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Our study focuses on morphologically complex words based on proper names of French male and female politicians (henceforth PPN 'politician proper name'). To do so, we have selected 90 PPNs referring to politicians in charge of major political functions (e.g. president, minister) since 1981. We have listed the morpho-phonological constraints applied in word formation (e.g. Plénat, 1997; Lignon & Plénat, 2009) and we have selected a set of 100 French exponents which are involved in construction on the PPNs (cf. Huguin, 2015).

~ 130,000 candidate forms such as (1) were generated from these lists.

(1) NICOLAS SARKOZY_{NPr}¹ > NICOLASIEN, SARKOZYSISER, NICOLASARKOZYSTE...

The existence of these forms has been checked on the Web (cf. Hathout & *alii*, 2008; Dal & Namer, 2015 about the use of the Web in morphology) and, when they do exist, their contexts have been collected. In this work, we examine 15 PPNs and their derivational families (1,272 complex words). So as to get a good representativity of word formations on PPNs, we needed a rather heterogeneous sample. Consequently, we selected a diversity of politicians on the bases of gender, notoriety, etc. The collection and the examination of these data in context allow us to make four observations.

(i) PPNs are often used as bases for morphological constructions, in various languages (cf. French (2), Italian (3), English (4)).

(2) EMMANUEL MACRON_{NPr} > MACRONISME_{Nc}

“Le **macronisme** existe-t-il ? Ça bouge au centre gauche. Hier vous tentiez de définir le social-réformisme de Manuel Valls.”

Does (Macron -ism) exist? Left center is on the move. Once you tried to define the social reformism of Manuel Valls.

(3) SILVIO BERLUSCONI_{NPr} > BERLUSCONICRAZIA_{Nc}

“Questi sono ormai i nostri politici. Una volta si accusava la partitocrazia, adesso è nata la **berlusconicrazia**.”

Now they are our politicians. After having accused the politics of the parties came the (Berlusconi -cracy).

(4) DONALD TRUMP_{NPr} > TRUMPISM_{Nc}

“**Trumpism** has two main ingredients. The first is the notion that people of color and women are less than fully human.”

(ii) PPNs are bases of various recurring and expected constructs such as lexical units designating supporters (FRANÇOIS HOLLANDE_{NPr} > HOLLANDISTE_{Nc}) or ideologies (FRANÇOIS HOLLANDE_{NPr} > HOLLANDOCRATIE_{Nc}). They also appear as bases of more unexpected creations, for example lexical units denoting substances (FRANÇOIS HOLLANDE_{NPr} > HOLLANDIUM_{Nc}) or even activities (FRANÇOIS HOLLANDE_{NPr} > HOLLANDAGENE_{Nc}) etc.

¹ We use the abbreviations NPr, Nc, V and Adj respectively for the syntactic categories: proper name, common noun, verb and adjective.

(iii) As illustrated (5) and (6), these complex words can be interpreted in two ways. (5) is defined in relation to the PPN, i.e. with respect to the proper name as such, used as a simple label. By contrast, it is the stereotypes conveyed by the PPN referent which enable the interpretation of (6).

- (5) SÉGOLÈNE ROYAL_{NPr} > SÉGOLÈNISTE_{Nc} → ‘supporter of Ségolène Royal’
 “Cette **ségoléniste** féroce est un peu trop partisane, ce qui ne la sert pas toujours.”
This ferocious (Ségolène -ist) is a little too follower, which does not always serve her.
- (6) PATRICK BALKANY²_{NPr} > BALKANISER_V → ‘to steal, to hide fraudulently’
 “Il aurait **balkanisé** plusieurs millions d’Euros.”
He would have (Balkany -ise) millions of euros.

(iv) A given PPN can occur in different forms (in bold in the example (7)) in the words in which it is the base. These forms (i.e. stems) correspond to the various denominations of the PPN referent (e.g. his first name, his last name).

- (7) NADINE MORANO_{NPr} > NADINIEN_{Adj} ; MORANOIEN_{Adj} ; NADINEMORANIEN_{Adj}

These observations allow us to describe PPN as full lexical unit. Since PPNs are selected as bases of word formation (cf. (i)), they are lexemes (according to Fradin, 2003), and as such characterized by a meaning. This meaning is twofold (cf. (iii)). On the one hand, it contains the denomination of PPN referent as shown by the fact that SÉGOLÈNISTE_{Nc} (5) can be interpreted directly as ‘supporter of Ségolène Royal’. On the other hand, it is based on a set of stereotypic properties associated with the PPN referent. These properties can be relative to appearance (8), political or personal actions (6), or the ideology conveyed (9), etc.

