When *sarkozysation* leads to the *hollandade*, or the rejection of phonological well-formedness constraints by anthroponym-based derived words

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Outline

Political Personality Names derivatives

Nicolas Sarkozy (336 derivatives)

sarkozien, sarkozienne, sarkoziste, sarkozette, sarkozite, ..., sarkozyser, sarkosysiste, sakozysable, ..., nicolassarkosette, nicolassarkosard

(1) Bon ce machin, il l'a bien proposé mais même MAM (la **sarkozette** de l'Intérieur) a trouvé ça un tantinet surréaliste pour le moment...
Well, this thing, he clearly proposed it but even MAM [Michèle Aliot-Marie] (the Sarkozy-ette of the Interior [DHS]) found it a little surreal for the moment...

Political Personality Names derivatives (2)

Nicolas Sarkozy

(2) Avec au moins le mérite de nous éviter la **nicolasarkozification** du pays !

At least with the merit of avoiding the Nicolas+Sarkozy-ification of the country!

(3) Faites pas votre Sarkozy (j'ai souvenir d'un coup de colère **nicolien** face à la question d'un jeune sur un plateau de tv, pendant une campagne ...

Don't be such a Sarkozy (I remember a Nicolas+ian tantrum over a young person's question on a TV set during a campaign...

Political Personality Names derivatives (3)

Marine Le Pen (175 derivatives)

mariniste, marinisme, lepeniste, marinien, lepenien, lepenolâtre, lepenophile, antimariniste, ..., marinelepénisation, marinelepénesque

(4) Chuuuuut les **Marineux** vont nous dire que c'est la faute aux immigrés !!!

Shhhh! The Marine-eux [Marine's supporters] will tell us that it's the immigrants' fault!!!!!

(5) Ca c'est un bon argument **marinelepenesque**, justement : "le bon sens paysan"...

This is a good Marine+Le Pen-esque argument, precisely: "the common sense of the peasant"...

Political Personality Names derivatives (4)

- Political Personality Names (PPNs) yield large numbers of derivatives.
- PPNs are more varied in size, phonological content, connotative effect, discursive role, etc. than common nouns
- PPNs derivatives are an ideal field
    - for **uncovering** and **identifying** the constraints that govern derivational morphology,
    - for observing their **interplay**,
    - for estimating their respective **strengths**.

Constraints based approach

- Language is subjected to a large range of general constraints:
  - phonological constraints:
    OCP Goldsmith (1976); McCarthy (1986); Yip (1988),
    Size Plénat (2009),
  - lexical constraints,
  - discursive constraints
    informativity, accessibility of the referents, Ariel (1991)
- General constraints apply to all language objects.
  They apply to all words ...
  including words involved in derivation: derivatives, base words

- General constraints govern all language processes
  → They govern derivation
  → They govern affix and stem selection

Derivational morphology

- When they coin new words, speakers arbitrate between the requirements of possibly conflicting general constraints and derivation specific ones.
- These constraints include:
  - General constraints: phonological, discursive, referential, etc.
  - Derivation specific constraints:
    base and family identification (relate the new words to existing ones),
    economy principle, recycling (reuse existing forms), etc.

Main contributions

- Derivation is not purely lexical. The form of PPN derivatives depends on the **discursive context** they occur in.

- Morphophonological constraint effects are **weak** on PPNs derivatives

- The same **gender** related effects affect the use PPNs as free words and as bases in the derivatives

Outline

Political Personality Names

- A common nouns usually has one singular form (*book*, *negation*)
- PPNs can be refered to by at least 3 expressions, and up to 6 ones

Nicolas Sarkosy

First Name + Last Name	First Name	Last Name
Nicolas Sarkozy	Nicolas	Sarkozy

Dominique Strauss-Kahn

F N + L N	First N	Last N1	Last N2	Last N	Acronym
Dominique Strauss Kahn	Dominique	Strauss	Kahn	Strauss-Kahn	DSK

- These expressions are called **subnames** because they are often subparts of the PPN

Political Personality Names (2)

- Derivation may use any of the PPN's subnames which further increases the diversity in their derivatives
- PPN's subnames exhibit a larger diversity in size and phonological makeup than common nouns

Nadine Morano

(6) Top 10 des reconversions pour Nadine Morano, courage **Nadinette** !
Top 10 conversions for Nadine Morano, courage Nadine-ette!

