ARBEITSGRUPPE 1 | *WORKSHOP 1*
Raum | *Room*: S 26, Seminargebäude

Dynamics at the lexicon-syntax interface: Creativity and routine in word-formation and multi-word expressions

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Both word-formation and the coinage of multi-word expressions can be characterised in terms of creativity and routine. Despite obvious parallels, however, the different types of expression are often studied independently of each other, by different research communities. Furthermore, much research on creativity also takes place in the domain of word-play and humorous language. The workshop will bring together these different research communities to discuss empirical evidence on the role of creativity in word-formation and multi-word units. We will explore the role of creativity in the emergence, usage and propagation of lexical patterns, and in the development of 'routine'. We will also analyse how and to what extent 'routine' is a necessary prerequisite for creative use of word-formation and multi-word units.

Routine in word-formation and multi-word expressions is traditionally described in terms of morphological, lexical, syntactic, and pragmatic rules, but 'creativity' is defined in different ways, with definitions ranging from seeing creativity at the heart of human (linguistic) cognition (Chomsky 1964; Goldberg 2003) to seeing creativity as precisely beyond 'regular' routines (Filatkina 2018), e.g. as an attention-seeking tool or wordplay (Arndt-Lappe et al 2018). In this latter sense, 'creativity' is usually sharply distinguished from 'productivity', i.e. rule-governed behaviour. In research on multi-word units, creative strategies in this sense are usually discussed as 'modifications'. Diachronically, however, modifications may develop into productive patterns. In word-formation research, creative strategies in the latter sense are often labelled as 'extravagant' (Haspelmath 1999), 'extragrammatical' (Dressler 2000), 'analogy-based' (Mattiello 2017), or simply 'creative' (Benczes 2008); again, such patterns may diachronically develop into regular processes (Norde & Van Goethem 2018). Despite these categorisations, the

question on what basis patterns are to be defined as 'creative' still remains subject to debate. Criteria that have figured particularly prominently are (a) the degree of consciousness with which an expression was formed, (b) the expressive function of a pattern, and (c) structural properties of a pattern (like, e.g., non-concatenative properties). None of these criteria is without its problems, however, as all properties mentioned can also be true of processes that are generally not conceived of as 'creative'. The workshop will put precisely these questions and approaches at its center and discuss them from the perspectives of word-formation and multi-word units research.

Our Metaphorical Bodies: Why Metaphor May Be Everywhere

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Metaphors play a critical role in how we think and express ourselves in various linguistic and non-linguistic (e.g., gesture, art, music) contexts. But metaphors are not just special literary devices, as they are now seen as fundamental to human concepts, reasoning, and imagination, we typically think of metaphor in both thought and language as resulting from the mapping of a non-metaphorical source domain over to better structure, and even create, a metaphorical target domain. For example, when one says "Life is a journey," we can infer many different metaphorical ideas about life given our knowledge and experiences with journeys. One of the main realizations in contemporary metaphor research is that many source domains in metaphorical ideas are tied to recurring aspects of bodily experience (e.g., taking physical journeys). However, these source domains are not seen as metaphorical. My talk aims to refute this belief by suggesting that the human body, and bodily experiences, are routinely understood in metaphorical terms (e.g., journeys are metaphorical!). I will present numerous examples of the metaphorical body, specifically in terms of human body parts, bodily sensations, illness and bodily disorders, and bodily metaphorical performances. The ubiquity of metaphor in bodily experience suggests that metaphor may not simply be important for understanding abstract concepts, but is actually everywhere in our experience. This conclusion has important implications for our understanding of human bodies in action, theories of metaphorical thought and understanding, and for better appreciating the role that metaphor plays in the daily creation of meaningful human life.

Creative *-ness*

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In a strong sense, creativity in word formation is a purposeful usage of existing patterns to not only create new words but in doing so exploit non-default means and as a result change the balance of patterns in the lexicon. If it is purposeful, it must be conscious, cf. the definition of creative modification "as an irregular, intentional and conscious intervention of a speaker into the form and/or meaning of a pattern directed at the violation of the existing norms" (Filatkina, 2018). The aim of this paper is to investigate whether clearly consciously used new word formations fulfill this definition of creative modification. To this end, instances of English *-ness* derivations in scare quotes in a synchronic written corpus are investigated.

All occurrences of *-ness* forms were extracted from the ukWaC corpus. Quoted hapaxes were further annotated for type of quote, syntactical category and morphological subcategory of the base. The semantics were considered within their sentential context.