- (8) CHRISTIANE TAUBIRA³_{NPr} > TAUBIRANAIS_{Nc}
 “Qui est raciste ? Mais c’est M. Le Pen qui n’aime pas les **Taubiranaïs** ! Non ?”
Who is a racist ? It is M. Le Pen who does not like the (Taubira -ian) ! No ?
- (9) CHRISTINE BOUTIN⁴_{NPr} > BOUTINNIQUE_{Adj}
 “Et n’oubliez pas ce petit conseil **boutinnique** : pas de boogie woogie avant les prières du soir !”
And do not forget this little (Boutin -ic) advice: no boogie woogie before the evening prayers!

This second point is in line with Frege’s (1892) and Russell’s (1905) view of proper names as abbreviations of definite descriptions. This semantic duality (*denominative meaning/ meaning of a set of stereotypes*) stands in opposition to Kripke’s (1972) view of proper names as meaningless (see Langendonck (2007), Anderson (2007) for a review).

Observation (iv) leads us to analyse the formal dimension of PPNs as stem collection. An analogy can be drawn between this stem collection and the *thematic space*, as defined by Bonami & Boyé (2003) that is a family of indexed stems in dependency relations. However, the PPNs stem collections does not have the same characteristics:

- the stems do not have the same dependency links;

² Patrick Balkany is a Member of Parliament. Known for his setbacks with justice, he was notably prosecuted for tax evasion.

³ Christiane Taubira is a black political woman.

⁴ Christine Boutin is a right-wing politician, she claims Catholic values.

- they are not selected by a word formation rule in particular (cf. Bonami, Boyé & Kerleroux, 2009; Roché & Plénat, 2014);
- they are all syntactically autonomous.

The PPN formal part contains at least three stems (the first name, the last name and the concatenation of both (see example (1)), and up to six for compound names such as NAJAT VALLAUD-BELKACEM_{NPt}, also named by its acronym NVB /ε n v e b e/ (see Figure 1.).

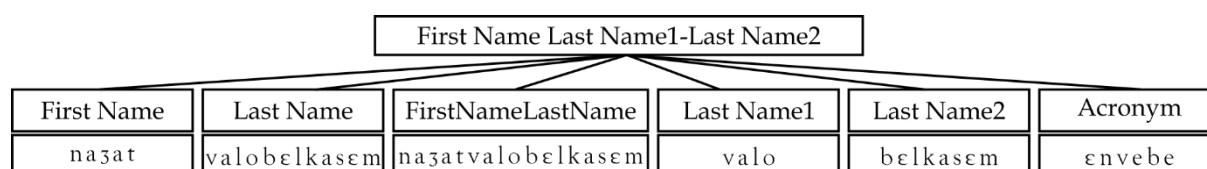


Figure 1. Stem collection of PPN: NAJAT VALLAUD-BELKACEM_{NPt}

The number of stems and their shape can be deduced from the anthroponym graphic form. We will show that the choice between the stems relies on morpho-phonological as well as extra-linguistic constraints.

While the number and the variety of derivatives or compounds built on a given PPN depend on the notoriety of its referent (cf. (ii) and (iii)), its morphological network (i.e. derivational family) architecture, follows a number of invariants. For example, the semantic properties of PPNs prevent them from being used as bases of agent names, contrary to some common nouns denoting activities (e.g. FOOTBALL_{Nc} > FOOTBALLEUR_{Nc}). Yet, all the PPNs of our corpus can be used to build names of political supporters (10), resultative verbs (11), relational adjectives (12), etc.

(10) FRANÇOIS BAYROU_{NPt} > BAYROUNISTE_{Nc}

“Tu feras comment face aux **bayrounistes** pour gagner au second tour ?”

How will you manage to win in the second round over the (Bayrou -ist)?

(11) FRANÇOIS BAYROU_{NPt} > BAYROUISER_v

“À force de pleurnicher, elle risque plutôt de se **bayrouiser**.”

Too much whining may lead her to (Bayrou -ise).

(12) FRANÇOIS BAYROU_{NPt} > BAYROUIEN_{Adj}

“Puis, c’est le rapprochement **bayrouien** avec la gauche qui a fait déborder le vase pour Patrick Boguta.”