(7) **Moranette**, [...], sa vulgarité constitue à elle seule son habit.
Morano-ette, [...], her vulgarity alone constitutes her dress.

(8) Elle fait simplement de l'humour **Nadinemoranien**.
She is just making Nadine+Morano-ian jokes.

Political Personality Names (3)

Najat Vallaud-Belkacem

(9) En Taubiristan et en **Vallaudistan**, ça parait un abus pur et simple.
   In Taubira-istan and Vallaud-istan, it seems an outright abuse.

(10) Je reste Ségoléniste et **Belkacemien** !
   I remain Ségolène-ist and Belkacem-ian!

(11) Ils énervent la bien-pensance « progressiste » **NVBiste**.
   They annoy the "progressiv" self-righteous NVB-ist.

(12) Un sondage à la con chassant l'autre, c'est toi, **Najatounette**, qui écope cette saison de la première place du podium …
   A bullshit poll chasing the other, it is you, Najat-oune-ette, who this season gets the first place on the podium…

Experimental setup

- 90 PPNs: names of persons that have occupied a leading political function in France from 1981 to 2018
  - **25 women:** Ségolène Royal, Marine Le Pen, Christine Lagarde
  - **65 men:** Nicolas Sarkozy, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, Dominique Strauss Kahn, Jean-Yves Le Drian
- **298 subnames** where used to **130 000 candidate forms** using a number of affixes (*-able*, *-iste*, *-iser*, *-ette*, *-esque*, etc)
- All candidate forms attested online are kept:
  5125 types; **54 100 tokens**
- *ségolèneroyalitude*, *DSKphilie*, *lagardesque*, *sarkoziste*, *giscardien*
- Corpus creation and exploitation is supported by the company **Data Observer**.

Experimental setup (2)

PPN	F-N	L-N	F-N + L-N	L-N1	L-N2	Acron
Nadine Morano	Nadinette	Moranette	Nadinemoranien	–	–	
Najat Vallaud Belkacem	Najatou	vallaud-belkacemisation	Najat Vallaud-Belkacemien	Belkacemien	Vallaudista	NVBiste
Ségolène Royal	Ségolènerie	Royalie	ségolèneroyalitude	– –	– –	
Dominique Strauss Kahn	Dominiqueur	StraussKahnie		staussophile	Kahnerie	DSKphilie
Christine Largarde	Christinerie	lagardesque	Christinade Lagardinière	–	–	
Nicolas Sarkozy	nicolien	sarkoziste	Nicolas Sarkozius	–	–	

Experimental setup (3)

Type and token distribution

	F-N	L N	F-N + L-N	L-N1	L-N2	Acron
types	4.5%	84.0%	4.9%	3.0%	0.8%	1.5%
tokens	2.9%	89.1%	1.1%	4.0%	0.1%	0.7%

- Default bases of PPN derivatives are **Last names**
- **First names** and **First name + Last name** are the second choices.

Awkward and unexpected derivatives

- **Christinade Lagardinière** instead of **Christine Lagardade**.
  Christine-ade + Lagarde-ine-iar
  Ségolénisme Royalien instead of **Ségolène Royalisme**
  Ségolène-ist + Royal-ian$_M$
    - Suffixes have been added to the first name and the last name (sort of split parasynthetical WF).
    - The expression has the shape of a noun-adjective phrase.
    - *Lagardinière* and *Royalien* are overmarked (Hathout and Namer, 2014).
- **borlooesque** contains a hiatus /ɔɛ/.
  Borloo-esque
- **cambadélisienne** is too long
  Cambadélis-ian$_F$

Unexpected distribution

Tokens

Gender	F-N	L-N	F-N + L-N	L-N1	L-N2
Female	**26%**	66%	**4%**	0%	0%
Male	**0%**	91%	**0%**	4%	2%

- Last names are the **default subnames** for female and male PPNs
- **First names** are used almost exclusively for **female politicians**.
- Last names components are used almost exclusively for male politicians.

Types

Gender	F-N	L-N	F-N + L-N	L-N1	L-N2
Female	20%	65%	9%	0%	0%
Male	0%	88%	4%	3%	2%

Outline

Morphophonological constraints are weak

General observations

- The subname is fully preserved in 80% of PPN derivatives (types);
- The subname is truncated in 7% of the cases;
- The stem presents an allomorphy in 0.4% of PPN derivatives.