The 7831 *-ness* lemmata contain 3429 hapaxes, 89 are hapaxes in scare quotes. The base categories, against the numbers from Arndt-Lappe (2014, Table 3), are distributed as follows:

syntactic category	OED 20th century neologisms (n=220)	ukWaC scare quote hapaxes (n=89)
adjective	84.5%	61.8%
noun	6.4%	23.6%
phrase	4.5%	10.1%
minor category	4.5%	4.5%

The difference in the distribution of the syntactic categories of the bases is in line with scare quotes signaling creative modification: the pattern is markedly different, minority bases are used more often. The morphological subclass of the adjectives also showed variation and less usage of the dominant base. A closer look at the semantics shows that intended meanings typically require additional elaboration not present in standard examples.

References: • Arndt-Lappe, S. (2014). Analogy in suffix rivalry: the case of English -ity and -ness. *English Language and Linguistics* 18 (03), 497–548. • Filatkina, Natalia (2018). Expanding the Lexicon through Formulaic Patterns. In S. Arndt-Lappe et al., *Expanding the Lexicon*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 15–42.

"Chaos theory, shmaos theory": Creativity and routine in English *shm*-reduplication

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In this talk, we investigate an "extravagant" construction at the interface of morphology and syntax: English *shm*-reduplication, a pattern in which a word is immediately repeated, but the initial consonant or consonant cluster is either replaced by /ʃm/, or /ʃm/ is added to the beginning of a word if it begins with a vowel (McCarthy & Prince 1996), as exemplified in (1) (example from ENCOW16AX).

(1)   Chaos theory, schmaos theory. When the universe is this much on your side, you literally cannot lose.

So far, research on *shm*-reduplication has mainly focused on its phonological properties (but see Mattiello 2013). The present study adds a semantic and a multimodal perspective, drawing on data from computer-mediated communication as well as on video data. By applying semantic vector-space analysis to data from the web corpus ENCOW16AX (Schäfer & Bildhauer 2012), we took a closer look at the semantic domains to which the base words in the construction belong. In addition, we extracted an exhaustive set of attestations of the *shm*-reduplication construction from the *TV News Archive*, and tested two predictions based on the multimodal data. Firstly, we predicted that the construction is often accompanied by a dismissive gesture, thus qualifying as a multimodal construction. This hypothesis was borne out by the data. Our second prediction was that the construction tends to occur turn-initially, usually taking up cues from the interlocutor's previous utterance if occurring in a conversation. Here, the results indicate that matters are more complex and that *shm*-reduplication tends to occur in what could be called "fictive quotes" (Pascual 2014): An attitude ascribed to a person is conveyed by a quote attributed to said person either via a quotative or without an overt quotation marker. In many ways, then, the pattern is a prime example for a creative and "extravagant" construction that is strongly connected to specific communicative contexts and characterized by a fairly complex set of discourse-functional properties.

References: • Mattiello, E. 2013. Extra-grammatical morphology in English. Abbreviations, blends, reduplicatives, and related phenomena. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter. • McCarthy, John J. & Alan Prince. [1986] 1996. Prosodic morphology. • Pascual, E. 2014. Fictive interaction: the conversation frame in thought, language, and discourse. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins. • Schäfer, R. & F. Bildhauer. 2012. Building large corpora from the web using a new efficient tool chain. In C. Calzolari et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of LREC 2012*, 486–493.

Name blends between creativity and routine

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In extra grammatical morphology, the crucial difference between regular word formation and word creation is that in word formation, the output automatically results from the input and the input can be recovered from the output, whereas the main purpose of word creation is not to create a recoverable (transparent) output, but to form output with certain desired features (cf. Ronneberger Sibold 2001). Therefore, transparency/recoverability of input constituents and the intentional character of the output play a crucial role in defining creative word formation processes and distinguishing creative techniques from regular word formation.

However, as Ronneberger Sibold (2015) shows, transparency is a graded phenomenon ranging from word creations that are similar to regular word formation to those that account for playful creations with reduced recoverability of their constituents. In this regard, it is still unclear, which extralinguistic factors influence the grade of regularity and creativity of word creations. To bear on these issues, the paper will provide evidence for the influence of extra-linguistic factors on the status of so-called name blends between creativity and regularity.

Name blends as a phenomenon between word formation and word creation (Beliaeva 2019) emerge by combining two personal names (e.g., *Brangelina*). The paper will test the hypothesis that the creativity of name blends is related to the gender of name bearers, the domain, the name class, and the text type. The data comprise some 300 types collected manually on the basis of 30 personal names of politicians, athletes and celebrities and three text types (newspaper articles from the German reference corpus, blogs from the German digital dictionary and tweets from Twitter). The data were coded in *Maxqda* for the following transparency grades (cf. Ronneberger Sibold 2015): complete, contour, semicomplete, and fragment blending. The results indicate that the grade of transparency of name blends is mainly influenced by the text type. Furthermore, the name constituents are mostly recoverable, especially when one name is inserted into the sound shape of the other (e.g., *Bennifer*). At the same time, the tendency to follow the formal regularities of proper name formation is reduced by the goal of creating a novel linguistic unit that differs from both name constituents.

