



From Proper Names to Verbs in English : A corpus-based morpho-semantic study of verbs originating from proper names

Aurélie Héois

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Aurélie Héois

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From Proper Names to Verbs in English

A corpus-based morpho-semantic study of verbs originating from
proper names

Mémoire réalisé par Aurélie Héois, sous la direction du Professeur Denis Jamet

Master 2 LLCER Linguistique & Dialectologie

Faculté des Langues

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List of Abbreviations and Symbols

| | |
|------------|---|
| < X | comes from X |
| > Y | derived form is Y |
| A | adjective |
| Adv | adverb |
| FR | French |
| N | noun |
| N/A | non-applicable |
| <i>OED</i> | <i>the Oxford English Dictionary online</i> |
| P&S | products and services |
| PN | proper name |
| POS | parts of speech |
| V | verb |
| WFP | word-formation process |
| WFP2 | WFP cycle 2 |

Introduction

English-speaking TV series are often filled with innovative neologisms, that is to say newly coined words and phrases. As cultural products, TV shows are the result of a creative process and cannot be easily considered as representative of society; more specifically the language they use cannot be regarded as representative of all the varieties which exist¹. However, the writers of English TV series², as they use the English language, have to follow the same word-formation processes as any other English speaker when coining a new word. Indeed, even though their artistic license could allow them to free themselves from word-formation rules, competing purposes – such as the need to be understood by the audience – come into play and make them follow these rules. It would require a comprehensive study to analyze the various cases of neology in English TV shows and to define the communicative functions neologisms seem to fill in this context. However, when it comes to TV comedies, it is quite clear that at least some of the neologisms are driven by playful impulse.

The American TV series *How I Met your Mother*, which aired on CBS from 2005 to 2014, offers numerous examples of neologisms. What is of interest for this specific paper is the use of proper names to create verbs, as illustrated in the example below:

- (1) Marshall: There is a maneuver you can try. It's high-risk, but it's also high reward. For lack of a better term, I'm going to call it "The Mosby".
Robin: The Mosby?
Lily: No, she couldn't **Mosby** him!
Marshall: She could **Mosby** the crap out of him.
Robin: What's the Mosby?
Marshall: Robin, you remember your first date with Ted? You wanted to hop on the T-train, take a ride downtown.
Robin: I was ready to jump that turnstile.
Marshall: What changed all that?
Ted [flashback]: I think I'm in love with you.

¹ *Language* is understood here as a social product, and is not considered in its systemic decontextualized definition.

² I use *English* in this paper without reference to any specific variety of this language, unless stated otherwise.

Robin [flashback]: What?

Robin [present]: Oh! The Mosby! That is genius!

In this excerpt of “The Leap” from season 4 (Fryman, 2009), the family name of the main character, Ted Mosby, is used as a noun (underlined in the text) and then as a verb (in bold) by two of his friends, Lily and Marshall. There is another intriguing occurrence of neology in this excerpt (also underlined) which is also based on the use of the name of the same character and which uses initialing of his first name (*Ted* → *T*) along with the process of compounding. However, analyzing these other occurrences would require further research and is not within the scope of this paper. The *Urban Dictionary* defines the verb *mosby* as follows: “Telling someone (usually on your first date) that you love them in order to freak them out and deter them from having a further relationship with you” (‘Mosby, v.’, 2009). However unreliable this dictionary can be at times – as it is a collaborative dictionary without much control over its content – this definition fits both the context of the series and the explanation the characters give in the second half of this excerpt. The fact that an explanatory comment follows the use of this verb implies at the very least that the meaning of this neologism may not be clear to all. From the definition above, we can notice that the meaning of the verb *mosby*, even though it refers to a past event which happened to Ted Mosby in the first season, does not take the character’s original intentions into account. Indeed, part of the definition is factual – the telling-*I love you*-on-the-first-date part, but the remainder is directly related to outside observers’ interpretation – Lily and Marshall – of a supposed chain of cause and consequences.

Some working hypotheses can be inferred from this example. First of all, the meaning of a denominal verb – specifically originating from a proper name – can be the result of both an attribute (action, event, etc.) of the original referent and an external analysis of this characteristic from people who are not the referent. Moreover, the directionality of

derivation between a proper name referent and its derived neologisms cannot be easily inferred. In this excerpt, a converted noun precedes the converted verb. It would however be a leap to consider that the verb is a conversion of the preceding common noun as the following alternative would also be acceptable:

- (2) Marshall: There is a maneuver you can try. It's high-risk, but it's also high reward. You could **Mosby** him!

This example shows that the purpose of the converted noun is not to make the coinage of the verb possible. In this case, it serves another purpose which could be defined as emphatic. Furthermore, shared knowledge about the referent seems to be crucial for a neologism to be used and understood. In (1), the knowledge of what happened earlier in the show is mandatory to understand the meaning of this neologism, hence the flashback. Finally, the fact that the word is explained may not only be linked to the notion of shared knowledge but also to the inherent ambiguity of a verb originating from a proper name. Indeed, many events and actions are part of a person's experience: why then would one event be considered more characteristic than another one? From this example, it appears that the supposed uniqueness of the event is a crucial feature which allows it to be used to form a new word. Indeed, nobody would act like Ted Mosby and tell someone they're in love on the first date. Apart from its semantic construction, another question is raised from this example: how is the form selected? In other words, is there a specific reason which can explain why in this instance the proper name is converted into a verb, and if other forms, such as *mosbify* or *mosbize*, could be used instead?

The study of verbs originating from proper names seems to be of interest for several reasons. When considering proper names referring to human beings, it is natural to believe that this type of proper names is characterized by its use in a restricted timeframe, and so might be the case for the derived neologisms. That is why, it would be ideal to study this kind

of neology in a wide corpus including both written and oral data without taking into consideration whether they are recorded in dictionaries, as they might be ephemeral in nature. It is indeed doubtful that the neologisms in (1) could become institutionalized, i.e. enter the dictionary. However, the timeframe of this research does not allow for such a time-consuming approach. That is why I will focus this study on a more available corpus and consider all the verbs originating from proper names which are recorded in a dictionary. The *Oxford English Dictionary online* (from now on *OED*) was chosen for several reasons. First of all, it is a reference dictionary for the English language, and even though it is based in the United Kingdom, it includes words from different varieties of English. Some consider the *OED* as “one of the greatest works of the English language” (Cliff, 2000). The second reason pertains to the fact that it is a historical dictionary. As such, no word or phrase is ever deleted from its very rich database which contains around 600,000 words belonging to Middle and Modern English (from 1150 to the present) (‘About’, 2018). Finally, its online availability makes the creation of a corpus easier.

The study of verbs originating from proper names allows the researcher to understand the creativity of language users better. Moreover, this topic lies at the interaction between culture – or society – and language. Hence, this study fits in the many linguistic studies that describe how language and culture interact. Finally, the study of this specific corpus raises the question of the longevity of words. As I said earlier, proper names – especially when referring to a person – are time-restricted, hence it is natural to wonder why some of these verbs might become obsolete while others outlive them.

In this paper, I will mainly focus on the semantic construction of verbs originating from proper names and attempt to define what kind of semantic relationship can link a denominal

verb to its proper name etymon, and what criteria determine its morphology, in other words: to what extent can the meaning and form of the derived verb be predicted from its etymon?

In section 1, I will introduce the theoretical background which is necessary in order to build and analyze the corpus: theories on proper names will be considered (section 1.1); then word-formation processes at work in the derivation of proper names into verbs will be presented: first from a morphological point of view (section 1.2), and secondly, from a semantic point of view (section 1.3); finally the concept of 'institutionalization' will be introduced along with what can be known of the *OED* methodology (section 1.4). In section 2, I will focus on the methodology on which this study is based: three sides of the methodology will be presented. First, I will explain how the corpus was built (section 2.1); then, I will describe how the modelling of the corpus was carried out (section 2.2); and finally, I will detail how a linguistic survey was created in order to confront new data with the models proposed in this study and based on the *OED* corpus (section 2.3). In section 3, I will describe some relevant features of the corpus: a general description of its structure will allow me to determine the most relevant morphological, etymological and semantic variables (section 3.1); taking into account these variables, I will carry out a cross-categorical description in order to produce a more refined picture of the phenomena under scrutiny (section 3.2); lastly, I will present the data collected thanks to the linguistic survey (section 3.3). In section 4, I will first present a semantic model based on the proper name type (section 4.1), and then propose a model to predict the morphology of the derived verb (section 4.2). In section 5, I will confront the two models with the data collected in the linguistic survey and discuss the results (section 5.1); I will then present the limits of the present study and propose possible research solutions to refine the model (section 5.2).

1 Theoretical background

In order to constitute and analyze the *OED*-based corpus used in this research which consists in denominal verbs originating from proper names, a few concepts need to be clarified. In this section, I will first attempt to define what a proper name is, and determine which definition was kept for this paper (section 1.1). I will then consider the two main types of morphological word-formation processes that are present in the corpus, namely conversion (section 1.2.1) and suffixation (section 1.2.2), and discuss the current hypotheses which attempt to explain the choice between conversion and suffixation in verbal derivation (section 1.2.3). I will then present the semantics of conversion and suffixation as shown in the literature (sections 1.3.1 and 1.3.2) and introduce metonymy, a cognitive process which appears to have a major impact on the semantic construction of verbs originating from proper names (section 1.3.3). On a more pragmatic note, in the light of the concept of ‘institutionalization’, I will conclude this chapter by presenting how words enter the *Oxford English Dictionary*, according to the literature available on the matter (section 1.4).

As the present section illustrates, this research is not theoretical in nature, it does not attempt to use a unique theory in order to explain or describe a phenomenon. The position towards linguistic theories and models is pragmatic: they are considered as frameworks to work with in order to explain some linguistic phenomena. However, full objectivity towards the models used is hardly ever achieved. This research belongs to the wide field of lexical semantics, and it uses models and theories which come from structuralist, generative and cognitive approaches to linguistics. Even though the corpus is based on historical data, the approach could be considered both synchronic and diachronic: on the one hand, it is diachronic insofar as it focuses on the morphology and semantics of a category of lexemes from Middle English to Modern English; on the other hand, it is synchronic, or more precisely

poly-synchronic, because it focuses on the first attested meaning of each verb, thus compiling a set of instantaneous pictures.

1.1 Proper names

There are many linguistic theories on proper names (from now on PN), some of which take their root in other disciplines, such as philosophy. I will not present here the wide varieties of theories but only consider some trends as more pragmatic issues oriented the constitution of the corpus, as will be explained later.

First of all, the terminological choice of writing about *proper names* and not *proper nouns* needs to be clarified. According to Huddleston and Payne (2002), “[p]roper nouns [...] are word-level units belonging to the category noun” (p. 516), while “proper names are expressions which have been conventionally adopted as the name of a particular entity” (p. 515).

- (3) (a) Achilles
- (b) Osiris
- (c) Herod the Great
- (d) Mickey Mouse

Hence, according to the authors’ definitions, in (3), (a) and (b) are proper nouns, whereas (c) and (d) are not: they are proper names which contain a proper noun, respectively *Herod* and *Mickey*. However, some authors consider examples (c) and (d) as proper nouns which are compounds (Gary-Prieur, 2016, p. 52). According to Gary-Prieur, the choice between the two expressions lies in the importance given respectively to the PN as a grammatical entity, or to its referential function (Gary-Prieur, 2016, p. 50). Moreover, in the same article, she states that the main trend in English-written research is the use of the expression *proper name* (Gary-Prieur, 2016, p. 50). As this expression has a wider scope, and as it is also what the *OED* uses in its etymology section, I chose to use this term in this paper. Moreover, as this research is interested in verbal semantics, what matters the most in this study is not so much to

consider proper names as grammatical units but rather to understand their role in the semantics of denominal verbs.

Huddleston and Payne's definition (above) insists on the naming function of proper names. They allow a speaker to label a specific entity. But is a proper name a mere label? As I mentioned above, linguistics is not the only field which is interested in proper names. Some philosophers, such as Saul Kripke and John Stuart Mill, have had an influence on the definition of proper names, and even on its linguistic definition (Vaxelaire, 2016, pp. 68-71). According to Mill (1882), a proper name is only a label and possesses no connotative power, in other words, its semantics is empty:

A proper name is but an unmeaning mark which we connect in our minds with the idea of the object, in order that whenever the mark meets our eyes or occurs to our thoughts, we may think of that individual object.
(Mill, 1882, p. 38)

However, as the example given in the introduction showed, the mere fact that a proper name can be used as a verb and doing so can convey a specific meaning which refers to characteristics of the referent, seems to contradict this hypothesis of empty semantics. Discussing the semantics of proper names, Nyström (2016, p. 40) distinguishes between two main opposing theses: 'the meaninglessness thesis', represented by Saul Kripke (1972) and Keith Donnellan (1972, 1974) among others; and the 'maximum meaningfulness thesis' developed by Otto Jespersen (1924) and Jerzy Kuryłowicz (1980) among others. Gary-Prieur's approach is closer to the second thesis as she states that the meaning of a proper name has two components: its instructional meaning and its content (Gary-Prieur, 2016, p. 54). The meaning of a proper name is instructional as it is used in an utterance to designate a referent, this component corresponds to the PN naming function. Its content, on the other hand, allows a proper name to intrinsically convey some of its characteristics. However, context is key, as Vaxelaire (2016, p. 67) points out: "le [nom propre] n'est pas un signe linguistique, seulement

une étiquette, vide de sens lorsque le référent est inconnu, et qui prend du poids sémantique plus on en apprend sur ce référent”³. What is striking in this quote is that the meaning of a proper name is not inherent to its referent but is defined by the shared knowledge people possess. Consequently it can present, by nature, a great extent of polysemy, which is not the case for a common noun whose polysemy is built over time through metaphorical and metonymic processes, among others.

The opposition between meaningful and meaningless approaches to PN is well illustrated by comparing Clark & Clark’s (1979) and Štekauer’s (1997) respective approaches to the conversion of nouns into verbs. The former research, which is based on Gricean pragmatics, builds its analysis of denominal verbs originating from PN on the assumption that PN “have reference but no sense” (Clark & Clark, 1979, pp. 783-784). The authors claim that the meaning of denominal verbs based on PN depends on the context and on the cooperation between the speaker and the listener. The ‘meaninglessness’ assumption is the foundation of their differentiation between verbs derived from proper names and verbs based on common nouns. On the other hand, Štekauer (1997) argues that their argument is flawed for two reasons: first, “[t]he existence of converted proper names [...] is the best evidence of the existence of the meaning of proper names”; and secondly, “[o]ur knowledge of a language is **always** conditioned by the knowledge of ‘facts’” (Štekauer, 1997, p. 31). In other words, the difference between verbs based on proper names and verbs based on common nouns does not rest upon the meaningful / meaningless dichotomy. His proposition is that the meaning of verbs based on common nouns is the result of the selection of general features of the noun,

³ “The proper name is not a linguistic sign, only a label, it has no meaning when the referent is unknown, and it gains more semantic weight, the more we learn about this referent”, my translation.

while the meaning of verbs based on PN is the result of the selection of idiosyncrasies of the PN (Štekauer, 1997, p. 28).

In this paper, following Gary-Prieur (2016) and Štekauer (1997), I will consider proper names as both linguistic and cultural items whose purpose is to refer to a unique referent, and which convey a meaning that refers to some idiosyncratic characteristics of the referent. However, conversely to both researchers, I will not restrict my corpus to anthroponyms and toponyms, but I will pragmatically follow the *OED* on what it considers a proper name. In the light of the analysis of the corpus, I will later discuss this matter further and the potential exclusion of some units from the corpus.

1.2 Morphology: conversion and suffixation

The example of *Mosby* given in the introduction is a case of conversion. Other word-formation processes exist in English but very few allow a change of category. Dixon (2008, p. 32-33) lists three verbalization processes in English: conversion, suffixation (*-(i)fy*, *-ize*, *-ate*, *-en*), and prefixation (*en-*, *be-*). However, apart from conversion and some cases of suffixation (*-(i)fy*, *-ize*), he points out that the other word-formation processes are not productive any longer. Moreover, it is generally considered that prefixation does not change the category of its base, and if it does, some linguists consider that any case of prefixation accompanied by a categorial change involves a simultaneous conversion of the base, as is illustrated by Sauzet's bracketing of *désintoxication* in (4) (Sauzet, 1996, p. 21):

- (4) [[dés-][-ation-N° [[in-][Ø-V [toxique-Adj.]

We should also add to Dixon's list, the process of backformation as in the pair *burglar* (n.) > *burgle* (v.) (Tournier, 2007, p. 105). In this section, we will only focus on conversion as well as

some cases of suffixation (-ize and -(i)fy), as they are the most present morphological⁴ word-formation processes in the present corpus. We will conclude this section by discussing a selection of works which present criteria that influence the morphology of a verb – i.e. whether the verb is converted or suffixed.

1.2.1 Conversion

Koontz-Garboden (2014, p. 258) defines conversion as “[a case] where a word has one meaning when used as a word of one lexical category and another related meaning when used with a different lexical category, but with no overt morphological exponent of the derivation”. In other words, conversion is a case of word-formation in which X’, the derived form of X, has the exact same shape as X but belongs to another grammatical class, and consequently, has a different but related meaning. Examples of conversion are abundant in English, just to name a few (examples from Plag, 2003, p. 134-135):

- (5) (a) from N to V: *a bottle* > *to bottle*
- (b) from V to N: *to call* > *a call*
- (c) from A to V: *better* > *to better*
- (d) from A to N: *poor* > *the poor*

1.2.1.1 Morphology

The scope of this paper is not to discuss the deep structure of converted words thoroughly. However, it is worth mentioning that no consensus exists on this matter. The variety of the terminology is proof of this discord. Indeed, conversion can also be described as *transposition* (Koontz-Garboden, 2014, p. 258), *zero-derivation*, *zero-affixation*, *relisting* (Valera, 2014, pp. 155-156), or *functional shift* (Breban & Davidse, 2016).

Valera (2014, pp. 155-157) distinguishes three different approaches to conversion. The first considers conversion as zero-derivation and often presupposes a null affix. In this

⁴ See section 1.2.1.1 for the reason behind the choice of describing conversion as a “morphological word-formation process”.

approach, conversion is considered a type of derivation. The second thesis views conversion as a lexical creation, that is to say, “a second introduction of an existing word within a different category in the lexicon of the language” (Valera, 2014, p. 156). In this view, conversion is not a type of derivation. Finally, in the third approach, conversion is considered a process of ‘relisting’. According to this theory, a lexical item is unspecified for class before it is contextualized. Consequently, and according to this approach, *bottle* (n.) > *bottle* (v.) are contextualized versions of the same lexical unit *bottle*.

In this paper, I will not take position in this debate, and I will follow the most common trend which is to consider conversion as a type of derivation, whether the null affix is presupposed (Valera, 2014, p. 157).

1.2.1.2 Directionality

Conversely to other types of derivation such as suffixation (6), prefixation (7), or infixation (8), directionality in conversion is more complex to define⁵. Indeed, in the other types of derivation, the base is always morphologically simpler than the derived form, as illustrated in the following examples:

(6) *standard* > *standard-ize*

(7) *open* > *re-open*

(8) *fantastic* > *fan-bloody-tastic*

On the other hand, in conversion, the base has the exact same surface form as the derived form, in other words, both share the same number of morphemes – when considered after spell-out⁶. Valera (2014) insists on the fact that both synchronic and diachronic approaches of conversion are flawed in their analysis of directionality:

⁵ The issue of directionality exists however for these types of derivation when backformation is taken into account. This issue will not be discussed in this paper as backformation is considered a minor word-formation process in English (Tournier, 2007, p. 106).

⁶ In the hypothesis of a null-affix, in the deep structure of the converted item, the number of morphemes would not be equal.

In the diachronic approach, [the fact that diachronic and synchronic studies have proved largely insufficient] is due to the limited availability and reliability of the evidence that can be used for the identification of the direction [...], [and] to the uncertain and changeable nature of such evidence [...]. In the synchronic approach, it is because the criteria proposed rely on inconclusive evidence or on principles that are not fully justified.
(Valera, 2014, pp. 160-161)

The issue of directionality is not crucial for this paper because of the methodological choices made to build the corpus (see section 2.1). However, the issues surrounding the directionality of conversion need to be taken into account as a limit for the analysis. Indeed, lexicographers of the *OED*, even though they have access to rich corpora, need to draw conclusions on the directionality of conversion in the light of the available data, which might not always be representative enough.

1.2.2 Suffixation

Suffixation is a type of derivation that consists in adding a bound morpheme to the right of a stem⁷. According to Plag (2003, p. 116-117), there are four verb-forming suffixes in English, illustrated in the examples below (examples from Dixon, 2008, pp. 32-34): *-ate*, *-ize*, *-(i)fy*, and *-en*.

(9) *hyphen* > *hyphenate*

(10) *material* > *materialize*

(11) *beauty* > *beautify*

(12) *wide* > *widen*

Lieber (2004, p. 76) only lists three of them, leaving behind the *-ate* suffix. Dixon (2008) states that apart from the suffixes *-(i)fy* and *-ize* (as well as conversion), “there are a number of minor processes for verb derivation” (p. 32), implying that the former suffixes are more productive. In his study on the productivity of verbal suffixes in English, Plag (1999, p. 117)

⁷ For a discussion on the issues surrounding the definitions of *bound* and *free* morphemes, see Plag (2003, p. 90-93).

confirms this approach, explaining that *-ize* is by far the most productive suffix in English, while *-ify* and *-ate* show quite a different behavior, as he clarifies:

In comparison to -ize, the suffixes -ify and -ate seem to be more severely restricted, in that -ate has a high global productivity, but the probability of encountering new forms is rather low. Conversely, -ify has a higher chance of occurring in new formations, but the sheer number of these instances is rather low.
(Plag, 1999, pp. 117-118)

I will focus this presentation on two of these more productive suffixes, namely *-ize* and *-(i)fy*, because the data under study contains only one *-ate* suffix.

As I mentioned earlier, suffixes can be class-changing for the stem they are applied to. However, most suffixes have restrictions on the class of the stem they can attach to, as the following examples illustrate for the example of *-ize*:

| | | |
|------------------|----------|--|
| (13) <i>-ize</i> | A → V | <i>standard</i> > <i>standardize</i> |
| | N → V | <i>character</i> > <i>characterize</i> |
| | *Adv → V | <i>slowly</i> > * <i>slowlize</i> |
| | *V → V | <i>make</i> > * <i>makize</i> |

According to Lieber (2004, p. 77), *-ize* and *-(i)fy* only select nominal and adjectival stems to form a verb.

In addition to the class-restriction conditions, these two suffixes also have phonological and prosodic restrictions which determine: (1) whether the suffix is compatible with the base, and (2) how the suffix and the base come together to form the derived verb. These restrictions are best described and formalized by Plag (1999) within the Optimality Theory framework. His propositions contradict Dixon's (2008, pp. 33-34), who claims that *-ify* takes the form *-fy* when the base is a disyllabic word ending in a vowel, thus stating that the two forms are phonologically conditioned allomorphs, as shown in the representations in (14) and (15):

(14) *fals-ify*

(15) *glori-fy*

Plag (1999, p. 197) considers on the other hand, that the restrictions for *-ify* are prosodic in nature insofar as it “always needs a main-stressed syllable to its left”. As a result of his analysis, (15) would be segmented as follows:

(15') *glor-ify*

In this account, phonological and prosodic constraints interact and determine the best form for the derivative candidate: in (15'), the prosodic constraint stated above determines that the suffix must be preceded by the main stress; this constraint interacts with a structural constraint which prevents stress shift (Plag, 1999, p. 171); because the phonological constraint which prevents the deletion of vocalic material is ranked lower in the constraint hierarchy than these two prosodic constraints, the final vowel of the stem can be deleted (Plag, 1999, p. 172)⁸. The discussion of the phonological forms of the derivatives is however out of the scope of this paper.

1.2.3 *Morpho-phonological constraints*

As will be presented in section 1.3, the semantics of conversion and suffixation can overlap. In these cases, the main question is to understand which criteria motivate the selection of one form over the other. This question is at the center of the article of Dixon (2008) in which he states that “the motivating factors are a combination of phonological form, semantics and etymology” (p. 32). Despite the flaws of his paper⁹, it is worth considering the various criteria he describes. In this section, I will focus on the phonological criteria allegedly at work in *-ize* and *-(i)fy* suffixations. As a result of the absence of phonological criteria for

⁸ According to Plag (1999, p. 197), the hierarchy is also valid for *-ify* with only a change in the prosodic constraint.

⁹ The main flaws which can be pointed out are mostly methodological in nature. They have to do with the data his analysis is based on. Indeed, Dixon does not explain in any way how the data was collected. As a result, he claims, for example, that “[z]ero derivation is virtually never employed with proper names” (Dixon, 2008, p. 50), despite his mention of Clark & Clark (1979). The data collected for the present study clearly contradicts this claim.

conversion, the assumption is that, according to Dixon (2008), conversion is not phonologically constrained and may be a default form in cases where suffixation is not possible. On the other hand, *-ize* and *-ify* tend to be ‘preferred’ in some phonological contexts, however, Dixon does not give an answer to what determines this preference. For both cases of suffixation, Dixon (2008, p. 38) points out that the nouns are often from Romance origin (whereas conversion does not seem to discriminate between Romance or Germanic origins).

The many criteria described in Dixon (2008, pp. 33-38) are summarized in the table below:

| # | Description of stem | <i>-ize</i> | <i>-(i)fy</i> |
|-----|---|---------------------|-------------------|
| (a) | 10 ¹⁰ / (_ #) ¹¹ =/i/ | | <i>glori-fy</i> |
| (b) | N, 3+ / (_ #)=/i/ | <i>memor-ize</i> | |
| (c) | 10 / (_ #)=V ¹² not /i/ | | <i>argu-fy</i> |
| (d) | 1 | | <i>class-ify</i> |
| (e) | 10 / (_ #)=C | | <i>acid-ify</i> |
| (f) | A / (_ #)=<ic> | <i>politic-ize</i> | <i>electri-fy</i> |
| (g) | FR borrowing | | <i>terrify</i> |
| (h) | N/A ¹³ , 2+ ¹⁴ / (_ #)=/l; r; m; n; ŋ/ | <i>national-ize</i> | |
| (i) | N/A, 2+ / (_ #)=/d; t; s/ | <i>standard-ize</i> | |
| (j) | (_ #)=CC | | <i>object-ify</i> |
| (k) | (_ #)=C or <rd> | <i>bastard-ize</i> | |

Table 1. Phonological criteria motivating *-ize* and *-(i)fy* according to Dixon (2008)

This table illustrates some of the flaws of Dixon’s approach: the principles are sometimes redundant (compare (k) to (h) and (i)), and no clear hierarchy between the constraints is defined. Even though Dixon’s aim is to bring “principled answers” to the question of motivation between the selection of conversion and suffixation in verbal derivation, his account seems to give a description of some of the phonological criteria that might be relevant to answer the question. The observations that he presents in his paper are generalizations of correlations between what is considered to be relevant phonological

¹⁰ The notation 10, 1, etc. refers to the stress pattern of the base.

¹¹ The notation (_ #) describes the last element of the stem.

¹² In this table, the notations V and C respectively stand for “vowel” and “consonant”.

¹³ In this case, N/A stands for “noun or adjective”.

¹⁴ The notation 2+ describes stems of two syllables or more.

criteria and the form of the derived verb. The existence of a correlation between two facts does not always mean that there is a causal relation between the two. As a result, Dixon's observations will be taken into consideration in section 4.2 when discussing the motivation behind the choice between conversion and suffixation, but their validity needs to be confronted with the data.

Plag (1999) gives a different account of the constraints which make possible the selection of a suffix (or candidate) over another one. Working within the framework of Optimality Theory, he establishes a hierarchy of phonological and prosodic constraints which, according to him, can explain the distribution between different forms. His study of *-ize* and *-(i)fy* leads him to the conclusion that the two suffixes are in complementary distribution. Considering that the two suffixes are synonymous, he concludes that they are phonologically conditioned allomorphs. This allomorphy is organized as follows:

*-ize is generally preceded by trochaic or dactylic bases, i.e. it needs an unstressed or secondarily stressed syllable to its left, whereas -ify always needs a main-stressed syllable to its left (stress shift is generally avoided).
(Plag, 1999, p. 197)*

In other words, according to his analysis, monosyllabic words cannot be derived with *-ize* nor can bases whose last syllable bears the primary stress. It is important to note that Plag describes constraints and not rules: a penultimate or antepenultimate stress does not mean that the suffix *-ize* will be chosen, nonetheless, it means that without this prosodic structure, the probability of an *-ize* suffix is close to zero. The view presented in the quote above is consistent with Dixon's finding for monosyllabic stems (described in (d) in Table 1). It can also explain the problematic presented by (f) between *electrify* and *politicize*. Indeed, the bases do not share the same stress pattern.

From a morphological point of view, Plag (1999, p. 232) points out that there are restrictions on the combination of suffixes with some morphologically complex bases: they

do not combine with compounds or with some prefixed forms, namely *multi-*, *cross-*, and *super-*.

For conversion, Plag (1999, pp. 221-222) states that phonological constraints do not apply on this process, but that there are semantic and morphological restrictions. For instance, conversion does not combine with already prefixed or suffixed forms, which explains why it is usually not found with derived adjectives. It is worth noting that for morphological structure, Plag does not list the possible morphologies which can combine with suffixation or conversion, but instead the impossibilities. As a result, instead of licensing a form, morphological constraints exclude a specific form.

Discussing the problem of rivalry between suffixation and conversion in overlapping semantic categories, Plag (2003, p. 234) claims that:

The semantic and phonological properties of the individual processes curtail the possible overlap of rival domains to a large extent. The number of actually competing forms is therefore much smaller than previously conceived, and in the truly rival domain all affixes are applicable.

In other words, in rival semantic domains, morphological properties apply restrictions to the use of either suffixation or conversion. As a result, when suffixation is selected as a viable candidate, phonological and prosodic constraints will determine which suffix will be selected. According to his data of neologisms coined in the 20th century, very little competing forms remain after the morphological and phonological properties are analyzed. For the remaining rival forms, Plag proposes, as stated in the quote above, that all possible forms are applicable. He does not, however, give a specific explanation for the reason why in these domains one form may be chosen over another. As a result, in order to answer the question, I will consider both Dixon's and Plag's accounts of constraints and restrictions and, in light of the data under scrutiny, I will attempt to offer an explanatory model which could account for morphological selection in rival domains (see section 4.2).

1.3 Semantics

As mentioned in the previous section, the semantics of the derived verbs needs to be taken into account as semantic restrictions apply on suffixation. Moreover, the semantics of the verbs is useful for categorizing them before analysis. In this section, I will consider the polysemous semantics of conversion (section 1.3.1) and suffixation (section 1.3.2) and I will present an overview of metonymy as it is an essential cognitive process in the derivation of verbs from proper names (section 1.3.3).

