

Article

The Transgression of Word-Formation Rules as a Sign of Linguistic Change in Catalan: The Case of *-isme*, *-itis*, and *-metre*

Elisabet Llopart-Saumell 

Institut de Lingüística Aplicada (IULA), Universitat Pompeu Fabra, 08018 Barcelona, Spain;
elisabet.llopart@upf.edu

Abstract: In Catalan, *-isme* ‘-ism’, *-itis*, and *-metre* ‘-meter’ create new words that do not follow the WFRs described in grammar books and dictionaries. As a result, these lexical innovations, such as *panxacontentisme* (*panxacontent* ‘carefree’ + *-ism* ‘-ism’), *titulitis* (*títol* ‘certificate’ + *-itis*), and *emocionòmetre* (*emoció* ‘emotion’ + *-metre* ‘-meter’), tend to be considered transgressive. The main aim of this paper is to provide a close review of grammar books and dictionaries among other sources to compare the rules described in the literature and the data provided by the bank of neologisms of the Observatori de Neologia. Since language changes and variations are inherent phenomena of any living language, the deviation experienced by these bound morphemes could be conceived as an example of linguistic change and not only as a one-time transgression. In addition, in order to check whether these linguistic changes are specific to the Catalan language, I reviewed some English, French, and Spanish literature. Finally, a set of diachronic corpora, that covers the time span from the 11th century until the present day, is used to study the first examples of these phenomena in the Catalan language. The results point out that in Catalan, these changes can be traced back to the second half of the 19th century or the beginning of the 20th century, and that they cannot be considered language-specific, since they affect the different languages under study.

Keywords: word-formation; transgression; lexical innovation; neologism; language change; norm; *-isme*; *-itis*; *-metre*; Catalan



Citation: Llopart-Saumell, Elisabet. 2022. The Transgression of Word-Formation Rules as a Sign of Linguistic Change in Catalan: The Case of *-isme*, *-itis*, and *-metre*. *Languages* 7: 127. <https://doi.org/10.3390/languages7020127>

Academic Editors:
Joan Costa-Carreras and Carla
Amorós Negre

Received: 11 January 2022

Accepted: 15 April 2022

Published: 19 May 2022

Publisher's Note: MDPI stays neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.



Copyright: © 2022 by the author. Licensee MDPI, Basel, Switzerland. This article is an open access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

1. Introduction

Morphology, understood as the branch of linguistics that deals with ‘the structure, form, or variation in form (including formation, change, and inflection) of a word or words in a language’ (Oxford English Dictionary), does not only provide word-formation rules (WFRs) to describe existing words, but also to create new words. From a diachronic point of view, the lexicon of a language is characterized by its tendency towards stability, to ensure communication, and a tendency to change, to reflect the variations experienced by society and to adapt to different communicative situations (Guilbert 1975). In more detail, new words are created to either refer to new realities, to communicate with more precision, in the interest of the economy of language, to play with words, to cause a particular effect on the receiver, and so on (Matoré 1952; Guilbert 1975; Cabré 1989; Mounin 1990; Sablayrolles 1993; Sablayrolles 2000; Mejri 2005; Alves 2015; Cabré 2015; García Platero 2015; Winter-Froemel 2018)¹. Consequently, lexical changes and variations are considered the most common type of linguistic change. As the members of a linguistic community acquire a set of lexical items (or vocabulary), and unconsciously they also learn the WFRs of their native language, speakers are able to generate these new words. Speakers can either combine different words, for example, to create native and syntagmatic compounds; or combine a root and an affix or a combination form, such as in prefixation, suffixation or neoclassical compounding.²

However, some lexical innovations may deviate from these rules: even if “word-formation rules (WFRs) typically undergo a number of general constraints or more specific restrictions conditioning or limiting their productivity” (Gaeta 2015, p. 859), speakers can break these rules to create new words. Regarding WFRs, Gaeta (2015) distinguishes between six domain-specific restrictions related to the different levels of linguistic analysis, that is, phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, semantic, and pragmatic restrictions. For example, in English the suffix *-able* only combines with transitive verbs; hence, constructions like *visitable* and *observable* are possible, whereas **goable* and **lookable*, are not possible, despite having a similar meaning, because *go* and *look* are intransitive (Gaeta 2015, p. 870). Another example is the prefix *un-*, which can only be used with verbs displaying a meaning that can be reversed, as in *unfold* or *unscrew*, but the forms **unswim* or **unkill* are considered semantically unacceptable since the verb *swim* and *kill* do not admit a reverse interpretation (Gaeta 2015, p. 871). Some unacceptable formations, however, are used by speakers. This is the case of *rumouology*, which contains the ending combination form *-(o)logy*, used to create nouns such as *biology* (*bio-* + *-logy*), understood as ‘the branch of science that deals with living organisms [. . .]’ (OED), or *musicology* (*music* + *-ology*), referred to ‘the branch of knowledge that deals with music [. . .]’ (OED). *Rumouology*, however, does not refer to a science or discipline. In this case, the semantic restriction is broken, and it is therefore considered a transgressive neologism, since it deviates from the WFRs. In addition, these types of creations are usually perceived as expressive words, either because they are used in colloquial contexts, or because they contain subjective connotations.

This paper focuses on the use of the suffix *-isme* ‘-ism’, and the ending combinations forms *-itis* and *-metre* ‘-meter’ to create new words in Catalan that break the expected WFRs, such as *panxacontentisme* (*panxacontent* ‘carefree’ + *-ism* ‘-ism’), *titulitis* (*títol* ‘certificate’ + *-itis*), and *emocionòmetre* (*emoció* ‘emotion’ + *-metre* ‘-meter’). The aim of this work is to show that these transgressive lexical innovations are the result of new productive rules in Catalan word-formation due to linguistic change. To that end, I offer a thorough description of these forms, as well as a diachronic analysis of the productivity of these types of creations. Moreover, I check if other languages also show this linguistic change, with special emphasis on Spanish and English due to language contact, and also French.

Despite loanwords being the most common type of borrowings, other linguistic elements, such as affixes and combination forms can also be taken from other languages (Seifart 2013; Eliasson 2018; Bernal 2022). In fact, the linguistic change experienced by *-itis* has been addressed in different languages, such as Catalan (Observatori de Neologia 2004; Bernal 2022), Spanish (Julià Luna 2015; Llopert-Saumell Forthcoming), French (Grand Robert 2021), English (Lüdeling and Evert 2005; Díaz-Negrillo 2014; OED 2021), and German (Lüdeling and Evert 2005). This would point out that the variations experienced by *-itis* cannot be considered language-specific, since they impact different Romance and Germanic languages that use the modern medical Latin form of *-itis*. In fact, Bernal (2022) comes to the conclusion that *-itis*, which in Catalan (and in the other languages mentioned above) is now also used to create general words that are not related to the medical field, is a suffix borrowed from English. In this work, I study the introduction of this change in Catalan in more detail, by using diachronic data from corpora.

Lexical innovations containing the combination form *-metre* ‘-meter’ have also been the object of interest of the study of linguistic transgression. The use of this suffix in words that do not refer to technical concepts has been observed in both in Catalan (Observatori de Neologia 2004; Bernal and Milà-Garcia 2021) and Spanish (Llopert-Saumell Forthcoming). The change in use that this combination form has undergone can also be observed in other languages, for instance Italian (Iacobini 2004). In general, neoclassical compounds are used in specialized domains, even if some extended uses in non-specialized fields have also been observed (Iacobini 2004, p. 69; Díaz-Negrillo 2014, pp. 5–6); however, some other changes have been detected that affect productivity, linking elements and combinatorial possibilities (Iacobini 2004; Observatori de Neologia 2004; Díaz-Negrillo 2014; Bernal et al. 2016), as

well as pragmatic effects (Observatori de Neologia 2004; Provencio Garrigós 2009; Bernal et al. 2016; Llopart-Saumell 2021; Bernal 2022; Llopart-Saumell Forthcoming).

Finally, the suffix *-isme* ‘-ism’ has also showed a deviation from WFRs both in Catalan and Spanish. According to lexicographical sources, it creates nouns that tend to designate a ‘theory, school, or artistic movement’ (GDLC 1998), as in *comunisme* ‘communism’, *budisme* ‘budism’, or *romanticisme* ‘romanticism’; however, the transgressive neologisms take bases that are typically used in common and everyday language. Consequently, they show some type of pragmatic effect and are likely to be used in informal contexts (Colín Rodea 2003; Observatori de Neologia 2004; Bernal and Sinner 2013; Llopart-Saumell and Freixa 2017; Llopart-Saumell Forthcoming).