References: • Beliaeva, N. 2019. Blending creativity and productivity: on the issue of delimiting the boundaries of blends as a type of word formation. *Lexis* 14 • Ronneberger-Sibold, E.2001. On useful darkness: loss and destruction of transparency by linguistic change, borrowing, and word creation. *Yearbook of Morphology*, 97–120. • Ronneberger-Sibold, E.2015. Word-creation. In: Peter O. Müller et al. (ed.): *Word-Formation. An International Handbook of the Languages of Europe*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 485–500.

Creativity and recontextualization: Lexical substitution in English verbal idioms

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Modifications of idioms, i.e. creative changes of their conventionalized forms and meaning, are widespread across different types of discourse. Furthermore, corpus-based studies have shown that the most common type of modification is lexical substitution. Here are two examples from the enTenTen13 corpus:

(1)   Her company has ***skyrocketed*** *through the ranks* of other marketing businesses. (rise through the ranks)

(2)   As a loyal consumer of Wikipedia, I will ***defend*** *it to great lengths*. (go to great lengths)

One of the key issues in the research of idiomatic creativity is the extent to which lexical components can be changed, and recognizability has been established as one of the most general constraints. It is also argued that an idiom's base form serves as the organizing frame into which salient elements of new domains of knowledge are projected (Omazić & Čačija 2020). This can be tied in with the notion of recontextualization in discourse studies of metaphor (Semino et al. 2013). For instance, the substituting verb may be similar in meaning (example 1) or the entire expression may be recontextualized in a different domain (example 2). This raises the question of which idiomatic components ensure recognizability.

The aim of this study is to show that recognizability is dependent on whether the substituting verb belongs to the same or different domain as the idiomatic component. We will also show that the creation of novel expressions is constrained by the figurative meanings of lexical patterns within a given idiom. We conducted a study of 100 verbal idioms in the enTenTen13 corpus. Two groups of results were obtained. Firstly, when the substituting verb belongs to the same source domain, the idiom is recognizable based on nominal components or prepositional phrases which denote spatial relations (e.g. ***skyrocket*** *through the ranks*). Secondly, when an idiom is recontextualized, the components which serve as the organizing frame specify the setting of a situation, most commonly manner (e.g. ***defend*** something *to great lengths*). Overall, this study shows that the prerequisite for creative use are the figurative meanings of lexical patterns within individual expressions. This means that idiomatic creativity, even lexical substitution, is not boundless.

References: • Semino, E. et al. (2013). Metaphor, genre, and recontextualization. *Metaphor and Symbol* 28(1), 41–59. • Omazić, M. & R. Čačija (2020). Dynamic model of PU modification. In M. Omazić & J. Parizoska (eds.), *Reproducibility and Variation of Figurative Expressions: Theoretical Aspects and Applications*. Białystok: University of Białystok Publishing House, 51–67.

Creativity and routine in word formation: four case studies

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The hypothesis tested is that creativity in word formation is a matter of contextualization and perception; i.e. mixture of: (perception of) heightened effort on the part of the producer; novelty (or unexpectedness); conceptual clash and/or contrast and (invited) interpretative effort on the part of the coprehender. The mechanisms employed are recombinance (Talmy 2003) of routine patterns, processes and recognizable elements and exertion of greater cognitive effort on both sit(d)es – production and comprehension. The producer's effort is to achieve unexpectedness that would resonate into successful efforts for effective reverse-engineering by the comprehender, for "reenacting awareness" of motivational triggers and employed techniques or of a source for a local analogy.

(1)   "I am such a **dolent** man, / I **eptly** work each day; / My acts are all **becilic**, / I've just **ane** things to say." (*A Very Descript Man*)

Although the leading factors here are context and textual form/genre (a poem), the recognition of purposeful play inviting interpretative effort and de-affixation are a move away from routine patterns, the whole process of reverse-engineering is based on awakened awareness of a mundane and almost automatized routine pattern - affixation.

(2)   *Захая* [zahaya, 'start caring']

The translation coinage *(King Lear)* is based on the synchronically simplex *нехая* [nehaya, 'do not care']; is devoid of playfulness and is further supported by the co-textual appearance of the de-affixed neologism *хая* [haya, 'care'].