1.3.1 *Conversion*

When considering conversion as a type of derivation, it seems natural to define the semantic relationship that exists between the base and the derived item. As this research focuses on verbs which originate from proper names, and as proper names are considered a subcategory of nouns, I will here focus only on denominal verbal conversions. In his semantic analysis of denominal verbal conversion in English, Tournier (2007, p. 185-189) defines four major semantic relationships, and four minor ones, according to their frequency. Moreover, he states, along with many researchers such as Plag (1999, p. 231), that conversion can imply any kind of semantic relationship. However, according to him, these eight major and minor cases are the most frequent. The typology is summarized in Table 2 with respect to the frequency hierarchy as proposed by Tournier:

| Relationship type N/V | Hypernym | Typical example(s) |
|------------------------------|----------|-------------------------------|
| Creation | MAKE | <i>tunnel</i> |
| Movement | MOVE | <i>plaster, pocket, scalp</i> |
| Instrument | USE | <i>hammer</i> |
| Behaviour | BEHAVE | <i>ape, treasure</i> |
| *Appropriation ¹⁵ | GET | <i>fish</i> |
| *Affectation | *AFFECT | <i>pity, rage, surprise</i> |
| *Location-related occupation | *DO | <i>garden</i> |
| *Time-related occupation | *SPEND | <i>summer, holiday</i> |

Table 2. Tournier's typology of semantic relationships in denominal verbal conversion¹⁶

More details about the categories which are relevant for this study will be given in the methodological section (section 2.2).

1.3.2 Suffixation

As I mentioned earlier, suffixes are bound morphemes, however, they still have their entry in the *OED* which implies that they can be analyzed as conveying a meaning to a certain extent ('-fy, Suffix', 1898; '-ize, Suffix', 1900). According to Lieber (2004), "it has been noted [...] that the two affixes [-ify and -ize] show a wide range of polysemy, and not surprisingly, very much the same range of polysemy" (p. 77). These two verb-forming suffixes encompass multiple meanings, similarly to – but not to the same extent as – conversion. The table below presents Lieber's typology of the various semantic relationships between these two suffixes and their stems (Lieber, 2004, p. 77).

¹⁵ Terms marked by an asterisque are not Tournier's. I inferred from his typology the type of relationship and the hypernym for each category when it was necessary.

¹⁶ This typology was freely translated from French into English.

| Type of relationship | Gloss | -ize | -ify |
|----------------------|---|--------------------|------------------|
| Causative | "make x," | <i>standardize</i> | <i>Purify</i> |
| Resultative | "cause to become x" | <i>Unionize</i> | <i>Yuppify</i> |
| Ornative | "make x go to/in/on something" | <i>apologize</i> | <i>glorify</i> |
| Similative | "do/act/make/ in the manner of or like x" | <i>Despotize</i> | |
| Locative | "make something go to/in/on x" | <i>hospitalize</i> | <i>syllabify</i> |
| Performative | "do x" | <i>Theorize</i> | <i>speechify</i> |
| Inchoative | "become x" | <i>Oxidize</i> | <i>acidify</i> |

Table 3. Lieber's typology of semantic relationships in verb-forming suffixes: -ize and -ify

As mentioned earlier, the semantics of conversion and suffixation can overlap, the 'similative' meaning, in its "act like x" meaning, can be considered the equivalent of the 'behaviour' relationship in the case of conversion (see Table 2). Plag (2003, p. 231) confirms this overlap when he states that "conversion is the most general case in that the meanings of the derivatives with overt suffixes are a subset of the possible meanings of converted verbs". It is striking to notice that Lieber's typology of -ize and -ify suffixes in Table 3 shows the presence of a gap in the 'similative' meaning for -ify. As a result, it partly questions Plag's claim that these two suffixes are phonologically conditioned allomorphs (see section 1.2.3). This issue will not be discussed here, as it goes far beyond the scope of this paper.

To summarize, conversion and suffixation are both considered cases of derivation in this research. Apart from their apparent morphological differences, they share a polysemous character and overlapping semantics, which will be crucial for the study of the semantics of verbs originating from proper names.

1.3.3 Metonymy

The study of metonymy takes its roots in the rhetorical tradition in which it was considered one of the major figures of speech (Panther & Thornburg, 2007, p. 237). It was then defined as a "*stand for* relation in which the name of one thing (henceforth, the *source*

or *vehicle*) is used to refer to another thing (henceforth, the *target*) with which it is associated or to which it is contiguous” (Panther & Thornburg, 2007, p. 237). More recently, metonymy took a more important part in linguistic research, especially within the frame of cognitive linguistics. It was described by Lakoff & Johnson in 1980 as a cognitive process which consists in the mapping of two different elements that belong to the same cognitive domain (contrary to metaphor which maps elements of distinct domains). The importance of metonymy in linguistics is well summarized by Panther & Thornburg (2007, p. 236):

Metonymy is a cognitive phenomenon—not just a figure of speech—whose role in the organization of meaning (semantics), utterance production and interpretation (pragmatics), and even grammatical structure is considerable.

Radden & Kövecses (1998) propose a fundamental description of metonymy within the cognitive framework. They offer a definition of the process which is used in most textbooks and studies involving the notion of metonymy:

Metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain, or ICM.
(Kövecses & Radden, 1998, p. 39)

There is one major similarity between this definition and the traditional one given above, which can be summarized in the notion of *contiguity*. This notion can indeed be understood from the idea that metonymy happens “within the same domain, or ICM”. I will come back later on the definition of an ICM, as the concept is essential in cognitive linguistics. The above definition however moves away from the traditional one on two main aspects: metonymy is not a matter of language but a cognitive process which impacts language; and, metonymy cannot be reduced to a *stand for* relation between two entities as the meaning of the metonymy cannot be reduced to the meaning of the target. Fauconnier & Turner (1999) define this semantic process as *conceptual integration* or *blend*. According to them, the

metonymy in language¹⁷ “does not describe anything directly in the source [...] or in the target [...]. There is selective projection from both inputs, leading to a novel frame in the blend” (Fauconnier & Turner, 1999, p. 81). This change in the definition of metonymy makes it possible to analyze more subtly the meaning of instances such as (16):

(16) She’s not just a pretty face (Radden & Kövecses, 1999, pp. 18-19)

To account for the meaning of the sentence, the traditional approach would consider that (16) is equivalent to (17):

(17) She’s not just a pretty person

However, Radden & Kövecses (1999, p. 19) explain that (17) is not completely equivalent to (16) because (16) “suggests that, most importantly, she has a pretty face”. Their generalization on the semantic dynamic of metonymic process is very similar to the concept of *conceptual integration* of Fauconnier & Turner (1999):

Metonymy does not only substitute one entity for another entity, but interrelates them to form a new, complex meaning.
(Radden & Kövecses, 1999, p. 19)

As mentioned earlier, the concept of *domain*, or *ICM*, is essential in cognitive linguistics, and more specifically in the theory of metonymy. The notion of *ICM*, for *idealized cognitive model*, was developed in Lakoff (1987) and can be defined as a “relatively stable mental representation that represent[s] **theories** about the world” (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 270). The ‘action’ ICM is of interest in this study of verbs originating from proper names as it includes, by definition, any type of process which can be defined as an action, as well as participants related to the action. For example, the concept HAMMER would involve at least a person holding the hammer, the instrument itself, the action of hammering, and the object being hammered. All these elements, which can be denoted by different parts of speech and

¹⁷ According to Fauconnier & Turner (1999), conceptual integration also applies to metaphor.

lexically unrelated words, are included within the same action ICM. As a result, a metonymic process can happen between the INSTRUMENT and the ACTION, leading to the verb *hammer*, which involves the metonymy INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION, which is a type of concept metonymy.

Kövecses & Radden (1998, pp. 42-46) define three types of metonymy: sign, reference, and concept. Sign and reference metonymies connect two different ontological realms and are the fundamental argument towards the authors' claim that language is metonymic in nature as words stand for the concept they denote. In this study, I will focus on concept metonymies, which connect entities at the same ontological level.

The relationship between metonymy and word-formation processes – especially conversion – has been the topic of many studies such as Dirven (1999), Cetnarowska (2011), Janda (2011) and Brdar & Brdar-Szabò (2013) among others. In their description of metonymies within the action ICM, Kövecses & Radden (1998, pp. 54-55) only use examples of conversions, drawing a clear link between the two processes. The potential link between metonymy and form-changing word-formation processes, such as suffixation, is set aside as they admit that “it is an open question to what extent such morphologically derived forms are still to be treated as metonymies” (Kövecses & Radden, 1998, p. 55). However, later in the paper, they dedicate one section to the link between metonymies and denominal verbs and base their presentation on the work of Clark & Clark (1979) which only focuses on conversion. Their conclusion is as follows:

[A]ll of these metonymies are instances of what we called the action ICM. [...] [T]he action ICM and the metonymic relationships that it defines account for literally thousands of denominal verbs. [...] Because [the metonymic relationships] are deeply entrenched and pervasive, they provide speakers with natural “cognitive links” that enable them to move from one entity (the vehicle) to another (the target) without any effort or even subconsciously. (Kövecses & Radden, 1998, p. 61)

In this section, the link between conversion and metonymy is officially established. However, the general nature of these concluding remarks suggests that, considering the entrenchment of the “cognitive links”, they could apply in the interpretation (and hence construction) of the meaning of all denominal verbs, including suffixed forms. The interaction between metonymy and word-formation has been observed in many instances. There are still discussions, however, on the exact nature of this interaction. Brdar & Brdar-Szabò (2013) argue that most metonymies are lexical in nature and either operate on the input or on the output of word-formation processes but rarely at the same time. Janda (2011), on the other hand, argues the opposite and states that there is a “systematic presence of metonymy in word-formation” (p. 359) and that a continuum exists between “lexical metonymies and word-formational metonymies” (p. 388). The analysis and modelling which were carried out for this study suggest that some metonymies operate outside of word-formation processes, mostly leading to semantic shifts; but, the chronological separation of metonymy and suffixation at the level of verbal derivation leads to more issues than their treatment in simultaneity (see section 2.2.4).

1.4 Institutionalization and *OED* methodology

To conclude this section, I will now consider the notion of ‘institutionalization’ applied to the lexicon. This concept can be defined as “the integration of a lexical item, with a particular form and meaning, into the existing stock of words as a generally acceptable and current lexeme” (Lipka, 1992, p. 8). As a rule, words which enter a general language dictionary are considered “acceptable” by definition. However, it is clear from Lipka’s definition that institutionalized items are not always recorded in dictionaries. As Lipka (1992, p. 8) notes, “[i]nstitutionalization [...] depends on different regional, social, ‘stylistic’ and other varieties of a language”, and those varieties are not always recorded in written forms or may not live

long enough to be recorded in a dictionary. This fact makes it harder for linguists to study some categories of lexical items, such as neologisms. That is why this study focuses on strictly institutionalized words with a diachronic perspective. In other words, this paper will only consider lexical items which are, or were at some point, recorded in a dictionary, namely the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

As a dictionary, the *OED* is a product, which implies that it has competitors. As any other product, its secrets of fabrication cannot be fully shared; and that explains why the *OED* methodology is not easy to understand as the information available is far from comprehensive. However, as the resource of this corpus, it is of interest to present what can be said about the *OED* methodology, more specifically pertaining to its sources for new words as well as to the criteria applied when a new entry is added.

Dictionaries are usually built on various sources, according to Jackson (2002, p. 28-29), there are three major sources: other dictionaries, the publisher's 'citation file', and digital corpora. The *OED* official website (*Collecting the Evidence*, 2018) gives more details on this topic. Various reading programs help lexicographers identify new usages: "readers scrutinize texts such as novels, poetry, magazines, newspapers, scientific journals, television scripts, etc., mainly from the 19th and 20th centuries". These programs can also target specific groups and genres as the following programs illustrate: the historical reading program – for diaries and letters; and the scholarly reading program – for facts and analysis about the English language. Unsurprisingly, the *OED* lexicographers also analyze other historical dictionaries and databases. And finally, they receive contributions from the public which help them identify some new potential words.

Information on the process which allows a word to enter the *OED* is lacking. Two criteria are mentioned on their website without further explanation (*Sorting of*

Quotations, 2018): currency and frequency. It is however quite unclear which specific qualitative and quantitative criteria are taken into account. The original aim of the *OED*, expressed in the Preface of its first edition by James Murray, will not give a detailed answer to this issue but may help understand the guidelines which underlie the choices made by the lexicographers:

The aim of this dictionary is to furnish an adequate account of the meaning, origin, and history of English words now in general use, or known to have been in use at any time during the last seven hundred years.
(Jackson, 2002, p. 52)

Through its history, the *OED* has tried to adapt to the natural evolution of English. Before the dictionary was published as an online database, these endeavors were achieved thanks to the addition of supplements to the main edition (1933, 1972-1986), then the publication of a second edition in 1989, then an electronic version in 1992, and finally an online publication. The digital age has revolutionized the way lexicographers can keep the dictionary up to date with the English language: as an online platform, the *OED* can be updated more often, and indeed, it undergoes revisions usually every three months. However, all original entries have not yet been updated, and the information provided in the more ancient entries might be outdated today.

2 Methodology

In this second chapter, I will focus on the methodology of this research. I will first present how the corpus was built (section 2.1), then I will explain how the corpus was modelled in order to be analyzed (section 2.2), and finally, I will present the methodology on which a linguistic survey was built (section 2.3).

2.1 Corpus building

The corpus under scrutiny in this study is built from *the Oxford English Dictionary online*. As I mentioned in the introduction, the main reason for choosing this dictionary is that it is historical. In other words, “[y]ou’ll still find present-day meanings in the *OED*, but you’ll also find the history of individual words, and of the language” (*About*, 2018). The *OED* compiles words and phrases from 1150 to the present. Hence the dictionary is mostly interested in Middle and Modern English. However, one can still find Old English lexicon in the *OED* and know if and when it survived in Middle English (*Sorting of Quotations*, 2018).

The present study focuses on English verbs originating from proper names. In order to compile these words and phrases into a corpus, I used the search tool of the *OED*. The original aim was to find verbs whose etymology refers to a proper name. Unfortunately, it is impossible to search directly in the ‘origin’ field, so I had to search through the entire entries – ‘in full text’. Then, the search tool usefully allowed me to select the part of speech I was interested in.

First, I had to find the ideal set of search words to obtain relevant results. I chose two sets: “from a proper name”, and “from proper names”. Indeed, when searching without the preposition *from*, I found out that the noise was more important (around 1,000 extra-entries without the preposition). Before choosing the two sets of search words, I observed the first

100 results of the “proper name” search in order to understand the structure and vocabulary used in the *OED*. From this observation, I noticed two things: first, the vocabulary used by the *OED* in the ‘origin’ section of an entry seemed to include the preposition *from*; and secondly, in the case of words or phrases coming from more than one proper name, the *OED* used the plural in the ‘origin’ field as illustrated in the entry for the verb *Adam and Eve* (‘Adam and Eve, v.’, 2011).

The first two searches were then executed with the following set of criteria, and produced the following results:

| | 1 | 2 |
|--------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| In full text | from a proper name | from proper names |
| Part of speech | Verbs | Verbs |
| Number of entries | 95 | 5 |

Table 4. Criteria and results of search for verbs of category I

I then decided to include verbs, whose origin is considered by the *OED* to originate indirectly from a proper name. In other words, I decided to compile in my corpus verbs which are the result of a derivation from another part of speech, which itself is a derivation from a proper name. Because of the amount of time required in such an approach, I decided to include only the verbs which had only one other word separating them from the proper name. For example, I decided to include the verb *stan*, which is listed as a conversion of the noun, which itself comes from a proper name (‘Stan, v.’, 2018). On the other hand, I decided to exclude third degree or more relationships between the verb and the proper name, as illustrated by the following example: the verb *mickey-finn*, is a conversion from the noun, which is a conversion from the (proper) name of a saloon keeper of the late 19th century. This verb was included. But the verb *mickey*, which is formed through the back-clipping of the verb *mickey-finn*, was not compiled in the corpus as there are two words that separate it from the original proper name (‘Mickey, v.’, 2001; ‘Mickey-Finn, v.’, 2001). The reason to include this

second category of verbs is twofold. First, the link between the proper name (PN) and the verb (V) does not seem to differ according to the distance between PN and V. In order to illustrate this point, let us compare the following verbs and their definitions:

| | |
|------------------|--|
| To Birminghamize | To cause to resemble or follow the example of Birmingham, with regard to its local government |
| To Manchesterize | To make representative or typical of Manchester; to make similar to Manchester, esp. with regard to industrial practices |

Table 5. Comparison of the definitions of *Birminghamize* and *Manchesterize*

Both verbs are transitive, and both directly refer, in their definition, to the PN they come from. Hence, both verbs are relevant in the study of the semantic building of verbs derived from PN. However, while *Birminghamize* is directly formed from the PN by suffixation, *Manchesterize* is the suffixation of the noun *Manchester*, which in turn is considered to be a conversion of the PN ('Birminghamize, v.', 2016; 'Manchester, n.', 2000; 'Manchesterize, v.', 2000). The second reason to include this group of verbs is theoretical and linked to the directionality of English derivation. While it is obvious that both examples are formed by denominal verbal suffixation, it is less obvious to determine whether they come directly from the PN or from the noun. As I mentioned earlier (section 1.2.1.2), determining directionality can be challenging, and the data available is not always enough to do so with certainty. In this case, the issue of directionality is not linked to the *-ize* suffixation, but to the *OED* hypothesis of a first derivational cycle for *Manchesterize* – namely conversion from PN to a common noun.

Hence, a second step of research was needed in order to compile the verbs of this category. Unfortunately, no relevant search criteria were discriminatory enough to select verbs with a second-degree relationship to a PN. So, I decided to use the table on the right of the *OED* website, which allows the user to visualize the entries around a selected entry: the 9 preceding and 10 following entries. The arrows, on top and at the bottom of the table, allow

the user to browse even further before (up) or after (down) the selected entry. That table shows two pieces of information about each entry: their part of speech, and their first date of attestation in English. For instance, it allows the user to search for verbs in the surrounding entries of another word. I decided to use the same search phrases as before, and search through the other parts of speech (from now on POS). As the search tool only allows one POS to be selected at once, I divided the search as shown in the table below.

| | In full text | Part of speech | Number of entries |
|-----------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 3 | from a proper name | Noun | 3457 |
| 4 | | Adjective | 1241 |
| 5 | | Adverb | 16 |
| 6 | | Combining form | 7 |
| 7 | | Interjection | 9 |
| 8 | | Phrase | 1 |
| 9 | | Pronoun | 1 |
| 10 | from proper names | Noun | 306 |
| 11 | | Adjective | 80 |
| 12 | | Adverb | 1 |
| 13 | | Prefix | 1 |
| 14 | | Suffix | 5 |

Table 6. Criteria and results of search for verbs of category II

For each search, each entry was opened, and if their origin was a PN, then I searched in the surrounding entries to find a potential related verb. In case of the presence of a seemingly related verb, its entry was clicked on, and its origin checked in order to confirm, or infirm, its link to the original selected entry, and consequently to the PN.

Through the completion of the previous sets of searches, I noticed the presence of words deriving from a PN and referring to a company or a company product, but whose ‘origin’ section did not mention *proper name*. However, the phrase *proprietary name* appeared in these cases, whether in the definition or in the origin/etymology section. For instance, while doing research #3, I opened the entry *Hooverian* and noticed that the verb *hoover* did not have an entry. I then opened the noun *Hoover*, and observed that the verb

was listed as a derivative ('Hoover, n.', 1989; 'Hooverian, Adj. and n.', 2012). However, the origin of the noun did not mention a proper name, but the definition included the phrase "proprietary name". Because entries such as *Google* or *Facebook* consider proprietary names to be proper names ('Facebook, v.', 2018; 'Google, v.2', 2006), I decided to apply the same principle, and define a third category of search in order to include verbs such as *hoover*.

| | In full text | Part of speech | Number of entries |
|----|------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| 15 | proprietary name | Verb | 5 |
| 16 | | Adjective | 99 |
| 17 | | Adverb | 5 |
| 18 | | Combining form | 11 |
| 19 | | Interjection | 2 |
| 20 | | Noun | 1244 |
| 21 | | Prefix | 1 |
| 22 | | Pronoun | 1 |

Table 7. Criteria and results of search for verbs of category III

As in step 2, I searched through the surrounding entries for all categories except for verbs.

The main issue of this method lies in the fact that prefixed forms are not included, and neither are forms, whose phonology has evolved (mostly with a change of the stem vowel). However, no satisfying alternative was found to take these words into account.

As this research lasted two years, I also added a few entries during the second year, and to that end, I browsed through the updates made to the *OED* from the year 2019 to March 2020 (*Updates to the OED*, 2020). As a result, I added three entries to my data: *dickride*, *MacGyver*, *twitter*, and updated one entry: *Simonize* v2.

2.2 Corpus modelling

After the corpus was built with as much information as possible gathered in an Excel sheet, I proceeded to model it for analysis. A corpus of derived words can be modelled through a variety of features. I chose four. First, I characterized each entry according to its derivational morphology (section 2.2.1). I then considered the PN origin for each entry and

described the proper name type (section 2.2.2). Afterwards, I modelled the meanings of each entry according to their semantic relationship with their PN etymon (section 2.2.3). And finally, I considered the different word-formation processes at work for each verb (section 2.2.4). The aim of this modelling was to divide the corpus into semantically relevant categories while taking the PN etymons into consideration.

2.2.1 *Verbal morphology*

In order to characterize the verbal morphology for each entry, I used the etymology section of the *OED* to determine which word-formation process was used to create the verb. As the corpus includes items which relate to the PN through a second-degree relationship, I decided to model both potential cycles of derivation. As it is not the purpose of this study, I did not consider the word-formation process regarding the PN itself, but only what happens when the PN is derived. Because of the nature of the data, there are two potential cycles of derivation: ‘WFP cycle 1’ refers to the word-formation process (from now on WFP) that creates the verb form; ‘WFP cycle 2’ refers to the intermediary WFP, when it exists. When the *OED* considers the relationship between the verb and the PN to be direct, only the first cycle is filled, and the second cycle is coded as “N/A”; when the relationship is considered indirect, then both cycles are filled with the relevant WFP. The table below describes the labels used in the corpus, which are illustrated by examples from the corpus:

| Word-formation process | Corpus code | Example |
|------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------|
| Conversion | 0 | <i>Actaeon</i> |
| Suffixation | ATE | <i>Genevate</i> |
| | (I)FY | <i>Disneyfy</i> |
| | IZE | <i>Achillize</i> |
| | ((I)A)N | <i>American > Americanize</i> |
| | ER | <i>milliner > milliner</i> |
| | IC | <i>tithonic > tithonize</i> |
| | ISH | <i>Irish > Irishize</i> |
| | ISM | <i>mesmerism > mesmerize</i> |
| Prefixation | UN- | <i>unpollux</i> |
| | OUT- | <i>out-Herod</i> |
| Back-formation | BF | <i>Fogger > fog v2</i> |
| Compounding | Comp | <i>Roentgen-ray</i> |
| Back-clipping | BkClip | <i>pander</i> |

Table 8. Corpus modelling of morphology

In case of an uncertainty in the etymology listed in the *OED*, a decision was taken to choose one etymology over the other, according to the data available but without further research. For example, the corpus entry *Tase* is listed either as a backformation of the noun *Taser* or as a back-clipping of the verb *Taser* ('Tase, v.', 2008). In this case, the choice was based on the fact that the verb *Taser* already derives from the noun ('Taser, v.', 2008), so I decided to choose the nominal etymology without implying any theoretical value to this judgement. Finally, cases for which a phonological or graphic alteration is at play during a derivation cycle are not coded in this corpus as modelling implies a certain amount of simplification and these alterations are always concurrent with another simultaneous WFP. The noun *milliner* which comes from the name of the city of Milan ('Milliner, n.', 2002) is an example of both phonological and graphic alterations, however, in this model, only the suffixation in *-er* was coded as it appears to be the most important semantic element for this study.

2.2.2 Proper name categories

The second type of modelling which seems relevant to any study pertaining to proper names and their derivation concerns proper name typology. According to Gary-Prieur (2016,

p. 56), no proper classification of proper names exists apart from intuition-based lists. However, such available classifications are still useful as they allow the grouping of the entries into relatively homogenous groups. In this paper, I categorized each PN etymon according to a simplified version of what Huguin proposed in a presentation of her PhD thesis (Huguin, 2018). She distinguishes five families of proper names¹⁸, based on the nature of the referent: anthroponyms are prototypically the names of specific human beings, however, this category also includes names given to individual animals; toponyms are the names of places whether natural or human-made; phenonyms are the names of natural phenomena, stars and planets; ergonyms are the names of material human-made creations or inventions; and praxonyms are the names of non-material creations or discoveries. I based my model on these families; however, I made both terminological and categorial changes: the type 'person' is the exact equivalent of the anthroponym category above; the type 'place' is used in place of *toponym* but would also include some phenonyms such as stars and planets as they are located entities; finally the type 'product & services' includes commercial creations which are often similar to brand names. When it comes to discoveries whose name is eponymous to its inventor/discoverer, it was coded in the 'person' type which takes precedence in this corpus.

Each type of PN was then subcategorized once or twice according to the relevance of the classification. The table below summarizes the model of proper names used according to the type of referent and the subsequent subcategorization(s):

¹⁸ In lack of a better terminology, Huguin's categories were simply anglicized even though some of the terms are not recorded in the dictionary.

| Type of PN | Subcategorization 1 | Subcategorization 2 | Example |
|---------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Person | Fictitious | Culture | <i>Aladdinize</i> |
| | Generic | Civil Life | <i>Talibanize</i> |
| | | N/A | <i>merryandrew</i> |
| | | Pet-form | <i>jack v2</i> |
| | | Rhyming slang | <i>malky</i> |
| | Historical | Civil Life | <i>Alexander v2</i> |
| | | Culture | <i>bogart</i> |
| | | Humanities | <i>epicure</i> |
| | | Sciences | <i>Darwinize</i> |
| | | Sports | <i>ollie</i> |
| Place | Area | | <i>Polonize</i> |
| | Building | | <i>Watergate</i> |
| | Mountain | | <i>balkanize</i> |
| | Municipality | | <i>Babelize</i> |
| | River | | <i>niagara</i> |
| | [For each above subcategory] | Africa | <i>maffick</i> |
| | | America | <i>Canadianize</i> |
| | | Asia | <i>Babylonize</i> |
| | | Europe | <i>Locarnize</i> |
| | | Pacific | <i>Pearl Harbour</i> |
| Products & Services | Product | | <i>Blu-Tack</i> |
| | Service | | <i>Skype</i> |

Table 9. Corpus modelling of proper names

As the table shows, the subcategorizations are category-dependent and their usefulness in the analysis of the corpus concerns mostly sociolinguistic factors. However, some questions arise from this model considering the *OED* definition of a proper name. Indeed, among the ‘person’ type, we can notice a generic subcategory which seems to contradict the definition of a proper name, namely its referring function to a specific individual. It is too early in this section to merely exclude the generic category from the corpus, a finer analysis of the semantic relationship of these entries with their PN etymon is needed.

2.2.3 Verb/proper name semantic relationships

As the data will show in section 3, there are two major word-formation processes in the corpus: suffixation in *-ize* and conversion. In section 1.3, I presented two different typologies of the semantic relationship between a noun and its derived verb (Lieber, 2004;

Tournier, 2007). However, in order to analyze this corpus, it is crucial to choose only one model and thus be able to compare the semantic relationships independently from the verbal morphology. The key-word typology proposed by Tournier was preferred for this study because, as Lieber states, “the semantic range exhibited by converted verbs is larger even than those of *-ize* verbs” (Lieber, 2004, p. 90), as a result Tournier’s typology has a wider range than Lieber’s. In his study, Tournier points out that apart from the eight most frequent types of semantic relationships, conversion can imply any other kind of relationship (Tournier, 2007, p. 189), it is then unsurprising that in this corpus some semantic relationships did not fall perfectly into Tournier’s eight categories and some extra-categories were added on a comparable model.

The main issue regarding the coding of V/PN semantic relationships concerns the polysemous nature of some corpus entries. In order to analyze and compare the data and considering the timeframe for this study, only the first definition was taken into account in case of polysemy. It could be interesting to study polysemous entries separately. However, this issue is minor as a vast majority of the corpus entries only have one definition (169 out of 225).

The following table summarizes the various semantic categories used in this study; each is illustrated with examples from the corpus¹⁹:

¹⁹ Asterisques mark the categories which are not included in Tournier’s typology.

| Corpus code | Relationship gloss | Examples |
|--------------------|---|---------------------|
| BEHAVE/APE | Behave like / act as PN | <i>Bobbitt</i> |
| *BEHAVE/INVENTION | Behave like the invention of PN | <i>zeppelin</i> |
| *BEHAVE+PITY | Behave as if affected by PN('s ideas) | <i>Mendelize</i> |
| BEHAVE/TREASURE | Behave as towards PN | <i>boycott</i> |
| GARDEN | Act in a manner typical in PN | <i>Newgate</i> |
| MAKE | Make, create a PN | <i>Penguin</i> |
| *MAKE LIKE | Make like PN | <i>Manhattanize</i> |
| *MAKE+BEHAVE | Make in the manner of / according to PN | <i>macadamize</i> |
| *MAKE+GARDEN | Make in a manner typical in PN | <i>morocco</i> |
| *OUT OF ANALYSIS | Indirect or opaque relationship | <i>Great-Scott</i> |
| | Unknown referent | <i>jack v2</i> |
| PLASTER | Put PN on / give PN | <i>artex</i> |
| *PLASTER/INVENTION | To put the invention of PN on | <i>Pitmanize</i> |
| USE | Use PN | <i>Facebook</i> |
| *USE+GARDEN | Use in a manner typical in PN | <i>hackney</i> |
| *USE/INVENTION | Use the invention of PN | <i>prusik</i> |

Table 10. Corpus modelling of the semantic relationship between V and PN

This table shows that five of Tournier's eight main semantic relationships are present in this corpus. As mentioned earlier, and according to Tournier (2007, p. 185-189), BEHAVE, MAKE and USE are part of the four most frequent semantic relationships in denominal verbal conversions, PLASTER is a subtype of the fourth major relationship, i.e. MOVE. GARDEN on the other hand is less frequent and is the only type of what Tournier calls minor semantic relationships.

As the OUT OF ANALYSIS row of Table 10 shows, some entries were excluded from the semantic analysis of the corpus for two main reasons: opaque or indirect motivation, and unknown or unspecified referent. In the first case, the subcategory includes different types of cases: the motivation can be opaque because it has been lost through time – it is the case of *roam*; or it can be indirect because there is no clear pattern between the PN and the verb, as

in *Oscar* for example. The second subcategory refers to unknown referents. As mentioned above (section 2.2.2), the data includes verbs whose etymon is a generic name. As a result, the PN does not refer to any specific person and the semantic relationship between the PN and its verb is not as straightforward as when the PN is a specific referent.

