at British Court. Namely, after Prince Harry and Meghan

Markle stepped away from their royal duties, prince Charles decided to cut off their funds. Therefore, to be *Meghan Markled* now means 'to have someone cut you off or deprive you of your inheritance'. The other two examples need no explaining since the meaning is already explained in the citation itself.

Truncation

One case of truncation was found in the first member of the compound *hundy stick* meaning 'a hundred dollars'

(87)   "And for two more hundy-sticks, baby's going to look in the camera and say this…"
(88)   "Shall we go look at that *littee bittee* land?"

The word *hundy* in example (87) was made from the base *hundred*, which was first shortened and then appended with '*y*' to make it diminutive. Another example of truncation is the first member of the compound *littee bittee* meaning small piece or a small area: We may assume truncation was at work when building the word *littee* from *little*, of course, there is again a bit of expansion involved, with the suffix *-ee* attached on both compound members.

Blending

Blending accounts for most examples of new lexemes in my database. It seems as if it is a virtually inexhaustible well of new words. I will present the blends attested according to their structure.

Full word+ splinter

This type of blends is the most common in my dataset. Because of their abundance, I will not present them in a separate list, but will list and comment on them in running text.

Humormometer (BBT) means a device which measures the quantity of humour of a person. It is formed from the word *humor* plus a splinter from the word *thermometer*. *Nerdvine – nerd + grapevine* – is created to refer to the circulation of information from/among nerds. *Dogopus* is a crossbreed between a dog and an octopus – *dog + octopus*. HIMYM was a goldmine of blends or to say a 'blendmine'. The first example is the word *ruttine – rut + routine*, it has a meaning that the routine someone is in is bad for them. *Slapulation – slap + ejaculation,* this blend, combined with *premature* into the compound *premature slapulation* refers to the act of moving the hand too early to give someone a slap. It can be seen in the context: "Looks like

someone suffered from premature *slapulation*." A hand giving a slap took off prematurely. A bad thing that happens with a fiero is *fieroasco – fiero + fiasco. Slapsgiving – slap + thanksgiving,* a holiday intended for giving slaps. *Bromaggedon – bro + armaggedon; bothera – bother + cholera; insaneulous – insane + ridiculous; Blitztory – blitz + history* (a *blitz* is someone who misses out on things); *doggerisms – dog + mannerism; beercules – beer + Hercules; bronnection – bro + connection; neverend – never + reverend; zabkatage – Zabka + sabotage; vower – vow + power* (as in vowerpoint presentation instead of powerpoint). In HIMYF I registered the word *kegfit – keg + fitness*, suggesting that carrying a keg up the stairs can be considered as a type of exercise. Veep also had a number of the first type of blends like *foodnomenal – food + fenomenal; Mike kwon do – Mike + tae kwon do; veeplopedia – veep + encyclopedia; garyoke – Gary + karaoke; dannyoke – Danny +karaoke; veeple – veep + people; AIDSnami – AIDS + tsunami; gaydar – gay + radar; staycation – stay + vacation.* The rest of the examples were found in the two corpora. They are: *circusise – circus + exercise; imagineering – imagine + engineer; sheeple – sheep + people, primpalicious – primp + delicious; primpanzee – primp + chimpanzee; powerlicious – power + delicious; santalicious – santa + delicious; cheertator – cheer + dictator; cowspiracy – cow + conspiracy; broposal – bro + proposal; brose – bro + rose; bestival – best + festival; cowincidence – cow + coincidence; loftgreement – loft + agreement; webvertisement – web + vertisement; cheercision – cheer + decision; boxarate – box + karate; concernicus – concern + Copernicus.*

Splinter + full word

The second type of blends is when the splinter of a word comes first and is followed by a full word. There are a few examples of this type in my database. The first example is: *Marshpillow – Marshall + pillow* is a pillow that is dressed as and acts as a substitute for the character Marshall. A dictionary of gestures is *gestdictionary – gesture + dictionary.* A female person who is expandable is *expendabelle – expendable + belle.* And a tool from the future which tills the land is an *autoplow – automatic + plow.* I would like to put here an example from HIMYM which deviates from the rule a bit. The word is *cockamouse* which is a crossbreed between a cockroach and a mouse but looking closer we can see that it has a letter 'a' infixed in between. I will consider that it comes from the word 'and' so it would make it a splinter also. The equation for it would then be: *cockamouse – cockroach + and + mouse* and this would mean that it has two splinters which are followed by a full word.