(3)   *Махмурлек*, [*mahmurlek* < <u>mahmur</u>Lu<u>K</u>+<u>LeK</u> ["hangover"+"cure"]

This novel blend in Bulgarian excludes most of the external factors (context, conscious effort, etc.) and exploits exclusively the choreographed "conceptual rewiring" (Veale 2012) between creator and comprehender.

On the basis of the analysis of three data sets and the semantics of the *-gasm* family in English, it is concluded that creativity relies heavily on routine patterns and is best thought of as "the process whereby we become aware of the present and possible conditions for the organization of cognition, and whereby we enable others to reenact that awareness" (de Beaugrande 1978: i).

References: • De Beaugrande, R. (1978). Linguistics and Creativity. Paper, Louisville, Kentucky, April 1978. • Talmy, L. (2003). Recombinance in the Evolution of Language. CLS 2: 33-66. • Veale, T. (2012). *Exploding the Creativity Myth. The Computational Foundations of Linguistic Creativity*. London: Bloomsbury.

What is creative to whom and why? Creativity in word-formation and phraseology against the backdrop of shared conventions and individual routines

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Utterances are creative to the extent that they stretch linguistic conventions. According to the Entrenchment-and-Conventionalization Model (Schmid 2020), these can be defined as mutually known regularities of behaviour that speakers adhere to because they mutually expect each other to adhere to them. These regularities in turn pertain to various dimensions, broadly speaking the symbolic, syntagmatic, paradigmatic and pragmatic ones, all of which can be exploited for creativity. For example, using a lexical item with a new metaphorical meaning comes down to stretching a symbolic regularity, coining a new word by applying a conventional word-formation pattern extends the paradigmatic range of a syntagmatic and symbolic regularity.

Routines, in contrast, are defined as highly entrenched patterns of associations in the minds of individual speakers. These patterns are extracted and entrenched from conventions in use and therefore also multi-dimensional. They are marked by inter-individual and intra-individual (i.e. contextual) variation. One speaker's routines can come across as being creative to another speaker in a given context.

Linguistic creativity must be understood against the backdrop of usage-based communal conventions (the macro-level) and individual routines (the micro-level). I will discuss how this socio-cognitive perspective on conventions and routines can contribute to understanding different types and degrees of linguistic creativity in the fields of word-formation and multi-word expressions.

The main challenge for deciding what is creative to whom in these two fields lies in the continuum from morphologically or lexically fixed elements (such as the compound *watertight* or the proverb *a stitch in time saves nine*) to partly and fully variable patterns of regularities (e.g. N+Adj, or V+*able*$_{Adj}$ or N *and* N, i.e. irreversable binomials). Complex lexemes or multi-word units can be unconventional on the lexically specific level, while – and also because – they follow conventions on the level of variable patterns. I will focus on the borderline area between word-formation and multi-word expressions populated by compounds (especially phrasal ones), restricted collocations, phrasal verbs and light-verb constructions.

References: • Schmid, H.-J. (2020). *The Dynamics of the Linguistic System. Usage, Conventionalization and Entrenchment*, Oxford: OUP.

Creativity and Productivity in Composite Predicates in the History of American English

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This study examines diachronic developments of verbo-nominal composite predicates with light verbs (e.g., *make an assumption)* in the history of American English between 1800 and the present day. This type of composite predicate (or CP) contains a polysemous transitive verb, or light verb (e.g., *make*), which often combines with an abstract nominal complement that carries the semantic weight of a verb. We set out to answer the question of why creativity of novel CPs that are similar to others might lead to an increase in productivity over time in some cases but not in others. A quantitative analysis of verbo-nominal CPs in the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA) (Davies 2010) provides support for the view that the semantic heaviness of the verb is responsible for the increase in productivity among some CPs over time (e.g., *take a look*) and for the lack of productivity among other CPs that contain a more lexically specific verb (e.g., *bear witness, lose sight of)*.

Following a diachronic construction grammar approach to CPs as laid out in Sundquist (2022), we describe the creation of and proliferation of novel verb-noun pairings in CPs in terms of successful exemplars (cf., Bybee 2006). We undertook a quantificational analysis of texts from COHA (1820-2010) to examine more closely four verb-noun pairings, namely, *take+look* and *make+sound* as well as *bear+witness* and *lose+sight*, analyzing type and token frequencies and tracking these collocations over time, along with families of semantically similar nouns that occur with the same verbs.

Results provide evidence that the lexical specificity of the verb dictates how productive CPs may become over the long term. We relate the differences in the relative productivity of each type of CP and the semantic properties of the verbs to the notion of coverage, as outlined in Goldberg (2019) and address the implications of this analysis for a diachronic approach and the effect that time may have on coverage and the ever-changing frequencies of novel and exemplary multi-word expressions.