Last but not least, I created eight categories on a similar model as Tournier's. As Table 10 shows, these categories are more complex than the major semantic relationships Tournier made apparent in his study. It is not surprising as conversion, and more generally derivation, can include complex and varied relationships between the derived lexeme and its etymon, as Tournier (2007, p. 189) points out: "En fait, on peut pratiquement rencontrer toutes sortes de relations, dont certaines sont complexes (mais se rapprochent parfois de l'un des types majeurs)"²⁰. The creation of these new categories is based on two principles: the observation of the data, and the typology of Tournier. The relationship USE/INVENTION for example comes from the observation that some verbs show a clear USE meaning while the paraphrase "to use PN" cannot be applied, as illustrated in (18) ('Mauser, n.', 2001; 'Mauser, v.', 2001):

- (18) *Mauser v.* = to shoot with a Mauser rifle
 < Peter Paul von Mauser and his brother, German firearms designers
 a. *to use Mauser
 b. to use the invention of Mauser

(18a) is impossible because the PN *Mauser* refers to a person and cannot be a paraphrase of the definition of the verb. This impossibility is due to the choice of directly linking the verb to its PN etymon through this semantic relationship. I will take into account the semantic similarity between the USE/INVENTION and the USE verbs in section 2.2.4 below. It could be argued, that a verb like *Facebook* could also be listed under the USE/INVENTION category, as

²⁰ "Practically any kind of relations is possible, some of them are complex (but are sometimes related to one of the major types)", my translation.

the company created the product/service. However, in cases of companies and products, it is unclear whether the PN refers to the company name or to the product name. That is why I chose here to consider products & services names as proprietary names. This allows me to categorize them directly under the USE relationship.

As shown in table 10, some of the new categories include the “+” sign. In all these cases, I combined two of Tournier’s categories in order to create a new relationship. PITY, the only one which is not already used in this research, is one of the minor relationships presented by Tournier, and it could be paraphrased as “to affect / be affected by X” (Tournier, 2007, p. 188). Finally, the MAKE LIKE relationship is based on the MAKE relationship and on the observation that in most cases of creation-events, the result is not the original creation but only something similar. If we compare *joke* (Tournier, 2007, p. 185) with *Manhattanize*, we can notice that the MAKE paraphrase “to make X” applies to *joke* but is more problematic for *Manhattanize*. The specific nature of proper names may explain this difference: Manhattan is a specific island situated in a specific location and looks in a certain way, as a result it is impossible to create Manhattan somewhere else, the only option is to create something resembling Manhattan in some respects.

2.2.4 *Word-formation processes*

In section 2.2.1, we considered some types of word-formation processes we can define as “morphological”: affixation, conversion²¹, backformation, back-clipping, and compounding. The modelling of two steps of word-formation processes below uses the information of 2.2.1 and enriches it by taking purely cognitive processes into consideration as

²¹ As conversion does not change the surface form of the lexeme, categorizing conversion as a morphological process is problematic (see section 1.2.1 for discussion). As the scope of this paper is not to answer this theoretical issue, I consider conversion as a type of derivation, and hence morphological, for the following reason: to differentiate it with purely cognitive processes such as metonymy and metaphor.

well. As mentioned earlier (section 1.3.3), cognitive linguists have underlined many times that the meaning of converted denominal verbs is based on metonymies which “are instances of [...] the action ICM” (Kövecses & Radden, 1998, p. 61). Moreover, in the same article, Kövecses & Radden (1998, p. 55) mention the issue, without taking any position on it, of categorizing “morphologically derived forms²²” as metonymies (see section 1.3.3 for discussion). The model below aims to give a more precise description of the semantic construction of the verbs under scrutiny, with the potential consequence of refining the categorization made through the modelling described in the previous section.

2.2.4.1 *Types of processes*

Before detailing the model, I will briefly define each type of word-formation process used here, except the ones already described in sections 1.2 and 1.3.

On top of conversion and suffixation, four types of morphological processes can be found in the corpus: prefixation, backformation, back-clipping and compounding. Like conversion and suffixation, these processes are not only verb-forming processes in English.

Prefixation is a type of affixation which attaches a bound morpheme to the left of a base (Tournier, 2007, p. 72). In the data under scrutiny, it is considered a minor process as it only concerns two entries (*out-Herod*, *unpollux*). I used the *OED* classification when categorizing these elements as prefixes, however, the classification of *out-* as a prefix is problematic, as shown by its absence in the list of Tournier’s English prefixes (2007, pp. 93-96). As it is not the scope of this paper to discuss the issue of prefix classification, I will not discuss this issue further²³.

²² Kövecses & Radden (1998) strictly include form-changing derivations in this category, i.e. not conversion.

²³ For a discussion of the qualification of a morpheme as an affix see, for example, Plag (2003, pp. 90-93).

Backformation is defined by Plag (2016, p. 2422) as “the deletion of a suffix or prefix in analogy to pairs of base and derivative that feature the affix in question”. This process is minor in English morphology and is attested in the formation of nouns and verbs, from nouns and adjectives (Tournier, 2007, pp. 105-106). One of the most cited examples of backformation is *burgle* < *burglar* (V<N). Other examples are *automate* < *automation* (V<N), *greed* < *greedy* (N<A), *mix* < *mixed* (V<A), or *palmist* < *palmistry* (N<N).

Like backformation, clipping is another type of deletion of phonological material of the etymon and it can be classified as a sub-type of truncation (Plag, 2003, p. 154). It is different from backformation as it does not involve the process of analogy with an affix. Back-clipping, which is the one present in the corpus, is the most common type of truncation (Tournier, 2007, p. 304), and involves the deletion of phonological material on the right of the etymon. According to Plag (2016, p. 2423), examples like *lab* < *laboratory* or *Pat* < *Patricia* suggest that “clipped forms are often in-group markers and express familiarity with the concept or referent of the base”. This motivation, which seems to be rooted in pragmatic observations, does not seem to apply to some cases of back-clipping in the corpus under scrutiny: *fang v3* < *fang n.* < *Juan Manuel Fangio*, *pander v.* < *pander n.* < *Pandarus*. I suggest that these cases of back-clipping are cases of anglicization of a foreign proper name with the aim of fitting them in the English lexicon. As such, they are cases of assimilation of borrowings through a process of truncation.

Plag (2016, p. 2413) defines compounds “as words that consist of two or more bases”. In other words, a compound is a lexeme whose parts are autonomous morphemes (Tournier, 2007, p. 108). Compounds are the corollary to the issue – mentioned earlier – of defining affixes. There seems to be a continuum between compounding and affixation, which may derive from the continuum between free and bound morphemes. As compounds is not the

main focus of this study, I will only add one important feature of compounds in English: the head is on the right (Plag, 2003, p. 173).

One last process needs to be briefly defined: metaphor. Along with metonymy, it is considered a basic cognitive process, which is part of everyday language, but also part of the way humans conceptualize the world (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 3). According to Lakoff & Johnson (1980, p. 5), “*The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another*²⁴”. In other words, a metaphor is the expression of one domain (the target) in terms of another unrelated domain (the source). Conceptual metaphors as described by Lakoff & Johnson (1980), are generally modelled with the formula “A is B”, where A refers to the target, and B to the source. For example, (19) illustrates the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 44):

(19) I don’t think this relationship is *going anywhere*.

As Evans & Green (2006, p. 295) point out, this formula to express conceptual metaphor is “simply a convenient shorthand for a series of discrete conceptual mappings” on which I will not elaborate as metaphor appears to be a minor process in the corpus under scrutiny. I will hence use the formula “A is B” whenever a metaphor is detected in the semantic construction of the verb.

2.2.4.2 Processes – step 1

In order to better analyze the data, it made sense to divide the word-formation processes into two different steps: the first step attempts to describe the processes at play before verbal derivation; the second step (section 2.2.4.3 below) deals with the processes happening during verbal derivation. As a result, it is unsurprising that step 1 includes

²⁴ Italicized in the original.

morphological processes already modelled in ‘WFP cycle 2’ while step 2 includes processes modelled in ‘WFP cycle 1’ (see section 2.2.1).

This division of word-formation processes into two steps does not mean that each step will show a unique process. It is most visible in step 1 processes as they often include several processes either simultaneously or successively. The processes present in the corpus for step 1 are detailed in the table below:

| Type of process | Categorization in the corpus | Example from the corpus |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Metonymy ²⁵ | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | <i>Actaeon</i> |
| | CATEGORY FOR MEMBER OF CATEGORY | <i>milliner</i> |
| | CREATOR FOR CREATION | <i>Frankenstein</i> |
| | PLACE FOR EVENT | <i>Pearl Harbour</i> |
| | MEMBER OF CATEGORY FOR CATEGORY | <i>Osirify</i> |
| | PLACE FOR INHABITANTS/SOCIETY | <i>Americanize</i> |
| | PLACE FOR INSTITUTION | <i>Genevate</i> |
| | PLACE FOR PRODUCT MADE THERE | <i>morocco</i> |
| | PLACE OF ORIGIN FOR OBJECT | <i>hackney</i> |
| | POSSESSOR FOR POSSESSED | <i>maverick</i> |
| | (PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT) | <i>Facebook</i> |
| Metaphor | A THING IS A PERSON | <i>Oscar</i> |
| | A HOMOSEXUAL MAN IS A WOMAN | <i>molly v1</i> |
| Suffixation | -(i)(a)n | <i>Arminianize</i> |
| | -ic | <i>tithonize</i> |
| | -ish | <i>Irishize</i> |
| | -ism | <i>mesmerize</i> |
| | -er (inhabitant) | <i>milliner</i> |
| | -let | <i>roblet</i> |
| Clipping | BkClip (anglicization) | <i>fang v3</i> |
| | BkClip | <i>roblet</i> |
| Compounding | A+PN | <i>merryandrew</i> |
| | A+PN’s+N (object) | <i>Old Moore’s Almanac</i> |
| | PN+N (object) | <i>Roentgen-ray</i> |
| | PN+N (animate) | <i>tomcat</i> |
| | PN+and+PN | <i>Tom and Jerry</i> |
| N/A | | <i>Quixote</i> |

Table 11. Word-formation processes – step 1

²⁵ In this paper, metonymies and metaphors, as conceptual objects, are both described in small capital letters.

As the table shows, there are many processes at work in this corpus. It does not show however the frequency of each process nor does it illustrate which processes combine simultaneously and successively. I will not detail each process individually as some of them are quite straightforward. However, I will give an example of analysis which led to the step 1 model as well as give more details about specific processes when deemed necessary.

The entry *Americanize* is a good example of the step-by-step analysis as it includes several types of word-formation processes.

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| America _{PN} | → | America-(i)(a) _{NA} | → | American-ize _v |
| | PLACE FOR INHABITANTS/SOCIETY | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | | PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION |
| [place] | [person/society] | [property] | | [action] |
| Step 1 | | | | Step 2 |

Table 12. Word-formation analysis of *Americanize*

The first row of Table 12 shows the evolution of the morphology of the lexeme, the subscript indicates the part of speech it belongs to at each stage of the derivation. At this level of representation, only the denominal adjectival suffixation is represented (for step 1). The second row shows the cognitive processes at work in this derivation. In this case, only metonymies are involved. The first metonymy, PLACE FOR INHABITANTS/SOCIETY, does not imply a change in morphology or part of speech, the result of this metonymy involves a shift from a PN denoting a location to a PN denoting the people or group of people who live in this location. This first metonymy is needed for the adjective to apply to people, which in turn makes it possible for the verb definition to exist: “To make American; to absorb or assimilate into American culture or society; to give (a person) a sense of being American” (‘Americanize, v.’, 2008). The existence of the PN *America* as denoting a person (or group) suggests that this metonymy happens before the adjectival suffixation, as illustrated in (20):

- (20) He did much to restore America's reputation around the world as a global leader (Davies 2008-)

Simultaneously to the adjectival suffixation is another metonymy, CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY. In the corpus under scrutiny, this metonymy always happens simultaneously with adjectival suffixation. This fact suggests that the nature of adjectival suffixation is to select a property, which is considered defining, or salient, in the base/etymon. The CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY metonymy is however wider than adjectival suffixation as its high frequency in the corpus shows. For example, in *Actaeon*, the metonymy selects the property 'cuckold' from the PN without resorting to an adjective. The use of this metonymy entails that PN are considered (metaphorically) as categories, and categories are defined as being a set of elements – whether these elements are members or properties. Finally, the third row describes, for the sake of clarity, the type of thing denoted as a result of the WFP.

A few further remarks are needed in order to understand the step 1-model. The metonymy PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT is between brackets for the same reason why I decided to use the USE semantic relationship for Products & Services PN (see section 2.2.3). When the metonymy is between brackets, it implies that it applied at an earlier stage – when the name of the product was coined out of the name of the company. The brackets are absent in only one instance, *McDonaldize*, because the *OED* does not mention “proprietary name” in the etymology section, but “name of [the] corporation” (‘McDonaldize, v.’, 2001). The difference between the two only lies in the selection of the PN etymon. Finally, the elements between brackets in Table 11 serve the purpose of categorizing a word-formation process when specificity is needed. For example, (object) and (animate) are useful to differentiate PN+N. This distinction is important as it has an impact on the following processes.

2.2.4.3 Processes – step 2

The second step of the model describes the step of verbal derivation. As the data shows, each verbal derivation involves a metonymy of the action ICM (see section 1.3.3, and Kövecses & Radden, 1998, pp. 54-55). The processes at play in the corpus are detailed and illustrated in the table below:

| Type of process | Categorization in the corpus | Example from the corpus |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Metonymy | AGENT FOR ACTION | <i>Poor-Robin</i> |
| | EVENT FOR ACTION | <i>Watergate</i> |
| | INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION | <i>Mauser</i> |
| | INSTRUMENT FOR RESULT OF ACTION | <i>Maxim v2</i> |
| | OBJECT INVOLVED FOR ACTION | <i>Astroturf</i> |
| | PROCESS FOR ACTION | <i>Pasteur</i> |
| | PROCESS FOR RESULT OF ACTION | <i>Pitmanize</i> |
| | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | <i>MacGyver</i> |
| | PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION | <i>Nimrod</i> |
| | RESULT OBJECT FOR ACTION | <i>Penguin</i> |
| Suffixation | -ize | <i>Aladdinize</i> |
| | -ate | <i>Genevate</i> |
| | -(i)fy | <i>Disneyfy</i> |
| Backformation | BF -er | <i>fog v2</i> |
| | BF -ing | <i>quisle</i> |
| Prefixation | Out- | <i>out-Herod</i> |
| | Un- | <i>unpollux</i> |
| Compounding | PN+V | <i>sammyfoozle</i> |

Table 13. Word-formation processes – step 2

The analysis of step 2 is illustrated in Table 12 with the example of *Americanize*. Contrary to step 1, step 2 is never involving successive processes: it is either made of a metonymy (along with a conversion, which is not modelled in this description), or made of a metonymy and a morphological process which happen simultaneously. The absence of conversion in this modelling is linked to the absence of surface morphology for conversion. As a result, when the metonymy is not accompanied by an overt morphological process, the conversion is implied²⁶.

²⁶ This remark is also valid for step 1.

A few remarks can be made about the processes at work in verbal derivation. First, the only morphological process which is not coupled with a metonymy is the compounding of a PN with a verb (PN+V), as illustrated by *mollycoddle*. The right-head rule of English morphology is the reason for the absence of metonymy in these cases: as head of the compound, the verb is importing its core meaning while the PN acts as a modifier. As a result, it could be argued that these verbs are verbal derivations and not PN derivations. The four verbs presenting a PN+V compounding are also part of the OUT OF ANALYSIS category defined in section 2.2.3. For most of the verbs in this category, the step analysis can be carried out. However, the process is reversed and made by analogy with the functioning of the other verbs of the corpus. For example, *molly* v1 comes from Molly, the pet-form of the female name *Mary* ('Molly, v.1', 2002). No specific referent, which would explain the definition of the verb ("to engage in homosexual anal intercourse with"), is attested. As the definition describes an action which can be paraphrased as "to behave in a certain way", the hypothesis is that the verb's meaning is similar to BEHAVE/APE verbs. By analogy, the PROPERTY FOR ACTION metonymy can successfully apply for step 2 and be preceded, in step 1, by the CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY metonymy. This second metonymy, because of the absence of adjectival morphology, enables to go from a verb to a noun. However, these two metonymies are not enough to link the verb to the PN, as the noun would carry the property "someone having homosexual anal intercourse", which is usually linked to a male and not a female. As a result, the metaphor A HOMOSEXUAL MAN IS A WOMAN is needed in order to justify the etymon. The analysis was carried out in this manner for all verbs originating from unspecified PN (generic names) but one – *malky*. For this verb, as well as for *Mickey Mouse*, *unpollux* and *Adam and Eve*, the step analysis was neither feasible nor relevant (see section 4.1.4 for a discussion of

these cases). Finally, for the other verbs of the OUT OF ANALYSIS category, the step analysis was carried out normally but with some grey areas when the link with the PN was too opaque.

2.2.4.4 Rethinking V/PN semantic relationships: semantic families

As a result of the step analysis, it appeared that the categories defined in section 2.2.3 and based on the direct relationship between the PN and the verb hide both different and similar verbal behaviors. The similarities between the USE verbs and the USE/INVENTION verbs was expected, and, unsurprisingly, they all involved an action metonymy of the type INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION. Some differences and similarities were however more surprising and brought to light by the comparison between the action metonymies (step 2). The GARDEN category is a good example of both diverging action metonymies and surprising similarity with another category. Indeed, the step analysis of this category shows two different metonymic behaviors as summarized in (21) and (22):

(21) CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY → PROPERTY FOR ACTION

(22) PLACE FOR EVENT → EVENT FOR ACTION

(21) shows the same chain of metonymies as the verbs of the BEHAVE relationship.

Consequently, as the semantic relationship between the PN and the verb does not seem to take into consideration this differences and similarities, a new categorization is needed in order to take into account the semantic behaviors of the verbs. This new categorization is based on the action ICM metonymies (step 2) and enables to create new categories, which I will refer to as ‘semantic families’²⁷. The table below maps the new semantic families to the previous categories and the related metonymy.

²⁷ Both semantic relationships and semantic families are written in capital letters. However, as it is the new categorization, from this point in the paper, and unless stated otherwise, the capital letters will only refer to the semantic families.

| Semantic family | V/PN semantic relationship | Metonymy (step 2) |
|-----------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| APE | BEHAVE/APE | AGENT FOR ACTION |
| BEHAVE | BEHAVE/APE | PROPERTY FOR ACTION |
| | BEHAVE/TREASURE | |
| | BEHAVE/INVENTION | |
| | GARDEN | |
| | OUT OF ANALYSIS | |
| GARDEN | GARDEN | EVENT FOR ACTION |
| MAKE | MAKE | RESULT OBJECT FOR ACTION |
| | MAKE+GARDEN | |
| | MAKE+BEHAVE | |
| MAKE LIKE | MAKE LIKE | PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION |
| | MAKE+BEHAVE | |
| | OUT OF ANALYSIS | |
| MAKE+BEHAVE | MAKE+BEHAVE | PROCESS FOR (RESULT OF) ACTION |
| | BEHAVE+PITY | |
| | PLASTER/INVENTION | |
| PLASTER | PLASTER | OBJECT INVOLVED FOR ACTION |
| | OUT OF ANALYSIS | |
| USE | USE | INSTRUMENT FOR (RESULT OF) ACTION |
| | USE/INVENTION | |
| | USE+GARDEN | |
| | OUT OF ANALYSIS | |

Table 14. Semantic families

It needs to be pointed out here that in some cases the action ICM metonymy of step 2 might minimally differ from what is considered the main metonymic process at work in each family. It is the case for example for *Maxim* v.2. This verb is part of the USE family even though the action ICM involved is not INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION but INSTRUMENT FOR RESULT OF ACTION. However, this metonymy can be decomposed into two parts which combine at the step 2 level: INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION + CAUSE FOR EFFECT. As a result, the action ICM remains the same as for the other verbs of the family even though the cognitive processes at work in the semantic creation of the verb are more complex. The situation is the same for the MAKE+BEHAVE family, which includes *Pitmanize* with the action metonymy PROCESS FOR RESULT OF ACTION instead of PROCESS FOR ACTION. The decomposition analysis can also be applied here. However, the 'result' criterion does not always imply that the CAUSE FOR EFFECT decomposition is relevant,

as is shown in the BEHAVE and MAKE LIKE families. The two families present very similarly worded metonymies with only a 'result' difference. However, contrary to an instrument or a process, a property cannot be analyzed as the direct cause for an effect. That is why the two families are kept separate.

2.3 Linguistic survey

As the aim of this study is to propose a predictive model for the form and meaning of verbs originating from proper names, it seemed interesting to confront the model to other instances of verbs with similar etymons. As a result, a linguistic survey was created in order to see how native speakers of American English would use a proper name as a verb, and if the created verbs would fit into the framework proposed in the present study.

The choice to offer this survey to native speakers of American English only was made for one main reason: as mentioned in the introduction, a proper name, especially one referring to an individual, is specific to a time and culture. There are, of course, names which are known around the world. It is, however, difficult to find acceptable criteria which evaluate the popularity of a person in one country, let alone around the world. Moreover, it is unclear so far whether different varieties of English show different functioning when it comes to the creation of verbs from proper names. As a result, it was considered best to avoid including this unknown variable in the linguistic survey.

As the corpus under study mostly includes proper names referring to individuals, the linguistic survey only focused on this type of proper names. Different areas of public life were chosen, once again based on the corpus (see section 3 for a detailed presentation): singers (historical / culture)²⁸, politicians (historical / civil life), scandals (historical / civil life), movies /

²⁸ The elements between brackets correspond to the subcategories used for PN-Person in the modelling of the data (see section 2.2.2).

series (fictitious / culture). Other categories could have been added, but since the aim of the survey is exploratory, the comprehensiveness of the questionnaire was not a defining factor. After choosing the domains under investigation in this survey, the main issue was to choose proper names which were popular enough to be well-known from the American public, but which did not present a verbal use yet that could influence the informants into using a form they had already heard. The selection of popular names was realized through a three-step methodology: the first step consisted of selecting popular people, the choices made for this step were widely dependent on the respective areas chosen; the second step was the same for all items which were selected during step 1. It consisted of quantifying the popularity of each name using SketchEngine. The third step aimed to reduce the list to proper names for which no verb was yet attested.

The first step was carried out differently for each area because its aim was to select popular names and, by nature, the data for each category is linked to different sources. For singers, I took into considerations the top 100 singers of the last decade (2010s) minus the first eight as their names was still to be announced (Billboard.com, 2020). Popular artists, such as Pink or One Direction, were removed from the list as they are not typical PN. For politicians, in order to stay within the same timeframe, I chose to take into consideration the last two presidents of the United States as well as the five top contenders in the democratic primary race (as of February 2020) (Rollingstone.com, 2020). For the scandal category, determining which scandal should be taken into account was not easy as there is no official top-list for this type of event. One criterion was fundamental, the scandal should be known by the name of one specific person. The Wikipedia page for scandals of the 2010s (Wikipedia.org, 2019) was a useful resource but did not provide the name which was eventually selected for the survey. I had to rely on my personal knowledge for this area. Finally, for the characters of series and

movies, I relied on two sources which list the top creations for the period under study. I selected the first three TV-shows of the 2018-2019 season for lack of a decade top (Statista.com, 2020), and the five movies with the best box-office for the full decade (Boxofficereport.com, 2020). I then compiled the list of the characters of these productions.

In order to evaluate the popularity of each proper name, I chose, using SketchEngine, the English corpus with the highest number of words (> 46 billion words) and searched for each proper name to see how many times it appeared in the corpus (Jozef Stefan Institute, 2020). The minimum of 100,000 occurrences was chosen in order to discriminate between the PN and reduce the list.

Finally, I used the *Urban Dictionary* for the remaining proper names in order to exclude the ones which already presented a derived verb. As this website is collaborative, the existence of an entry does not mean that the word or phrase has entered the lexicon or is even used by a restricted group of people. Many entries may be the result of idiosyncratic use or playful creation. Regardless of this aspect, this dictionary was still the best option to decide, without undertaking a time-consuming research, which PN should be kept for the survey.

| Type of PN | PN | Number of occurrences in SketchEngine |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Singers | Ariana Grande | 131,917 |
| | Miley Cyrus | 122,851 |
| Politicians | Donald Trump | 3,704,606 |
| | Barack Obama | 959,155 |
| | Bernie Sanders | 437,170 |
| | Elizabeth Warren | 177,494 |
| Scandals | (Edward) Snowden ²⁹ | 207,468 |
| Series / Movies | Daenerys (Targaryen) | 103,581 |
| | Thor | 281,105 |

Table 15. Proper names selected for the linguistic survey

²⁹ The use of the brackets shows that for these two PN, only part of the name, which is considered unique enough, was used for the search.

Table 15 above shows the nine proper names which were selected.

A questionnaire was then created online through LimeSurvey and the link was shared on various online platforms (see Appendix 2 for the full survey). The questionnaire is divided in ten sections, one for each PN, and a final section for the collection of sociological data. For each PN, the questions were designed to understand which verbal form an informant would be more likely to use, in which context and with what kind of meaning. In order to do so, a list of potential forms was proposed but the option 'other' was also available. Only cases of conversion and -ize suffixation were prepared due to the fact that they are considered the most productive patterns for verbal derivation in English. The results of the study will be described in section 3.3 and discussed in section 5.1.

3 Corpus presentation and analysis

The corpus under study is a compilation of 225 lexical entries which are organized in a table in which relevant information extracted from the *OED* is gathered along with synthetic information modelled on the data, as explained in section 2.2. Information extracted from the *OED* is summarized and explained in the table below. A reduced version of the corpus is available in Appendix 1. It presents the entries along with the relevant modellings.

| Column title | Details |
|--|--|
| Verb | Corpus lexical entries |
| Capital letter | Whether the verb is written with a capital letter (Y), or not (N); some allow both orthographies (Both) |
| Updated in | Last <i>OED</i> update of the entry |
| Search filters | Filters used to find the lexical entry (as explained in section 2.1) |
| Other origin OR other origin hypothesis | For an etymology other than V < PN; or when the etymology is uncertain; or when several competing hypotheses coexist |
| Frequency scale /8 | Frequency of use as recorded in the <i>OED</i> |
| Usage | Heterogenous category of the <i>OED</i> ranging from current usage to domain of usage |
| Date | First attestation of the entry |
| Period | Simplification of the date for the purpose of the study. Each period arbitrarily lasts for 50 years |
| Transitivity | Valency of the verb as recorded by the <i>OED</i> |
| PN etymon | PN used for the derivation |
| Part of PN used | Details about whether the etymon used is the full name, the pet name, the last name, etc. |
| Country of origin | Country of origin of the PN (if Person and Products & Services) |
| PN etymon (details) | Proper name from which originates the lexical entry accompanied by a short description, as mentioned in the <i>OED</i> |
| Type of PN | Type of proper name (section 2.2.2) |
| PN subcategory 1 | (section 2.2.2) |
| PN subcategory 2 | (section 2.2.2) |
| WFP cycle 1 | Word-formation process cycle 1 (section 2.2.1) |
| WFP cycle 2 | Word-formation process cycle 2 (section 2.2.1) |
| Other POS from PN > derivatives < etymon | Other parts of speech recorded in the <i>OED</i> as deriving from the proper name; as well as derivatives from the lexical entries (preceded by >); and etymon when not PN (preceded by <); parenthesis mean that the relationship is uncertain; ? means that the etymology is uncertain |
| Nb definition | Number of definitions as numbered in the <i>OED</i> |
| Definition | Copy of the <i>OED</i> definitions |

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| Semantic relation with PN | Semantic relationship between the verb and the proper name (section 2.2.3.) |
| WFP step 1 | Word-formation process step 1 (section 2.2.4.2) |
| WFP step 2 | Word-formation process step 2 (section 2.2.4.3) |
| Semantic family | Semantic family based on WFP step 2 (section 2.2.4.4) |
| PN stress pattern | Stress pattern of the PN as described by the <i>OED</i> (and other sources) (section 4.2.1) |
| PN ending (phono) | Phonological transcription of the last syllable of the PN as described by the <i>OED</i> (and other sources), in IPA (section 4.2.1) |
| V stress pattern | Stress pattern of the verb as described by the <i>OED</i> (and other sources) (section 4.2.1) |
| Last phoneme | Last phoneme of the PN according to PN ending |
| IZE or O? | Rule(s) and constraint(s) at work in the determination of the morphology of the verb (section 4.2) |

Table 16. Details about the corpus information

3.1 General structure of the corpus

In this section, I will present the general structure of the corpus through three different variables: the morphology, the type of proper names and the semantic relationship between V and PN. Other information on this corpus could be extracted and described here. However, there is not enough space in this paper to propose a complete description, so only the information considered relevant to the study of the semantic relationship between a derived verb and its PN etymon will be described.

3.1.1 Morphology

Two aspects of the morphological structure of the corpus are presented here. Figure 1 gives the structure of the corpus according to the WFP cycle 1. In other words, its interest focuses on verbal derivation and the morphology of the corpus entries.

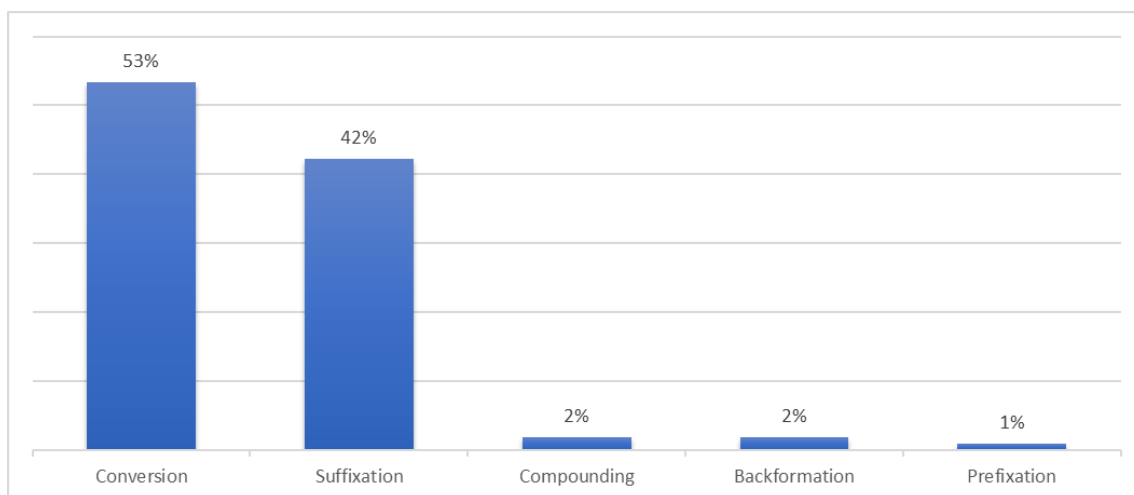


Figure 1. Word-formation processes cycle 1

As I mentioned earlier, conversion and suffixation are by far the most-represented types of derivation in this corpus (respectively 53% and 42%). It must be noted moreover that almost 95% of the cases of suffixation are *-ize* suffixations (90 out of 95). Hence, in cases of verbal derivation of proper names, and according to this data, only these two (morphological) word-formation processes seem to be productive.

Figure 2 focuses on WFP cycle 2 and shows the structure of the corpus according to the etymology recorded in the *OED*.