Dissimilation / OCP

→ Avoid close repetition of identical or similar sounds

- Violations: **ségolènette** ($/\varepsilon n\varepsilon/$), **ségolènounette** ($/nun/$),
  Ségolène-ette, *Ségolène-oune-ette*
  juppéesque ($/e\varepsilon/$), **sarkoziser**, **vallsiser** ($/ziz/$)
  Juppé-esque, *Sarkozy-ise*, *Valls-ise*

Morphophonological constraints are weak (2)

OCP violations (types)

- among the 2778 derivatives that are suffixed, converts and neo-classical compounds

pattern	violations		example
C1 (X) C1	9%	241	ha**mom**ania (*Hamon-mania*)
C1 (X) C2	13%	358	lagar**dit**ude (*Lagarde-itude*)
V1 (X) V1	14%	394	golln**ischi**ste (*Gollnisch-ist*)
V1 (X) V2	16%	441	cop**énai**se (*Copé-n-ese*)
total	52%	1628	

- OCP is weak in PPN derivatives because it is overcome by a stronger requirement:

    The need to identify the base unequivocally

Morphophonological constraints are weak (3)

Anti-Hiatus

➡ Avoid the succession of two vowels with no intervening consonant
   Syllables must have onsets

- Violations:
  taubiraitude (/ai/), **juppéisme** (/ei/), **borlooesque** (/ɔɛ/)
  Taubira-itude, *Juppé-ism*, *Borloo-esque*

- Anti-Hiatus is weak in PPN derivatives.
  In 80% of the PPN derivatives with a vowel final subname, the
  stem is concatenated to a vowel initial suffix.

Morphophonological constraints are weak (4)

Size

➜ In French derivatives, the ideal size of the stem is 2 syllables.
   (Plénat, 2009)

- ✗ **yadesque** (1) (*Yade-esque*)
  ✔ **rocardien** (2) (*Rocard-ian*)
  ✗ **cambadélisienne** (4) (*Cambadélis-ian*)

➜ When the base is a compound, the constraint only applies on the
   last component.

- ✔ **ségolèneroyalisation** (3-2) (*Ségolène+Royal-ization*)
  ✗ **najat-vallaud-belkacemien** (2-2-3)
  (*Najat+Vallaud+Belkacem-ian*)

Morphophonological constraints are weak (5)

Size

- Size constraint is overall respected:

	Disyllabic	All	
Subnames	103	298	35%
PPN derivative stems	3148	5125	61%

Derivational constraints

PPNs derivational families

- Because of the political turnover, most PPNs are not kept in memory for very long.
- Most PPN derivational families are limited to PPN subnames.
- PPN subnames are basically the only available forms speakers can used to coin derivatives.

Derivational constraints (2)

Identification of the base and the derivational family

➜ The stem of a derivative must allow the hearer to identify the base and its derivational family

- The most explicit subnames are **First name + Last name**
  françoishollandiste *François+Hollande-ist*
- The least explicit subnames are the **First names**
  - François Baroin, François Bayrou, François Fillon,
    François Hollande, François Mitterand
  - In our database, the submane **François** does not yield any PPN derivative

Derivational constraints (3)

Last name constraint

- **Last names** are a good compromise because
  they are informative enough while
  being shorter than **First name + Last name**
- 89.1% of PPN derivatives are coined on the last name.
- the selection of the last name is a strong regularities.
- ➜ PPN derivatives must be coined on the last name

Derivational constraints (4)

Pressure of the existing lexicon

- Language play is a driving force in the formation of PPN derivatives
- **kahnerie**, **macronerie** are very similar to **connerie** (*bullshit*)
- **dominiqueur** contains **niqueur** (*fucker*)
- **sarkosius**, **hollandius**, **macronius** evoke **Julius Caesar**.

Blocking principle

- **hollandais** is the relational adjective of **Hollande** (*Holland*)
- **royaliste** denotes the king's supporters

	Hollande	Royal
-ais	6	**11**
-iste	**467**	2

Referential constraints

Gender Bias in first-naming

Many studies have shown a bias in the use of first vs last name for women and men.