References: • Bybee, Joan (2006). From usage to grammar. *Language* 82(4), 711-733. • Davies, Mark (2010). The corpus of historical American English. URL: http://corpus.byu.edu/coha. • Goldberg, Adele E. (2019). Explain me this. Princeton: Princeton University Press. • Sundquist, John D. (2022). An exemplar-based approach to composite predicates in the history of American English. *English Language and Linguistics* 26(2). 413-442.

Creativity through routine: The roles of form accessibility and top-down inhibition in language production and change

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The opposition between creativity and routine is often merely apparent. In this talk, we present a unified mechanistic account of how speakers generally keep extension under control, i.e., preventing overextension, e.g., how one avoids using the much more frequent form *work* to express the meaning of 'worked' (Kapatsinski, 2022). We then show how the same mechanism is responsible for certain types of creativity that have not yet received a mechanistic usage-based account.

In most models of production, the intended message activates semantic features, which then activate their associated forms in proportion to frequency We have previously shown that this naturally produces overextension of frequent forms (Harmon & Kapatsinski, 2017). Here, we discuss how these overextensions are kept in check by what we call the Negative Feedback Cycle (NFC, Kapatsinski, 2022). The forms send the activation they receive back up to semantic features with which they are associated via inhibitory links). Inhibition of a semantic feature by a form is proportional to how well the form cues that feature. At this point, intended semantic features remain activated because they are still receiving activation from the message, but unintended semantic features associated with activated forms are inhibited by them. As activation spreads back down from meanings to forms, the inhibited unintended semantics inhibit the associated forms. The NFC suppresses overextension by suppressing the production of forms with unintended meanings or connotations.

Interestingly, the same mechanism that usually prevents overextension, may also be responsible for certain types of creativity, including the formation of splinters, novel morphemes that used to be mere segment sequences. For example, *–holic* was splintered off *alcoholic* to be extended to other contexts (*workaholic, shopaholic* etc.). Because *-holic* occurred in only one context (alc) before being extended to new uses, its liberation from this context is rather mysterious. However, the NFC can generate *workaholic* when a speaker who knows *work* and *alcoholic* intends to express the meaning 'addicted to work', by suppressing the best cue to the unintended meaning 'alcohol', #*alc*. Thus, a mechanism that suppresses certain types of creativity also naturally generates creative productions.

References: • Harmon, Z. & V. Kapatsinski (2017). Putting old tools to novel uses: The role of form accessibility in semantic extension. *Cognitive Psychology* 98, 22-44. • Kapatsinski, V. (2022). Morphology in a parallel, distributed, interactive architecture of language production. *Frontiers in Artificial Intelligence* 5.

Mit Hilfe von Kreativität?
How German complex prepositions are shaped

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The paper addresses the formation and the diachronic development of German complex prepositions with the general syntactic form [P N P]. Our contribution will focus on two patterns: the complex preposition *mit Hilfe/mithilfe*, exemplified in (1), and the structures with a more general pattern [*mit* N *auf*] 'with N to' and the abstract meaning of reference, see (2).

(1)   Die Familie klagte **mit Hilfe** eines Rechtsanwaltes gegen die Ablehnung. [DWDS, Welt am Sonntag, 10.06.2018]
        'The family sued against the rejection with the help of a lawyer.'

(2)   **Mit Bezug auf** den obenerwähnten außerordentlichen Farbensinn des Persers möchte ich an dieser Stelle eine Frage aufwerfen. [DWDS, Orientalisches Archiv, 1913, Nr. 2, Bd. 3]
        'With reference to the above-mentioned extraordinary color sense of the Persian, I would like to raise a question at this point'

Being multi-word expressions, complex prepositions are located at the interface between lexicon and syntax (see e.g. Quirk/Mulholland 1964; Seppänen et al. 1994; Lindqvist 1994). Syntactically, they display some internal complexity and some degree of internal variation (in (2), *mit Bezug* could be changed to *in Bezug*). Semantically, the meaning of the whole sequence is mostly autonomous and non-compositional. It thus appears that they are complex units, in which some internal syntactic structure can be discerned, but whose elements dispose of reduced autonomy, especially with respect to their semantics.

Using data from the Deutsches Textarchiv (DTA, c. 1600-1900), the study traces individual small-scale changes in these complex units. It will be shown that these two patterns display divergent tendencies in their diachronic development in that creativity and routine intervene at different stages in any given development and play different roles in the emergence and propagation of a particular pattern.