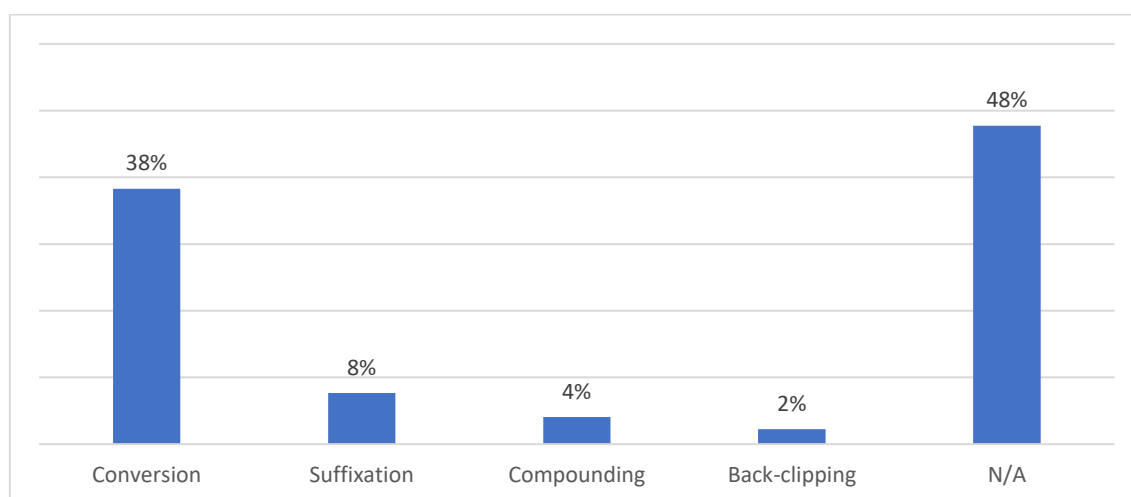


Figure 2. Word-formation processes cycle 2

What is striking in this figure is the fact that around half of the corpus is recorded in the *OED* as directly originating from a proper name (N/A category here). Among the lexical entries

which are not, 72% are derived from a converted PN (38% of the total). In other words, a large majority of these lexical entries are derived from a lexical item which is itself a conversion of a proper name. This observation seems to argue in favor of the methodological choice of including second-degree relationships in the corpus in relation to the fact that establishing the directionality of conversion can be problematic. In the following sections, only WFP cycle 1 will be taken into account as a result of Figure 2.

3.1.2 *Types of proper names*

Another important feature which helps understand the structure of this corpus concerns the typology of the proper names.

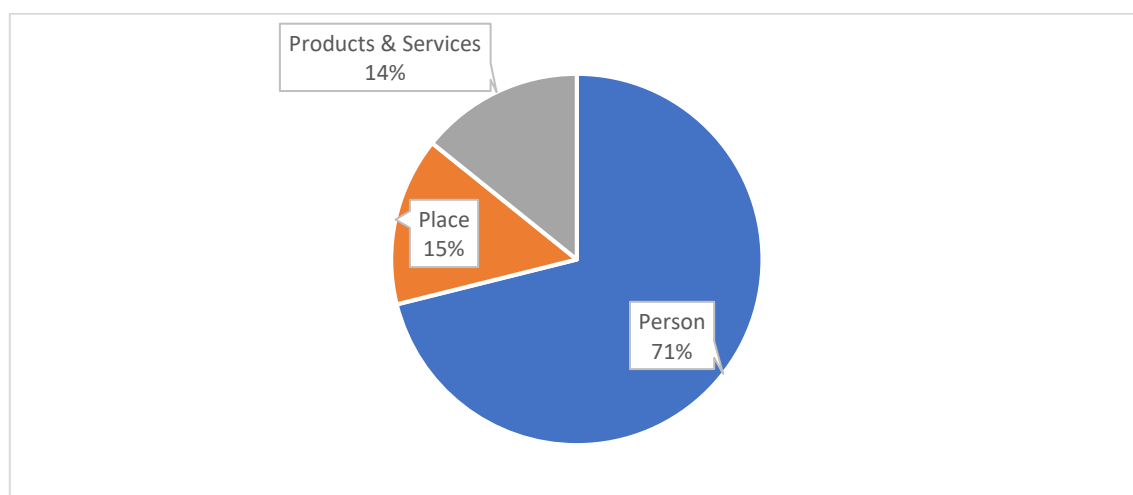


Figure 3. Types of proper names

Figure 3 shows clearly that a wide majority (71%) of the etymons is of the 'person' type. In other words, what appears from this figure is that, according to the data under scrutiny, the most productive type of PN which leads to verbal derivation refers to a person.

The subtypes of PN show some interesting features as well. More than half (67%) of the Person-PN refer to historical (real) people, while less than a quarter are fictitious, and 10% refer to generic names. Moreover, historical PN come mostly from two major domains,

namely civil life (36%) and sciences (31%). The domains of culture and humanities are also quite represented with respectively 11% and 16% of the historical PN.

For places, what is interesting is the part of the world the PN refers to, testifying of the link between one region/culture/society and the English language.

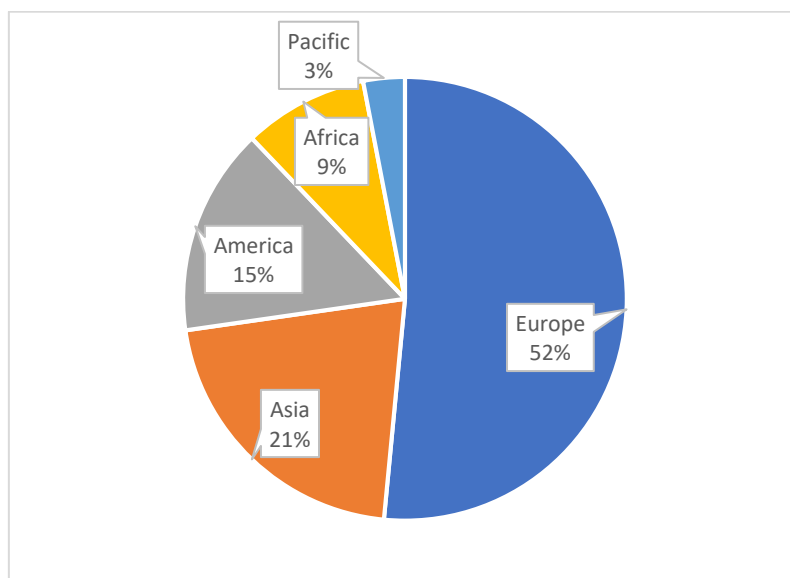


Figure 4. Place-PN according to their geography

Considering the history of the English language, it is unsurprising that Europe is the most represented (52%). More surprising is the fact that Asia comes second. The data shows that most verbs originating from places which are (or were once) situated in Asia, are linked to ancient history (Babylon, Phrygia) or to the Bible (Babel, Sodom). Quite expectedly, all the places relating to the American continent are situated in English-speaking North America. The total absence of Central and South American places is however quite surprising as the European subcategory includes places outside of Great Britain, such as Orange in France, or Telemark in Norway. There are, however, only 33 entries with a Place-PN, so no conclusion can be drawn from absent lexemes.

Finally, Products & Services-PN are divided between products and services with respectively 79% and 21%. It is not always straightforward to determine whether something

is a product or a service, however. The assumption underlying this categorization is that a product is material whereas a service is not. For example, a Photomaton is a machine which is used to product pictures. As a result, it delivers a service and was hence categorized under the label 'service'. For *magnaflux*, the reasoning was even more straightforward as there is no product involved; indeed, *magnaflux* refers to “a method of testing metal parts” (‘Magnaflux, n.’, 2000). For digital realities, the issue is more complicated: as a rule, these elements were labelled under the category service as well (like *Facebook*) but specific softwares, like Photoshop, were categorized as products.

3.1.3 Semantic families and relationships

Finally, as this study focuses on the semantic relationship between verbs and their PN etymon, it is crucial to describe the corpus structure through the lens of the semantic relationship and the semantic families. In the figure below, the entries labelled ‘OUT OF ANALYSIS’ were removed so as to keep the semantic relationships only.

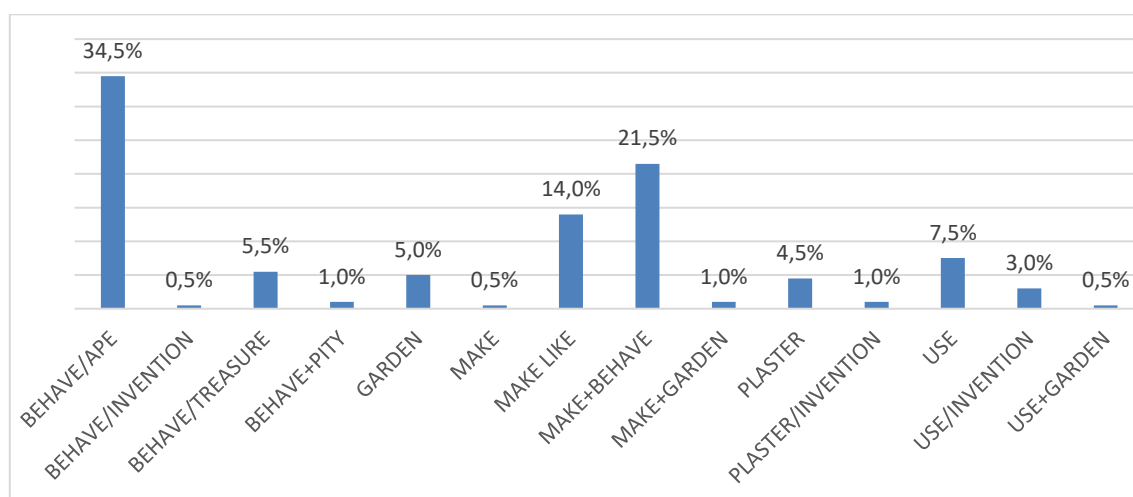


Figure 5. Semantic relationship V/PN³⁰

Figure 5 shows 14 different semantic relationships between the verb and its PN etymon. What is the most striking is the clear domination of three relationships: BEHAVE/APE,

³⁰ The percentages are calculated on a total of 199 items, after removing the 26 entries which were labelled “OUT OF ANALYSIS”

MAKE+BEHAVE and MAKE LIKE. However, as it was pointed out in section 2.2.4.4, these semantic relationships hide quite different semantic behaviors between the verbs. Figure 6 below shows the distribution of the corpus according to the semantic families which were built on verbal metonymies. One advantage of this categorization is the possibility to include OUT OF ANALYSIS entries. Indeed, the study of the metonymic processes allowed for the recategorization of verbs which were left out in the first modelling. The few verbs which still resisted the metonymic analysis are included under the label *BEHAVE as their definitions denote types of behaviors. As a result, all the 225 entries are included in this modelling.

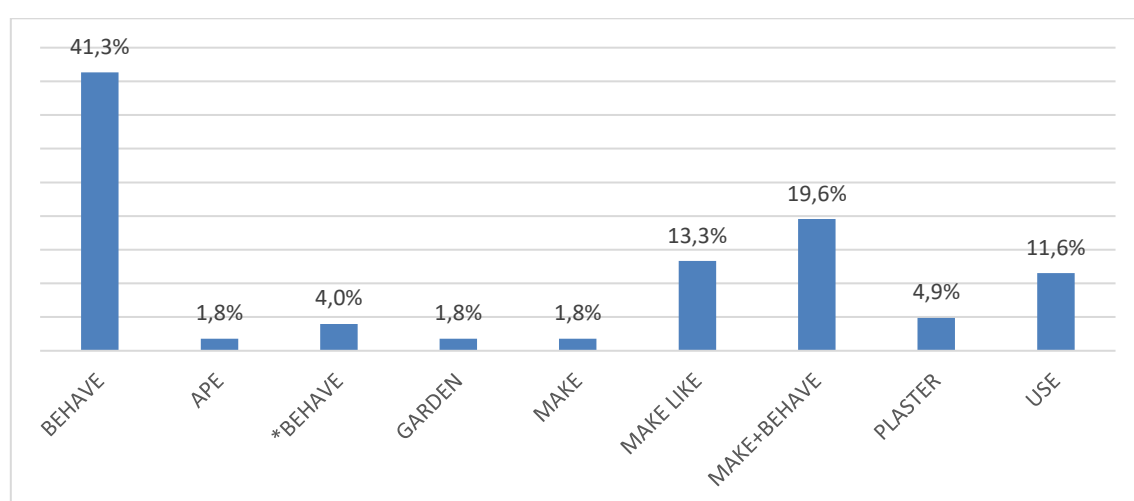


Figure 6. Semantic families based on verbal metonymies

As Figure 6 shows, this modelling reduces drastically the number of categories (9 instead of 14). Like in Figure 5, the three categories BEHAVE, MAKE+BEHAVE and MAKE LIKE stand out as the major relationships with respectively 41.3%, 19.6% and 13.3%. Contrary to Figure 5, the USE family, with 11.6%, emerges from the minor relationships (all under 5%).

This table shows that there seems to be four categories which structure the corpus according to their productivity. The most productive pattern is by far the BEHAVE family. Its proportion could be higher if the APE and *BEHAVE families were included. Indeed, the APE family has been distinguished from the BEHAVE family according to its very specific metonymic structure, but it could be argued that its verbal metonymy AGENT FOR ACTION is a

generalization of PROPERTY FOR ACTION. The APE family means that all the properties of the agent are selected instead of one specific property. The three other patterns which can be considered productive are MAKE+BEHAVE, MAKE LIKE and USE. The processes GARDEN, MAKE and PLASTER, are considered unproductive for PN etymons according to this data.

3.2 Cross-categorical descriptions

To obtain a subtler understanding of the corpus, crossing the variables is the logical step following the monolithic description of the previous section.

3.2.1 Morphological and semantic evolution

As the *OED* is a historical dictionary, it seems quite natural to study the morphological and semantic variables through time. As the date recorded in the *OED* is the first known record of a lexical item, the following figures will give a picture of the productivity of respectively the morphology (Figure 7) and the semantic patterns of derivation (Figure 8). In both figures, only the relevant variables were kept as defined in the previous section.

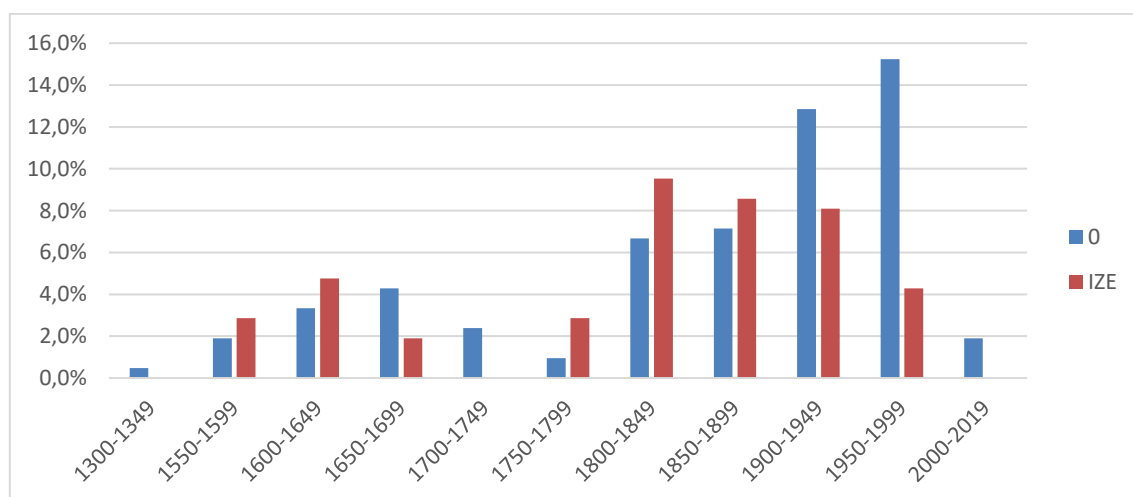


Figure 7. The evolution of -ize suffixation and conversion (1300-2019)³¹

Figure 7 presents the compared productivity of -ize suffixation and conversion through time.

It is striking to notice the opposed tendencies of the two derivation processes from 1800 to

³¹ As mentioned in section 2.2.1, “0” stands for “conversion”.

the present. Indeed, while the *-ize* suffix productivity has been declining, the conversion productivity has been increasing, regarding the derivation of proper names into verbs. Another characteristic of this corpus shown by this diagram concerns the amount of data through time. If we compare figure 7 to the *OED* diagram below (Figure 7bis), we can notice that the corpus is structured in a relatively similar manner:

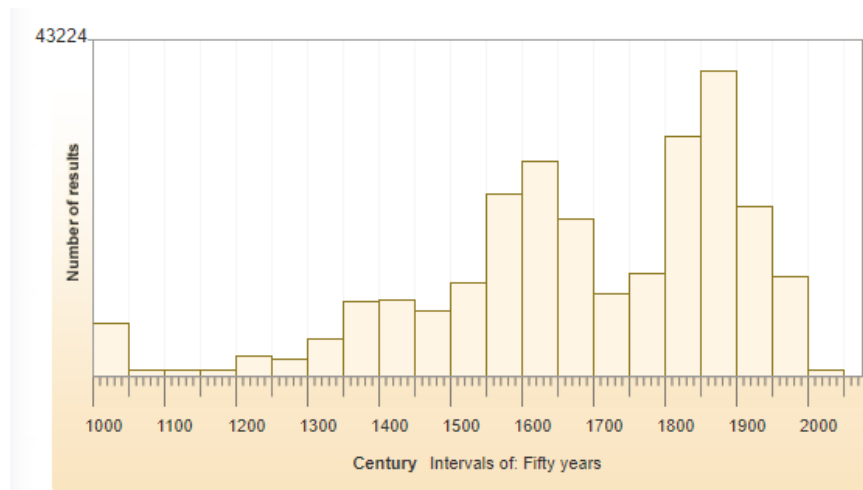


Figure 7bis. The structure of the *OED* entries

Figure 7bis represents the structure of all the 283,088 lexical entries of the *OED* according to their recorded date of appearance (*Browse Dictionary*, 2019). Both diagrams show that two periods concentrate most of the data: from 1500 to 1700, and from 1800 to 1950. From this comparison, we may infer that verbs derived from proper names are no exception when it comes to the creation of new words.

The corpus can also be analyzed through a diachronic approach presenting the productivity of semantic patterns, as figure 8 shows:

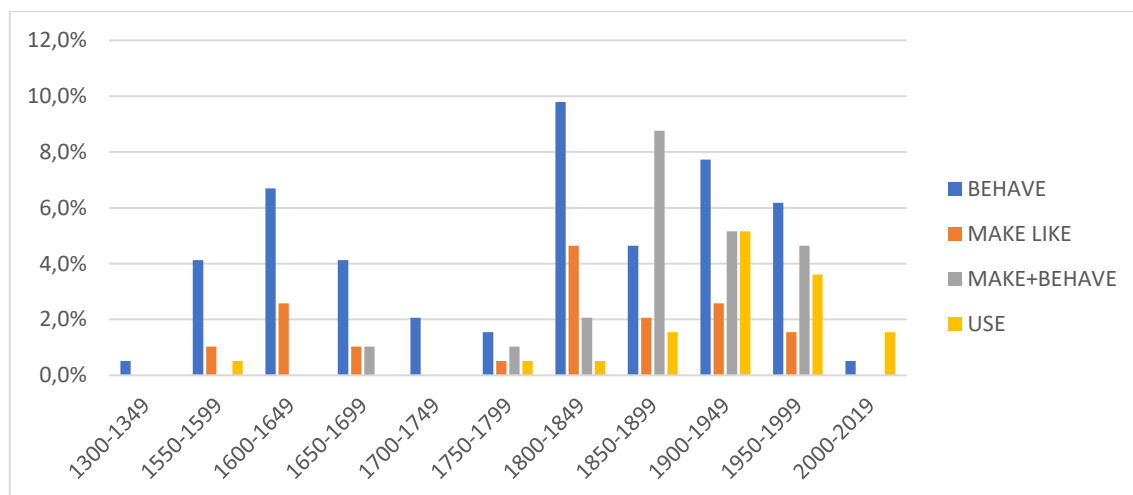


Figure 8. The evolution of the main semantic patterns (1300-2019)

The most striking details in figure 8 is the relative absence of the USE and MAKE+BEHAVE families before 1800. The data suggests that BEHAVE have the most stable productivity through the whole period with no obvious tendency towards a decline or an increase. The same could probably be said of MAKE LIKE as its presence can be seen through the whole period, with only sporadic absences. Finally, MAKE+BEHAVE shows a critical increase in the 19th century, and a relatively productive tendency since then.

Regarding the late apparitions of the USE and MAKE+BEHAVE families, one main extralinguistic event seems to explain both phenomena, namely the Industrial Revolution (1750-1900). However, the few examples of these two semantic behaviors which can be observed prior to 1800 show that the semantic processes, namely the two metonymies INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION and PROCESS FOR ACTION, were already available. The Industrial Revolution made possible their activation within the paradigm of verbal derivation from PN. The hypothesis I support here is based on the development of sciences and mass production / consumption the Industrial Revolution brought. As a result of the development of sciences, scientists took a more influential place in the public sphere, which could explain why more than half of the MAKE+BEHAVE verbs originate from names of scientists (24 out of 44). It is more likely that the USE family is the result of mass production / consumption, as it mostly

consists in Products & Services proper names (see section 3.2.2). As more and more people consumed the same manufactured products, the shared knowledge came to include those products, and new words could be coined based on their names and be understood by the majority of speakers.

To sum it up, the time-related structure of this corpus seems to be representative of the overall structure of the *OED*. More importantly, it seems that conversion is today preferred to suffixation in *-ize* for verbs originating from proper names, and that the semantic behavior of the verbs originating from a PN is most likely to be of one of the following types: BEHAVE, MAKE LIKE, MAKE+BEHAVE and USE, regardless of the period of time. From a diachronic perspective, it is striking to note that only four semantic families account for more than 85% of the verbs for the whole period (194 out 225). Even if the minor families are taken into account, there are only 9 families to account for the data, meaning that this semantic process has been relatively stable since Middle English.

3.2.2 Crossing semantics with types of PN

To continue this description of the corpus, I will cross the semantic patterns with the types of PN (Figure 9) in order to make apparent the most regular patterns.

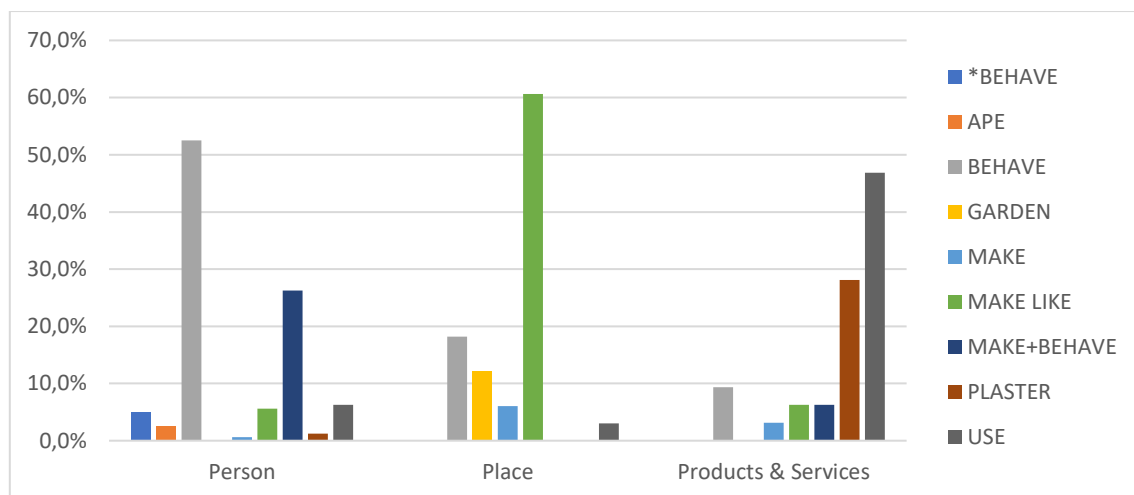


Figure 9. Semantic families according to the type of PN³²

Figure 9 is very informative as it seems to show clear tendencies linking the type of proper name and the semantic behavior of the verb. Products & Services-PN (P&S-PN) seem to be linked to two patterns: USE and PLASTER, respectively representing 46.9% and 28.1% of the P&S-PN entries. There are also minor semantic behaviors linked to this type of PN, namely BEHAVE (9.4%), MAKE (3.1%), MAKE LIKE (6.3%) and MAKE+BEHAVE (6.3%). The reason for the link between PLASTER and USE and P&S-PN seems quite straightforward: both families involve a metonymy whose base is an object, respectively OBJECT INVOLVED FOR ACTION (as for *Astroturf*) and INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION (as for *hoover*). The nature of a P&S-PN also implies a reference to an object, which makes this relation easily understandable. Even in the case of a service, like in *photomaton*, there is a reference to the object which makes the service possible, and this object is at the basis of the semantic behavior, in this case USE. The minor families which can be observed with P&S-PN need specific explanations. For MAKE, the reason is the same as previously as this family is linked to the metonymy RESULT OBJECT FOR ACTION (as in *Penguin*). MAKE+BEHAVE, contrary to the previous families, can be observed in the case of services referring to a process (as in *magnaflux*). As such, they are comparable to immaterial

³² For the sake of presentation and clarity, the percentages for each family are defined within each type of PN, and not expressed according to the total.

inventions made by scientists and it is no surprise that they would be impacted by the metonymy PROCESS FOR ACTION. The situation is a little more complicated for MAKE LIKE which is observed in *bovrilize* and *McDonaldize*. In the first case, the PN refers to an object defined as “a concentrated essence of beef” (‘Bovril, n.’, 1989). In order to obtain the MAKE LIKE semantic behavior, the metonymy CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY selects the manufacturing process of the object as a salient property. As a result, the verbal metonymy PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION is possible. In order to shift from the meaning denoting the result of the process on an object to its result on an abstract entity, the cognitive process of generalization³³ needs to be hypothesized so that the semantics of the verb can also apply to abstract things as illustrated in the *OED* quote below:

- (23) His fondness for bovrilising thought..into so small a compass of words that the sentences are really too ‘meaty’ (‘Bovrilize, v.’, 1989).

The case of *McDonaldize* is different: the metonymy PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT selects the restaurant as the object produced by the company (instead of the hamburger, for instance). As a result, the product can also be analyzed as a location, which places this example into the scope of Place-PN (see below). Finally, for the BEHAVE family, the data shows two different types of P&S-PN. The first case consists of P&S-PN whose reference is a newspaper. The semantic relationship between V and PN is useful here to understand what is at stake in these derivations. Indeed, the GARDEN relationship (different from the GARDEN family) suggests that these entries fall under the analysis for Place-PN (see below for the analysis). The second case is illustrated by the entry *Shake’n Bake*, whose PN etymon refers to “a powdered seasoning in which meat, etc., may be coated prior to baking by being shaken in a bag supplied for the purpose” (‘Shake ’n Bake, n. and Adj.’, 2003). In this instance of derivation, the

³³ As the scope of this study does not involve the analysis of polysemy, the notion of *generalization* and its impact on semantic change will not be further explored.

metonymy CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY selects from the PN the human behavior associated with the use of this product. As a result, the category of the lexeme switches to human behavior and falls under the analysis of Person-PN within the BEHAVE family (see below). The previous explanations show that there are two prototypical behaviors linked to a P&S-PN etymon, namely USE and PLASTER, while minor families involve the presence of more complex processes to reach the derived meaning.

Place-PN is largely dominated by the MAKE LIKE semantic behavior (60.6% of Place-PN). The GARDEN family, even though it only occupies third place in this category (12.1%), seems to be specific to this type of PN, as is shown by its absence from the other types. The other families also represented in this type of PN are: BEHAVE (18.2%), MAKE (6.1%) and USE (3%). As I mentioned in section 2.2.3, the MAKE LIKE relationship is a type of MAKE relationship with the main difference that the creation-event of the MAKE LIKE relationship denotes a resemblance to a referent and not the actual duplication of the referent. The nature of proper names as unique referents for unique entities makes the use of the MAKE relationship problematic, and the use of MAKE LIKE more likely. There is a direct link between the MAKE LIKE relationship and the MAKE LIKE family which lies in the verbal metonymy PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION. The notion of 'result' involves a process of creation, so does the notion 'make'. The main question lies in the correlation between Place-PN and MAKE LIKE. The hypothesis is that locations can be human-made and, as a consequence, can be reproduced elsewhere. The assumption goes further, however, as not only the material features of a place can be copied (as illustrated in *Birminghamize*), but also the general characteristics of the people who live in this place (as in *Americanize*). The GARDEN family involves the verbal metonymy EVENT FOR ACTION (as in *Pearl Harbour*). The possibility of this metonymy is linked to the understanding that an event does not only occur at a certain time,

but also at a certain place, an event is partly defined by its spatial nature. The explanation for the BEHAVE family in this type of PN also derives from the definition of a location. Indeed, a city, like Porto, is not only defined by its streets, buildings, and so on, but also by the people who live there. As a result, the metonymy CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY can select a type of behavior typical of a place and lead to the creation of the BEHAVE meaning. The main difference between a BEHAVE semantic pattern connected to a Place-PN and one connected to a Person-PN can be summarized in the dichotomy collective/typical behavior (Place-PN) vs. idiosyncratic behavior (Person-PN)³⁴. For USE and MAKE, the explanation is also related: if a place is known for the production of a typical object, the object can be selected for the verbal metonymy, explaining the existence of USE (as in *hackney*) and MAKE (as in *morocco*) for this type of PN³⁵.

Finally, Person-PN seem to be the type which allows the most variety in semantic patterns as only GARDEN is not included. However, the patterns which seem to be most likely associated with a PN-Person verb are BEHAVE (52.5%) and MAKE+BEHAVE (26.3%). As mentioned earlier, the APE and *BEHAVE families are considered to be specific cases of BEHAVE (section 3.1.3). The minor behaviors for this type of PN are as follows: USE (6.3%), MAKE LIKE (5.6%), PLASTER (1.3%) and MAKE (0.6%). The connection between the BEHAVE family and Person-PN is quite straightforward as a type of behavior can easily be selected from a person (as in *bogart*). For MAKE+BEHAVE, the link is licensed by the metonymy CREATOR FOR CREATION, which selects from the Person-PN a process considered to be originally developed by the person, or deeply linked to this person. This process can be a method (as in

³⁴ The level of modelling proposed in this paper does not allow to make this difference apparent. However, if this study was to be generalized to all denominal verbs, it seems that a more specific metonymic analysis would be necessary.

³⁵ Theoretically, and following this reasoning, Place-PN could also lead to the PLASTER behavior. The present data does not show, however, any instance of this type.

macadamize) or a doctrine (as in *Mithraize*). In both cases, the creation is abstract. When the creation selected through the metonymy CREATOR FOR CREATION is concrete, then the semantic behavior is of the USE type (as in *Mauser*). The PLASTER family is expected to follow a similar reasoning, however, the two instances of this type of semantic behavior (*Oscar* and *tommy*) do not show the CREATOR FOR CREATION metonymy. In both cases, the OBJECT INVOLVED FOR ACTION metonymy is made possible by the metaphor A THING IS A PERSON which is the process of personification of an object. This absence of step 1 metonymy in these two cases can be explained by the lack of direct link between the PN and the verb meaning: in the case of *Oscar*, the connection between the referent of the PN and the meaning of the verb is far apart, and in the case of *tommy*, the PN does not have a specified referent. The MAKE family, which represents only one instance (*Rumfordize*), only differs from USE in the verbal metonymy RESULT OBJECT FOR ACTION. Lastly, the MAKE LIKE family is compatible with the Person-PN when the property selected from the Person-PN can be copied onto someone / something, as illustrated in (24)³⁶:

- (24) The evangelist in motley who **duncifies** the Spirit to accommodate the public ('Duncify, v.', 2018)

To summarize, the analysis suggests that typically the BEHAVE and MAKE+BEHAVE semantic families are connected to Person-PN, the MAKE LIKE³⁷ and GARDEN families are connected to Place-PN, and the USE and PLASTER families are connected to P&S-PN. The possibility for different types of PN to be compatible with some (but not all) of the semantics families lies in their inherent semantics: a Person-PN can become, through metonymic

³⁶ A study of the impact of these semantic families on the syntactic constructions of the verbs is currently in preparation (Héois, 2020).