- Higgs and Weiller (1994, 242) report that in the NBC coverage of the 1992 Olympics, female swimmers where primarily referred to by their first name and male swimmers by first name + last name.

- Atir and Ferguson (2018) show that in Rate My Professors comments, students are 55.9% more likely to refer to a male that female professor by last name.

- Ariel (1990, 212) show that in a corpus from the Yediot Ahronot newspaper, **women** / men are first referred to by their **first name** in **43.3%** / 6.15% of the time and by their **last name** in **0%** / 15.9% of the time

Referential constraints (2)

Gender Bias in PPN derivative stems

The same trend can be observed in PPN derivatives

- First name and first name + last name are used almost exclusively to coin female PPN derivatives
- The effect is strong and could be considered as a regularity
- ➜ Never use the first name or a subname that contains the first name as a stem of a male PPN derivative

Tokens

Gender	F-N	L-N	F-N + L-N	L-N1	L-N2
Female	**26%**	66%	**4%**	0%	0%
Male	**0%**	91%	**0%**	4%	2%

Discursive constraints

Reference chains

- Reference chains are sequences of expressions interpreted as having the same reference
- Reference chains are key to anaphora resolution
- Reference chains are involved in the interpretation of the male PPN derivatives whose stems are first names (**Nicolien**, **Alinou**, **Harlemou**, **Jean-Mariste**, etc.)
➜ First name derivatives must be part of a reference chain that contains a more explicit expression to the base.

Discursive constraints (2)

- The base antecedent could be a more explicite subname...

Harlem Désir

Le monde, en ce soir bien sombre, a grand besoin des paroles lumineuses d'**Harlem Désir**. Où es-**tu**, **trou du heuh**, **Harlemou**
The world, in this very dark evening, is in great need of the luminous words of Harlem Désir. Where are you, ah hole, Harlem-ou

---

- ... or any expression that refers to the base.

Alain Juppé

Il est vrai qu'en tant qu'**ancien Premier ministre le plus impopulaire de l'histoire de France**, [...]. Car, **Alinou** chéri, regardons les choses en face
It is true that as the most unpopular former Prime Minister in the history of France,[...]. Because, Alain-ou darling, let's face it

Discursive constraints (3)

- Clues for the identification of the referent can be provided by other PPNs
- These derivatives are not included in reference chains.

Harlem Désir

L'unique espoir du peuple, **Hollandinus**, cultivait donc, près de la ville de Tula, un champ de quatre arpents où broutaient une infinité de vaches à lait. C'est là que les députés le trouvèrent, forgeant un bouclier fiscal, selon les uns, et rassurant le bovin **Harlemus**, selon d'autres, ou encore derrière sa charrue

The only hope of the people, Hollande-in-us, was therefore cultivating, near the town of Tule-a, a four-acre field where an infinite number of cash cows were grazing. That's where the delegates [parliamentarians] found him, forging a tax shield, according to some, and reassuring the bovine Harlem-us, according to others, or behind his plough

Outline

Conclusion

- The study has focused on the effects of a variety of constraints on stem selection
  - The morphophonological constraints are subject to many studies in morphology
  - Discursive constraints are seldom studied in morphology

- Affix selection is equally important in the coinage of PPN derivatives
  - Default suffixes are systematically selected for the main categories of derivations (*-ist* for supporters, *-ism* for ideology)
- We must look more closely into the selection of these affixes
- H1 The constraints on the selection of stem and on the selection of the affix do not leave any room for the morphophonological constraints.

Conclusion (2)

- Language play is very important in NNP based derivations
- H2 The more you transgress the morphophonological constraints, the better

  - The interplay between the all the constraints must be studied more thoroughly
  - Hypotheses H1 and H2 must be tested experimentally

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Unexpected distribution

Tokens

Gender	F-N	L-N	F-N + L-N	L-N1	L-N2	all
female	**26%** (1597)	66% (4109)	**4%** (298)	0% (3)	0% (50)	6133
male	0% (66)	**91%** (44880)	0% (405)	**4%** (2188)	**2%** (1032)	48903

Types

Gender	F-N	L-N	F-N + L-N	L-N1	L-N2	all
female	20% (271)	65% (850)	9% (120)	0% (1)	0% (18)	1291
male	0% (39)	88% (3706)	4% (182)	3% (150)	2% (124)	4207