2. Materials and Methods

First, in order to confirm that some lexical innovations created with the suffix *-isme* ‘-ism’ and the combinations forms *-itis*, and *-metre* ‘-meter’ deviate from the norm, I describe the WFRs in Catalan that are relevant to these bound morphemes. The sources used for this purpose are either lexicographical references, such as the *Diccionari de la llengua catalana* by the Institut d’Estudis Catalans (DIEC 2007) and the *Gran diccionari de la llengua catalana* (GDLC 1998) by Enciclopèdia, or grammar books, such as the *Gramàtica de la llengua catalana* (GIEC 2016). After explaining the meaning of these bound morphemes, as well as the productivity constraints and restrictions by means of some explanatory examples, I present instances of neologisms in context that transgress the WFRs. The transgressive neologisms analyzed in this article come from the bank of neologisms of the Observatori de Neologia (BOBNEO 2021), a research group at Universitat Pompeu Fabra in Barcelona. The BOBNEO contains approximately 60,000 different lexicographical neologisms used in the media (from general newspapers and magazines to radio programs) from 1989 until 2022. The lexical units collected in this data bank are considered lexicographical neologisms, because they are not registered in the main general dictionaries in Catalan, that is, the DIEC, a prescriptive dictionary (the Institut d’Estudis Catalans sets the linguistic norm for Catalan), and the GDLC. Once these examples are presented, I define the restriction that is transgressed, according to Gaeta (2015), and I provide an analysis. Additionally, I also analyze information from other academic articles and books devoted to new word-formation patterns with *-isme* ‘-ism’, *-itis*, and *-metre* ‘-meter’.

Since this paper also seeks to explain if other languages break these rules, the WFRs governing these bound morphemes are also reviewed for English (the most influential language worldwide nowadays), as well as Spanish and French (since, similarly to Catalan, they are also Romance languages). At this point, I revise the main lexicographical references in these languages to see if the new word-formation patterns have already been registered in the following dictionaries: the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED 2021), for English; *Le Grand Robert de la langue française* (Grand Robert 2021), for French; and the *Diccionario de la lengua española* (DLE 2014) of the Real Academia Española, for Spanish. When necessary, a set of corpora are also contrasted to provide further examples, such as the *Reference Corpus of Current Spanish* (CREA 2021).

The last step of this analysis consists in studying these transgressions from a diachronic perspective. For this, I refer to three diachronic corpora in Catalan (from the 11th century until now). In first place, the *Computerized Corpus of Old Catalan* (CICA n.d.), ranging from the 11th until the 17th century; secondly, the *Computerized Corpus of Modern Catalan* (CIGCMod n.d.), which contains texts from the year 1601 until 1832; and, finally, the *Computerized Textual Corpus of Catalan Language* (CTILC 2021), which covers the period from 1833 until the second decade of the 21st century. The CICA and the CIGCMod are part of the projects *Old Catalan Grammar* and *Modern Catalan Grammar*, carried out at the University of Alicante (UA) and the University of Valencia, with the collaboration of the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB); all three corpora were designed with a specific aim: to enable research on grammar. Ultimately, it is important to point out that they aim to balance out the representativity of each corpus, especially with regard to geographical

variation (with texts written in different Catalan speaking areas), and text type variation (with texts from different genres).

3. Results

The results are divided into three different sections. The first one focuses on the data from Catalan. The second section shows whether the transgressions observed in the creation of lexical innovations in Catalan are also found in some of the languages of contact, such as English, French, and Spanish. Lastly, the third section provides a diachronic overview of these transgressions in Catalan by means of three diachronic corpora that cover the time span from the 11th century until the present day.

3.1. WFRs and Examples in Catalan

The results that derive from the study of WFRs and examples in Catalan are divided into three subsections, and each of them is devoted to a specific bound morpheme. The first subsection focuses on *-isme* ‘-ism’, the next subsection focuses on the combination form *-itis*, and the last one is devoted to *-metre* ‘-meter’.

3.1.1. *-isme* ‘-ism’

The Catalan suffix *-isme* ‘-ism’ comes from the Latin *-ismus* (GDLC; OED), which means either ‘movement’, ‘current’, ‘doctrine’, ‘ideology’, ‘system’, or even ‘sport’. Consequently, it creates words such as *optimisme* ‘optimism’, *intervencionisme* ‘interventionism’, *romanticisme* ‘romanticism’, *terrorisme* ‘terrorism’, *nacionalisme* ‘nationalism’, or *piragüisme* ‘canoeing’ (GIEC; GDLC). This suffix can be added either to nominal or adjectival bases, as in *terrorisme*, where the base is a noun (*terror*) or *nacionalisme*, where the base is an adjective (*nacional* ‘national’) (GIEC). Another feature of this type of nominalization is that, in general, the suffix *-ista* ‘-ist’ can be added to the base morpheme instead of *-isme* to refer to the followers, supporters, or members of these movements; therefore, it can create words such as *optimista* ‘optimist’, *intervencionista* ‘interventionist’, *terrorista* ‘terrorist’, *nacionalista* ‘nationalist’, or *piragüista* ‘canoeist’.³

More recently, there has been a usage in Catalan of novel words in informal contexts that only refer to a made up trend or an attitude by adding the suffix *-isme* ‘-ism’. These creations can be distinguished from the traditional nominalizations with *-isme* ‘-ism’ because the base is usually a word from familiar everyday language, such as in *cunyadisme*, from the nouns *cunyat* ‘brother-in-law’ or *cunyada* ‘sister-in-law’, or *facilisme*, from the adjective *fàcil* ‘easy’. In some cases, it can also apply to colloquial or slang words, as in *col·leguisme*, from the base *col·lega* ‘buddy’, or *titafredisme*, based on the colloquial phraseological unit *tita freda*, which literally means ‘cold dick’:

- (1) O donar lliçons des de la suficiència incompetent o del **cunyadisme** il·lustrat [or to teach a lesson from the incompetent self-importance or from the erudite *cunyadisme* ‘brother-in-law + -ism’] (*La Vanguardia*, 5 May 2020).
- (2) Jo defenso la política econòmica de Zapatero, amb un argument. Perquè, és a dir, el **facilisme** és que tots siguem unànims en criticar-la [I defend Zapatero’s economic policy with an argument. That is because *facilisme* ‘easy + -ism’ is that we all criticize it] (“Els matins”, *Catalunya Ràdio*, 21 September 2009).
- (3) En qualsevol cas, sembla que el petó a la boca com a senyal de **col·leguisme** és present en la nova política d’esquerres [in any case, it seems that a kiss on the mouth can be a sign of *col·leguisme* ‘buddy + -ism’ among the new left-wing politics] (*La Vanguardia*, 4 March 2016).
- (4) Segurament que aniríem més enllà a l’hora d’analitzar el Noucentisme, més enllà de la rima fàcil —usada per Alzamora— d’associar-lo a **titafredisme** i a feixisme de baixa intensitat [it is very likely that we could go further when it comes to analyzing the Catalan cultural movement called Noucentisme. Way beyond the easy route —used by Alzamora— to associate it with *titafredisme* ‘cold dick + -ism’ or with a low-key fascism] (*Avui*, 9 May 2006).

According to the productivity restrictions established by Gaeta (2015), the transgression shown by these lexical creations is mainly pragmatic. These resulting forms have the same semantic reference as the non-transgressive ones, because they could be tagged as a type of current, movement, or ideology. Nevertheless, the intention is to create an ironic and humorous effect by combining familiar, colloquial, and even slang words with the suffix *-isme* ‘-isme’, one of the most productive suffixes in Catalan (Observatori de Neologia 2004). In fact, from the 7848 neologisms created by suffixation that are registered in the bank of neologisms of the Observatori de Neologia, 737 contain the suffix *-isme* ‘-ism’, which represents a 9.39% of the total, whereas 1114 contain the suffix *-ista* ‘-ist’, which amounts to a 14.19%. Since the bank of neologisms contains written and oral texts from different media (newspapers, magazines, radio programs, etc.), this could explain the creation of many lexical innovations referring to fake ideologies and their followers, mainly in the areas of politics and society. The pragmatic change experienced by this suffix can also be identified in the lexical innovation *bonrotllisme*, which contains the colloquial syntagmatic compound *bon rotllo* ‘good vibes’. In a perception experiment that focused on the study of connotations in neologisms, the item *bonrotllisme* was classified by participants as pertaining to the informal register, containing personal nature as opposed to objective nature, and expressing a subjective opinion (Llopert-Saumell 2021).