³⁷ According to the data, MAKE LIKE is mostly linked to Place-PN, however, the semantic constraints on this behavior are not directly linked to the notion of 'location'. They primarily concern the notions of 'creation' / 'transformation' of something which takes a patient role in the construction, and the notion of 'resemblance' (there is no identity between the source and the target).

processes, a behavior, an abstract or concrete object, but, according to the data, not an event³⁸; a Place-PN can become a behavior, an event, or a concrete object, but not an abstract object; and a P&S-PN can become a behavior, an abstract or concrete object, but not an event.

3.2.3 *Crossing semantics with morphology*

To conclude this description of the corpus, I will now cross the semantic families with the two most productive morphological processes of the corpus, namely conversion and *-ize* suffixation, as illustrated in the figure below.

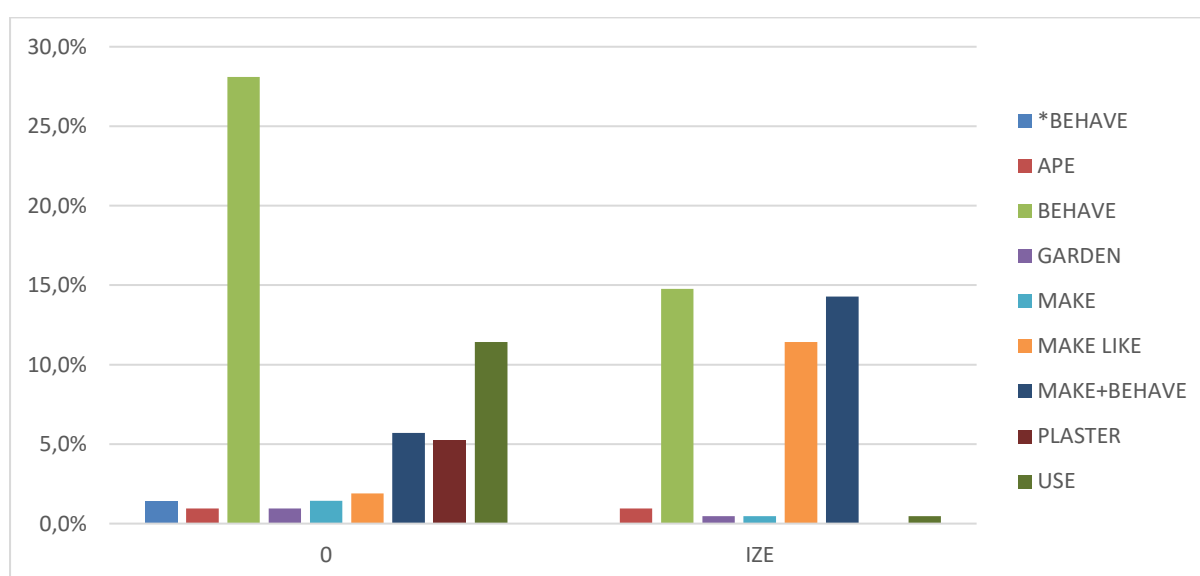


Figure 10. Semantic families according to verbal morphology³⁹

Figure 10 presents the relationship between verbal morphology and semantic families. There are some striking observations to be made. First, the figure confirms the fact that conversion encompasses more types of semantic behavior than *-ize* suffixation. Secondly, the USE and PLASTER families seem to only allow conversion as a morphological process (see section 4.2 for an analysis of the odd occurrence of *-ize* in the USE paradigm). Among minor

³⁸ It is possible for an event to be related to a specific person, but in this case, I argue that we would identify this event to a behavior.

³⁹ Contrary to the previous graph, the percentages shown here are percentages of the total of both *-ize* and conversion occurrences (representing 93% of the entire corpus, 210 out of 225).

WFP Cycle 1, the data also shows one case of backformation in the USE family⁴⁰. If WFP Cycle 2 is taken into account, the two families show relative homogeneity as only conversion and compounding are represented.

The BEHAVE and MAKE+BEHAVE families show a reverse morphological pattern: both families allow the two forms, but on the one hand, the data suggests that BEHAVE is most likely to be associated with conversion, while MAKE+BEHAVE is most likely to be associated with *-ize* suffixation. Cases of backformation and prefixation can be found in the BEHAVE family, while cases of *-ify* suffixation are encountered in the MAKE+BEHAVE family. Regarding WFP Cycle 2, the data shows more heterogeneity for these two families with cases of *-(i)(a)n* and *-let* suffixation, conversion, compounding, and back-clipping present in the BEHAVE family, and cases of *-(i)(a)n* and *-ism* suffixation, and conversion identified for the MAKE+BEHAVE family.

Figure 10 suggests that the MAKE LIKE family is more likely to be associated with *-ize* suffixation, and with suffixation in general, as *-ate* and *-ify* are also represented for this family. The WFP Cycle 2 shows the presence of adjectival suffixation (*-(i)(a)n*, *-ic* and *-ish*) as well as conversion.

Lastly, for MAKE and GARDEN, no hypothesis can be drawn from the data considering the small number of instances. However, as MAKE and MAKE LIKE are connected, it could be

⁴⁰ Considering that *-ize* suffixation and conversion are by far the most represented morphological processes in the corpus, I will mainly focus on them. Regarding the other processes of verbal derivation, I will usually treat backformation, compounding and prefixation together with conversion, and *-ate* and *-ify* suffixation along with *-ize* suffixation. This is done for the purpose of simplification and mostly because the relevant variables of the data are conversion and *-ize* suffixation. There are however observations which lead to operate in this way: verbal suffixations can be grouped because of their similar morphology; prefixation, backformation and compounding, because they do not seem to be compatible with verbal suffixation, are associated to conversion. Moreover, it was indicated previously that prefixation is often associated with conversion in case of a change in category.

hypothesized that both semantic families behave in a similar way, suggesting that MAKE would be more likely associated with *-ize* suffixation.

3.3 Linguistic survey results

As described in section 2.3, an online linguistic survey was published in order to see how proper names could be derived as verbs. It needs to be reminded that the aim of this survey was not to offer a comprehensive view of the matter. Instead, it needs to be considered a qualitative exploratory survey which illustrates idiosyncratic potential language uses. 42 people answered the survey, among whom only 22 fully completed it. Understanding the reason behind this 50% success rate is a matter of speculation, several reasons come to mind: the potential informant realized with the welcome message that the survey was only for native American English speakers; they thought that 15 to 20 minutes was too long for an online survey; or, for those who answered the first questions, they did not like the nature of the survey. Even though some of the incomplete answers may show interesting features, they cannot be included here as the last questions of the survey were a way of checking that the informants were native American English speakers. The 22 completed answers are presented in full in Appendix 3. In this section, I will present the main results of the survey regarding the morphology and semantics of the collected propositions. There are some interesting comments in this survey which give information on the attitudes of some speakers towards neology. Further research on this topic could bring a better understanding of the way new coinages come to existence and of how speakers may use and perceive them. However, this fascinating issue is out of the scope of this paper. The relevant data will be compared to the results of the present study and discussed in section 5.1.

The profile of the informants is quite homogeneous: young (average of 27 years old), female (16 out of 22 informants), and from Arizona (17 out of 22)⁴¹.

As shown in Appendix 2, for each PN, the survey proposed a list of possible forms for the derived verb within the paradigms of conversion and *-ize* suffixation. An option ‘other’ was offered in order to collect other potential forms. Table 17 below shows the number of propositions according to the type of morphology⁴². Only the answers which included a proposition are reported in this table. It needs to be noted however, that, for most PN, more than half of the informants stated that they would never use the PN as a verb⁴³.

| Proper name | Conversion | <i>-ize</i> suffixation | <i>-ify</i> suffixation |
|--------------------|------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Ariana Grande | 5 | 2 | 0 |
| Miley Cyrus | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Donald Trump | 4 | 1 | 0 |
| Barack Obama | 4 | 1 | 2 |
| Bernie Sanders | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Elizabeth Warren | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Edward Snowden | 5 | 1 | 0 |
| Daenerys Targaryen | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Thor | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 36 | 6 | 2 |

Table 17. Proposed morphology for the verb

As the table shows, most propositions were converted verbs. In order to compare these results to the verbs from the *OED*, the semantic behavior of each verb needs to be understood and crossed with the morphology. In order to define the semantic family of each occurrence, I analyzed each example given by the informants and defined the family according to the metonymic processes at work. It was not always easy to understand exactly

⁴¹ I would like to thank Mr Jamet for his help in communicating this survey to potential participants.

⁴² In this table, all converted or suffixed potential forms are gathered under a common label regardless which part of the PN was selected.

⁴³ The reasons for this are numerous, ranging from the lack of knowledge of the PN to the idea that using a PN as a verb is not proper English, see Appendix 3 for the full answers.

what the informant meant, especially when they did not provide any explanation. The process is illustrated in the table below:

| | |
|--|---|
| Verb and definition (provided by the informant) | To Thor: to hit something really hard with a blunt object |
| Example (provided by the informant) | Yeah man, go ahead and thor that shit |
| WFP Step 1 | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY |
| WFP Step 2 | PROPERTY FOR ACTION |
| Semantic family | BEHAVE |

Table 18. Analysis of the linguistic survey – Example from informant #22 / Thor

The analysis of the data shows that only three types of morphology are present: conversion, *-ize* and *-ify* suffixations, along with three semantic families: BEHAVE (Table 18), MAKE+BEHAVE (25) and MAKE LIKE (26), as illustrated in the following examples:

- (25) We need to **Warrenize** the economy. (informant #27)
(to apply the doctrine developed by Elizabeth Warren⁴⁴)
- (26) He's gonna **Trump** it up (informant #19)
(to ruin something with a terrifying mixture of narcissism and stupidity)

The data shows that all three families include conversion and *-ize* suffixation propositions.

For *-ify*, however, only the MAKE LIKE family is concerned, as illustrated in (27):

- (27) Biden doesn't stand a chance if he can't find a way to **Obamify** his campaign (informant #22)
(to garner more enthusiasm among young progressive voters and convince them that he represents institutional change)

The following table shows the different forms which were selected or proposed by the informants, as well as the forms they may have already heard before:

⁴⁴ For lack of explanation from the informant, this definition is my own.

| Proper name ⁴⁵ | Already heard forms | Selected / proposed forms |
|---------------------------------|--|--|
| Ariana Grande (020 10) | | To Ariana Grande To Arianize To Ariana Grandize |
| Miley Cyrus (20 10) | | To Miley To Miley Cyrus |
| Donald Trump (20 1) | To Trump (up) To Donald Trump To Trumpify | To Donald Trump To Trump To Donaldize |
| Barack Obama (02 010) | To Barack | To Barack Obama To Obama To Barack To Obamize To Obamify |
| Bernie Sanders (20 10) | | To Bernie To Bernie Sanders |
| Elizabeth Warren (0200 10) | | To Warren To Warrenize |
| Edward Snowden (20 10) | To Snowden | To Snowden To Snowdenize |
| Daenerys Targaryen (020 010) | To Daeneryse To Targaryen | To Daenerys Targaryen |
| Thor (1) | To Thor up | To Thor |

Table 19. Potential verbs forms for each proper name⁴⁶

As Table 19 shows, only two proper names show a difference between the verbal forms proposed or selected for a new coinage and the forms some informants had already heard, namely Donald Trump and Daenerys Targaryen (the differing forms are in bold). The data and observations presented in this section will be compared to the results of the present study and discussed in section 5.1.

⁴⁵ For lack of an official source, the stress pattern of each PN is taken from forvo.com and pronounceitright.com.

⁴⁶ Propositions such as “to pull a PN” or “to go all PN” were not considered as the PN is then part of a noun phrase. These constructions are of interest, however, for further research on the derivation of PN.

4 Predictive model(s)

As stated in the introduction, the aim of this study is to propose a predictive model for the meanings and forms of verbs originating from proper names. The success of a predictive model lies in its ability to predict the most common instances. The existence of isolated forms, which do not fit into the main patterns, challenge the model and help refine it. This section will focus on presenting two distinct, but related, models whose purpose is to explain the meaning (section 4.1) and morphology (section 4.2) of verbs according to their PN etymon.

4.1 From proper names to verbs: semantic model

I will present for each type of PN, the patterns which are most likely to be encountered when a PN is derived to form a verb. The underlying assumption is that the nature of the PN etymon highly influences the meaning of the derived verb, and this assumption seems to be confirmed by the existence of trends as described in section 3. Each model is the result of the different modellings described in section 2, as well as the observations and analyses detailed in section 3. For each type of PN, I will also, when possible, attempt to propose an explanation for the semantic behaviors of the verbs which appear to deviate from the expected patterns. I will conclude this section with an analysis of the most complex cases⁴⁷ which appear to be motivated by other constraints than the one presented here.

4.1.1 *Person-PN*

As mentioned earlier, the main type of PN represented in the data is the Person-PN (71% of the corpus). From this figure, the following predictive assumption can be inferred: Person-PN are the most likely to generate a derived verb. This observation seems to be directly linked with the nature and distribution of PN in the real world. Indeed, contrary to

⁴⁷ The complex cases were the one categorized as OUT OF ANALYSIS in section 2.2.3.

Place-PN, Person-PN can be compared to an open-class as long as generations come one after another. The explanation is different regarding P&S-PN, as this type of PN can also be considered an open class, but its members are not as numerous as they are for Person-PN.

4.1.1.1 *Main patterns*

As described in section 3.2.2, there are two semantic behaviors which stand out for this type, namely BEHAVE and MAKE+BEHAVE. The presentation of these two semantic families as the main patterns of Person-PN verbal derivations is only based on the present data. It is possible that other patterns could emerge (such as USE or MAKE LIKE) if a bigger set was analyzed. Furthermore, this study only considers the first definition for each verb. An analysis of the cases of polysemy could also lead to the emergence of secondary patterns. However, it is likely that these two families would still remain relevant⁴⁸.

The predictive model for Person-PN is presented in the following figure:

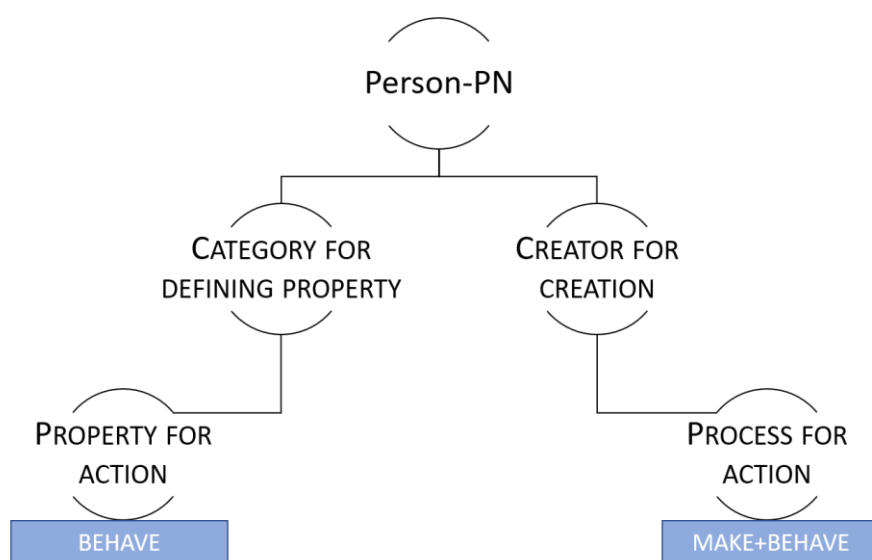


Figure 11. Person-PN semantic model

⁴⁸ The same limits need to be considered for the two other types of PN, and even in a greater extent as they include fewer instances of verbs.

The BEHAVE family, which represents more than half of the verbs originating from a Person-PN is by far the most likely pattern. The figure above, does not show morphological processes, which will be relevant in section 4.2, nor does it include intermediate cognitive processes which may happen before the CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY metonymy. The data only includes three instances of intermediate processes in this category, they are described in the following examples:

- (28) CREATOR FOR CREATION → *zeppelin*
- (29) POSSESSOR FOR POSSESSED → *maverick*
- (30) A HOMOSEXUAL MAN IS A WOMAN → *molly* v1

These cases suggest two things: (1) intermediate cognitive processes are possible and impact the selection of the property which leads to the verbal meaning; (2) most verbs follow the same two-step process which seems to be the most typical semantic structure for verbal derivation from PN. The MAKE+BEHAVE family confirms (2) even more strikingly as no intermediate process is included in the present data.

4.1.1.2 *Minor patterns and oddities*

The analysis provided in section 3.2.2 gave explanations for the existence of minor processes in the Person-PN paradigm. When a verb is created from a Person-PN, the data shows that not only a behavior or process (abstract object) can be selected, but also a concrete object created by the PN. This observation allows for the existence of the USE, PLASTER and MAKE behaviors. When a concrete object is selected from a Person-PN, then I argue that it behaves like a P&S-PN. The situation is different for the MAKE LIKE behavior. Indeed, there is no intrinsic connection between this semantic pattern and a Place-PN apart from their compatibility. The fact that MAKE LIKE is considered a typical pattern for Place-PN is based on the present statistics. However, it appears that this pattern is also compatible with a Person-PN although it does not seem to as productive as the main patterns described above.

The main oddities in the Person-PN paradigm are linked to what was labelled as APE and *BEHAVE. The cases included in the latter family will be analyzed in section 4.1.4. As to the APE family, from a pragmatic point of view, its existence is quite surprising: the full set of characteristics of the Person-PN are selected, and it leads to the situation where only one metonymy is involved in these cases, namely AGENT FOR ACTION. In the real world, it is unlikely that a person would behave exactly in the same way as another person apart from the specific domain of acting. This explanation may be right for *Poor-Robin* as its definition suggests:

(31) *Poor-Robin*: to play the part of Poor Robin ('† Poor-Robin, v.', 2006)

The definition includes vocabulary from the semantic field of theatre (underlined). For the other three instances of APE, the explanation may lie on the lack of specificity of the definition, as illustrated below:

(32) *Frederize*: to take the part of Emperor Frederick ('Frederize, v.', 1989)

(33) *Quixote*: to behave like Don Quixote ('† Quixote, v.', 2008)

The lack of details in these definitions is probably linked to the lack of available data for words which became obsolete. Hence, the meaning, which is usually inferred from many examples, may have been hard to specify. If the definitions were more specific, I suggest that they could be categorized in the BEHAVE family and would follow the process described in figure 11.

4.1.2 *Place-PN*

4.1.2.1 *Main patterns*

There are fewer instances of Place-PN in the corpus: 33 against 160 for the Person-PN type. One explanation for this observation may concern the fact that Place-PN can be considered, to a certain extent, a close class – not in the grammatical sense though. Indeed, contrary to persons and products & services, places tend to exist with a stable name for a long period of time. In section 3.2.2, I observed two semantic patterns which appear to be more likely associated with a Place-PN. MAKE LIKE counts for more than half of the examples in this

category, despite the fact that it does not have an intrinsic link to Place-PN. GARDEN does not appear in any other category, which suggests that its use is constrained to specific types of etymons, in our case Place-PN. Figure 12 below presents the model for this category of PN. It needs to be noted, however, that the most likely to be associated with a Place-PN, based on the data, is the MAKE LIKE semantic behavior.

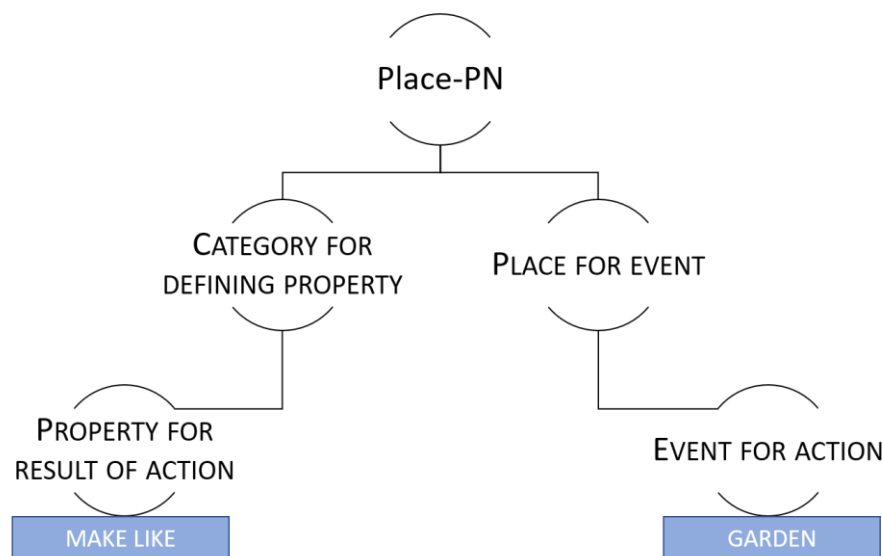


Figure 12. Place-PN semantic model

As was the case for the BEHAVE family, possible intermediate processes can take place in the MAKE LIKE family before the CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY metonymy. They are more numerous both in number and in proportion, but they can be summarized into only two different patterns as (34) and (35) demonstrate:

(34) PLACE FOR INHABITANTS/SOCIETY: *Americanize, Arabianize*, etc.

(35) PLACE FOR INSTITUTION: *Genevate*

The fact that (35) only displays one instance tends to suggest that (34) is a more productive intermediate process. The GARDEN family, on the other hand, does not present any intermediate process as far as the present corpus is concerned.

4.1.2.2 *Minor patterns*

I described in section 3.2.2 the minor patterns of the Place-PN type, namely: BEHAVE, MAKE and USE. The last two families are compatible with this type of PN when a concrete object is available for selection because of its direct connection with the place. The BEHAVE type, which amounts for almost a fifth of the category is linked to the fact that a place is usually filled with people. When a behavior is connected to a specific place (like drinking Porto wine), then this collective behavior can be selected for the derived verb.

4.1.3 *Products & Services-PN*

4.1.3.1 *Main patterns*

To conclude this presentation of the predictive semantic model, I will now present the result of the analysis for the P&S-PN type. With almost half of its instances, this type is by far dominated by the USE family. The second relevant pattern is PLASTER with around a third of the entries. Considering the number of instances of P&S-PN in the corpus (32), the same caution must be kept in mind as for Place-PN. Figure 13 below presents the potential predictive model for this category.

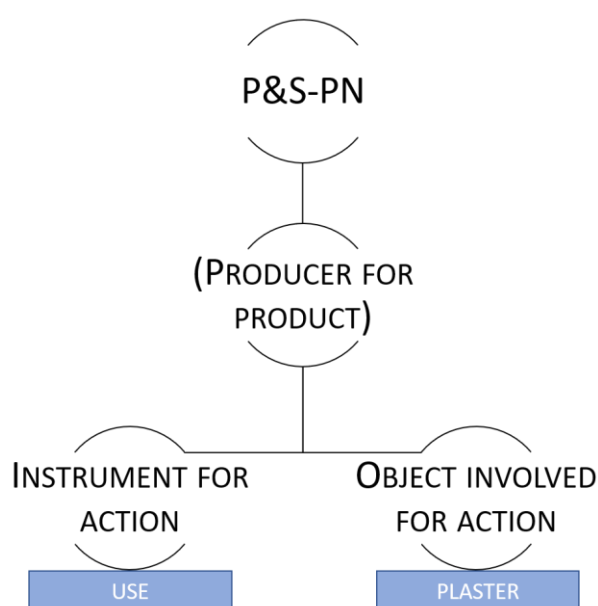


Figure 13. P&S-PN semantic model

Contrary to the previous PN, there are no attested use of intermediary processes here. Moreover, and as explained in section 2.2.4.2, the metonymy PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT is only valid if the P&S-PN refers to the company which made the product. In many cases, as the product or service bears the same name as the company which created it, it is hard to decide whether this metonymy is involved. Considering the absence of the first step in case the name of the product is the verb etymon, and considering the fact that all previous processes included at least two steps between the proper name and the verb, the model in Figure 13 suggests that a proprietary name (the name of a product) does not behave like a proper name regarding verbal derivation. On the other hand, if the name of the company is the etymon of the verb, then the first metonymy applies, and the PN-to-V two-step semantic structure is kept. The observation that a proprietary name does not behave like a PN (semantically) could suggest that it is not a PN. The definition of a PN as referring to a single referent would lead to a similar conclusion. However, other elements, such as syntax, may result in the categorization of proprietary names as PN because they do not behave like common nouns, as illustrated in the impossible utterances below:

(36) to use Facebook

(37) *a Facebook

(38) *a piece of Facebook

In (36), *Facebook* clearly refers to the product, not the company: the proprietary name is used. If it behaved like a common noun, then *Facebook* would be either countable (37) or uncountable (38). This issue goes beyond the scope of this paper. The status of proprietary names is however problematic. One proposition could consist in the assumption of a continuum from common nouns to proper names, but further research would be needed to answer this question.

4.1.3.2 *Minor patterns and oddities*

The minor patterns for the P&S-PN type, as described in section 3.2.2, are as follows: BEHAVE, MAKE LIKE, MAKE+BEHAVE, and MAKE. It may be surprising that the MAKE family, which is intrinsically linked to a concrete object (just like USE and PLASTER), does not stand out in this category. Indeed, the compatibility of MAKE with a P&S-PN is linked to the fact that a concrete object is selected, but its rarity (only one occurrence) suggests that this semantic behavior is not likely. This lack of productivity may be linked to the nature of proprietary names. As they are the legal property of a company or a person, it is legally problematic to create a replica of the product. As a result, unless a proprietary name becomes known to refer to a type of object, and not only a specific object within the category, then the MAKE behavior is not expected. The MAKE LIKE and BEHAVE families are compatible with a P&S-PN when a feature of the product or a feature connected to the product can be selected, as illustrated in *Shake'n Bake*. In this example, the CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY metonymy selects a behavioral feature associated with the use of this product, in this case speed or manipulation, and thus explains the BEHAVE family. The MAKE+BEHAVE family appears to be only connected with services referring to methods or processes (as in *Parkerize*). As such, these P&S are very similar to abstract inventions of individuals, and consequently behave in the same way.

In a nutshell, the data under scrutiny led to three predictive sub-models according to each PN-type. These models can be summarized through four conclusions:

- The most likely PN to be derived as a verb is a Person-PN;
- Person-PN verbs will either select a BEHAVE meaning or a MAKE+BEHAVE meaning;
- Place-PN verbs are most likely to present a MAKE LIKE semantic pattern, or alternatively a GARDEN behavior;
- Products & Services-PN verbs will usually convey a USE type of meaning, or alternatively a PLASTER behavior.

These models suggest that the semantic pattern of a verb originating from a PN can, in most cases, be predicted by the PN-etymon. The criteria which motivate, for each PN, the selection of one semantic pattern or the other is not investigated in the present study. A finer analysis of the semantics of the proper names would be needed in order to propose an answer.

4.1.4 Complex cases

To conclude this section on the predictability of the semantics of verbs originating from PN, I will consider some problematic cases which do not fit into the preceding models. All the examples considered were first categorized as OUT OF ANALYSIS (section 2.2.3). Most of them were successfully categorized as a result of the metonymic analysis (section 2.2.4), however, some observations can be made on various instances.

4.1.4.1 Some observations on generic names

The problem around the use of generic names is linked to the definition of a proper name. The assumed uniqueness of the referent appears to be challenged by the existence of generic names as they refer to a category of persons, not unlike a common noun. Peter McClure (McClure, 2012a), in an article published on the *OED* website, talks about the “name-stock”. This notion is useful to understand why generic names, even though they do not fully behave like PN in their reference, are not such a problem for the definition. Indeed, proper names, whether forenames or surnames, are not coined out of nowhere. Surnames are usually hereditary, and their history shows that they used to be meaningful, denoting the “bearer’s place of residence or origin, family relationship [...], status or occupation, or nickname” (McClure, 2012b). Until the 1750s, first names were attributed according to the names of family members. It was common that a father and a son would share the same name (McClure, 2012a). As a result, the name-stock was quite limited and the most popular names

“could be used to denote anyone or anything that was typical” (McClure, 2012a). McClure lists three different uses for these forenames:

- to denote ordinary people;
- to denote useful objects;
- to denote non-human creatures (real or imaginary).

In the first use, the meaning of the forename sometimes specialized and shifted from low social status to low moral values. In the present corpus, this ultimately resulted in verbs such as *moll*, *molly*, or *roger* v1. I suggest that the second type of denotation is closely linked to the first as it denotes ordinary useful objects, in other words objects an ordinary person would use. In this corpus, this second type is represented by *jack* v2 and *tom*. Finally, I argue that the third type of denotation is a case of personification of a non-human creature. The verb *roblet* may be an instance of this type of use as its etymology refers to either a sprite by the name of Robin Goodfellow, or a goblin named Robinetus (‘† Roblet, n.’, 2010). In both cases, the proper name is used to refer to a specific entity, so this instance does not fall into the generic name category.

Like proprietary names, generic names challenge the definition of a proper name. However, even though their referent is unspecified, they follow the same semantic structure than other proper names when derived as verbs. As a result, their classification among PN is not problematic for this study. Some of them, however, do not include a metonymy as their first step, and I will present these cases in the following subsection.

4.1.4.2 *The use of metaphor as WFP Step 1*

As described in section 2.2.4.2, there are two types of metaphors which were identified at the WFP step 1 level, namely A HOMOSEXUAL MAN IS A WOMAN and A THING IS A PERSON. In the corpus, this level usually corresponds to the use of one metonymy that makes the following verbal metonymy possible. As mentioned earlier, even though most of the instances

do not show intermediate processes, the data suggests that this option is possible. The first type of metaphor, exemplified by *molly* v1, is a case of intermediary process. The second type of metaphor is not, and that will be the focus of this subsection.

In the corpus, five entries present the metaphor A THING IS A PERSON as their only step 1 process. All of them were categorized as OUT OF ANALYSIS in section 2.2.3 either because their PN does not refer to a specific entity – as for *tom* and *tommy*, or because the link between the PN and the verb is too indirect to define the semantic relationship – as is the case for *Archie*, *Oscar* and *peter* v1. The use of the metaphor A THING IS A PERSON in these cases equals to the naming process of an object with a name usually reserved for human beings. It is unclear how the name of St Peter came to be used as the denotation for explosives or for a card trick ('Peter, v.1', 2005)⁴⁹. The other occurrences seem to be motivated in some ways: *tom* and *tommy* are linked to the previous explanation on generic names (section 4.1.4.1); the legend says that the Oscar statuette reminded one employee of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts of her Uncle Oscar ('Oscar, n.3', 2004); and *Archie* apparently comes from the song 'Archibald, certainly not!', created in 1909, which was very popular during the First World War (Mugglestone, 2015)⁵⁰. I suggest that a metonymy is not possible in these cases because the link between the PN and the verb is so indirect. As a result, the selection is not made within the same domain or ICM but between two different domains, hence leading to a metaphoric process. This process, which selects an object as a target, makes it possible for the USE and PLASTER semantic behaviors to happen.

⁴⁹ For this study, the first definition of *peter* v1 was put aside as no explanation for its use has yet been demonstrated.