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Creativity in the dynamics of German constructional idioms. A diachronic, corpus-based approach

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Our talk deals with the creation of new constructional idioms (CIs) in German through modification. By CIs we mean partially lexicalized patterns (e.g., X *will gelernt sein* [*Argumentieren/richtiges Heizen* etc. *will gelernt sein*]). By modification (in terms of phraseology research) we mean the occasional variation of multi-word expressions (e.g., *Liebe auf den ersten Knick*, Ritter Sport commercial). Various studies show that CIs can emerge via an increase in modification of fully lexicalized multi-word expressions, "especially through the process of lexical substitution" (Mellado Blanco 2022: 9) (e.g., X *oder Nicht-*X / Y*, das ist hier die Frage*, Stumpf 2016: 317–318). This process can be described as delexicalization/constructionalization (Traugott/Trousdale 2013). In our talk, we ask how the developmental processes from lexically fixed idioms via modification to CIs, a development which happens over a shorter period of time, can be empirically determined and theoretically explained. The main goal of our talk is to conduct a corpus-based and diachronic analysis of German CIs, providing an adequate account of the interplay of routine, variation and creativity. Methodologically, virtual corpora composed of temporally separated sub-corpora of the German Reference Corpus (1990–2000; 2001–2010; 2011–2020) as well as the tool Lexical Pattern Analyzer (*lexpan*) are used. On the basis of the slot analyses provided by *lexpan*, the scale of productivity, and, consequently, of the degree of fixedness of a (partially lexicalized) pattern will be examined. Using case studies, we will show how the form and meaning of lexicalized multi-word expressions change over a 30-year period. In doing so, our approach yields insights into the formal and semantic changes in the filling of slots and into the emergence and dynamics of CIs. Based on the empirical results, we will discuss the extent to which "[f]requent modifications of substantive idioms can function as a real engine of change, as a trigger for the emergence of new semi-schematic constructions" (Mellado Blanco 2022: 12). Thus, we investigate the tension between creativity and routine, the role of creativity in the emergence, usage and distribution of CIs in German, and the question how modifications may develop into productive patterns.

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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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Closing the mental gaps.
German 'Come to mind' constructions as gateway and a dead end for creativity.

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This paper investigates multi-word expressions which are formed following the pattern *in* 'in' N *kommen* 'come'. This structure is encountered in German in at least three different ways with respect to its semantics and its degree of idiomaticity. The diachronically primary concrete reading (1) denotes a change of location. 'Come to mind' constructions as in (2) lack a concrete local reading and denote abstract entities like mental content. Light verb constructions as in (3) are also characterized by a certain abstraction. They consist of an asemantically light verb and an eventive noun and form lexical units (see e.g. Fillmore 1987; Fleischhauer & Hartmann 2021):

(1)   *in das Hotel kommen* 'enter the hotel', lit. 'come into the hotel'

(2)   *in den Sinn kommen* 'come to mind', lit. 'come into the mind'

(3)   *in Bewegung kommen* 'come into motion'

Both 'Come to mind' constructions (2) and Light verb constructions (3) result from ontological metaphors in that they create spatialized target domain entities: STATES / MINDS ARE CONTAINERS (see Lakoff & Johnson 2003). They differ with respect to the way that only in Light verb constructions the Experiencer can appear structure-internal as a subject argument. In 'Come to mind' constructions the Experiencer only appears structure-external. What is also noticeable are the differences between the two types in their diachronic development: Light verb constructions consisting of the light verb *kommen* are not attested until Early New High German and still continue to find high productivity (see Fleischhauer & Hartmann 2021). In contrast, 'Come to mind' constructions are already attested extensively in Old High German and are in decline in later language stages. The study attempts to answer what semantic, formal, and structural reasons can be found for the different behavior of the two constructions in their emergence and persistence. It will be argued that both linguistic creativity and producticity only come to unfoldment through certain syntactic, morphological and lexical preconditions in which both constructions differ significantly.

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Expanding the boundaries of word formation: phrasal compounding in German between creativity and routine

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Phrasal compounds like *Leck-mich-am-Arsch-Tag* ('kiss-my-ass day') or *Beckham-im-Gedächtnis-Grätsche* ('Beckham-in-mind straddle') are characterized by the integration of a syntactical unit (sentence or phrase) into a complex word and therefore are an example par excellence for the interplay of word-formation and multi-word expressions at the lexicon-syntax interface (cf. Hein 2015). As it will be illustrated by the help of corpus data from written and spoken German, the pattern also gives interesting insights into the relation between creativity and routine.