3.1.2. *-itis*

The combination form *-itis*, from the Greek *-itis*, means ‘inflammation’, such as in *bronquitis* ‘bronchitis’ or *apendicitis* ‘appendicitis’ (DIEC). In the DIEC, a general dictionary, all 136 words containing this combination form appear alongside the thematic tag “medicine and pharmacology” because they refer to a pathology; specifically, an inflammation that affects an area of the anatomy. The resulting forms of this pattern tend to be the same in different languages, since they come from medical Latin (OED; Grand Robert). More precisely, the use of *-itis* in medical Latin, in the sense of ‘inflammation’, was taken as it is analogous to the name of some diseases in Greek that contained this form, such as *arthritis* ‘disease of the joints’, or *nephritis* ‘disease of the kidneys’ (OED). Some examples in Catalan are *colitis* (*col-*, combination form from Greek *kōlon* ‘colon’ + *-itis*) (GDLC), which means ‘inflammation of the colon’ (DIEC); *gingivitis* (Latin *gingiva* ‘gums’ + *itis*) (GDLC), ‘inflammation of the gums’ (DIEC); or *sinusitis* (Latin *sinus* ‘sinus’ + *itis*) (GDLC), ‘sinus inflammation’ (DIEC). The base of these nouns is either a word referring to parts of the body that comes from Latin, such as *gingiva* ‘gums’ in *gingivitis*, and *sinus* ‘sinus’ in *sinusitis*, or a combination form from Greek, such as *col-* (from Greek *kōlon* ‘colon’) in *colitis*.

Lately, however, some new words created with *-itis* do not refer to an inflammation, and the base is not a word or a combination form referring to the anatomy or belonging originally to Latin or Greek. Some examples from Catalan are *abracitis* (*abraçada* ‘hug’), *dissenyitis* (*disseny* ‘design’), *inauguracionitis* (*inauguració* ‘inauguration, opening’) or *madon-nitis* (from the proper noun Madonna), some of which show a vocalic reduction of the base (underlined in the following examples), as mentioned by Bernal (2022, p. 12):

- (5) No només la reina Isabel és reticent a l'**abracitis** [Elizabeth II is not the only one who is reluctant to *abracitis* ‘hug + -itis’] (*La Vanguardia*, 21 August 2016).
- (6) Fa uns anys que l'Ajuntament de Barcelona va patir un (enèsim) atac de **dissenyitis** i va inventar una bandera de la ciutat [some years ago, the City Council of Barcelona suffered an (umpteenth) attack of *dissenyitis* ‘design + -itis’ and it invented a flag for the city] (*Avui*, 12 March 2009).
- (7) No resultarà rar si dic que tinc la impressió que la política mallorquina no sembla tan afectada pel mal de la pedra, terrible malaltia dins de la política del Principat, amb la seva **inauguracionitis** corresponent [it is not strange to say that I have the impression that Majorcan politics does not seem affected by the so called “stone illness”, a terrible disease among the regional politics, with its own *inauguracionitis* ‘inauguration + -itis’] (*Avui*, 28 April 1999).

- (8) Si pateixes **madonnitis** i estàs boig per la deesa del pop, Madonna, et donem l’oportunitat de participar en el nou i original club, especialment fet per a tu [if you suffer from *madonnitis* ‘Madonna + -itis’ and you are crazy about the goddess of pop, Madonna, we offer you the opportunity to participate in this new original club, which has been created especially for you] (*Avui*, 5 February 1997).

In this case, the restriction that has been broken is mainly semantic, since the resulting lexical innovations do not refer to an inflammation of any type, and consequently, cannot be considered medical terminology. In fact, this new pattern of *-itis* means ‘an exaggerated passion or fondness toward something or someone’ (Bernal 2022, p. 9). As a result of this semantic change, pragmatic restrictions are also broken. They become marked words from a stylistic point of view belonging to informal and colloquial contexts, as they show ironic, humorous, or ludic intentions (Bernal 2022, p. 9). Finally, it can also be reported that this pattern also shows a morphological change since, semantically, the bases are not words referring to anatomy, and etymologically, they are not from medical Latin or Greek. In fact, the bases belong to heterogeneous semantic fields and can either be created in Catalan or come from another language (loanwords, and neoclassical compounds) and belong to different parts of speech: mainly nouns, such as in *geografitis* (*geografia* ‘geography’); adjectives, as in *gandulitis* (*gandul* ‘lazy’); and proper nouns, for example, in *guardiolitis* (*Guardiola*, referring to Pep Guardiola, former coach of Barcelona and current coach of Manchester City).

3.1.3. *-metre* ‘-meter’

The combining form *-metre* ‘-meter’ means ‘measure’, as in *taquímetre* ‘tachymeter’, and *audiòmetre* ‘audiometer’ (DIEC). Generally, *-metre* ‘-meter’ is attached to other neoclassical forms, such as *taquímetre* ‘tachymeter’, which contains the combination form *taqui-*, from Greek *takhýs* ‘fast’ (GDLC); in *audiòmetre* ‘audiometer’, the ending form *-metre* ‘-meter’ combines with *audio-* from the Latin *audire* ‘to listen’ and it refers to the sense of ‘hearing’ and ‘audition’ (GDLC). Regarding the productivity of *-meter* in Catalan, 215 words created with this combining form are registered in the DIEC. All of them contain a thematic tag other than “general lexicon”, such as “metrology”, the ‘science that studies the system of weight, dimensions, and measures’ (DIEC), and other tags that refer to specialized domains, such as “medicine and pharmacology”, in *acúmetre* ‘acoumeter’ (‘device to measure visual acuity’ (DIEC)); “chemistry” and “physics”, in *evaprímetre* ‘vaporimeter’ (‘device to measure the intensity of evaporation’ (DIEC)); or “electrical engineering”, as in *vúmetre* ‘VU meter’ (‘device to measure the volume of a soundwave signal’ (DIEC)); therefore, *-meter* creates specialized words related to different sciences or technologies. Nevertheless, there are some lexicographic neologisms in Catalan that are not registered in the DIEC, where *-metre* ‘-meter’ is added to an existing word that, although it might keep the reference to measure, does not belong to a specialized domain. This is the case of *cagòmetre* (*cagar* ‘to shit’), *emocionòmetre* (*emoció* ‘emotion’), *globusdoròmetre* (*Globus d’Or* ‘Golden Globe award’), or *insultòmetre* (*insult* ‘insult’):

- (9) I recordo que a Madrid l’entorn de Florentino ja es va inventar el **cagòmetre** per intentar frenar el Barça de Guardiola, amb resultats indescriptibles [and I remember that, in Madrid, the environment of Florentino had invented a *cagòmetre* ‘to shit + -meter’ to try to stop Barcelona Football Club with indescribable results] (*La Vanguardia*, 24 February 2014).
- (10) Un magnífic **emocionòmetre** per saber en quin punt ens trobem [a superb *emocionòmetre* ‘emotion + -meter’ to know at which point we are] (*Cultura/s*, 25 April 2020).
- (11) El seu marit en la ficció, Leonardo DiCaprio, té moltes opcions d’afegir una quarta candidatura a l’Oscar a les tres que ja té (totes sense premi), però no en té gaires de guanyar, segons el **globusdoròmetre** [Leonardo DiCaprio, who acted as his husband in this film, has many possibilities to add a new Oscar nomination to the three he already has (with no awards yet), but not many possibilities to win, according to the *globusdoròmetre* ‘Golden Globe award + -meter’] (*La Vanguardia*, 23 January 2009)

- (12) El que passa és que aquestes empreses ja tenen l'**insultòmetre** carodià que els vessa, per tant ni sumarà ni restarà en el seu nivell de desacreditació que Prisa parli bé d'ell [the thing is that the Carodian *insultòmetre* 'insult + -meter' of these companies is already full. For this reason, it will not increase nor decrease the level of discreditation he already has, even if Prisa speaks well of him] (*Avui*, 1 May 2005).

In these cases, the change experienced by *-metre* 'meter' is again not semantic since these lexical innovations preserve the sense of 'measure', even if they do not refer to an existing device designed for this purpose. In fact, the measurement that the new words refer to is taken holistically, but not quantitatively, because they do not refer to a real device or tool. There are some new designations that do refer to a particular device or machine, but they do not belong to specialized contexts in the field of science or technical science. One example is *xutòmetre*, an inflatable soccer free kick goal with targets of different points and sizes (Diputació de Barcelona)⁴. As for *aplaudímetre*, in some contexts, it also refers to a real device that 'measures the duration and intensity of the applause' (CCMA 2021).

- (13) Un cop oberts els accessos, els socis i aficionats podran gaudir d'una actuació del grup infantil Macedònia i de diverses activitats infantils i familiars (un **xutòmetre**, un 3 × 3 de futbol, un taller de perruques, etc.) [once the access is open, the members and the fans will enjoy a performance by the children's group Macedònia and many children's and familiar activities (a *xutòmetre* 'to shoot + -meter', a football 3 × 3, a wig workshop, etc.)] (*Ara*, 13 May 2011).
- (14) L'**aplaudímetre** estableix, al final del congrés, la popularitat dels polítics i dels seus discursos, mesurant la intensitat i la durada de les ovacions [an *aplaudímetre* 'clapometer' establishes, at the end of the conference, the popularity of politicians and their speeches, since it measures the intensity and duration of the ovations] (*Avui*, 11 October 1995).