⁵⁰ The lyrics of this song can be found at <https://monologues.co.uk/musichall/Songs-A/Archibald-Certainly-Not.htm>.

4.1.4.3 *The use of compounding as WFP step 2*

Another type of process, which is both morphological and semantic, competes with metonymy at the step 2 level. As mentioned earlier (section 2.2.4.1), English compounds usually have their head on the right. As a result, compounding a PN with a verb (in this order) results in the analysis of the PN as a modifier of the verb. These cases of PN+V compounds are illustrated in four instances in the corpus, each of them with a generic PN etymon. These cases are: *dickride*, *mollycoddle*, *molly-cosset*, and *sammyfoozle*. As a result of this type of compounding, no verbal metonymy on the PN can be identified as the verbal meaning is ‘imported’ from the verb. The definitions of the verb and its PN-compound are usually very similar, hence questioning the usefulness of the latter. By comparing the definitions for each case, it appears that the compounds may be used for emphasis or to express negative connotations, and probably both at the same time in some cases.

As a result of their morphosemantic structure, these cases should rather be analyzed as verbal derivations using a PN rather than PN derivations. As such, they are outside the scope of the present study. This suggests that verbal derivation of a PN may always involve the use of a verbal metonymy at the step 2 level.

4.1.4.4 *Rhyming slang*

Another type of motivation for the meaning of verbs originating from proper names can be found in cases of rhyming slang. According to the *OED*, there are two cases of rhyming slang in the corpus under study, namely *malky* and *Adam and Eve*. I argue, however, that the occurrence *Mickey Mouse* resembles these cases with a minor difference. For the sake of simplification, I list it under the label ‘rhyming slang’ even though it may not fit all the criteria for such a label. The uncertainty of the label for this instance is linked to the existence of an attested noun etymon in the *OED* (‘Mickey Mouse, Adj. and n.’, 2001, def 5). Moreover, its

context of use is described as “colloquial” which describes informality more than slang. The definition of *slang* is, however, complex, and there is a correlation between slang and colloquial use (Matthews, 2014)⁵¹. The main difference between *Mickey Mouse* and the other two cases lies in the fact that the PN is not the rhyming component, as is shown in the following examples (the rhyming components are in bold):

(39) to Mickey Mouse **around** → to mess **around**

(40) would you Adam and **Eve** it? → would you **believe** it?

(41) to malky (< Malcolm **Fraser**) → to wound with a **razor**

There is a clear difference between (40) and (41) as in (41), the second part of the original rhyming phrase has disappeared. This case is commonly observed in rhyming slang (McArthur *et al.*, 2018b), and this type of evolution accentuates the opacity of the lexeme for outsiders.

These cases, which do not fit into the main analysis of this paper, show that psychosociological motivations can lead to the use of a PN as a verb, for instance playful impulse and the notion of ‘ingroupness’. These motivations are not reserved for rhyming slang and could also be sociolinguistic factors underlying the use of PN as verbs. A sociolinguistic analysis of this type of derivation would be needed in order to study the reasons behind the coinage of verbs from PN.

4.1.4.5 Euphemism

Like rhyming slang, euphemism can account for three instances in the corpus and is pragmatic in nature, that is to say directly linked to linguistic use. Simply defined, a euphemism is “a mild, comforting, or evasive expression that takes the place of one that is taboo, negative, offensive, or too direct” (McArthur *et al.*, 2018a). The three instances which can be analyzed as euphemisms are: *Great-Scott*, *jack v2* (def.5), and *unpollux*. In each case,

⁵¹ For a detailed presentation on English slang, see, among others, Mattiello (2008).

the verb (as well as its non-PN etymon, when it exists) is used instead of the usual word, as shown below⁵²:

(42) Great Scott // Good God

(43) to jack // to masturbate

(44) to unpollux // to castrate

Beyond the euphemistic nature of (43), I suggest that the analysis of generic names also applies here (section 4.1.4.1). The most interesting and complex case is (44) as the form of the euphemism is the result of a pun based on the morphophonological resemblance between *Castor* and *castrate*. The addition of the prefix *un-* suggests that *Pollux* is not merely put in the place of *Castor*: the lack of transparency between *Pollux* and the targeted meaning leads to the use of the prefix (with the meaning of ‘removing’).

4.1.4.6 Opaque motivation

Finally, there are two occurrences which show very opaque motivation, namely *peter* v1 and *roam*. The two-step analysis is however not blocked by this opacity. The main issue lies in the lack of direct connection between their definitions and their referent in the real world. For *roam*, whose first attestation dates back to 1330, making it the most ancient occurrence in the corpus, the opacity is probably the result of its lifespan: there are less data available to lexicographers for the Middle English period. Consequently, it is more difficult to understand the evolution of the more ancient words. For *peter* v1 (1753), the date of first attestation does not suggest that the age-explanation could hold. My hypothesis here is that *peter* v1 comes from the generic name *peter* which itself, as many English forenames, comes from the Bible.

⁵² The symbol “//” is read “instead of”.

4.2 From proper names to verbs: conversion or suffixation?

The aim of this section is to propose a predictive model to account for the morphology of verbs originating from proper names. It is crucial to keep in mind that this model is hypothetical considering the relatively limited amount of data available. As will be pointed out later, further research on a wider corpus should be carried out in order to refine and rethink this model. Moreover, this model is based on the observation of correlations between a form and semantic, morphological and phonological variables. The existence of a correlation does not mean that there is a direct causal relationship between the variable and the form. As a result, the model below consists in a set of hypothesis and is based on the assumption that the morphology of a denominal verb is the consequence of three kinds of variables: the semantics of the PN and the verb; the morphological processes which lead to the verb; and the morphological, phonological and prosodic structure of the PN. Some of the variables at work were presented in section 1.2.3. The observation and analysis of the corpus led to define new variables. I will first explain the methodology which led to the definition of the rules and constraints which, I suggest, determine the morphology of the verb (section 4.2.1), then I will present these rules and constraints (section 4.2.2), and finally, I will look at the competitive forms included in the corpus and attempt to give an explanation for each case based on the proposed model (section 4.2.3).

4.2.1 *Methodology*

In section 1.2.3, I presented the views of Dixon (2008) and Plag (1999) on the constraints which are at work in verbal derivation. From their work, it appears that three components impact the morphology of a denominal verb: semantics, morphology and phonology. I based my analysis on their descriptions and kept the constraints my data confirmed. For example, from a morphological point of view, my data confirms that there

seems to be an incompatibility between verbal conversion and most suffixations at the WFP Cycle 2 level (WFP2) (*Americanize*); at the same time, verbal suffixations do not appear to be compatible with compounds (*Tom and Jerry*). I generalized my approach from these observations and decided to observe the morphology of the verbs based on WFP2. According to the data, conversion is incompatible with adjectival suffixes as well as the nominal suffix *-ism* (*mesmerize*). It is however compatible with the nominal suffixes *-er* (*milliner*) and *-let* (*roblet*). What is even more interesting is the correlation between WFP2 and the morphology of the verb: the data shows that out of the 100 occurrences which include a WFP2 other than suffixation, only 10 are suffixed verbs (in *-ize* and *-ify*). This correlation suggests that not only compounding is incompatible with suffixation at the WFP2 level, but also back-clipping and conversion. The hypothesis is that if WFP 2 is a noun (except for *-ism*), then it is more likely that the resulting verb will be converted, or, in minor cases, will undergo backformation. The existence of ten suffixed occurrences for which the WFP 2 is a noun suggests two things: (1) if this correlation really impacts verbal morphology then it is a constraint and not a rule; and (2) other constraints / rules are needed in order to account for all cases. What this example shows is that both general patterns and isolated patterns were taken into account to define constraints and rules which would offer an explanation for the whole data.

One particularly interesting example of an isolated case which led me to the definition of two rules is the case of *Simonize*. The *OED* describes the morphology of this verb as the combination of the PN *Simons* and the suffix *-ize* ('Simonize, v.2', 2019). The issue with this verb is that it shows a clear USE semantic pattern, which never selects suffixation. My hypothesis here is that *Simonize* does not come directly from the PN *Simons*, but from the

proprietary name *Simoniz*, itself created out the PN⁵³. As a result, there is no process of suffixation involved in this case and the morphology of the verb would be the result of a grapho-phonemic rule which seems to trump all other constraints. Even though the *OED* does not give the phonological transcription of the proprietary name *Simoniz*, according to English phonological rules and the form of this name, the most likely is that the last syllable is pronounced /ɪz/. The hypothesis here is that when the stem ends in /ɪz/, then a process of reanalysis occurs, based on the analogy between the sound /ɪz/ and the *-ize* suffix. This process leads to the evolution of the lexeme into *-ize* form with the pronunciation /aɪz/ and the spelling <ize>. The role of the grapheme <iz> is unclear at this point. In order to see if this observation can be generalized as a rule, all stems finishing in the sound /ɪz/, as well as /i:z/, were examined. The data suggests that there is a grapho-phonemic rule at work, and in this case, it is not dependent on the spelling (see *Achillize*). Following this observation, I assumed that there could be a similar rule for *-ate* and *-en* forms. The data for stems ending in <ate>, whether it is pronounced /ət/ or /eɪt/, suggests that there is a similar rule for <ate> but that this rule is dependent on the spelling (compare *Marprelate* and *Quixotize*). For stems ending in <en>, the data does not show any clear pattern of reanalysis. It is possible that the lack of productivity of this verbal suffix lessens its impact on verbal morphology. Moreover, the data suggests that final /n/ tends to attract the *-ize* suffix. So, this last phonological constraint is in direct competition with the grapho-phonemic constraint of an unproductive suffix, potentially damaging the impact of a once mandatory rule.

Before presenting the different rules and constraints which resulted from this analysis of the corpus. I will briefly comment on the methodology which led to the semantic rules and

⁵³ This hypothesis is confirmed by some of the quotes available on the *OED*.

constraints. As described in 3.2.3, there are three types of semantic families when it comes to morphology: (1) the family only allows one type of morphology (conversion for USE and PLASTER); (2) the family shows a tendency towards conversion (as for BEHAVE); the family shows a tendency towards suffixation (as for MAKE LIKE and MAKE+BEHAVE). For the minor families, there is too little data to determine whether the family shows a preferred morphology. From these observations, I inferred two rules and three constraints: USE and PLASTER require conversion (semantic rules); BEHAVE prefers conversion and MAKE LIKE and MAKE+BEHAVE prefer suffixation (semantic constraints). As rules are non-negotiable, they do not compete with constraints. Constraints on the other hand compete against each other.

In order to propose phonological and prosodic constraints, I based my analysis on the works of Dixon (2008) and Plag (1999). To analyze their propositions in light of the corpus, I needed to compile both the prosodic structure (stress pattern) and the phonological structure of each verb and each proper name. For most cases, the *OED* pronunciation section provided the information, however, the data was not available for every entry. The works of Olausson & Spangster (2006) and Jones (2006) provided most of the missing stress patterns and pronunciations. For the remaining cases, I made educated guesses according to general English rules (Guierre, 1979) and based on the comparison with other similar lexemes and proper names⁵⁴.

4.2.2 *Rules and constraints*

In the following table, I describe the rules and constraints which were inferred from the previous analysis and are reported in the last column of the corpus (the first column presents the codes used in the corpus, see Appendix 1).

⁵⁴ The unattested prosodic and phonological structures appear in yellow cells in Appendix 1.

| Grapho-phonemic rules (and constraint?) | |
|---|--|
| Gpp-ize | If PN ends in /i:z/ or /ɪz/, then V ends in /aɪz/ written <ize> |
| Gpp-ate | If PN ends in <ate>, then V is the result of conversion |
| Gpp-en | If PN ends in <en>, then V may be the result of conversion |
| Semantic rules and constraints | |
| USE / PLASTER | When V is of the USE or PLASTER type, then V is the result of conversion |
| Default sem | When two constraints compete, or no constraint applies, then the semantics of the verb determine its form (BEHAVE → conversion // MAKE LIKE, MAKE+BEHAVE → -ize suffixation) |
| PN-Place | Place-PN prefer suffixation |
| PN-P&S | P&S-PN prefer conversion |
| BEHAVE | -ify is incompatible with the BEHAVE pattern |
| Morphological rules and constraints | |
| Step2-BF | Suffixation is incompatible with another morphological process at the step 2 level (backformation, compounding, prefixation). |
| Step2-Comp | |
| Step2-prefix | |
| WFP2=Suffix | Adjectival suffixes and nominal -ism are only compatible with -ize |
| WFP2=N | When the verb comes from an intermediary form, if this form is a noun and is not suffixed in -ism, then the verb prefers processes other than suffixation. |
| Comp | When the verb can be analyzed as a compound, then conversion is preferred. |
| BkClip | When the PN has been anglicized through back-clipping, then conversion is preferred. |
| Latinate | When the PN shows the Latinate ending <us>, then -ize is preferred |
| Prosodic and phonological constraints | |
| Ultim Stress-IZE | When the primary stress of the PN is on its ultimate syllable, then -ize is very unlikely |
| Ultim Stres-IFY | PN must bear its primary stress on the ultimate syllable for -ify to exist (unless it ends in /i/ with a penultimate stress) |
| 1syll | Monosyllabic PN prefer conversion |
| Cluster | PN ending in a consonant cluster prefer -ify |
| i#2 | Disyllabic PN ending in /i/ prefer -ify |
| i#3+ | PN of three syllables or more ending in /i/ prefer -ize |
| V# | PN ending in a vowel sound (other than /i/) are incompatible with -ize |
| k# | PN ending in /k/ prefer -ize |
| n# | PN ending in /n/ prefer -ize |
| r#2 | Disyllabic PN ending in /(r)/ prefer -ize ⁵⁵ |

Table 20. Rules and constraints to account for verbal morphology

⁵⁵ “r” is between brackets because its pronunciation in non-rhotic varieties of English is context dependent. However, the optionality does not seem to influence the morphology of the verb.

In Table 20, the rules appear in red. Based on the data, there is no clear hierarchy between constraints that compete against each other. The rules dominate and, when they apply, no constraint is involved. For example, *photomaton* falls under the USE rule and, as a result, the n# constraint does not apply. Some constraints of the table have a specific role and do not compete with other constraints on the same level: they arbitrate the competitions. The data suggests that Default sem constraints have this role. For example, *Acteon* is a BEHAVE verb. None of the rules apply in this case and two constraints are in competition, namely n# - which would lead to *-ize* – and WFP2=N – which would lead to conversion. Default sem arbitrates in favor of conversion in this case. Conversely, in *Babelize* (MAKE LIKE), Default sem selects *-ize* suffixation in the competition between PN-Place and WFP2=N. When there is no competition between constraints, and one constraint applies, then Default sem is not involved. The example of *marcel* illustrates this idea: it is a verb from the MAKE+BEHAVE family for which only the WFP2=N applies, as a result, conversion is selected. When no rule and no constraint can influence the morphology of the derived verb, then Default sem selects the morphology: *Bobbitt* and *Coslettize* are relevant illustrations of this phenomenon as their etymons share the same stress pattern as well as the same final sounds, namely /ɪt/. The only difference between the two is their semantics as the former verb is part of the BEHAVE family while the latter is of the MAKE+BEHAVE family.

Because of the limited amount of data, it is not surprising that the model fails to predict some forms. That is the case for 22 verbs of the corpus. However, hypotheses based on various data can be presented to explain most of these cases.

4.2.3 Competitive forms

In this section, I will first examine the cases which the rules and constraints presented above failed to explain (section 4.2.3.1), I will then investigate the duplicate forms which coexist in the corpus under study and analyze them according to the model (section 4.2.3.2).

4.2.3.1 Resisting forms

Among the 22 forms which resist the model presented in the previous section, 17 are not duplicate forms, that is to say that the corpus does not include two morphologies which are based on the same PN. These duplicate cases will be analyzed in the next subsection.

The first hypothesis questions the etymology of seven of these problematic verbs. As I mentioned in section 1, the issue of directionality is a problem in lexicography for various reasons. With the example of *Simonize*, I have shown that some of the assumptions made by the *OED* may not resist a deeper analysis. If WFP2 really constrains verbal morphology, then some of the resisting forms are questioning the etymology listed in the *OED*. I suggest that it is the case for the following verbs: *bovrilize*, *Mirandize*, *Studentize*, *Maratize*, *Marxize*, *pyrrhonize* and *muller* v3. Except for *Mirandize*, the questioning of the etymology restores the model for all the other verbs. In the etymology section for *pyrrhonize*, the *OED* mentions that the verb was coined after the French verb *pyrrhoniser*. However, they do not mention the fact that it is a borrowing and the origin section states that it comes “from a proper name, combined with an English element” (*Pyrrhonize*, v., 2007). As this verb follows the BEHAVE semantic pattern and its PN etymon ends in a vowel sound, the model would predict a conversion. If we assume that it is actually a borrowing from French, then the problem does not persist⁵⁶. *Maratize* seems to be a similar case, but the French verb does not share the

⁵⁶ It is another issue to know whether the French verb would be considered well-formed according to a French model of rules and constraints.

meaning of the English verb ('† Maratize, v.', 2000). The assumption is that the borrowing of a word does not involve the borrowing of all its features, in this case its meaning. For *Mirandize* and *Studentize*, the *OED* etymology links these verbs directly to a common noun ('Mirandize, v.', 2002; 'Studentize, v.', 2015). Because no *-ize* constraint applies, WFP2=N predicts that their form should be conversion. However, their related common noun cannot be completely considered a noun as it only exists as a modifier of another noun, as in *Student distribution* ('Student, n.2', 2015). The assumption of a WFP2=N/A for these two verbs solves the problem for *Studentize* because the Default sem of MAKE+BEHAVE can then apply, but not for *Mirandize* because the V# constraint would still lead to the selection of conversion. Similarly, the hypothesis of a WFP2=N/A would solve the issue for *bovrilize*, WFP2=0 for *muller v3*, and WFP2=Suffix for *Marxize* (< *Marxist* n1, adj1).

Another solution could be to propose a new constraint. To explain both *Osirify* and *Perkinize*, a constraint preferring the deletion of final /s/ (written <s>) could be hypothesized. More data would be necessary to verify the correlation. However, this assumption corresponds to the intuition that final <s> pronounced /s/ conflicts with the inflexion of the third person of the English present, and as such should be avoided. For *Owlspiegle*, *Grimthorpe*, *Frankenstein*, *Caesar*, *marconi*, *Rolf*, *North-Britonize*, and *Rumfordize*, the present study does not contain enough data to make any assumptions for the explanation of these forms. The existence of these forms and the inability of the present model to explain them expectedly suggests that the model needs to be refined through a study of more comprehensive data.

4.2.3.2 Duplicate forms

The presence of duplicate forms is an interesting feature of this set of data, which is directly connected to its diachronic nature. What is meant by *duplicate forms* here is the

existence of different verb forms originating from the same etymon. There are two types of duplicates: different forms which share the same meaning; and different forms which have different meanings. In the study of competitive forms, the first category is the most relevant. However, the second category will be presented as it also shows some interesting features, especially when it comes to morphology and the evolution of meaning through time. In the following sections, I will analyze the various instances of these two categories.

4.2.3.2.1 *Same meaning / Different form*

The model presented in 4.2.2 mostly consists of constraints. This means that in some cases, two competitive forms may be coined. However, this should not be the case if the default semantic constraints apply at the time of coinage. The existence of duplicate forms suggests that Default sem might be relevant, but its influence may come after some time.

The pairs *Perne / Pernize* and *pander / panderize* are good examples of the impact of the Default sem constraint after the process of coinage. In other words, Default sem seems to predict which of the two forms will survive and which will become obsolete. Both these duplicates follow the BEHAVE semantic pattern, and in both cases, there is a competition between two constraints, 1syll // n# and BkClip // Latinate respectively. I argue that the Default sem for BEHAVE eventually selects conversion over suffixation, and that it explains the obsolescence of the *-ize* forms in these two cases.

The case should be similar for *Roentgen / Roentgenize* with the difference that in this case, the Default sem of MAKE+BEHAVE should select the suffixed form. It is worth noticing that the existence of *Roentgen* argues in favor of the constraint Gpp-en. If the model is correct, then it predicts that if one form should survive, it will be *Roentgenize*. It is difficult to predict when a lexeme might disappear, and it is also possible that neither will survive.

However, if English speakers still have the need for this word, then, for the sake of economy, it is likely that only one will remain and that it will be *Roentgenize*.

The notion of economy of language is relevant for two other pairs: *Mohammedanize* / *Mohammedize* and *Uncle Tom* / *tom*. In the first pair, which follows the BEHAVE pattern, *Mohammedize*, according to the model, should not be possible. The constraint WFP2=Suffix explains *Mohammedanize*, but its shorter version is not motivated by any constraint. As the former is longer (five syllables), the assumption is that the latter was formed by analogy to the former for the sake of economy – the dates of attestation also coincide with this hypothesis. However, because *Mohammedize* does not conform to the rules and constraints underlying verbal morphology, it went into obsolescence and the well-formed *Mohammedanize* survived. The pair *Uncle Tom* (def.1) / *tom* (def.5) seems to be driven by the notion of economy as well. The dates of first attestation confirm this hypothesis (1933 and 1963, respectively) ('Tom, v.', 2018; 'Uncle Tom, v.', 2017). This pair is however not problematic as no suffixation is present. Similarly, *Taser* / *Tase* do not pose specific problems for this study as the model suggests that backformation works in a similar way as conversion. It is out of the scope of this paper to go further in the study of backformation as there is too few examples in the corpus.

The cases of *Pasteur* / *pasteurize* and *Rarey* / *Rarefy* are a little bit more complex to explain than the previous examples. *Pasteur* / *pasteurize*, which belongs to the MAKE+BEHAVE family, competes on the basis of the constraints Ultim Stress-IZE and r#2. I have stated earlier that no hierarchy seems to exist between the constraints. However, Ultim Stress-IZE is presented as a very restrictive prosodic constraint by Plag (1999), especially as prosody is, according to him, the main argument in favor of considering *-ize* and *-ify* to be conditioned allomorphs. The existence in the data of monosyllabic stems with *-ize* suggests

that Ultim Stress-IZE is more a constraint than a rule, but most of the data suggests that this constraint might rank higher than others. For this reason, the selection of *pasteurize* over *Pasteur* needs to be explained in some other fashion than the Default sem rule. My hypothesis is that, even though *pasteurize* was coined in the English language, the French form *pasteuriser* had an influence on the process of selection, leading to the surprising obsolescence of *Pasteur*.

For *Rarey* / *Rareyfy*, the process of selection which led to the obsolescence of *Rareyfy* cannot be explained by the Default sem constraint of MAKE+BEHAVE as its preferred form is *-ize*. As a result, other variables are needed. The hypothesis here is twofold. First, the two verbs were coined in the mid-19th century, and as mentioned previously, the *-ify* suffix is not as productive as conversion or *-ize* in English. As a result, in case there are two competing forms for the same meaning, speakers might find it more natural to go with the most common morphology, in this case, conversion. The second reason is quasi-homonymy. It is possible that the fact that *Rareyfy* has almost the same pronunciation as *rarefy*, a much more common verb, could have led the former to obsolescence. Homonymy in itself is very common in language, so I suggest that homonymy alone cannot explain the obsolescence of *Rareyfy*. However, it is possible that it played a role along with the productivity argument ('Rarey, v.', 2008; '† Rareyfy, v.', 2008).

4.2.3.2.2 *Different meaning / Different form / Same etymon*

The existence of different forms with different meanings for the same etymon is not in itself problematic. Indeed, pairs such as *babylon* / *Babylonize*, *epicure* / *epicurize* and *Marprelate* / *Martinize* are interesting insofar as they exemplify the potential variety of verbal derivation from proper names. The obsolescence of some of these words cannot be attributed to morphological competition as these verbs convey different meanings.

Sometimes, however, the evolution of the meaning of one member of the pair creates competition between the two forms.

The pair *dunce* / *duncify* illustrates this case. The two verbs were coined around the same time with different meanings: *dunce* had the BEHAVE pattern, while *duncify* had a MAKE LIKE semantic behavior. Quickly, however, the meaning of *dunce* widened and, as a result, encompassed the primary meaning of *duncify*, i.e. “to make a dunce of”. It needs to be noted that the contrary would not have been possible as the *-ify* suffix is not compatible with BEHAVE. The reason why the two verbs still exist lies on the specialization of the meaning of *duncify*, as it includes a specific negative connotation towards the patient of the verb, whereas the use of *dunce* does not entail that the object of the verb is considered stupid (‘Dunce, v.’, 2018; ‘Duncify, v.’, 2018).

The verbs *Quixote* (1702) and *Quixotize* (1800) originally shared the same meaning, namely “to act in a quixotic manner”. However, *Quixotize* later became transitive with the meaning “to make quixotic” (1880). The suffixed form, as it is, does not seem to be explained by the model. It is interesting that only the adjective is used to define *Quixotize*, while both the adjective and the PN are used in the definition of *Quixote*. Moreover, the adjective *quixotic* was first attested in 1718, which makes it a viable candidate for the etymon of *Quixotize*. As a result, it is the assumption here, that *Quixote* v. comes from *Quixote* n., as mentioned in the *OED*, but *Quixotize* v., because of its morphology, definitions and later attestation, comes from *quixotic* adj. (contrary to the *OED*). The obsolescence of the converted form may be linked to the widening of the meaning of *Quixotize* through time (‘† Quixote, v.’, 2008; ‘Quixotic, Adj. and n.’, 2008; ‘Quixotize, v.’, 2008).

Last but not least, the pair *Nimrod* / *Nimrodize* is by far the most problematic as its pairing of morphology and meaning should be reversed according to the model. The rules and

constraints suggest that *Nimrod* should be a BEHAVE verb, while *Nimrodize* should be a MAKE LIKE verb. However, the contrary is happening. It is very surprising that both verbs are listed as directly derived from the PN even though the meaning of *Nimrodize* is linked to *Nimrod* n. (def.1), and the meaning of *Nimrod* v. is linked to *Nimrod* n. (def.2). The two verbs select a different property of the PN (respectively ‘tyrant’ and ‘hunter’). Moreover, the dates could also coincide with the two verbs deriving, to some extent from this noun: *Nimrodize* is first attested in 1614, *Nimrod* n. (def1) in 1548; and *Nimrod* v. is first attested in 1836 and *Nimrod* n. (def.2) in 1623.

Another noun could explain the morphology of *Nimrodize*: *Nimrodizing* n., which is first attested in 1605, and whose meaning is also linked to the tyrannical behavior of Nimrod. Hence, I make the hypothesis that *Nimrodize* comes from *Nimrodizing*, which may in turn come from *Nimrod* n. (def.1). It is, however, quite unusual to have such a directionality in a derivation: *-izing* usually comes from *-ize* v. + *-ing* n. So, the origin of this verb should be further researched in order to fully explain its etymology. Nevertheless, if the unusual derivation is accounted for, then we have to hypothesize that the *-izing* suffix is not *-ize* + *-ing*. Then, *Nimrodize* would be created by backformation, with *-ize* being accidental. If *-izing* is considered, on the other hand, as *-ize* + *-ing*, it means that the coinage of *Nimrodizing* would imply an underlying *-ize* form, which is problematic for the reasons mentioned above (the BEHAVE pattern). The explanation for *Nimrod* v. is less problematic. As mentioned above, the second definition of *Nimrod* n. refers to the same entity as this verb. As a result, it seems probable that the verb originates from the noun and, as a consequence, the WFP2=N rule applies and explains the conversion. The fact that both *Nimrodize* and *Nimrod* n. (def.1) were obsolete when *Nimrod* v. first appeared tends to give more strength to this hypothesis (‘Nimrod, n.’, 2003; ‘† Nimrod, v.’, 2003; ‘† Nimrodize, v.’, 2003; ‘† Nimrodizing, n.’, 2003).

5 Discussion

In the previous section, I presented two models whose aim is to predict the meaning and morphology of verbs originating from proper names. The various analyses showed that, as far as this set of data is concerned, their predictive ability can be considered relatively successful. The aim of this last section is to discuss these models along two lines: first, I will discuss the data collected in the linguistic survey in order to evaluate to what extent it corresponds to the models (section 5.1), then I will discuss the limits of the present study and propose potential research tracks which could lead to the refining of the present models and a better understanding of proper names derivation (section 5.2).

5.1 Linguistic survey: can the model predict the data?

As mentioned earlier, the linguistic survey which was carried out for this study aimed to generate potential forms native speakers would pick when creating a verb from a proper name. I will now consider each selected PN and apply the semantic and morphological models in order to predict which forms are the most likely to appear. I will then compare these predictions with the actual data collected through the survey.

Table 21 below presents the morphological predictions for each PN according to two patterns: BEHAVE and MAKE+BEHAVE. Indeed, all the PN are of the Person type and the semantic model predicts that the most likely meaning of the derived verbs should be following one of these two behaviors (section 4.1.1). I added a third family, MAKE LIKE, because, as mentioned earlier, this semantic pattern, even though it was considered the main pattern for Place-PN, does not share an inherent connection with Place-PN and is easily compatible with Person-PN.

| Selected PN forms | Rules & constraints | BEHAVE | MAKE+BEHAVE | MAKE LIKE |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------|
| Ariana Grande | Comp | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ariana | V# // ?i#3+ ⁵⁷ | 0 | -ize | -ize |
| Grande | V# | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Miley Cyrus | Comp | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Miley | V# // Ultim Stress-IFY | 0 | 0 / -ify | 0 / -ify |
| Cyrus | Default sem | 0 | -ize | -ize |
| Donald Trump | Comp | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Donald | Default sem | 0 | -ize | -ize |
| Trump | 1 syll // Cluster | 0 | 0 / -ify | 0 / -ify |
| Barack Obama | Comp | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Barack | k# // Ultim Stress -IZE | 0 ⁵⁸ | -ify | -ify |
| Obama | V# / ?i#3+ | 0 | 0 / -ify | 0 / -ify |
| Bernie Sanders | Comp | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Bernie | V# / Ultim Stress-IFY | 0 | 0 / -ify | 0 / -ify |
| Sanders | Default sem | 0 | -ize | -ize |
| Elizabeth Warren | Comp | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Elizabeth⁵⁹ | Default sem | 0 | -ize | -ize |
| Warren | Gpp-en // n# | 0 | -ize | -ize |
| Edward Snowden | Comp | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Edward | Default sem | 0 | -ize | -ize |
| Snowden | Gpp-en // n# | 0 | -ize | -ize |
| Daenerys Targaryen | Comp | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Daenerys | Default sem | 0 | -ize | -ize |
| Targaryen | n# | -ize | -ize | -ize |
| Thor | 1syll | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Table 21. Predictions for morphological forms according to semantic pattern

As Table 21 shows, for each verb, except *Thor*, there are three selection possibilities:
either the full name is used to form a verb, or only one element of the PN (first or last name).

⁵⁷ According to the problematic case *Mirandize*, I consider here the possibility that a PN of three syllables or more, and ending in /ə/, may trigger the -ize morphology.

⁵⁸ Because the two constraints compete for and against the -ize form, my hypothesis here is that Default sem for BEHAVE will select conversion (as -ify is incompatible with this semantic pattern).

⁵⁹ Intuition dictates that this form is very unlikely to be selected for the verb as *Elizabeth* is a very common name, and as one famous person is actually known by this forename – Queen Elizabeth II. The same goes for *Edward*.