From the perspective of word-formation, phrasal compounds can count as 'creative' in that they diverge from the prototypical pattern of determinative compounding in which two lexical immediate constituents are combined in order to form a new complex word (e.g. *Bilderrahmen* 'picture frame'). This divergence from the "routine in compounding" can come along with expressive effects. Since also phrasal modifiers (e.g. *Zu-mir-oder-zu-dir*-Gequatsche 'my-place-or-yours chatter') can be seen as (creative) instantiations of more abstract linguistic patterns (e.g. [X *or* Y]), the interplay of creativity and routine is likewise relevant for the inserted multi-word expressions (cf. Steyer/Hein 2018: 125). This is underlined by the observation that also non-linguistic patterns like stereotypes are at work in the phrasal non-heads (cf. Finkbeiner/Meibauer 2016: 39), e.g. *Ich-kann-Golf-Schi-und-Wandern-und-bin-schöner-als-die-andern-Franz* ('I-can-golf-skiing-and-hiking-and-I-am-more-beautiful-than-the-others Franz').

The morphological as well as the phraseological perspective on phrasal compounding suggest that routine is a central prerequisite for the creative coinage of complex words and multi-word expressions. Without the connection to the entrenched/prototypical patterns, creative coinages would neither lead to expressive effects nor to easily understandable units.

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Phrase or Compound? A psycholinguistic experiment on German modifiers and the role of relational adjectives.

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The rivalry between compounding and NPs with relational adjectives (RAs) is an established topos in the literature (since Levi 1978), not only for German. Factors influencing the choice of the respective construction include semantics, family size, type frequency, lexicalization, and the role of the modifier (e.g., Schlücker/Plag 2011). By contrast to qualitative/property adjectives, denominal RAs (1a) display lack of gradability (1b), modification and negation (1c), predicative use (1d), and nominalizability (1e). RAs used this way shift to property semantics (glossed with # under 1). Despite some variation (see 2a), RAs in an NP (as in 1) possess an argument structure relation with the deverbal head noun where they usually have the role of the external argument (e.g., Kratzer 1996), while the non-heads of compounds tend to take the role of the internal argument (as in 2b). In our psycholinguistic experiment based on PsychoPy 2022, we investigate which construction, NPs with RAs (such as a) *mütterliches Suchen* 'maternal search') or compounds (such as b) *Muttersuchen* 'mother search'), is the more prefered one, especially when influencing factors are different.

Both stimuli for a) and b) consist of a noun (e.g., *Suchen*) derived from an agentive verb and a lexically animate modifier (e.g., *mütterlich* or *Mutter-*). In experiment I, latencies are measured to assess which construction is easier to track in order to determine different degrees of routinization vs. creativity. In II, participants are asked for their primary semantic interpretation for evaluating to what extent creativity is (un-)licensed given the theoretical predictions. Over all, it is aimed to determine a potential hierarchy of factors triggering the routine/creativity divide.

(1) a. *richterliches Ernennen > Richter* (N) 'judge'
      b. *#richterlich-er-es Ernennen* 'more judicial appointment'
      c. *#(sehr) (un-)richterliche Ernennen*'(very) (un-)judicial appointment'
      d. *#Die Ernennung ist richterlich.* 'The appointment is judge-like'
      e. *#Richterlichkeit der Ernennung.* 'Judgelikeness of appointment'

(2) a. *kindliche Entwicklung – Kindentwicklung* 'child development'
      b. *studentisches Belauern – Studentenbelauern* 'student stalking'

References: • Levi, J. (1978): The Syntax and Semantics of Complex Nominals. • Schlücker, B. & Plag, I. (2011): Compound or Phrase? *Lingua* 121, 1539-1551 • Kratzer, A. (1996). Severing the External Argument from its Verb. *Nat. Lang. Linguist. Theory* 33, 110-137.

*Wannab*e approximatives: creativity, routinization or both?

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APPROXIMATION is a complex functional domain comprising FAKENESS, IMITATION, RESEMBLANCE, and VAGUENESS (Masini & Micheli 2020). In morphology, approximative constructions can be traced back to a variety of sources, including modal expressions, such as *wannabe* (<*want to be*). In this paper we present a corpus-based analysis of *wannabe* in English as well as in five other languages the word has been borrowed into (Danish, Dutch, French, Italian and Finnish), where it collocates with both native and English stems. A few examples featuring some of the various construction types are given in (1a-c).

(1) a. *The guy was a **wannabe-gangster***.
  b. *This **Elvis wannabe** finally meets his dream girl*.
  c. *yet another piece of **Hollywood-wannabe** rubbish*

In order to explore the semantic and morphosyntactic profiles of the *wannabe* constructions we compare 500-word samples for each language, drawn from the Ten-Ten web-based corpora at Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al. 2014), addressing the following research questions:

RQ1: How are the different construction types distributed across each language and what is the morphosyntactic status of *wannabe* in these constructions?

RQ2: Which collexemes (nouns, adjectives, NPs) are found in each language?

RQ3: How productive are the *wannabe* word-formation patterns?