Morphological restrictions are also broken here, because the bases are not words or combination forms from Latin or Greek, but existing words in Catalan or from other languages of contact. The bases of these resulting forms can either be nouns, *emocionòmetre* (*emoció* 'emotion'); verbs, *cagòmetre* (*cagar* 'to shit'); or proper nouns *globusdoròmetre* (*Globus d'Or* 'Golden Globe award'). In all these cases, they maintain the medial connecting vowel between the two components of the compound. Finally, a pragmatic change also takes place, as the words resulting from this new pattern are generally used in informal and colloquial contexts. They can be considered expressive, since they show irony and humor as well as pejorative connotations. In this sense, the bases for some of these lexical innovations are also colloquial or slang words.

3.2. WFR and Examples in Other Languages: English, French, and Spanish

In this section, I examine whether the transgressions of WFRs observed in some bound morphemes in Catalan might also be experienced in other languages. Each subsection is devoted to one of the three morphemes under analysis: *-ism*, *-itis*, and *-meter*.

3.2.1. -ism

In English, French and Spanish, the suffix coming from Latin *-ismus* (*-ism*, in English; *-isme*, in French; and *-ismo*, in Spanish) is used to create nouns that refer to a doctrine or movement. This is supported by different lexicographical sources.

In English, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED):

- 2a. 'Forming the name of a system of theory or practice, religious, ecclesiastical, philosophical, political, social, etc., sometimes founded on the name of its subject or object, sometimes on that of its founder' (OED). For example, *Buddhism*, *Catholicism*, *Liberalism*, or *Puritanism*.
- 2b. 'More of the nature of class-names or descriptive terms, for doctrines or principles [...] ' (OED). For example, *agnosticism*, *feminism*, *imperialism*, or *romanticism*.

In French, as it appears in *Le Grand Robert de la langue française*:

1. '[...] il forme des termes politiques et sociaux, avec la valeur axiologique de «système d'opinions» ou de «attitude, tendance»; des termes de philosophie, de religion ou de science («doctrine» ou «croyances»); des termes littéraires et artistiques («écoles, tendances») [it creates political and social terms, with the axiological value of "system of opinions" or "attitude, tendency"; philosophical, religious, or scientific terms ("doctrine" or "beliefs"); literary or artistic terms ("school, tendencies").]' (Grand Robert).
2. 'Une deuxième valeur du suffixe est celle d'«attitude et activité» conforme à la tendance ou au modèle qu'exprime la base (*bovarysme*, *constructivisme*, etc.) ou favorable à une personne, un groupe humain, etc. (*américanisme* [...]) ou «activité quelconque» (*canoéisme*, etc.) [a second value of this suffix is "attitude and activity" according to the tendency or model expressed by the base (*bovarism*, *constructivism*, etc.) or favorable towards someone, a group of people, etc. (*Americanism* [...]) or "any activity" (*canoéisme* 'canoeing', etc.)]' (Grand Robert).

Finally, regarding the Royal Spanish Academy's *Diccionario de la lengua española* (DLE):

1. Forma sustantivos que suelen significar 'doctrina', 'sistema', 'escuela' o 'movimiento'. *Socialismo*, *platonismo*, *impresionismo* [it creates nouns that tend to refer to "doctrine", "system", "school", or "movement". *Socialism*, *Platonism*, *impressionism*].
2. Forma sustantivos que significan 'actitud', 'tendencia' o 'cualidad'. *Egoísmo*, *individualismo*, *puritanismo* [it creates nouns that refer to "activity", "tendency", or "quality". *Egoísmo* 'selfishness', *individualism*, *puritanism*].
3. Forma sustantivos que designan actividades deportivas. *Atletismo*, *alpinismo* [it creates nouns that designate sporting activities. *Atletismo* 'athletics', *alpinism*]. [...]
5. Forma sustantivos que designan 'situación' o 'condición'. *Marginalismo*, *pauperismo* [it creates nouns that designate "situation" or "condition". *Marginalism*, *pauperism*].

Since the different languages analyzed here share the use of the same suffix from Latin, it is not surprising that they also create lexical innovations that break the pragmatic restrictions on productivity. In fact, the OED includes this information as the note of sense 2b:

"These lead the way to nonce-formations of many kinds, often humorous, of which the following are specimens, chiefly from newspapers: *anti-slaveryism*, *anti-state-churchism*, *anti-whole-hogism*, *can't-help-myself-ism*, *know-nothingism*, *Little-Peddlingtonism*, *L.S. Deism* (after *deism*), *nothing-arianism*, *19th-century-ism*, *other-ism*, *P.R. B-ism*, *Primrose-leaguism*, *red-tapeism*, *Rule-Britanniaism*, *self-ism*" (OED).

The examples included in the note are described as *nonce formations* since they tend to be ephemeral lexical innovations to satisfy the expressive intention of a particular communicative act. Moreover, some of them can be considered as belonging to informal or colloquial contexts, such as *can't-help-myself-ism*, which contains a verbal phraseological unit as the base of the word. In French, the *Grand Robert* does not explicitly include this information, even though it mentions that it is a very productive suffix and some of the examples provided demonstrate this pragmatic effect:

un des inventeurs du **dilettantisme**, du je m'**enfichisme**, de beaucoup de mots en ... «isme» à la mode chez nos snobinettes [...] [one of the inventors of **dilettantism**, of **je m'enfichisme** 'I-don't-care-ism', and of many words with *-ism* that are fashionable among snobs] PROUST, *Sodome et Gomorrhe*, Pl., t. II, p. 876. (Grand Robert).

In Spanish, no information is given about this possibility. Nevertheless, some instances are already registered in the dictionary. This is the case of *buenismo* (*bueno* 'good' + *-ismo* '-ism'), which was included in DLE, in 2017, with the pragmatic remark "mainly used with a derogatory sense".

3.2.2. -itis

Both the *Oxford English Dictionary*, for English, and *Le Grand Robert*, for French, include two different uses of *-itis*, one from the medical domain, and another from general language.

The first one creates nouns that designate an ‘inflammation’, such as in *appendicitis*, *bronchitis*, *gastritis*, or *pneumonitis* (OED), in English, and *angiocardite* ‘angiocarditis’, *bronchite* ‘bronchitis’, *hépatite* ‘hepatitis’, and *méningite* ‘meningitis’ (Grand Robert), in French, where *-itis* takes the form of *-ite*. This sense is also registered in the *Diccionario de la lengua española*, for Spanish, which provides examples such as *otitis* and *hepatitis* (DLE); however, only in the English and French lexicographical sources can the non-medical use of *-itis* be identified:

‘In irregular trivial use applied to a state of mind or tendency fancifully regarded as a disease’ (OED). For example, in *fiscalitis*, *suffragitis*, *bushrangeritis*, or *electionitis*.

‘Ce suffixe médical (grec *-itis*) est parfois employé pour désigner des habitudes, des manies, que l’on compare plaisamment à des maladies. Ex.: *adjectivite* (R. Le Bidois), n. f., «manie d’employer les adjectifs»; *réunionite*, «manie d’organiser (ou de participer à) des réunions» (this medical suffix (Greek *-itis*) is occasionally used to designate habits, obsessions, that can be compared humorously with diseases. Ex.: *adjectivite* ‘adjective + *-itis*’ (R. Le Bidois), f. n., “an obsession with the use adjectives”; *réunionite* ‘meeting + *-itis*’, “an obsession with the organization of (or participation in) meetings”).’ (Grand Robert)

In both sources, there are examples of this type of creation that are registered in an independent entry. An example in English is *telephonitis*, in which *-itis* is attached to the noun *telephone*. The first use of this word appeared in *The New York Times* in 1902, since this word was originally and chiefly used in the United States, meaning ‘a compulsive desire to make telephone calls’. Furthermore, this entry shows some other pragmatic remarks referring to the register, since it is used in a “colloquial and humorous” sense (OED):

(15) “**Telephonitis** is a widespread disease among businessmen in the down-town district”.

In French, the word *réunionite*, which is made up from *réunion* ‘meeting’ + *-ite* ‘*-itis*’ is registered in *Le Grand Robert* with the sense of ‘goût exagéré pour les reunions; abus des reunions’ (‘exaggerated taste for meetings; excess of meetings’) (Grand Robert), and it was first used mid-20th century. It also has a pragmatic remark to specify that *réunionite* is used ‘plaisant: emploi qui vise à être drôle, amusant, mais sans ironie’ (‘humorous: use that is aiming for being funny, entertaining, but without irony’) (Grand Robert).

