Creativity and routine in name-based lexical patterns

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The paper discusses the role of creativity and routine for the formation of name-based lexical patterns in German on the basis of two case studies. If routine is understood as the set of rules that determine a pattern, it may be asked which modifications of the rules should count as creative. Since deviation and unfamiliarity can result in a pattern that attracts attention, such creative modifications can be associated with expressivity (e.g., Hopper & Traugott 1993) or extravagance (e.g., Haspelmath 1999), respectively, and lead to the emergence of new routines. However, modifications might also cause incomprehensibility or violations of normative standards, often resulting in non-consolidation of the modified pattern.

The first pattern is nominal proper compounds. They are either proper names (onymic type, e.g. toponyms, *Neckarburg*) or common nouns (appellative type, *Bunsenbrenner* 'Bunsen burner'). While onymic PN compounds already exist in Old High German, appellative PN compounds are still very rare for a long time. It is only between 1600 and 1900 that their relative proportion increases strongly (cf. Schlücker 2020). This increase in use is accompanied by various formal modifications of the original pattern. We claim that these changes have extravagant effects and can thus be regarded as creative. This language use has been socially successful, since in the 20th century there is a consolidation of the changes, thus a new routine, with a subsequent strong increase of productivity of the new pattern.

The second pattern is the morphological combination of two identical nouns functioning as proper names, like personal names (*Mausemaus* 'mouse mouse' referring to an internet forum user, cf. Frankowsky 2022). We show that although this pattern is relatively new and violates several constraints (such that analyses both as nominal compound and as reduplication are problematic), it is quite productive in specific domains, e.g., self-naming in social media and product marketing. Thus, it cannot be considered unusual. Our data also show, however, that speakers are aware of the pattern's deviation from the norm.

The case studies indicate that the assertiveness of modifications and the emergence of new routines depend on the social success of an innovation. In both cases, creativity can be associated with extravagance, however, in very different ways.

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