RQ4: How creative are these word-formation patterns?

Following Beliaeva (2019) we assume a trade-off between creativity and productivity, whereby both concepts are seen as gradient. For *wannabe* constructions, we argue that they are on the gradient between creativity and routinization, with different positions for different languages, depending on how they are integrated in existing constructional networks and on varying degrees of association with the original univerbated VP.

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... Und ich sage dir, wer du bist. The creative potential of proverbs from a contrastive point of view. A constructionist approach

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The potential creativity of idiomatic expressions has been explored under the assumption that novel utterances are the result of free combinations of constructions, as long as there are no conflitcs (Goldberg 2006). In other words, creativity is conceived of as an intrinsic feature of language, not as an anomaly.

Against this background, this study examines the creative potential of the proverb *Sage mir, mit wem du umgehst, und ich sage dir/so sage ich dir, wer du bist* in German and its counterpart in Spanish *Dime con quién andas y te diré quién eres* ('A man is known by the company he keeps'). With a corpus comprising 1173 occurrences extracted from the *deTenTen20* and 1069 occurrences from the *esTenTen18*, this analysis departs from a shared semantic core that is adapted according to speakers' needs in discourse, which is the result of the great flexibility that the proverb can undergo (Van Wettere 2021: 424).

This corpus-based contribution has the following goals: (i) determine to what extent the abovementioned proverb in German and Spanish has given rise to a semi-schematic construction by means of variability and type frequency of their non-canonical forms (Stumpf 2016); (ii) explore the degree of creativity based on type and token frequency in German and Spanish; (iii) uncover whether in both languages there are pragmatic similarities with regards to non-canonical forms of the proverb (examples 1 and 2).

(1)   *Sage mir, wie dein Flughafen heißt, und ich sage dir, wer du bist*. *Wie Länder und Städte ihre Airports benennen, sagt manchmal einiges über den jeweiligen Zielort aus*. (deTenTen20, 19763524)

(2)   *Dime cómo amas y te diré quién eres*. *Cada uno tiene una manera única de amar, que a veces nos satisface y con frecuencia nos traiciona*. (esTenTen18, 2058685837

References: • Goldberg, A. (2006). *Constructions at Work*. Oxford University Press. • Stumpf, S. (2016). Modifikation oder Modellbildung? Das ist hier die Frage – Abgrenzungsschwierigkeiten zwischen modifizierten und modellartigen Phrasemen am Beispiel formelhafter (Ir-)Regularitäten. *Linguistische Berichte* 247, 317–342. • Van Wettere, N. 2021. Productivity of French and Dutch (semi-)copular constructions and the adverse impact of high token frequency. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 26(3): 396–428.

Romanian Libfixes in the Making

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Libfixes represent a fuzzy class of morpheme-like, but not-yet morphemes, both creative and productive, i.e. they help the birth of new creative, inovative words, but also enter numerous new formations (e.g., *-licious*, 'liberated' from *delicious*). Most often they originate in lexical blending (Norde & Sippach 2019). The process involves a series of lexical blends centered around a recurrent splinter that ultimately turns into a combining form or an affix (Mattiello 2018). In our opinion, libfixes are an intermediate phase as the morpheme-like, but not-yet morphemes preserve their connection with the source-word, but combine with a large number of other word bases.

Libfixes have not been discussed in Romanian linguistics yet, so we conducted a corpus-based study, manually checking a 60,000,000-word corpus of Romanian online texts from the past 15 years. We identified 45 words formed with 7 libfixes – 6 international: *-aholic*, *-gate*, *-at(h)on*, *-g(h)ed(d)on*, *-zilla*, *-pedia*, and a purely Romanian one: *-izdă* (< Ro. *pizdă* '(slang) vulva'). CoRoLa (1bn words) and Sketch Engine Romanian corpus (2.6bn words) were also checked to establish Romanian libfix productivity. Our study shows that the 7 libfixes appear almost always in *hapax legomena*, but these nonce words signal the cognitive ease in (re)using a particular word creation pattern (Barrena Jurado 2019).

The analysed libfixes display different degrees of morphemization: Ro. *-(a/o)holic* is the most advanced and the most productive with 118 words, usually borrowings (e.g. *chocoholic, shopaholic, bookaholic*), but also nonce words from Romanian bases (e.g. *brânzoholic* 'cheese-aholic', *biciholic* 'byke-aholic'); much less productive is the only autochthonous libfix, *-izdă*, used to create derogatory female profession names, as it occurs in 44 words, most *hapaxes*.

The analysis suggests that due to the pervasive influence of global English, the *libfix* schema has become more productive in Romanian, as it has been suggested for Dutch (Hamans 2021).

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