Although in Spanish, this use of the bound morpheme *-itis* is not mentioned in its lexicographical entry, some of the examples given represent its non-medical meaning (Llopert-Saumell Forthcoming). This is the case of *titulitis* (título ‘title’, ‘certificate’ + *-itis*), defined as the act of ‘giving excessive importance to titles and study certificates to ensure someone’s knowledge’ (DLE). The pragmatic remarks refer to the colloquial and derogatory use of *titulitis*. The first occurrence of this word also comes from the press, since it was first used in 1980 in the Spanish newspaper *El País* (CREA):

“No entiende, en un primer momento, el sentido de la expresión **titulitis**, con la que nos referimos en España a la excesiva demanda de títulos de carácter universitario, pero acaba señalando que “en la Unión Soviética también se vivió en cierto modo este problema [...]” [Initially, he does not understand the meaning of the expression **titulitis** ‘certificate + *-itis*’, which is used in Spain to refer to the excessive demand of university certificates. However, at the end he points out that “in the Soviet Union they also used to have this problem”].”

Julià Luna (2015) also makes a distinction between the specialized pattern and the colloquial and humorous pattern, which she refers to as “an exaggerated attitude towards a particular reality” (Julià Luna 2015, p. 151).

3.2.3. *-meter*

In the aforementioned English, French, and Spanish dictionaries, the combination form *-meter* is registered with the sense of ‘measure’ (Grand Robert) or, more precisely, of ‘measuring instrument’, such as in *densimeter* or *urinometer* (OED); *graphomètre* ‘graphometer’ or *inductomètre* ‘inductometer’ (Grand Robert); *pluviómetro* ‘pluviometer’ or *termómetro* ‘thermometer’ (DLE). Although the OED’s definition mentions, in brackets, that *-meter*

can appear in domains other than the technical and scientific (“also in extended uses”), it displays no example of this extended use in the 301 entries that contain this combination form. In French, however, the word *applaudimètre* ‘clapometer’, from the verb *applaudir* ‘to clap’, is registered in *Le Grand Robert* with the sense ‘appréciation des applaudissements, du succès (d’un spectacle, d’un personnage officiel, etc.) comme par une machine’ (‘assessment of the applause, the success (of a show, a VIP, etc.) as if it was a machine’) (Grand Robert), identified for the first time in 1950. This definition confirms that *applaudimètre* does not refer to a measuring instrument (although this type of instrument now exists), but with the use of the combination form *-mètre* ‘-meter’, it only pretends to do so. This entry also contains a pragmatic remark to point out that this word is an example of language playfulness. *Clapometer* can be found in other English lexicographical resources than the OED; in the *Cambridge Dictionary* (Cambridge University Press 2021), it is defined as ‘a device used to measure how popular someone or something is by the amount that people clap, especially on television programs’, and examples are provided:

- (16) The audience loved his performance and the needle on the **clapometer** shot up.
- (17) The winner of tonight’s talent contest will be decided by **clapometer**.

The webpage *Lexico*, powered by Oxford ([Lexico n.d.](https://www.lexico.com/)), points out that the first English use of this word dates back to the 1970s in the British magazine *TV Times*. The Spanish equivalent of *applaudimètre* and *clapometer* is also used with the form *aplaudímetro* and it was first documented in the press in 1994 (CREA). As I mentioned above, this example can also be found in Catalan, both under the form *aplaudímetre* and *aplausòmetre* (BOBNEO). According to all the data in the different languages, it is plausible that the French word *applaudímetre* is the seminal item of this new pattern of *-meter* out of the languages analyzed so far. In fact, the combination form *-meter* is conceived as a borrowing from French *-mètre* (OED):

“The generation of scientific and technical terms containing this element appears to have originated in Middle French in the second half of the 16th century. The seminal item was perhaps *altimètre* (originally an adjective designating a geometrical instrument, probably borrowed from or formed after post-classical Latin *altimeter* [...]” (OED)

In English the first use of the combination form *-meter* is not registered until the 17th century. For example, in *thermometer*, *graphometer*, or *pantometer*; all of them, however, were based on French models.

3.3. A Diachronic Overview

The *Computerized Corpus of Old Catalan* (CICA n.d.) ranges from the 11th to the 17th century. It contains 18 words that end with *-isme* ‘-ism’, but no instances of words created with *-itis* or *-metre* ‘-meter’. Most of the words ending in *-ism* are not created with the suffix, but rather come from Latin. That is the case of *critianisme* (also the forms *crestianisme*, *chrestianisme*; spelling variants from Catalan *cristianisme*) ‘Christianity’, from Latin *christianismus*; or *criptojudaisme* ‘Crypto-Judaism’, from the Late Latin *judaismus* (GDLC).

The next period, from 1601 to 1832, is registered in the *Computerized Corpus of Modern Catalan* (CIGCMod). It contains 5 words that end in *-isme* ‘-ism’, but only *judaisme* ‘Judaism’ contains this suffix. In this corpus no examples could be found with the combination forms *-itis* nor *-metre* ‘-meter’.

Finally, the *Computerized Textual Corpus of Catalan Language* (CTILC), which goes from 1833 until the 21st century, does show examples created with *-isme* ‘-ism’, *-itis*, and *-metre* ‘meter’, and across these words, there are instances of each of the three new patterns. Seven different lexical innovations are found with *-itis* (see Table 1).

Table 1. Lexical innovations with the combination form *-itis* registered in the CTILC.

Word	Base Morpheme	First Occurrence (CTILC)
<i>espanyolitis</i>	<i>espanyol</i> ‘Spanish’	2000 [<i>La cultura del gust als Països Catalans</i> , Jaume Fàbrega]
<i>intelectualitis</i>	<i>intel·lectual</i> ‘intellectual’	1904 [<i>Art i literatura</i> , Joan Alcover]
<i>localitis</i>	<i>local</i> ‘local’	1974 [<i>Butlletí de l’Institut d’Estudis Eivissencs</i>]
<i>opinionitis</i>	<i>opinió</i> ‘opinion’	2011 [<i>Ara</i> newspaper]
<i>reunionitis</i>	<i>reunió</i> ‘meeting’	2010 [<i>La gestió del temps</i> , Iñaki Bustínduy]
<i>subvencionitis</i>	<i>subvenció</i> ‘subsidy’	1992 [<i>Allò que no se sol dir de la normalització lingüística</i> , Josep M. Aymà]
<i>trampitis</i>	<i>trampa</i> ‘trap’	1863 [<i>El Mole</i>]

The first example of this new word-formation pattern with *-itis* is from the second half of the 19th century, in 1863. The lexical innovation *trampitis*, from *trampa* ‘trap’, is used as an adjective in the noun phrase “especulador **trampitis**” (‘**trapitis** speculator’). This neologism appeared in the Valencian publication *El Mole*, considered to be “one of the first and most relevant journalistic publications in the Catalan language, which used a popular and modern linguistic model, based on contemporaneous popularist literature” (Martí Mestre 2018, p. 287). Martí Mestre (2018) carried out an analysis of the words created by suffixation in the Valencian press of the 19th century and based his study on *El Mole*. He points out that this periodical reflected not only the language of the time, but that it also contained lexical innovations created by using the internal word-formation mechanisms of Catalan (Martí Mestre 2018, p. 287). In his analysis of *trampitis*, the linguist details that *-itis* is indeed used in a humorous manner (Martí Mestre 2018, p. 309).

Another example of this new pattern, *intelectualitis*, is from the very beginning of the 20th century, in 1904, and it appears in a book about art and literature. The next cases of this pattern are not documented until the second half of the 20th century: *localitis* (*local* ‘local’), in 1974, and *subvencionitis* (*subvenció* ‘subsidy’), in 1992. The three remaining words, however, are from the 21st century: *espanyolitis* (*espanyol* ‘Spanish’), *reunionitis* (*reunió* ‘meeting’), and *opinionitis* (*opinió* ‘opinion’). In fact, *reunionitis* converges with one of the examples registered in the French dictionary *Le Grand Robert*, since it was first used in French during the mid-20th century and has been adopted by other languages, such as Catalan, Spanish (BOBNEO; Factiva), and even Portuguese. There are also cases in English (Factiva), although the word *reunion* is not as frequent as the unmarked form *meeting* (OED). As for the Catalan press between 1989 and 2021, the BOBNEO contains 37 different transgressive neologisms with *-itis* (types), with a total of 47 occurrences (tokens).

Regarding the combination form *-metre*, four different words are found in the CTILC (see Table 2):

Table 2. Lexical innovations with the combination form *-metre* ‘-meter’ registered in the CTILC.