Studying which element is selected and what the reasons for this selection might be is out of the scope of this study. The linguistic survey suggests that this process of selection is partly based on the degree of perceived uniqueness of each name, as informant #10's comment on his choice of Ariana Grande's full name illustrates:

I chose to use her full name because I don't think she is well known enough by her first name alone, like Adele for example. I wouldn't use just her last name because Grande means big and that would only confuse whoever I am talking to.

By contrast, his explanation on the selection of *Miley* for Miley Cyrus suggests that some first names can be perceived as unique and, as a result, can become verbs by themselves:

In this case, I would use just her first name because Miley is a unique enough first name and there's no risk of confusing it with someone else.

The comparison of the data collected from the linguistic survey and Table 21 confirms the explanatory potential of the model. The table below reproduces Table 21, but only keeps the PN which were actually selected by the informants. Predictions which correspond to a proposition from an informant are in green, while red is reserved for the forms which were completely ill-predicted. Finally, orange is used when the predictive form is proposed in the survey along with another form.

| Selected PN form | Rules & constraints | BEHAVE | MAKE+BEHAVE | MAKE LIKE |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|--------|-------------|------------------------|
| Ariana Grande ⁶⁰ | Comp | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ariana | V# // ?i#3+ | 0 | -ize | -ize |
| Miley Cyrus | Comp | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Miley | V# // Ultim Stress-IFY | 0 | 0 / -ify | 0 / -ify |
| Donald Trump | Comp | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Donald | Default sem | 0 | -ize | -ize |
| Trump | 1 syll // Cluster | 0 | 0 / -ify | 0 / -ify ⁶¹ |
| Barack Obama | Comp | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Barack | k# // Ultim Stress -IZE | 0 | 0 / -ify | 0 / -ify |
| Obama | V# / ?i#3+ | 0 | 0 / -ize | 0 / -ize |
| Bernie Sanders | Comp | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Bernie | V# / Ultim Stress-IFY | 0 | 0 / -ify | 0 / -ify |
| Warren | Gpp-en / n# | 0 | -ize | -ize |
| Snowden | Gpp-en / n# | 0 | -ize | -ize |
| Daenerys Targaryen | Comp | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Thor | 1syll | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Table 22. Evaluation of the model according to the survey

The first observation which comes from the table above is twofold and based on the fact that only three semantic patterns emerged from the survey: the data confirms that BEHAVE is the most likely scenario for the semantic pattern of Person-PN; however, the survey suggests that MAKE LIKE may be underrepresented in the corpus regarding Person-PN. Regarding the morphological predictions, the model appears quite successful considering the little amount of data it was built on. However, it fails to fully predict one case, and only partly predicts two others. For *Snowden*, the issue concerns the existence of one -ize form for the BEHAVE pattern. One explanation for this pattern may be semantic. Indeed,

⁶⁰ One informant proposed both *Ariana Grande* and *Ariana Grandize*. However, as no example was given to understand the meaning of the second form, it was not taken into account here.

⁶¹ When the model cannot predict which form is going to be selected, like in this case, then it is considered a success when at least one form is selected.

even though the informants were asked to give a sentence and as much information as possible on what they meant, defining a word based on one example is far from ideal. Moreover, as I showed earlier, the main difference between BEHAVE and MAKE LIKE is the notion of ‘result’. Considering the fact that the semantics linked to the PN *Edward Snowden* is quite stable in the survey and roughly means “to leak information”, it is possible that the informant who used *snowdenize* had in mind the result of the behavior in place of the behavior itself.

The problem with *Donald* is quite similar as the form *donaldize* was proposed for a BEHAVE meaning. However, the informant did not give any example of a sentence, so it appears impossible at that point to propose any explanatory hypothesis for this case of failure.

Obama shows a very interesting problem for the MAKE LIKE pattern. Even though no *-ify* option was listed as a potential answer in the survey, two informants proposed *obamify* with a MAKE LIKE pattern. For the same pattern, two other informants proposed respectively *obama* and *obamize*. As I noted earlier, the *-ize* hypothesis for this type of PN morphology was proposed based on the problematic morphology of *Mirandize*. Only one definite conclusion can be drawn from these examples of the MAKE LIKE pattern (*Mirandize*, *Obama*, *Obamize*, *Obamify*, as well as *Arianize*): the model is insufficient to explain the morphology of verbs originating from trisyllabic stems ending in a vowel and bearing their primary stress on their penultimate syllable.

5.2 Limits of the model and further research

Throughout this paper, I have pointed out some of the limits of this study as well as the questions it raises. In this final section, I will attempt to summarize these limits and propose potential ways to overcome them in the form of research propositions.

First, the corpus under study only counts 225 lexemes. Even for the most represented PN category, i.e. Person-PN, the semantic model underpredicted the importance of the MAKE LIKE pattern, while overpredicting MAKE+BEHAVE. The issue is even more striking for less represented PN as generalizations on a limited amount of data will usually lead to unverified predictions. In order to overcome this issue and refine the models proposed in the present study, it would be ideal to compile data from big corpora such as the *Corpus of Contemporary American English*, the *British National Corpus* or the *Helsinki Corpus*. This compilation should make it possible to identify more contexts for the present lexemes and more idiosyncratic forms for verbs, and to find new occurrences which did not make their way to the *OED*, including occasionalisms.

Secondly, the categorization of proprietary and generic names as proper names is problematic, as I mentioned earlier. The generalization of this study to all denominal verbs may lead to a better understanding of the potential continuum in the noun / proper name paradigm. Of course, such a study would only consider the derivational behavior of these lexemes regarding their semantic patterns and their morphology. By taking the quotes into account, their syntactic patterns could also be considered, and it would help refine the models (Héois, 2020). Moreover, this study should be coupled with the analysis of their behavior as common nouns (countable, uncountable) so as to understand the continuum better.

Thirdly, the choice to leave pragmatic issues out in this study is linked to the necessary limited scope allowed for this paper. However, on a morpho-pragmatic level, identifying the criteria which determine which element(s) of a PN will enter verbal derivation, would help predict the most likely form of the verb. Criteria such as morphology, cultural context, language use, Gricean maxims, may play a role. In order to identify which criteria matter, a two-component representative study could be a solution. One component would test the

production of verbs from PN, in a similar fashion as the present linguistic survey did, and the other would test the understanding of these PN based on the selected element(s). So that the study is even more successful, it should take into account the variety of English. This aspect has indeed been put aside in the present study as the *OED* does not always give the information.

Moreover, the linguistic survey raised two fascinating questions concerning: (1) the complex attitudes of speakers towards neologisms; and (2) the existence of other constructions involving PN, such as *to pull a PN*. Regarding the attitudes towards neologisms, and especially towards verbal neology based on PN, the answers of informant #7 are fascinating (see Appendix 3 for her full answers). Out of the 9 proposed PN, she answered 8 times that she would never use these PN as verbs. For *Donald Trump*, she chose the form *Trump*, but her example shows that she used the meaning of the common verb *to trump*. As a result, none of her answers offered a new coinage. What is interesting is the explanations she gave for not using a PN as a verb: they range from “I don’t like him” (*Bernie Sanders*) to “name does not constitute as an action” (*Daenerys Targaryen*). The example of informant #7 shows that some speakers may consider that using a PN as a verb is not proper English. The question raised by this observation is twofold: (1) are conservative speakers the same in the case of PN-verb neology as in the case of other linguistic innovations? And (2) who are the influential innovative speakers for this type of neology? Regarding the existence of specific constructions which appear to compete with the existence of verbal forms originating from PN, the answers of informants #9 and #6 are interesting (see Appendix 3). They mention that the construction *to pull a PN* would be more likely than the verb originating from PN. Studying verbs alongside these types of constructions would probably give a better understanding of

how they distribute according to semantic patterns and language use, and if the existence of such a construction impacts the morphology of the verb (regarding the WFP2 constraint).

Last but not least, from a diachronic perspective, this study did not systematically consider the obsolescence, survival and polysemy of the verbs – although it was taken into account for the analysis of duplicate forms (section 4.2.3.2). Studying these variables in a systematic fashion would lead to a better understanding of the circumstances in which a verb may or may not survive. Indeed, as I explained in the introduction, PN used as verbs are usually expected to be ephemeral, especially in the case of an ephemeral referent, such as a Person-PN. If this is considered the norm for this type of derivation, then the prolonged existence of forms such as *boycott*, *maverick* or *pasteurize* should be explained by other variables.

Conclusion

The aim of the present study was to propose a predictive model for the semantics and morphology of verbs originating from proper names. In section 1, I presented the theoretical approaches underlying this study regarding the notions of proper names, verbal morphology, verbal semantics, and institutionalization. Within the limits of the *OED*, I compiled a corpus of 225 verbs originating from proper names which I then modelled for analysis (section 2). Because of the aim of this study, I focused on modelling the semantic and morphological components of the verbs and their proper name etymon. This modelling allowed for the definition of different categories and helped carry out the analysis (section 3). From this analysis, I inferred two complementary models which aim to predict respectively the semantics and morphology of the verb based on its proper name etymon (section 4). The linguistic survey I conducted made it possible to test the models. I finally presented some of the limits of the present study and possible ideas for further research which would help refine the understanding of the phenomenon (section 5).

The present study reveals the following trends in verbal derivation of proper names:

- Person proper names are the most likely to undergo verbal derivation;
- Person proper names used as verbs will most likely convey a meaning of the BEHAVE or MAKE+BEHAVE types;
- Place proper names will most likely convey a meaning of the MAKE LIKE or GARDEN types;
- Products & Services proper names will most likely convey a meaning of the USE and PLASTER types;
- USE and PLASTER verbs are the result of conversion;
- BEHAVE verbs tend to prefer conversion;
- MAKE+BEHAVE and MAKE LIKE verbs prefer suffixation.

The criteria which determine for one type of PN which semantic behavior will be selected is not analyzed in the present study. It is possible that encyclopedic knowledge about the proper

name will play a major role in the selection with the most salient feature of the proper name determining which semantic behavior is preferred.

What this study suggests is that the type of proper name determines the potential and most likely semantic patterns of the derived verbs, which, in turn, influence the form of the verb. However, verbal morphology is not only influenced by the semantics of the verb but also by the type of the proper name etymon, its phonological and prosodic structure, its morphology, and the existence of intermediary derivational cycles. This last proposition defends the idea that not only morphologically marked derivation cycles play a role in the morphology of the derived verb, such as suffixation or compounding, but also unmarked cycles, such as conversion. As a result, the morphology of a derived verb may be considered an indication, when the proper constraints and rules are defined, of whether the lexeme underwent a nominal conversion preceding the verbal derivation. This aspect, if further studies confirm it, would give more arguments for the study of directionality. The present analysis also suggests that verbal derivation from a proper name is metonymic in nature regardless of the morphology of the derived verb. This idea questions the extent to which a suffix such as *-ize* can be considered to have a meaning. The analysis suggests that the interaction between the suffix and the meaning is one of compatibility, and that the semantics is mostly conveyed by metonymic processes. Moreover, verbal derivation from proper names involves a two-step cognitive process which requires at least two metonymies, including a mandatory verbal metonymy. In marginal cases, the non-verbal metonymy can be replaced by a metaphor. This finding suggests that proprietary names, in terms of their derivational behavior, cannot be fully considered proper names. As I mentioned in section 5.2, further research is needed in order to confirm and possibly refine these hypotheses.

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Appendix 1: Corpus

| Verb | Date | PN Etymon | Type of PN | Semantic relation with PN | WFP Step 1 | WFP Step 2 (Action ICM) | Semantic family | PN STRESS | PN ENDING | IZE or 0? |
|---------------------------|------|--------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---|---|-----------------|-----------|-----------|---------------|
| Achillize | 1672 | Achilles | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 010 | li:z | Gpp-ize |
| Actaeon | 1582 | Actaeon | Person | BEHAVE/TREASURE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 100 | ti(:)ən | WFP2=N // n# |
| Adam and Eve | 1925 | Adam and Eve | Person | OUT OF ANALYSIS | Comp PN+and+PN | | *BEHAVE | 10 0 1 | n-i:v | Rhyming slang |
| Aladdinize | 1848 | Aladdin | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 010 | dɪn | n# |
| alexander v1 alexandre | 1666 | Alexander | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 2010 | ndə(r) | Default-Sem |
| Alexander v2 | 1700 | Alexander | Person | BEHAVE/TREASURE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 2010 | ndə(r) | Default-Sem |
| Americanize | 1686 | America | Place | MAKE LIKE | PLACE FOR INHABITANTS/SOCIETY Suffix -(i)(a)n (CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY) | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE LIKE | 0100 | rɪkə | WFP2=Suffix |
| Arabianize | 1881 | Arabia | Place | MAKE LIKE | PLACE FOR INHABITANTS/SOCIETY Suffix -(i)(a)n (CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY) | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE LIKE | 010 | bɪə | WFP2=Suffix |
| Archie | 1915 | Archie | Person | OUT OF ANALYSIS | Metaphor: A THING IS A PERSON | INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION | USE | 10 | tʃi | USE |
| Arminianize | 1625 | Arminius | Person | BEHAVE/APE | Suffix -(i)(a)n (CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY) | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 100 | njəs | WFP2=Suffix |
| artex | 1976 | Artex | Products & Services | PLASTER | (PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT) | OBJECT INVOLVED FOR ACTION | PLASTER | 10 | teks | PLASTER |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|------|------------|---------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|---|-----------|-----|------|------------------------|
| Astroturf | 1966 | Astroturf | Products & Services | PLASTER | (PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT) | OBJECT INVOLVED FOR ACTION | PLASTER | 100 | tɜ:f | PLASTER |
| Babelize | 1600 | Babel | Place | MAKE LIKE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE LIKE | 10 | bəl | PN-Place // WFP2=N |
| babylon | 1628 | Babylon | Place | GARDEN | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 100 | lən | WFP2=N // PN-Place |
| Babylonize | 1607 | Babylon | Place | MAKE LIKE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE LIKE | 100 | lən | PN-Place |
| balkanize | 1917 | Balkan | Place | MAKE LIKE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE LIKE | 10 | lkən | PN-Place // WFP2=N |
| Birminghamize | 1856 | Birmingham | Place | MAKE LIKE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE LIKE | 100 | ŋəm | PN-Place |
| Blu-Tack | 1976 | Blu-Tack | Products & Services | PLASTER | (PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT) | OBJECT INVOLVED FOR ACTION | PLASTER | 10 | tæk | PLASTER |
| Bobbitt | 1993 | Bobbitt | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 10 | bɪt | Default-Sem |
| bogart | 1956 | Bogart | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 10 | gɑ:t | Default-Sem |
| Bork | 1987 | Bork | Person | BEHAVE/TREASURE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 1 | bɔ:k | 1syll // k# |
| Botox | 1994 | Botox | Products & Services | PLASTER | (PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT) | OBJECT INVOLVED FOR ACTION | PLASTER | 10 | tɒks | PLASTER |
| bovrilize | 1901 | Bovrilize | Products & Services | MAKE LIKE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE LIKE | 10 | vɪl | ? WFP2=N/A Default-Sem |
| boycott | 1880 | Boycott | Person | BEHAVE/TREASURE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 10 | kɒt | Default-Sem |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|------|-------------|--------|-----------------|--|--|-------------|-----|---------|------------------------|
| Caesar | 1616 | Caesar | Person | MAKE LIKE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION | MAKE LIKE | 10 | zə(r) | ? WFP2=N // r#2 |
| callet/callot/callit | 1620 | Kalote | Person | OUT OF ANALYSIS | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 10 | læt | WFP2=N |
| Canadianize | 1843 | Canada | Place | MAKE LIKE | PLACE FOR INHABITANTS/SOCIETY Suffix -(i)(a)n (CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY) | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE LIKE | 100 | nədə | WFP2=Suffix |
| chanticleer | 1810 | Chanteclerc | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 100 | klɪə(r) | WFP2=N |
| Clintonize | 1992 | Clinton | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 10 | tən | n# |
| Coslettize | 1908 | Coslett | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 10 | lɪt | Default-Sem |
| Darwinize | 1807 | Darwin | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 10 | wɪn | n# |
| derrick | 1600 | Derrick | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 10 | rɪk | WFP2=N // k# |
| dickride | 1997 | Dick | Person | OUT OF ANALYSIS | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Comp PN+V | *BEHAVE | 1 | dɪk | Step2-Comp |
| Disneyfy | 1965 | Disney | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ify (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 10 | ni | Ultim Stress-IFY // V# |
| dunce | 1584 | Duns | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 1 | dʌns | WFP2=N // Cluster |
| duncify | 1594 | Duns | Person | MAKE LIKE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ify (PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE LIKE | 1 | dʌns | Cluster // WFP2=N |
| epicure | 1628 | Epicurus | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 100 | rəs | WFP2=N // Latinate |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|------|--------------|---------------------|-----------------|--|---|-------------|------|-------|----------------|
| epicurize | 1600 | Epicurus | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 1000 | rəs | Linate |
| Facebook | 2004 | Facebook | Products & Services | USE | (PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT) | INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION | USE | 10 | bək | USE |
| fang v3 | 1973 | Fangio | Person | BEHAVE/APE | BkClip (anglicization) CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 10 | gʒiəʊ | BkClip |
| Ferberize | 1990 | Ferber | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 10 | bə(r) | r#2 |
| fog v2 | 1621 | Fogger | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | BF -er (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 10 | gə | Step2-BF |
| Frankenstein | 1827 | Frankenstein | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | PROCESS FOR ACTION | MAKE+BEHAVE | 102 | stain | ? n# |
| Frederize | 1618 | Frederick | Person | BEHAVE/APE | N/A | Suffix -ize (AGENT FOR ACTION) | APE | 10 | drɪk | k# |
| Genevate | 1841 | Geneva | Place | MAKE LIKE | PLACE FOR INSTITUTION CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ate (PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE LIKE | 010 | ni:və | PN-Place // V# |
| Google v2 | 1998 | Google | Products & Services | USE | (PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT) | INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION | USE | 10 | gəl | USE |
| Grandisonize | 1824 | Grandison | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 100 | sən | n# |
| Great-Scott | 1902 | Scott | Person | OUT OF ANALYSIS | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 21 | skɒt | Comp |
| Grimthorpe | 1890 | Grimthorpe | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | PROCESS FOR ACTION | MAKE+BEHAVE | 10 | θɔ:p | ? |
| hackney | 1575 | Hackney | Place | USE+GARDEN | PLACE OF ORIGIN FOR OBJECT | INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION | USE | 10 | kni | USE |
| haskinize | 1895 | Haskin | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 10 | kɪn | n# |

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|---------------|------|-------------|---------------------|-----------------|---|---|-------------|---------|---------|----------------|
| Hippocratize | 1869 | Hippocrates | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 0100 | ti:z | Gpp-ize |
| hoover | 1939 | Hoover | Products & Services | USE | (PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT) | INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION | USE | 10 | və(r) | USE |
| Hooverize | 1917 | Hoover | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 10 | və(r) | r#2 |
| Irishize | 1831 | Iras | Place | MAKE LIKE | PLACE FOR INHABITANTS/SOCIETY Suffix -ish (CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY) | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE LIKE | complex | complex | WFP2=Suffix |
| jack v2 | 1833 | Jack | Person | OUT OF ANALYSIS | POSSESSOR FOR POSSESSED | INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION | USE | 1 | dʒæk | WFP2=N |
| job v3 | 1666 | Job | Person | BEHAVE/TREASURE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 1 | dʒəʊb | WFP2=N |
| ketch | 1681 | Ketch | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 1 | ketʃ | WFP2=N |
| Kodak | 1890 | Kodak | Products & Services | USE | (PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT) | INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION | USE | 10 | dæk | USE |
| Locarnize | 1925 | Locarno | Place | GARDEN | PLACE FOR EVENT | Suffix -ize (EVENT FOR ACTION) | GARDEN | 010 | nəʊ | PN-Place // V# |
| macadamize | 1823 | McAdam | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 010 | dəm | Default-Sem |
| Mace v3 | 1968 | Mace | Products & Services | PLASTER | (PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT) | OBJECT INVOLVED FOR ACTION | PLASTER | 1 | meɪs | PLASTER |
| MacGyver | 1992 | MacGyver | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 010 | və(r) | Default-Sem |
| Machiavellize | 1592 | Machiavel | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE LIKE | 102 | vel | Default-Sem |

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|----------------|------|------------|---------------------|---------------------|--|--|-------------|-------|--------|--------------------|
| maffick | 1900 | Mafeking | Place | GARDEN | PLACE FOR EVENT | BF -ing (EVENT FOR ACTION) | GARDEN | 10 | kɪŋ | Step2-BF |
| magnaflux | 1959 | Magnaflux | Products & Services | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | PROCESS FOR ACTION | MAKE+BEHAVE | 100 | flæks | WFP2=N |
| Major-Mitchell | 1922 | Mitchell | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 20 10 | tʃəl | Comp |
| malaprop | 1959 | Malaprop | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 100 | prɒp | Default-Sem |
| Malaysianize | 1972 | Malaysia | Place | MAKE LIKE | PLACE FOR INHABITANTS/SOCIETY Suffix -(i)(a)n (CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY) | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE LIKE | 0100 | ziə | WFP2=Suffix |
| malky | 1973 | Malcolm | Person | OUT OF ANALYSIS | | | *BEHAVE | 10 | lki | Rhyming slang |
| Malthusianize | 1893 | Malthus | Person | BEHAVE/APE | Suffix -(i)(a)n (CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY) | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 10 | θəs | WFP2=Suffix |
| Manchesterize | 1925 | Manchester | Place | MAKE LIKE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE LIKE | 100 | stə(r) | PN-PLACE // WFP2=N |
| Manhattanize | 1934 | Manhattan | Place | MAKE LIKE | PLACE FOR INHABITANTS/SOCIETY CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE LIKE | 010 | tən | PN-Place |
| Maratize | 1794 | Marat | Person | BEHAVE/ TREASURE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 01 | ra: | ? FR borrowing |
| marcel | 1906 | Marcel | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | PROCESS FOR ACTION | MAKE+BEHAVE | 01 | sel | WFP2=N |
| marconi | 1908 | Marconi | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | PROCESS FOR ACTION | MAKE+BEHAVE | 010 | ni | ? WFP2=N // i#+3 |
| Marprelate | 1636 | Marprelate | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 100 | læt | Gpp-ate |

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|-------------|------|------------|---------------------|-----------------|--|---|-------------|------|-------|------------------|
| martinet | 1827 | Martinet | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 201 | net | WFP2=N |
| Martinize | 1591 | Marprelate | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 10 | tɪn | n# |
| Marxize | 1940 | Marx | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 1 | ma:ks | ? WFP2=Suffix |
| Mauser | 1903 | Mauser | Person | USE/INVENTION | CREATOR FOR CREATION | INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION | USE | 10 | zə(r) | USE |
| maverick | 1883 | Maverick | Person | BEHAVE/TREASURE | POSSESSOR FOR POSSESSED CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 100 | rɪk | WFP2=N // k# |
| Maxim v2 | 1894 | Maxim | Person | USE/INVENTION | CREATOR FOR CREATION | INSTRUMENT FOR RESULT OF ACTION | USE | 10 | ksɪm | USE |
| mazarine | 1694 | Mazarin | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | PROCESS FOR ACTION | MAKE+BEHAVE | 201 | ri:n | Ultim Stress-IZE |
| McDonaldize | 1979 | McDonald's | Products & Services | MAKE+BEHAVE | PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT (restaurant) CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE LIKE | 010 | nəldz | Default-Sem |
| McLuhanize | 1968 | McLuhan | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 010 | lu:ən | n# |
| Mendelize | 1903 | Mendel | Person | BEHAVE+PITY | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 10 | dəl | Default-Sem |
| mercerize | 1911 | Mercer | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 10 | sə(r) | r#2 |
| merryandrew | 1891 | Andrew | Person | OUT OF ANALYSIS | Comp A+PN CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 2010 | dru: | WFP2=N |
| mesmerize | 1829 | Mesmer | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | Suffix -ism (CREATOR FOR CREATION) | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 10 | mə(r) | WFP2=Suffix |

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|---------------|------|--------------|--------|-------------------|---|--------------------------------------|-------------|-------|-------|--------------------------|
| Micawber | 1963 | Micawber | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 010 | bə(r) | Default-Sem |
| Mickey Mouse | 1963 | Mickey Mouse | Person | OUT OF ANALYSIS | | | *BEHAVE | 20 10 | maʊs | Rhyming slang |
| mickey-finn | 1933 | Mickey Finn | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 201 | fɪn | WFP2=N |
| milliner | 1867 | Milan | Place | MAKE+GARDEN | Suffix -er (inhabitant) CATEGORY FOR MEMBER OF CATEGORY PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT | RESULT OBJECT FOR ACTION | MAKE | 100 | nə(r) | WFP2=N |
| Miltonize | 1786 | Milton | Person | PLASTER/INVENTION | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 10 | tən | n# |
| Mirandize | 1971 | Miranda | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 010 | ndə | ? WFP2=N/A V# // ? |
| Mithraize | 1890 | Mithras | Person | BEHAVE+PITY | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 10 | θras | Default-Sem |
| mithridatize | 1866 | Mithridates | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 2010 | ti:z | Gpp-ize |
| Mohammedanize | 1828 | Mohammed | Person | BEHAVE/APE | Suffix -(i)(a)n (CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY) | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 010 | mɪd | WFP2=Suffix |
| Mohammedize | 1848 | Mohammed | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 010 | mɪd | ? Analogy |
| moll | 1826 | Moll | Person | OUT OF ANALYSIS | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 1 | mɒl | WFP2=N |
| molly v1 | 1726 | Molly | Person | OUT OF ANALYSIS | Metaphor: A HOMOSEXUAL MAN IS A WOMAN CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 10 | li | WFP2=N |

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|--------------|------|-------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------|------|--------|-----------------|
| mollycoddle | 1863 | Molly | Person | OUT OF ANALYSIS | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Comp PN+V | *BEHAVE | 10 | li | Step2-Comp |
| molly-cosset | 1909 | Molly | Person | OUT OF ANALYSIS | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Comp PN+V | *BEHAVE | 10 | li | Step2-Comp |
| Molochize | 1825 | Moloch | Person | BEHAVE/ TREASURE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 10 | lɒk | k# |
| Montanize | 1593 | Montanus | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 100 | nʊs | Linate |
| Morganize | 1832 | Morgan | Person | BEHAVE/ TREASURE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 10 | gən | n# |
| morocco | 1890 | Morocco | Place | MAKE+GARDEN | PLACE FOR PRODUCT MADE THERE | RESULT OBJECT FOR ACTION | MAKE | 010 | kəʊ | V# // PN-Place |
| Morse | 1906 | Morse | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | PROCESS FOR ACTION | MAKE+BEHAVE | 1 | mɔ:s | WFP2=N |
| mules | 1985 | Mules | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | PROCESS FOR ACTION | MAKE+BEHAVE | 1 | mju:lz | WFP2=N |
| muller v3 | 1864 | Müller | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 10 | lə(r) | ? WFP2=N // r#2 |
| Munchausen | 1853 | Hieronymus | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 100 | zən | WFP2=N // n# |
| Muzak | 1957 | Muzak | Products & Services | PLASTER | (PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT) | OBJECT INVOLVED FOR ACTION | PLASTER | 10 | zæk | PLASTER |
| namby-pamby | 1812 | Namby Pamby | Person | BEHAVE/ TREASURE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 2010 | bi | WFP2=N // i#+3 |
| Namierize | 1957 | Namier | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 10 | mɪə(r) | r#2 |
| Napoleonize | 1822 | Napoleon | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 010 | lɪən | n# |

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|-----------------------------|------|--------------|---------------------|-----------------|--|---|-------------|------|--------|----------------|
| nesslerize | 1890 | Nessler | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 10 | slə(r) | r#2 |
| Nestorize | 1612 | Nestor | Person | OUT OF ANALYSIS | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE LIKE | 10 | stə(r) | r#2 |
| Newgate | 1734 | Newgate | Place | GARDEN | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 10 | gert | Gpp-ate |
| Newmanize v1 | 1836 | Newman | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 10 | mən | n# |
| Newmanize v2 | 1861 | Newman | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 10 | mən | n# |
| niagara | 1800 | Niagara | Place | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 0100 | rə | V# // PN-Place |
| Nigerianize | 1960 | Nigeria | Place | MAKE LIKE | PLACE FOR INHABITANTS/SOCIETY Suffix -(i)(a)n (CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY) | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE LIKE | 0100 | riə | WFP2=Suffix |
| Nimrod | 1836 | Nimrod | Person | MAKE LIKE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION | MAKE LIKE | 10 | rɒd | ? WFP2=N |
| Nimrodize | 1614 | Nimrod | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 10 | rɒd | ? Step2-BF |
| Norfolkize | 1655 | Norfolk | Place | MAKE LIKE | PLACE FOR INHABITANTS/SOCIETY CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE LIKE | 10 | fək | PN-Place |
| North-Britonize | 1764 | North Briton | Products & Services | GARDEN | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 2 10 | tən | ? n# // Comp |
| nosy parker nosey parker | 1974 | Parker | Person | OUT OF ANALYSIS | Comp A+PN CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 10 | kə(r) | WFP2=N |

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|---------------------|------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------|---|---|-------------|---------|--------|----------------------------|
| Observer | 1710 | Observer | Products & Services | GARDEN | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 0100 | tə(r) | Default-Sem |
| Old Moore's Almanac | 1916 | Old Moore's Almanac | Person | BEHAVE/APE | Comp A+PN's+N (object) CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 2 2 100 | nak | WFP2=N // k# |
| ollie | 1987 | Ollie | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 10 | li | WFP2=N |
| Orangize | 1825 | Orange | Place | MAKE LIKE | PLACE FOR INHABITANTS/SOCIETY CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE LIKE | 10 | ændʒ | PN-Place // WFP2=N |
| Oscar | 1958 | Oscar | Person | OUT OF ANALYSIS | Metaphor: A THING IS A PERSON | OBJECT INVOLVED FOR ACTION | PLASTER | 10 | skə(r) | PLASTER |
| Osirify | 1890 | Osiris | Person | MAKE LIKE | MEMBER OF CATEGORY FOR CATEGORY CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ify (PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE LIKE | 010 | rɪs | ? s#=0 => Ultim Stress-IFY |
| out-Herod | 1604 | Herod | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Prefix out- (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 10 | rəd | Step2-prefix |
| Owenize | 1831 | Owen | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 10 | wən | n# // Gpp-en |
| Owlspiegle | 1830 | Owlspiegle | Person | MAKE LIKE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION | MAKE LIKE | 100 | gəl | ? Comp |
| Palladianize | 1893 | Palladio | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 010 | diəʊ | WFP2=Suffix |
| pander | 1616 | Pandarus | Person | BEHAVE/APE | BkClip (anglicization) CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 100 | rəs | BkClip // Latinate |
| panderize | 1598 | Pandarus | Person | BEHAVE/APE | BkClip (anglicization) CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 100 | rəs | Latinate // BkClip |