It was then the (Bayrou -ian) rapprochement with the left-wing that caused the vase to overflow for Patrick Boguta.

From a formal point of view, we note also that there are no complex words suffixed with the French exponent *-ure* (vs. common nouns, e.g. TOIT_{Nc} > TOITURE_{Nc}). Conversely, all our PPNs can be used to build complex words with *-esque* (EMMANUEL MACRON_{NPt} > MACRONESQUE_{Adj}), *-isation* (EMMANUEL MACRON_{NPt} > MACRONISATION_{Adj}), and *-isme* (EMMANUEL MACRON_{NPt} > MACRONISME_{Nc}), etc.

Consequently, we identify two types of networks. PPNs are at the core of (A) a semantic network (see Figure 2.), and (B) a formal network (see Figure 3.). These networks contain **paradigmatic links** (dotted lines in the figures) since some are valid for all PPNs (see, among others, Bauer (1997: 244) about the generalizability of paradigmatic relationships).

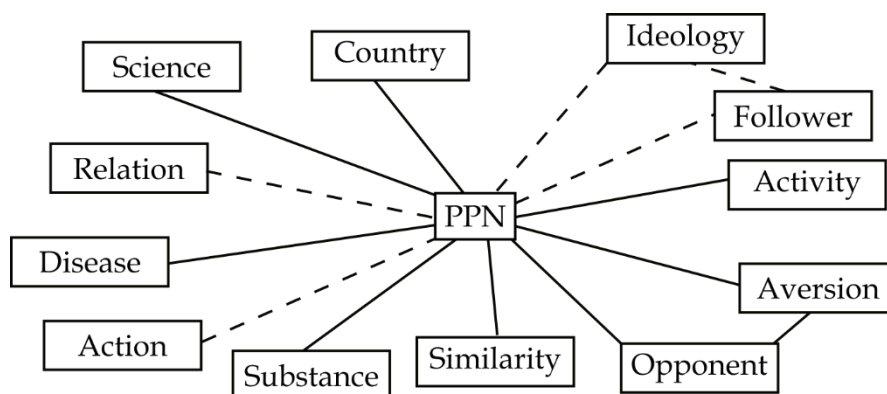


Figure 2. Sample of semantic network

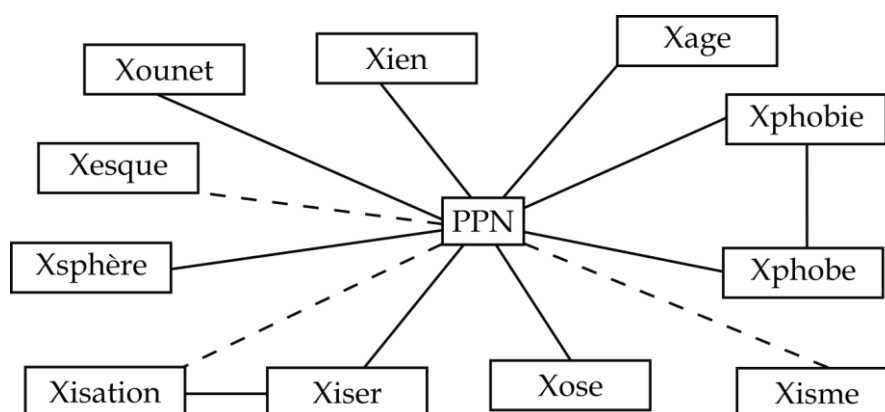


Figure 3. Sample of formal network

These two networks do not overlap entirely, thus justifying separate studies of the two networks. For example, the same suffix can be used to create lexical units of different semantic categories. Thus, the suffix *-isme* is found in lexemes denoting ideologies (2), diseases (13) and even actions (14).

(13) FRANÇOIS BAYROU_{NPr} > BAYROUNISME_{Nc}

“Une montée de **bayrounisme** ! Faut que j'me soigne !”

A surge of (Bayrou -ism)! I have to cure myself!

(14) NADINE MORANON_{NPr} > MORANOLISME_{Nc}

“Finalement, entre deux macroneries et un **moranolisme** c’est la question salariale qui aura occupé les médias.”

Actually, between two (Macron -ery) and a (Morano -ism) it is the question of wages that will have occupied the media.

As we will argue, the effective creation of these lexemes, i.e. the concrete realisation of the networks, is conditioned by various constraints, both linguistic (morpho-phonological, semantic, lexical) and extra-linguistic.

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