Word	Base Morpheme	First Occurrence (CTILC)
<i>argentòmetre</i>	<i>argent</i> ‘silver’	1986 [<i>El somriure del tigre</i> , Salvador Oliva]
<i>escudellòmetre</i>	<i>escudella</i> ‘porringer’, also a ‘Catalan traditional dish’	1902 [<i>El poble gris</i> , Santiago Rusiñol]
<i>filosòmetre</i>	<i>filosofia</i> ‘philosophy’	2004 [<i>El poeta i altres contes</i> , Vicenç Pagès Jordà]
<i>viadròmetre</i>	<i>viatjar</i> ‘to travel’	1917 [<i>En Josepet de Sant Celoni</i> , Santiago Rusiñol]

Two of the examples are from the beginning of the 20th century: *escudellòmetre* (*escudella* ‘porringer’, also a ‘Catalan traditional dish’), from 1902, and *viatjadrometre* (*viatjar* ‘to travel’), in 1917. Both lexical innovations come from the literary works of the renowned Catalan artist and writer Santiago Rusiñol, one of the leaders of Catalan Modernism. In fact, although *escudellòmetre* is not registered in the DIEC, it can be found in the GDLC with the following definition: ‘[u]tensil made of aluminum used by travelers, consisting of two or more recipients that fit together that includes an ethyl alcohol stove to prepare or heat up food’ (GDLC). Despite retaining the sense of ‘instrument’ or ‘tool’, the reference to ‘measure’ or ‘measurement’ is not present; therefore, it can be argued that *escudellòmetre* transgresses semantic restrictions. More occurrences of this form can be found in CTILC, most of them related to the domain of camping. For example, two occurrences come from the publications *El camping* (1934) and *Camping* (1964).

The other two examples were identified for the first time during the second half of the 20th century and the beginning of the current millennium: *argentòmetre* (*argent* ‘silver’), in 1986, and *filosòmetre* (*filosofia* ‘philosophy’), in 2004. What both creations have in common is that they come from literary publications. *Argentòmetre* is used in the poetry book *El somriure del tigre* ‘The Tiger’s Smile’ by Catalan translator and poet Salvador Oliva. In each line where *argentòmetre* is used, a word with *argent* ‘silver’ as a base also appears, such as *argenter* ‘silversmith’, or a word that begins with *argent-*, such as *Argentina* (the Latin American country). In this case, the motivation to create *argentòmetre* is not semantic but mainly aesthetic, so as to create a rhetorical effect for the reader:

Sonet de l’argenter sense argent

L’**argentòmetre** diu que tu, d’argent,

en tens com de Malvines l’Argentina,

i, tot i ser argenter, tota la gent

diu que, en comptes d’argent, tens purpurina.

(*El somriure del tigre*, Salvador Oliva (1986))

Since the CTILC contains 2651 different lemmas created with the suffix *-isme* ‘-ism’, it has not been possible to specify the number of words that illustrate the new pattern of this suffix. In fact, this data confirms that the suffix *-isme* (‘-ism’) in Catalan is very productive, which also corroborates the findings provided by the literature reviewed so far, not only in Catalan, but also in the other languages analyzed in this study; therefore, it is not surprising that the new pattern of *-isme* ‘-ism’ that deviates from the pragmatic restrictions is also much more productive than that of *-metre* ‘-meter’ and *-itis* according to the results provided by the CTILC (see Table 3).

The first word representing this new WFR dates from the second half of the 19th century (1876) and it was instantiated in the form *xavacanisme* (*xavacà -ana* ‘tasteless’). The base *xavacà -ana* is not registered in the DIEC because it is an adapted loanword from the Spanish *chavacano*, which was first used in Catalan texts in 1736 (GDLC). The origin of this word is uncertain (DLE), but originally it was used in Peninsular or Iberian Spanish to designate the ‘creole language based on Spanish, but with the grammatical structure of the native languages spoken in Mindanao and other islands of the Philippines’ (DLE). It is possible that after referring to this language, the adjective *chabacano -na* adopted a new general meaning used to qualify something or someone as ‘rude’ or ‘tasteless’ (DLE). In fact, this is the definition that appears in the Catalan dictionary, GDLC, and one that can be observed in the examples provided by the CTILC.

Table 3. Some lexical innovations with the suffix *-isme* ‘-ism’ registered in the CTILC.

Word	Base Morpheme	First Occurrence (CTILC)
<i>aniversarisme</i>	<i>aniversari</i> ‘anniversary’	1991 [<i>El Temps</i>]
<i>bonisme</i>	<i>bo</i> ‘good’	1998 [<i>Una política de civilització</i> , Josep Subirats and Concepció Villar]
<i>centrifugisme</i>	<i>centrifugar</i> ‘to spin’	1969 [<i>Introducció a la història de la Corona d’Aragó</i> , Joan Reglà]
<i>cineclubisme</i>	<i>cine club</i> ‘film club’	2011 [<i>Ara</i> newspaper]
<i>devocionisme</i>	<i>devoció</i> ‘devotion’	1926 [<i>L’escultura catalana moderna</i> , Feliu Elias i Bracons]
<i>enxufisme</i>	<i>enxufe</i> ‘connections’	1933 [<i>Madrid</i> , Josep Pla]
<i>espanyolerisme</i>	<i>espanyol</i> -a ‘spanish’	1946 [<i>Quaderns de l’exili</i>]
<i>genialisme</i>	<i>genial</i> ‘genius’	1971 [<i>Miró llegit</i> , Alexandre Cirici Pellicer]
<i>grollerisme</i>	<i>groller</i> -a ‘rude’	1917 [<i>Les sirenes dels joves intel·ligents</i> , Felip Cortiella]
<i>guineuisme</i>	<i>guineu</i> ‘fox’	1934 [<i>Alt Pallars. Quinzenal portantveu del Centre Republicà Català</i>]
<i>jocfloralisme</i>	<i>Jocs Florals</i> ‘Floral Games contest’	1980 [<i>Literatura catalana dels anys setanta</i> , Àlex Broch]
<i>manipulacionisme</i>	<i>manipulació</i> ‘manipulation’	1998 [<i>Una política de civilització</i> , Josep Subirats and Concepció Villar]
<i>panxa-contentisme</i>	<i>panxacontent</i> -a ‘carefree’	1922 [<i>El novel·lista català</i> Alfons Maseras, Cristòfor de Domènech i Vilanova]
<i>panxisme</i>	<i>panxa</i> ‘belly’	1937 [<i>La ideologia i la barbàrie dels rebels espanyols</i> , Ramon Vinyes]
<i>projectivisme</i>	<i>projecte</i> ‘project’	1966 [<i>El poble gris</i> , Josep Pla]
<i>senzillisme</i>	<i>senzill</i> -a ‘simple’	1927 [<i>Visions de Catalunya</i> , Joan Santamaria]
<i>utilisme</i>	<i>útil</i> ‘useful’	2011 [<i>Adéu a la Universitat</i> , Jordi Llovet]
<i>xarlatanisme</i>	<i>xarlatà</i> -ana ‘chatterbox’, ‘trickster’	1921 [<i>Islamisme</i> , Josep Carner]
<i>xavacanisme</i>	<i>xavacà</i> -ana ‘tasteless’	1876 [<i>Teatre català</i> , Francesc Ubach i Vinyeta]
<i>xulisme</i>	<i>xulo</i> -a ‘cocky’	1926 [<i>Ramon Turró</i> , Leandre Cervera]

Instances from the first half of the 20th century are also frequent, and some of them contain a loanword as a base. For example, *enxufisme* (*enxufe* ‘connections’), *xarlatanisme* (*xarlatà* -ana ‘charlatan’), and *xulisme* (*xulo* -a ‘cocky’). *Enxufisme* contains the word *enxufe*, from the Spanish *enchufe*, in the sense of ‘position or destination that someone gets with no achievements, but thanks to connections or political influence’ (DLE), which is considered a derogatory word used in colloquial contexts (DLE). The lexical innovation *xarlatanisme* is made from *xarlatà* -ana, originally a loanword from Italian *ciarlatano* which is used in Catalan in the sense of ‘chatterbox’ and ‘trickster’ (GDLC). Finally, in *xulisme*, the word *xulo* -a, from Spanish *chulo* -a, is mainly used as an adjective with the sense of ‘cocky’ (DLE). *Enxufisme* and *xarlatanisme* come from the literary production of two renowned Catalan writers of the 20th century: Josep Carner and Josep Pla. Josep Carner was a poet, writer, and translator, considered to be the greatest exponent of the poetry of Catalan Noucentisme. Moreover, the novels written by Josep Pla are still among the most read in Catalan; in fact, he published a great deal of literary works and was awarded with most of the Catalan literary prizes of his time, such as the Sant Jordi’s novel award in 1951.

Among the different instances, the words also use bases other than a simple noun or an adjective. Some of them are made up from a verb, such as *centrifugisme* (*centrifugar* ‘to

spin’); a nominal compound, such as *cineclubisme* (*cine club* ‘film club’); or a proper noun, *jocfloralisme* (*Jocs Florals* ‘Floral Games’), that refers to a Catalan literary award.