Splinter + splinter (+ splinter) (+ splinter)

The third type of blends is made only of splinters. From BBT come *dinfast – dinner + breakfast; emipali – Emily + Koothrapali; koothrapemily – Koothrapali + Emily* and the most interesting one with three splinters, *turbriskafill – turkey + brisket + gefillte fish*. It has a meaning of turkey stuffed with a brisket stuffed with gefillte fish. Another interesting one with more than two splinters is from HIMYM, all in one, *stovenkerator – stove + oven + sink + refrigerator*. Among others, there are *barnitude – Barney + solitude; visativity – vision + creativity; hackmigos – hacky sack* (a game played with a ball) *+ amigos; trufus – thruth + rufus* (a play on words by combining 'truth' and 'Rufus': "My name is Rufus and that's the *trufus*." Creations from Veep: *whitegeist – white house + poltergeist* (someone who gets in the White House to procure information); *anxiet– anxiety + diet;* and *smarch – smart + watch.* This type of blends sourced from the two corpora includes: *suburgatory – suburban + purgatory; autojector – automatic + injector; comcam – communications + camera.*

Complete overlap in first and last syllable

The fourth type of blends is when the words completely overlap in the last and first syllable. Such as *rocktober – rock + October.* HIMYM has a number of similar blends such as *slappetizers – slap + appetizers; slappetite – slap + appetite; slapple – slap + apple; slapsolutely – slap + absolutely; slapportunity – slap + opportunity* all made with the word *slap*. There are also *bropocalypse – bro + apocalypse; revertigo – revert + vertigo; legendaddy – legendary + daddy; broath – bro + oath* and two more with the same word, *quintervention – quin + intervention; quinterests – quin + interests.* One example was in HIMYF, it was *spleenic – spleen + seenic* used in a joke while dissecting dead bodies: "Hey, you know how to get to the stomach? You take the *spleenic* route." Some words from Veep are *dandroid – Dan + android; backne – back + acne; popcornaments – popcorn + ornaments.* Some more instances of overlapping can be seen in *sadorable – sad + adorable; eggsotic – egg + exotic; eggsperience – egg + experience; eggspensive – egg + expensive; shopportunist – shop + opportunist; mantrapment – man + entrapment.*

Infixation by splinter or word

The fifth type of blends is when a word or a splinter of a word is infixed into another word. For example, *baskiceball – basketball + ice hockey; possimpible – possible + impossible* and when a word is infixed, *invowluntary – involuntary + vow; turturkeykey – turkey + turkey.* A *turturkeykey* is a turkey stuffed inside another turkey. It is a dish Ted from HIMYM makes for

thanksgiving: "Instead of stuffing, I'm going to fill the turkey with…a slightly smaller turkey. It's called a *turturkeykey*!" This is an interesting and rare occurrence when a word is infixed in that same word, but the word may be said to iconically mirror the "stacked" nature of its extralinguistic referent.

5. Conclusion

In order to amuse and entertain its viewers, creators of TV series and movies use a variety of new-word forming processes – ranging from strictly rule-governed productivity processes to rather loosely restrictive creative processes. As we could see in the analysis, some productive processes like affixation, which should strictly speaking be rule-governed, can deviate and give rise to words that sit somewhere between the two ends of the scale, viz. productive and creative formations. On the other hand, creative processes, like truncation, and especially blending, give us from the get go more freedom as they impose less strict restrictions on the creation of neologisms. In fact, whenever we found an instance of a novel formation that so obviously draws attention to itself, it was either a neologism built by the obviously creative process like blending, but sometimes also the result of otherwise rule-bound processes like suffixation or prefixation that deviated in one way or another from the strictures that apply to those word-formative processes. For instance, in many cases suffixation was found to be redundant, attaching to bases that already feature the target meaning, but the addition of the suffix gave the word a particular stylistic "flair". Although this study was not designed to measure the extent to which any of the observed word-formative devices were used in building novel lexemes, what really stood out was the sheer number of blends collected from my sources. This may well be because blending is indeed a very productive means of creatively building new lexemes, but it may simply be a result of the fact that such novel formations are so easy to spot since they are meant to draw attention. Be that as it may, what this study showed is that the world of TV series and movies is a great source of interesting neologisms, regardless of the fact that few of them are likely to survive beyond the needs of the immediate context and thus become part of the permanent lexical stock.

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