4. Discussion

Linguistic change and variation are inherent features of any living language, and native speakers of a language do not speak the same way from one generation to the next. As a result, the linguistic norm of a language, which is not only understood as the prescriptive norm, but also as the normal production of the language system (Coseriu 1952, p. 51) might change as well. Regarding the lexicon, Dressler (1981, p. 427) declares that “the most common type of deviation are neologisms formed with productive word formation rules, which results in a deviation from lexical norms”; however, in this paper, I have studied lexical innovations in Catalan created with the suffixes *-isme* ‘-ism’, *-itis*, and *-metre* ‘-meter’, that do not follow the WFRs since they deviate from the norm. The norm or, in this case, the WFRs, provide the pattern to create new words. Consequently, speakers know which morphemes can be added to a given type of base, what the resulting word would mean, what contexts it could be used in, and so on; however, the WFRs needed to create words such as *caradurisme* (*caradura* ‘rascal’ + *-isme* ‘-ism’), *participacionitis* (*participació* ‘participation’ + *-itis*), and *il·lusiòmetre* (*il·lusió* ‘excitement’ + *-metre* ‘-meter’), cannot be found either in grammar books or in dictionaries. For this reason, the resulting forms tend to draw speakers’ attention (Llopert-Saumell Forthcoming).

The fact that these transgressions of WFRs in Catalan are becoming increasingly frequent in use, as they can be found in the bank of neologisms in the Observatori de Neologia, they call for a new status: not to be regarded as transgressions anymore, but as a sign of linguistic change. They should be considered new WFRs to be added to the morphology chapter of grammar books and dictionaries. The three diachronic corpora of Catalan that cover the time period from the 11th century until the second decade of the 21st century show that the examples of the new WFRs of *-isme* ‘-ism’ and *-itis* can be found as early as the second half of the 19th century, and *-metre* ‘-meter’ can be found from the very beginning of the 20th century. These first examples were mainly used in literary texts. Indeed, some of the first examples of these linguistic changes are found in the literary production of renowned writers and poets in the Catalan language, such as Santiago Rusiñol, Josep Pla, and Josep Carner. This corroborates that the poetic function of language, from Jakobson’s functions of language (Jakobson 1984), makes literary writing in Catalan the richest and most complete of languages:

En su actividad lingüística, el individuo conoce o no conoce la norma y tiene mayor o menor conciencia del sistema. [...] Los grandes creadores de lengua —como Dante, Quevedo, Cervantes, Góngora, Shakespeare, Puskin— rompen conscientemente la norma (que es algo como el ‘gusto de la época’ en el arte) y, sobre todo, utilizan y realizan en el grado más alto las posibilidades del sistema: [...] un gran poeta ha utilizado todas posibilidades que le ofrece la lengua [Regarding the linguistic activity, speakers know or do not know the norm, and they have a higher or lower conscience of the (language) system. [...] Those that are considered great creators of language, such as Dante, Quevedo, Cervantes, Góngora, Shakespeare, or Puskin, consciously break the norm (something that in art is understood as the ‘taste of the time’). They attain to the highest degree the possibilities of the system: [...] a great poet uses all the possibilities offered by language]. (Coseriu 1952, pp. 59–60)

It is also true that the poetic function of language is used in some types of media texts or in certain sections of newspapers, especially in texts that belong to the journalistic macrostructure known as opinion journalism or journalistic commentary, as opposed to narrative journalism (Casals Carro 2011, p. 50; Martínez Albertos 1989, p. 64). These two macrostructures are devised to set apart opinion from information. In this sense, although the bank of neologisms from the Observatori de Neologia (BOBNEO) only uses texts from the press to identify the new units used in Catalan, it contains many examples of lexical

innovations with *-isme* ‘-ism’, *-itis*, and *-metre* ‘-meter’ that follow the new WFRs of these bound morphemes. In other words, it is indisputable that the press is a useful text type to see how general language changes and evolves.

The findings in other languages show that the changes experienced by WFRs in the Catalan language are not language specific. On the one hand, the main dictionaries in English and French (OED and Grand Robert) hold explicit information about the use of the non-medical *-itis* to create new general words with a humorous pragmatic effect. In the case of *-metre* ‘-meter’, only the OED mentions that this combination form can be found “also in extended uses”, other than the scientific and technological domains, whereas in French, an example of this new WFR is already registered in *Le Grand Robert: applaudimètre* ‘clapometer’, and as such, it can be considered the seminal unit of this new rule. Finally, regarding the suffix *-isme* ‘-ism’, the OED specifies that it creates “nonce-formations of many kinds, often humorous, [. . .] chiefly from newspapers”. In French, even if in *Le Grand Robert* there is no explicit information, some of the examples provided show this humorous effect. In Spanish, no explicit information can be found in the DLE, although it includes an entry with this new WFR, *bonisme* (‘good’ + *-ism*). These data reflect that this new pattern of *-ism* is also present throughout the languages reviewed in this paper.

The analysis of the changes experienced by these bound morphemes shows that, following Gaeta (2015), they break different types of restrictions. In general, all of them break the pragmatic restrictions because the resulting forms are used in general domains with a particular intention: to create a humorous effect on the receiver. In some cases, they also deviate from morphological restrictions, since the base morpheme does not correspond to the type of unit that the traditional bound morpheme usually combines with. This is a change that can either be related to the semantic domain of the base, as in the case of *-itis* or *-isme*, or to the etymology of the base, as happens with the combination forms *-itis* and *-metre*; however, only *-itis* deviates from its semantic restrictions because it loses the sense of ‘inflammation’, whereas the other two morphemes tend to retain the traditional meaning. This property of *-itis*, among others, encourages the hypothesis that *-itis* cannot be considered a combination form, but rather a new suffix taken directly from English, such as *-ing* and *-gate* (Bernal 2022).

In conclusion, all the data presented in this paper related to *-isme*, *-itis*, and *-metre* show that the supposed deviations of the WFRs experienced by these bound morphemes cannot be conceived as mere transgressions of the norm, but as changes experienced by the social or prescriptive norms of Catalan. The lexical innovations created using these bound morphemes cannot be considered individual transgressions, because they follow a particular pattern even if most of the resulting forms tend to be ephemeral.

Funding: This paper is part of the research project “LEXICAL, Neología y diccionario: análisis para la actualización lexicográfica del español” (ref. PID2020-118954RB-I00), funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation, and the Spanish State Research Agency.

Institutional Review Board Statement: Not applicable.

Informed Consent Statement: Not applicable.

Data Availability Statement: The data analyzed here comes from *Corpus informatitzat de la gramàtica del català antic* (CICA), available online: <http://cica.cat> (accessed on 1 September 2021); *Corpus informatitzat de la gramàtica del català modern* (CIGCMOD), available online: <http://84.127.230.137:6264/metaconcor/NewVersion/index.php> (accessed on 30 September 2021); *Corpus textual informatitzat de la llengua catalana* (CTILC), available online: <https://ctilc.iec.cat/scripts/index.asp> (accessed on 1 October 2021); and *Cercador BOBNEO*, available online: <http://obneo.iula.upf.edu/bobneo/index.php> (accessed on 1 November 2021).

Conflicts of Interest: The author declares no conflict of interest.

Notes

- ¹ An exhaustive revision of the different communicative functions of neologisms can be found in Llopart-Saumell (2016).
- ² Among other word-formation mechanisms, such as clipping, semantic change, etc.
- ³ However, this is not the case of **romanticista* (*romantic* -a ‘romantic’ + -ista ‘ist’), since in Catalan the word used to refer to the ‘follower of romanticism’ (GDLC) is *romàntic romàntica* ‘romanticist’.
- ⁴ Diputació de Barcelona. *Xutòmetre futbol* [online]. <<https://www.diba.cat/web/esports/xutometre-futbol>> (accessed on 15 September 2021).

References

- Alves, Ieda Maria. 2015. O caráter lúdico em unidades lexicais neológicas do português brasileiro. Paper presented at III Congresso Internacional de Neologia en las Lenguas Románicas, Salamanca, Spain, October 22–24.
- Bernal, Elisenda. 2022. Valor neològic i valor lexicogràfic dels morfemes transferits. A propòsit d’-ing, -gate, -itis i -mania en català. *Estudis Romànics* 44: 85–113.
- Bernal, Elisenda, and Alba Milà-Garcia. 2021. Breaking the rules: Speakers’ perception on the pragmatic connotations of (un)marked uses of final combining forms. *Catalan Review* 35: 89–109. [CrossRef]
- Bernal, Elisenda, and Carsten Sinner. 2013. Neología expresiva: la formación de palabras en Mafalda. In *Actes del 26é Congr s de Ling stica i Filologia Rom niques*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, vol. 3, pp. 479–96.
- Bernal, Elisenda, Eva Garcia-Pinos, and Alba Milà-Garcia. 2016. La gr cia  s al final: la col loquialitzaci  dels compostos cultes. In *Mots D’avui, Mots de Dem *. Edited by Observatori de Neologia. Barcelona: IULA, Institut de Ling stica Aplicada, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Documenta Universitaria, pp. 73–85.
- BOBNEO (Cercador BOBNEO). 2021. Observatori de Neologia. Available online: <http://obneo.iula.upf.edu/bobneo/index.php> (accessed on 1 November 2021).
- Cabr , M. Teresa. 1989. La neologia ef mera. In *Miscel nia Joan Bastardas*. Edited by Joan Bastardas. Barcelona: Publicacions de l’Abadia de Montserrat, vol. 1, pp. 37–58.
- Cabr , M. Teresa. 2015. Bases para una teor a de los neologismos l xicos: Primeras reflexiones. In *Neologia das L nguas Rom nicas*. Edited by Ieda M. Alves and Elian Sim es Pereira. Sao Paulo: Humanitas, CAPES, pp. 70–110.
- Cambridge University Press. 2021. *Cambridge Dictionary. English Dictionary*. Available online: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/> (accessed on 3 July 2021).
- Casals Carro, Mar a Jes s. 2011. El universo ret rico del periodismo. In *G neros y discurso period stico*. Edited by Mar a Luisa S nchez Calero. Madrid: Fragua, pp. 45–73.
- CCMA (Corporaci  Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals). 2021. * sAdir, El Portal Ling stic de la Corporaci  Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals*. Available online: <http://esadir.cat> (accessed on 26 June 2021).
- CICA (Corpus Informatitzat de la Gram tica del Catal  Antic). n.d. Available online: <http://cica.cat> (accessed on 1 September 2021).
- CIGCMod (Corpus Informatitzat de la Gram tica del Catal  Modern). n.d. Available online: <http://84.127.230.137:6264/metaconcor/NewVersion/index.php> (accessed on 30 September 2021).
- Col n Rodea, Maricela. 2003. El insulto: Estudio pr gmatico-textual y representaci  lexicogr fica. Ph.D. thesis, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, Spain.
- Coseriu, Eugen. 1952. *Sistema, Norma y Habla: Con un Resumen en Alefm n*. Montevideo: Universidad de la Rep blica.
- CREA (Corpus de Referencia del Espa ol Actual). 2021. Real Academia Espa ola. Available online: <https://www.rae.es/banco-de-datos/crea> (accessed on 2 October 2021).
- CTILC (Corpus Textual Informatitzat de la Llengua Catalana). 2021. Institut d’Estudis Catalans. Available online: <http://ctilc.iec.cat/> (accessed on 29 July 2021).
- D az-Negrillo, Ana. 2014. Neoclassical compounds and final combining forms in English. *Linguistik Online* 68: 1–18. [CrossRef]
- DIEC (Diccionari de la Llengua Catalana). 2007. Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis Catalans. Available online: <http://dlc.iec.cat/> (accessed on 9 June 2021).
- DLE (Diccionario de la Lengua Espa ola). 2014. Madrid: Real Academia Espa ola, Espasa, 23rd ed. Available online: <http://dle.rae.es/> (accessed on 16 June 2021).
- Dressler, Wolfgang Ulrich. 1981. General principles of poetic license in word formation. In *Logos Semantikos vol. 2*. Edited by Harald Weydt. Berlin and New York: De Gruyter Mouton, pp. 423–31.
- Eliasson, Stig. 2018. What do languages refrain from copying morphology? On structural obstacles to morphological borrowing. In *The Meaning of Language*. Edited by Hans G tzsche. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Publishing Scholars, pp. 46–86.
- Gaeta, Livio. 2015. Restrictions in word-formation. In *Word-Formation. An International Handbook of the Languages of Europe*. Edited by Peter O M ller, Ingeborg Ohnheiser, Susan Olsen and Franz Rainer. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, vol. 2, pp. 859–75.
- Garc a Platero, Juan Manuel. 2015. *La Innovaci  L xica en Espa ol: Perspectivas de An lisis*. Pontevedra: Academia del Hispanismo.
- GDLC (Gran Diccionari de la Llengua Catalana). 1998. Barcelona: Enciclop dia. Available online: <http://www.diccionari.cat/> (accessed on 2 October 2021).
- GIEC (Gram tica de la Llengua Catalana). 2016. Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis Catalans.

- Grand Robert. 2021. *Le Grand Robert de la Langue Française*. Dictionnaires Le Robert. Available online: <https://grandrobert.lerobert.com/> (accessed on 13 September 2021).
- Guilbert, Louis. 1975. *La Créativité Lexicale*. Paris: Larousse.
- Iacobini, Claudio. 2004. Composizione con elementi neoclassici. In *La formazione delle parole in italiano*. Edited by Maria Grossmann and Franz Rainer. Tübingen: Niemeyer, pp. 69–95.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1984. *Ensayos de lingüística general*. Barcelona: Ariel.
- Julià Luna, Carolina. 2015. Los patrones derivativos del sufijo -itis en español moderno: Análisis de algunos ejemplos. In *Los Afijos: Variación, Rivalidad y Representación*. Edited by Janet de Cesaris and Elisenda Bernal. Barcelona: IULA, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, pp. 147–56.
- Lexico. n.d. *Diccionario de Inglés y Español, Sinónimos y Traductor de Español a Inglés*. Available online: <https://www.lexico.com/> (accessed on 18 September 2021).
- Llopart-Saumell, Elisabet. 2016. La Funció dels Neologismes: Revisió de la Dicotomia ‘Neologisme Denominatiu’ i ‘Neologisme Estilístic’. Ph.D. thesis, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, Spain. Available online: <https://tesisenred.net/handle/10803/398142#page=1> (accessed on 18 June 2021).
- Llopart-Saumell, Elisabet. 2021. The perception of connotations in lexical innovations. In *Approaches to New Trends in Research on Catalan Studies*. Edited by Antonio Cortijo and Jordi Antolí. New York and Berlin: Peter Lang (Series Catalan Studies), pp. 157–182.
- Llopart-Saumell, Elisabet. Forthcoming. “Learn the rules like a pro, so you can break them like an artist”: On the emotional effects of breaking word-formation rules. In *Current perspectives on Spanish Lexical Development*. Edited by Irene Checa-García and Laura Marqués-Pascual. Boston and Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Llopart-Saumell, Elisabet, and Judit Freixa. 2017. La creatividad de los neologismos documentados en la prensa en catalán: Desviación y formación no previsible. In *La Renovación Léxica en las Lenguas Románicas: Proyectos y Perspectivas*. Edited by Miguel Sánchez Ibáñez, Nava Maroto, Joaquín García Palacios, Jesús Torres del Rey, Goedeke de Sterck and Daniel Peter Linder Molin. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, Servicio de Publicaciones, pp. 471–85.
- Lüdeling, Anke, and Stefan Evert. 2005. The emergence of productive non-medical -itis: Corpus evidence and qualitative analysis. In *Linguistic Evidence. Empirical, Theoretical, and Computational Perspectives*. Edited by Stephan Kepser and Marga Reis. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 351–70.
- Martí Mestre, Joaquim. 2018. La sufixació en la premsa valenciana del segle XIX. *Anuari de Filologia. Estudis de Lingüística* 8: 287–319. [CrossRef]
- Martínez Albertos, José Luis. 1989. *El Lenguaje Periodístico*. Madrid: Paraninfo.
- Matoré, Georges. 1952. Le néologisme: Naissance et diffusion. *Le Français Moderne: Revue de Linguistique Française* 2: 87–92.
- Mejri, Salah. 2005. Figement, néologie et renouvellement du lexique. *Linx* 52: 163–74. [CrossRef]
- Mounin, Georges. 1990. Quelques observations sur le lexique français d’aujourd’hui. *Europe* 738: 10–18.
- Observatori de Neologia. 2004. *Llengua Catalana i Neologia*. Barcelona: Meteora.
- OED (Oxford English Dictionary). 2021. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available online: <http://www.oed.com/> (accessed on 2 October 2021).
- Provencio Garrigós, Herminia. 2009. La prefijación y la sufijación. In *Dime Cómo Ironizas y te Diré Quién Eres: Una Aproximación Pragmática a la Ironía*. Edited by Leonor Ruiz Gurillo and Xosé Padilla García. A Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 241–66.
- Sablayrolles, Jean-François. 1993. Fonctions des néologismes. In *Cahiers du CIEL, Lexique et Construction du Discours*. Paris: UFR E.I.L.A Paris-7, pp. 53–94.
- Sablayrolles, Jean-François. 2000. *La Néologie en Français Contemporain: Examen du Concept et Analyse de Productions Néologiques Récentes*. Paris: Honoré Champion.
- Seifart, Frank. 2013. *AfBo: A World-Wide Survey of Affix Borrowing*; Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. Available online: <http://afbo.info> (accessed on 20 September 2021).
- Winter-Froemel, Esme. 2018. Ludicity in lexical innovation (I)–French. In *Expanding the Lexicon. Linguistic Innovation, Morphological Productivity, and Ludicity*. Edited by Sabine Arndt-Lappe, Angelika Braun, Claudine Moulin and Esme Winter-Froemel. Berlin and Boston: de Gruyter, pp. 229–59.