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|---------------|------|--------------|---------------------|-------------|--|-----------------------------------|-------------|------|---------|-------------------------|
| Parkerize | 1922 | Parker | Products & Services | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 10 | kə(r) | r#2 |
| pasquin | 1683 | Pasquinus | Person | BEHAVE/APE | BkClip (anglicization) CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 100 | nəs | BkClip // Latinate |
| Pasteur | 1892 | Pasteur | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | PROCESS FOR ACTION | MAKE+BEHAVE | 01 | stə:(r) | Ultim Stres-IZE // r#2 |
| pasteurize | 1881 | Pasteur | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 01 | stə:(r) | r#2 // Ultim Stress IZE |
| Pattinsonize | 1880 | Pattinson | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 100 | nsən | n# |
| Paul-Pry | 1836 | Paul Pry | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 21 | praɪ | WFP2=N |
| Paynize | 1850 | Payne | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 1 | peɪn | n# // 1syll |
| Pearl Harbour | 1943 | Pearl Harbor | Place | GARDEN | PLACE FOR EVENT | EVENT FOR ACTION | GARDEN | 2 10 | bə(r) | Comp // PN-Place |
| Pecksniff | 1903 | Packsniff | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 10 | sniɪf | WFP2=N |
| peel v4 | 1914 | Peel | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 1 | pi:l | 1syll |
| Pelmanize | 1916 | Pelman | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 10 | mən | n# |
| penelopize | 1780 | Penelope | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 0100 | pi | i#+3 |
| Penguin | 1941 | Penguin | Products & Services | MAKE | (PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT) | RESULT OBJECT FOR ACTION | MAKE | 10 | gwɪn | PN-P&S // n# |
| Perkinize | 1799 | Perkins | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 10 | kɪns | ? <s># =0 => n# |

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|-------------|------|------------|---------------------|--------------------|---|---|-------------|----------|----------|-------------|
| Perne | 1589 | Perne | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 1 | pɜ:n | 1syll // n# |
| Pernize | 1611 | Perne | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 1 | pɜ:n | n# // 1syll |
| peter v1 | 1753 | Peter | Person | OUT OF ANALYSIS | Metaphor: A THING IS A PERSON | INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION | USE | 10 | tə(r) | USE |
| Petrarchize | 1593 | Petrarch | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 10 | trɑ:(r)k | k# |
| Phillis | 1691 | Phyllis | Person | BEHAVE/TREASURE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 10 | lɪs | WFP2=N |
| photomaton | 1927 | Photomaton | Products & Services | USE | (PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT) | INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION | USE | 0100 | mətən | USE |
| Photoshop | 1992 | Photoshop | Products & Services | USE | (PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT) | INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION | USE | 100 '102 | fɒp | USE |
| Phrygianize | 1836 | Phrygia | Place | MAKE LIKE | PLACE FOR INHABITANTS/SOCIETY Suffix -(i)(a)n (CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY) | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE LIKE | 10 | dʒiə | WFP2=Suffix |
| Pindarize | 1653 | Pindar | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 10 | də(r) | r#2 |
| Pitmanize | 1912 | Pitman | Person | PLASTER/ INVENTION | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 10 | mən | n# |
| Plotinize | 1883 | Plotinus | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 010 | nəs | Linate |
| politzerize | 1890 | Politzer | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 100 | sə(r) | Default-Sem |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|------|------------|--------|---------------|--|---|-------------|-----|--------|------------------------|
| Polonize | 1844 | Polonia | Place | MAKE LIKE | PLACE FOR INHABITANTS/SOCIETY CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE LIKE | 100 | niə | PN-Place // V# |
| Poor-Robin | 1682 | Poor Robin | Person | BEHAVE/APE | N/A | AGENT FOR ACTION | APE | 210 | bɪn | Comp // n# |
| Poplarize | 1924 | Poplar | Place | MAKE LIKE | PLACE FOR INHABITANTS/SOCIETY CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE LIKE | 10 | plə(r) | PN-Place |
| port v5 | 1825 | Porto | Place | GARDEN | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 10 | təʊ | BkClip |
| Powellize | 1913 | Powell | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 10 | əl | Default-Sem |
| Procrusteanize | 1846 | Procrustes | Person | BEHAVE/APE | Suffix -(i)(a)n (CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY) | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 010 | ti:z | WFP2=Suffix |
| prodnose | 1954 | Prodnose | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 10 | nəʊz | Default-Sem |
| prusik | 1959 | Prusik | Person | USE/INVENTION | CREATOR FOR CREATION | INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION | USE | 10 | sɪk | USE |
| pyrrhonize | 1603 | Pyrrho | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 10 | rə | ? FR borrowing |
| quisle | 1940 | Quisling | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | BF -ing (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 10 | lɪŋ | Step2-BF |
| Quixote | 1702 | Quixote | Person | BEHAVE/APE | N/A | AGENT FOR ACTION | APE | 10 | sət | WFP2=N |
| Quixotize | 1800 | Quixote | Person | BEHAVE/APE | N/A | Suffix -ize (AGENT FOR ACTION) | APE | 10 | ksət | ? WFP2=Suffix |
| Rarey | 1859 | Rarey | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | PROCESS FOR ACTION | MAKE+BEHAVE | 10 | ri | V# // Ultim Stress-IFY |
| Rarefy | 1858 | Rarey | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 10 | ri | Ultim Stress-IFY // V# |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------|--|---|-------------|--------|--------|---------------------|
| Rawlplug | 1960 | Rawlplug | Products & Services | USE | (PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT) | INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION | USE | 10 | plæg | USE |
| Rebecca | 1890 | Rebecca | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 010 | kə | WFP2=N |
| ritz | 1911 | Ritz | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 1 | rits | WFP2=N |
| roam | 1330 | Rome | Place | OUT OF ANALYSIS | PLACE FOR EVENT CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 1 | rəʊm | 1syll |
| Robinson Crusoe | 1768 | Robinson Crusoe | Person | MAKE LIKE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION | MAKE LIKE | 200 10 | səʊ | V# |
| roblet | 1674 | Rob | Person | BEHAVE/APE | BkClip + Suffix -let CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 10 | læt | WFP2=N |
| Roentgen | 1898 | Röntgen | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | PROCESS FOR ACTION | MAKE+BEHAVE | 10 | tjən | ? Gpp-en // n# |
| roentgenize | 1896 | Röntgen | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 10 | tjən | n# // Gpp-en |
| Roentgen-ray | 1909 | Röntgen | Person | USE/INVENTION | Comp PN+N (object) | INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION | USE | 10 | tjən | USE |
| roger v1 | 1699 | Roger | Person | OUT OF ANALYSIS | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 10 | dʒə(r) | WFP2=N // r#2 |
| Rolf | 1968 | Rolf | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | PROCESS FOR ACTION | MAKE+BEHAVE | 1 | rɒlf | ? WFP2=N // Cluster |
| rollerblade | 1986 | Rollerblade | Products & Services | USE | (PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT) | INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION | USE | 100 | bleɪd | USE |
| Romanianize | 1892 | Romania | Place | MAKE LIKE | PLACE FOR INHABITANTS/SOCIETY Suffix -(i)(a)n (CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY) | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE LIKE | 0100 | niə | WFP2=Suffix |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|------|--------------|---------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|---|-------------|-------|--------|--------------|
| roneo | 1915 | Roneo | Products & Services | USE | (PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT) | INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION | USE | 100 | nɪəʊ | USE |
| ronuk | 1913 | Ronuk | Products & Services | PLASTER | (PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT) | OBJECT INVOLVED FOR ACTION | PLASTER | 10 | nək | PLASTER |
| Rumfordize | 1796 | Rumford | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (RESULT OBJECT FOR ACTION) | MAKE | 10 | fə(r)d | ? |
| Ruskinize | 1861 | Ruskin | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 10 | kɪn | n# |
| sammyfoozle | 1837 | Sammy | Person | OUT OF ANALYSIS | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Comp PN+V | *BEHAVE | 10 | mi | Step2-Comp |
| Scotchgard | 1962 | Scotch | Products & Services | PLASTER | Comp PN+N (object) | OBJECT INVOLVED FOR ACTION | PLASTER | 10 | gɑ:d | PLASTER |
| Scotch-tape | 1947 | Scotch | Products & Services | USE | Comp PN+N (object) | INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION | USE | 10 | teɪp | USE |
| Shake 'n Bake | 1976 | Shake'n Bake | Product & Services | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 1 0 1 | beɪk | WFP2=N // k# |
| shrapnel | 1901 | Shrapnel | Person | USE/INVENTION | CREATOR FOR CREATION | INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION | USE | 10 | pʁəl | USE |
| Simonize v2 | 1917 | Simoniz | Products & Services | USE | (PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT) | Suffix -ize (INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION) | USE | 100 | nɪz | Gpp-ize |
| Skype | 2003 | Skype | Products & Services | USE | (PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT) | INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION | USE | 1 | skaɪp | USE |
| sodomize | 1601 | Sodom | Place | MAKE LIKE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE LIKE | 10 | dəm | PN-Place |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|------|----------|---------------------|-----------------|--|---|-------------|--------|-------|--------------------|
| spackle | 1950 | Spackle | Products & Services | PLASTER | (PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT) | OBJECT INVOLVED FOR ACTION | PLASTER | 10 | kəl | PLASTER |
| stan | 2008 | Stan | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 1 | stæn | WFP2=N // n# |
| studentize | 1934 | Student | Person | MAKE+BEHAVE | CREATOR FOR CREATION | Suffix -ize (PROCESS FOR ACTION) | MAKE+BEHAVE | 10 | dənt | ? WFP2=N/A |
| Talibanize | 1997 | Taliban | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 100 | bæn | n# |
| Tarltonize | 1592 | Tarlton | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR ACTION) | BEHAVE | 10 | tæn | n# |
| Tase | 1991 | Taser | Products & Services | USE | (PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT) | BF -er (INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION) | USE | 1 | zə(r) | Step2-BF |
| Taser | 1976 | Taser | Products & Services | USE | (PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT) | INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION | USE | 10 | zə(r) | USE |
| telemark | 1911 | Telemark | Place | GARDEN | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 100 | mɑ:k | WFP2=N // PN-Place |
| tithonize | 1842 | Tithonus | Person | MAKE LIKE | Suffix -ic (CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY) Metaphor: A THING IS A PERSON | Suffix -ize (PROPERTY FOR RESULT OF ACTION) | MAKE LIKE | 010 | nəs | WFP2=Suffix |
| tom | 1853 | Tom | Person | OUT OF ANALYSIS | Metaphor: A THING IS A PERSON | INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION | USE | 1 | təm | USE |
| Tom and Jerry | 1822 | Tom | Person | BEHAVE/APE | Comp PN+and+PN CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 2 0 10 | ri | WFP2=N |
| tomcat | 1917 | Tom | Person | OUT OF ANALYSIS | Comp PN+N (animate) CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 1 | təm | WFP2=N |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|------|-----------|---------------------------|----------------------|--|-------------------------------|---------|------|-------|-----------------|
| tomfool | 1825 | Tom | Person | OUT OF ANALYSIS | Comp PN+N (animate) CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 1 | tɒm | WFP2=N |
| tommy | 1830 | Tommy | Person | OUT OF ANALYSIS | Metaphor: A THING IS A PERSON (here THING=abstract) | OBJECT INVOLVED FOR ACTION | PLASTER | 10 | mi | PLASTER |
| tommy-gun | 1940 | Tommy | Person | USE/INVENTION | Comp PN+N (object) | INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION | USE | 10 | mi | USE |
| twitter | 2006 | Twitter | Products & Services | USE | (PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT) | INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION | USE | 10 | tə(r) | USE |
| Uncle Tom | 1933 | Uncle Tom | Person | BEHAVE/APE | CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 20 1 | tɒm | WFP2=N |
| unpollux | 1654 | Pollux | Person | OUT OF ANALYSIS | | Prefix un- | *BEHAVE | 10 | ləks | Step2-prefix |
| Watergate | 1973 | Watergate | Place | GARDEN | PLACE FOR EVENT | EVENT FOR ACTION | GARDEN | 100 | geɪt | Gpp-ate |
| zeppelin | 1910 | Zeppelin | Person | BEHAVE/ INVENTION | CREATOR FOR CREATION CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY | PROPERTY FOR ACTION | BEHAVE | 100 | lɪn | WFP2=N // n# |

Appendix 2: Linguistic Survey – Questionnaire

This survey is available online at: <https://sondage.univ-lyon3.fr/index.php/429167?lang=en>

Linguistic survey: from proper names to verbs (American English)

American English is your mother tongue? Then, thank you for taking some time to answer this questionnaire!

My name is Aurélie Héois and I am a Master's student specializing in English linguistics at Jean Moulin Lyon 3 University (France). The aim of this questionnaire is to understand your personal use of proper names as verbs. For example, Mr. Boycott was a man who got boycotted in Ireland. I have chosen some examples of proper names which do not have (as far as I can tell) an attested use. There are **no wrong answers**.

This questionnaire should take you around 15 minutes to complete. If you don't have time to finish it in one go, you have the option of saving it and finishing it later. There are questions about 9 proper names, as well as a conclusive set of questions relating to you. This last section is meant to gather data in order to better analyze and categorize your answers. This information will be used for **academic purpose only** and your answers cannot be used to identify you. **The questionnaire is anonymous.**

I will give you my contact information at the end of the questionnaire for any question or comment you might have.

Ariana Grande

1. Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb?
 - a. Yes, please specify (context, form, sentence example, etc.) [END]
 - b. No
2. Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)?
 - a. To Ariana Grande
 - b. To Ariana Grandize
 - c. To Ariana
 - d. To Arianize
 - e. To Grande
 - f. To Grandize
 - g. Other, please specify
 - h. I would never use this name as a verb, please explain why [END]
3. Can you briefly explain your choice above?
4. Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible)
5. Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you

Miley Cyrus

1. Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb?
 - a. Yes, please specify (context, form, sentence example, etc.) [END]
 - b. No
2. Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)?
 - a. To Miley Cyrus
 - b. To Miley Cyrurize
 - c. To Miley Cyrize
 - d. To Miley
 - e. To Milize
 - f. To Cyrus

- g. To Cyrize
 - h. To Cyrusize
 - i. Other, please specify
 - j. I would never use this name as a verb, please explain why [END]
3. Can you briefly explain your choice above?
 4. Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible)
 5. Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you

Donald Trump

1. Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb?
 - a. Yes, please specify (context, form, sentence example, etc.) [END]
 - b. No
2. Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)?
 - a. To Donald Trump
 - b. To Donald Trumpize
 - c. To Donald
 - d. To Donaldize
 - e. To Trump
 - f. To Trumpize
 - g. Other, please specify
 - h. I would never use this name as a verb, please explain why [END]
3. Can you briefly explain your choice above?
4. Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible)
5. Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you

Barack Obama

1. Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb?
 - a. Yes, please specify (context, form, sentence example, etc.) [END]
 - b. No
2. Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)?
 - a. To Barack Obama
 - b. To Barack Obamize
 - c. To Barack
 - d. To Barackize
 - e. To Obama
 - f. To Obamize
 - g. Other, please specify
 - h. I would never use this name as a verb, please explain why [END]
3. Can you briefly explain your choice above?
4. Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible)
5. Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you

Bernie Sanders

1. Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb?
 - a. Yes, please specify (context, form, sentence example, etc.) [END]
 - b. No
2. Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)?
 - a. To Bernie Sanders
 - b. To Bernie Sandersize
 - c. To Bernie Sanderize
 - d. To Bernie
 - e. To Bernize
 - f. To Sanders

- g. To Sandersize
 - h. To Sanderize
 - i. Other, please specify
 - j. I would never use this name as a verb, please explain why [END]
3. Can you briefly explain your choice above?
 4. Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible)
 5. Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you

Elizabeth Warren

1. Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb?
 - a. Yes, please specify (context, form, sentence example, etc.) [END]
 - b. No
2. Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)?
 - a. To Elizabeth Warren
 - b. To Elizabeth Warrenize
 - c. To Elizabeth
 - d. To Elizabethize
 - e. To Warren
 - f. To Warrenize
 - g. Other, please specify
 - h. I would never use this name as a verb, please explain why [END]
3. Can you briefly explain your choice above?
4. Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible)
5. Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you

Edward Snowden

1. Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb?
 - a. Yes, please specify (context, form, sentence example, etc.) [END]
 - b. No
2. Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)?
 - a. To Edward Snowden
 - b. To Edward Snowdenize
 - c. To Edward
 - d. To Edwardize
 - e. To Snowden
 - f. To Snowdenize
 - g. Other, please specify
 - h. I would never use this name as a verb, please explain why [END]
3. Can you briefly explain your choice above?
4. Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible)
5. Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you

Daenerys Targaryen

1. Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb?
 - a. Yes, please specify (context, form, sentence example, etc.) [END]
 - b. No
2. Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)?
 - a. To Daenerys Targaryen
 - b. To Daenerys Targaryenize
 - c. To Daenerys
 - d. To Daenerysize
 - e. To Daenerize
 - f. To Targaryen

- g. To Targaryenize
 - h. Other, please specify
 - i. I would never use this name as a verb, please explain why [END]
3. Can you briefly explain your choice above?
 4. Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible)
 5. Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you

Thor

1. Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb?
 - a. Yes, please specify (context, form, sentence example, etc.) [END]
 - b. No
2. Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)?
 - a. To Thor
 - b. To Thorize
 - c. Other, please specify
 - d. I would never use this name as a verb, please explain why [END]
3. Can you briefly explain your choice above?
4. Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible)
5. Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you

Some questions about you

1. Are you ... ?

a. Female

b. Male

2. How old are you?

Answer (number)

3. Please confirm that your mother tongue is American English

a. Yes

b. No

4. Where do you currently live?

Answer (from the list of US states + Other, specify)

5. Let me know if you have any comments

Answer

Thank you so much for your participation!

It will be very helpful in my research.

If you would like to contact me about this questionnaire (questions, comments, results), feel free to do so via email (aurelie.heois@univ-lyon.fr).

Appendix 3: Linguistic Survey – Answers

Informant #6 (female, 22, New Jersey)

| Ariana Grande | |
|--|---|
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I don't think she is known for doing something so specific that I would ever compare to something that I've done. At least in my opinion, there is no action directly related to Ariana Grande that other people would recognize as something relevant to her. |
| Miley Cyrus | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I've never heard her name used as a verb, maybe because of the same reason as Ariana Grande- there's not a specific action that I associate with her. |
| Donald Trump | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Trump |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | The word "trump" already exists in the English language, but originally not as a proper-noun-turned-verb. I've heard many people and I myself have used the word "trump". I have never personally used it in direct relation to "Trump," but I suppose there could be a bit of a double entendre. |

| | |
|--|--|
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | Chocolate ice cream trumps all the others- it's the best. |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | "Trump" as a verb means to be the person or thing that is better than the rest. |
| Barack Obama | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb No specific action I'd associate with Barack Obama |
| Bernie Sanders | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb We have lots of memes about Bernie asking for financial support, but I've never heard someone say they are "Bernize" or anything similar to that when asking for their own financial support. |
| Elizabeth Warren | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb No specific action associated with Warren |
| Edward Snowden | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I've never used Edward Snowden as a verb, I think I would just say 'whistle-blow" and maybe mention his name after. |

| Daenerys Targaryen | |
|--|---|
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I don't watch Game of Thrones so I wouldn't even know what to use as an action that relates to Daenerys. |
| Thor | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I don't think people would know what I meant if I said I 'thorred' something or I want to 'thor' something. I don't know if I'd even know what I meant, I'd have to include a lot of context with the character and the situation being referred to. |

Informant #7 (female, 21, Georgia)

| | |
|--|---|
| Ariana Grande | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I don't care for her nor is her name an action which qualifies a word as a verb. |
| Miley Cyrus | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Again her name is not an action |
| Donald Trump | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Trump |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | To trump means to go over in a sense |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | Sorry but my choice trumps your choice. |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | My choice is above the other choice |
| Barack Obama | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb His name is not an action |

| | |
|--|--|
| Bernie Sanders | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I don't like him |
| Elizabeth Warren | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I don't like her |
| Edward Snowden | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Words don't constitute as an action |
| Daenerys Targaryen | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Name does not constitute as an action |
| Thor | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Funny but not an action |

Informant #9 (male, 31, Arizona)

| Ariana Grande | |
|--|--|
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Ariana Grande |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | I would say "She pulled an Ariana Grande" before I would ever verbalize her name..... But I am 31, so o wonder if 21year olds wouldn't do this differently. :) |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | She Ariana Grande-d that scandal! |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | The subject of the sentence dealt with a scandal in a way that very strongly ressembles the way Ariana Grande handled a scandal in the past OR that closely resembles the way I would imagine Arianna Grande handling a scandal. |
| Miley Cyrus | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I don't have a tendency of taking celebrity names and making them a verb.... See last answer about nominal phrase ([subject] pulled a [celebrity name]) |
| Donald Trump | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | Yes Don't remember but I feel like the media has used Trump in ever possible linguistic category. There is also the challenge of trump already being a verb. I've heard Trumpify |
| Barack Obama | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |

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| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb See first explanation |
| Bernie Sanders | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb See first explanation |
| Elizabeth Warren | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb See first explanation |
| Edward Snowden | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb See first explanation |
| Daenerys Targaryen | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb See first explanation I also don't know who this is |
| Thor | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |

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| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Thor |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | X |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | X |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | X |

Informant #10 (male, 30, Lyon, France)

| Ariana Grande | |
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| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Ariana Grande |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | I chose to use her full name because I don't think she is well known enough by her first name alone, like Adele for example. I wouldn't use just her last name because Grande means big and that would only confuse whoever I am talking to. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | Ariana Grande had a controversial video where she was caught on tape licking doughnuts or some other cake type thing and then putting it back, if I remember correctly. I can imagine if a friend did something like licking their food in an inelegant way I might say he or she Ariana Grande'd it. Maybe I could imagine if I were at a karaoke bar or something and someone sang really well that they just Ariana Grande'd their performance, but I would probably choose a different singer who was more well known in this case. |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | Going off of my explanation above, it means either "to lick a morsel of food and then put it back so that someone else might eat it later" or "to sing really well" |
| Miley Cyrus | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Miley |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | In this case, I would use just her first name because Miley is a unique enough first name and there's no risk of confusing it with someone else. Also, I think Miley Cyrus is well known enough that people will get the reference. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | If a girl were twerking or dancing in a sexual way I might say she was Mileyng, but it's pretty unlikely. If I were drunk enough maybe I'd say to someone, "Watch me Miley" and then dance like this. |

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| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | To me, it means basically to twerk or dance in a sexual way. |
| Donald Trump | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Donald is too common a name, and “Trump” is already a verb in English, therefore it could cause confusion with others. I’d more likely say “pull a Trump” which is also a common way of using names, to pull a (insert name). |
| Barack Obama | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | Yes I think I heard people say “he Barack-ed him” because of the similarity between that and “rocked him”. The meaning here would be that somebody beat another person, not necessarily in a physical altercation but maybe in a debate or in a war of words. It could also help that Obama was a very apt debater and well-spoken. |
| Bernie Sanders | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb To me, Bernie Sanders has not really done something that can easily be turned into a verb that people would recognize. For example, he is most well known for running for president twice, but there’s nothing particularly interesting or funny to pick out from his campaigns to use in a conversation. |
| Elizabeth Warren | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Just as I explained in my Bernie explanation, there’s nothing particularly fun or interesting about Elizabeth Warren that has entered into the popular culture to use as a verb. |

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| Edward Snowden | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Snowden |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | I would use Snowden because Edward is much too common and Snowden is actually pretty unique and understandable. He is also well known in the general population. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | "I'll just Snowden and scan everything for you". I thought of this because Snowden is known as someone who took classified material and gave it to journalists in secret. Therefore, I might associate a task that involves computers and giving documents to someone as the verb "to Snowden". |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | To me, it means to take documents, copy them, and give them to someone else. |
| Daenerys Targaryen | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb This name is far too complicated and long to turn into a verb. You could use her nickname Dany but then you lose the reference for most people. |
| Thor | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb It sounds too weird in all the tenses I've said just now. I also don't think I can imagine a context in which to say it since I don't have a giant magical hammer nor can I summon lightning, unfortunately :(|

Informant #15 (female, 25, Arizona)

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| Ariana Grande | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | Yes You are being such an Ariana Grande |
| Miley Cyrus | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | Yes You are going all Miley Cyrus. |
| Donald Trump | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | Yes You are Trumping it up |
| Barack Obama | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Obama |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | Simple to use in a sentence. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | I am going to Obama this project. |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | To do good work, to be a good person. |
| Bernie Sanders | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb It is not currently in my mind's framework because I do not know a lot about his work. |

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| Elizabeth Warren | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I do not think that people would understand what I mean if they are not familiar with Elizabeth Warren. |
| Edward Snowden | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Not enough familiarity with him. |
| Daenerys Targaryen | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Do not know enough. |
| Thor | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Not very familiar with Marvel movies. |

Informant #17 (female, 24, Arizona)

| Ariana Grande | |
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| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Ariana Grande |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | Usually when I use a proper name as a verb, I take it as it is and then just conjugate it as regular English verbs are normally conjugated. Therefore, as an infinitive, there would be no change. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | If I see a friend sporting Ariana Grande's famous ponytail, I might say, "I love your hair! You really Ariana Granded it", using a regular past-tense conjugation to express how much the hair resembles Ariana Grande's. |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | This sentence means that my friend's hair looks a lot like Ariana Grande's hair. |
| Miley Cyrus | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Miley Cyrus |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | If a friend suddenly cut and dyed her hair, I would say, "Wow, you really Miley Cyrused your hair!", indicating that her hair looks like Miley Cyrus'. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | As I said earlier, I would conjugate names as regular English verbs are conjugated. I would not add any suffixes. |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | This means that my friend's hair looks like Miley Cyrus'. |
| Donald Trump | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | Yes "Donald Trump really TRUMPED all the other candidates." This was the running pun for the 2016 presidential elections in the US. |

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| Barack Obama | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Obama has no extreme distinguishing features that separate him from other people (this, in my opinion, is a good thing), so I cannot classify a behavior or action as belonging principally to him. |
| Bernie Sanders | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I do not know Bernie Sanders well enough to use his name as a verb; he needs to have a particular feature about him that makes him very noticeably different from everyone else. |
| Elizabeth Warren | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb As with Bernie Sanders, I do not know Elizabeth Warren well enough to use her name as a verb; she needs to have a particular features that makes her noticeably different from everyone else. |
| Edward Snowden | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I do not know who this person is. |

| Daenerys Targaryen | |
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| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I do not know who this person is. |
| Thor | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I do not know the character of Thor well enough to use his name as a verb. |

Informant #19 (male, 23, Arizona)

| Ariana Grande | |
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| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | Other To Ariana Grande, To Ariana Grandize |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | They both sound correct to me. I don't know what such a verb would mean but "I don't mean to Ariana Grande this" and "I don't mean to Ariana Grandize this" both sound grammatical. Even if I don't know what they mean. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | I'm gonna Ariana Grande this performance. ~ Said by someone who is about to either emulate the style of Ariana Grande specifically or do that thing Ariana Grande can do and copy another singers style. |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | I think it probably means to emulate Ariana Grande in some capacity. |
| Miley Cyrus | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Miley Cyrus |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | It's the trajectory of Miley Cyrus' (Amazing) Career Path. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | "Oh my God, I'm going to Miley Cyrus my career." ~ Said by someone who got their start on a children's network (like Disney or Nickelodeon) and then later worked extremely hard to separate themselves from that image. |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | I think it would mean doing a rapid shift in your public persona. Especially from a lighthearted aesthetic like Hannah Montana to whatever Miley Cyrus is doing now. |
| Donald Trump | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |

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| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Trump |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | For some reason, To Donald Trump doesn't sound right to me. But, a sentence immediately popped into my brain with "To Trump". |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | "He's gonna Trump it up" ~directed at someone whose about to ruin something with a terrifying mixture of narcissism and stupidity. |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | For me, it's basically "He's gonna f#ck it up". |
| Barack Obama | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Obama |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | It sounds good. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | "I'm gonna Obama this speech" ~ All I remember about Obama specifically is that his speeches were excellent because he has this hypnotizing charisma. So, If I were attempting to speak in public, I might try to emulate him. |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | To make whatever your doing better, particularly public speaking. |
| Bernie Sanders | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Bernie |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | Sounds right. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | "I'm going to Bernie you. " I imagine it means to once again ask for someone's financial support. Though, it also sounds a bit dirty. |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | It means to once again ask for someone's financial support. |

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| Elizabeth Warren | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Warren |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | Sounds right. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | "I need to Warren this final project" As said by a person who needs to plan out every aspect of their project in great detail. |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | To plan something out in great detail. |
| Edward Snowden | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Snowden |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | Sounds right. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | If there was someone who needed to whistle blow sensitive information, I would probably use this as a verb to describe it. "I'm gonna Snowden the crap out of secret military base." |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | To whistleblow. |
| Daenerys Targaryen | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Daenerys Targaryen |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | Sounds right. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | I don't know much about game of thrones. Though, I remember everyone on Twitter complaining about the finale and the genocide she commits. So I would probably say if someone spiraled into insanity and did something terrible : "They Denaris Tagaryened". |

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| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | It would mean doing something heinous, like a genocide using a dragon. |
| Thor | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | <p>I would never use this name as a verb</p> <p>It doesn't feel right to use this name as a Verb. I can't figure out what it means. It could mean too many things and It sounds kind of cheesy.</p> |

Informant #20 (female, 24, Arizona)

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| Ariana Grande | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I would not know the meaning of this verb would be and don't think that there would be a general consensus as to the meaning |
| Miley Cyrus | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Again, I would not have a reason to use this as a verb. I'm not sure what it would mean, and could probably say what I wanted to say easier with another more well known word |
| Donald Trump | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Weird, unnecessary, and no clear consensus as to meaning |
| Barack Obama | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Unclear meaning |
| Bernie Sanders | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |

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| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Unclear meaning and unnecessary |
| Elizabeth Warren | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Unnecessary, unclear meaning |
| Edward Snowden | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Unnecessary - you explain the idea using other verbs that people already know/understand and then add « like Edward Snowden » or « à la Edward Snowden » |
| Daenerys Targaryen | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I don't know who this person is |
| Thor | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb This just doesn't seem to work grammatically |

Informant #21 (male, 57, Arizona)

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| Ariana Grande | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb To use an individual's name (first or last) as a verb, that individual would need to be widely recognized for a specific action. Ariana Grande is simply not that famous. |
| Miley Cyrus | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Miley Cyrus is not widely associated with a specific action. |
| Donald Trump | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | Other |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | I've never used this name as a verb but this man is widely associated with specific types of behavior, so the possibility is high that could change. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | (1) I wanted everyone to think I was smart and funny but, instead, I trumped myself. (2) He's trumped, everybody knows he's an idiot. |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | To trump in this instance would mean to reveal oneself as generally incompetent and lacking basic social skills when the intention was to impress everyone. |
| Barack Obama | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |

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| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | Other I've never heard Barack used as a verb but I can see it happenng. |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | Barack Obama is widely considered intelligent, well-spoken and patient so it is entirely feasible that his name could be used to describe one or all of these qualities in combination. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | "He baracked the situation" could mean that the he in question, through a combination of intelligence, superior oral skill and overall calm, managed to diffuse a potentially explosive scenario. |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | See above. |
| Bernie Sanders | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I could see using Bernie Sanders' name as an adjective, but not as a verb. |
| Elizabeth Warren | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Again, perhaps an adjective, but not a verb. |
| Edward Snowden | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Edward Snowden is not quite famous enough to warrant his name used as a verb. |
| Daenerys Targaryen | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Same as above. |

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| Thor | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Thor is not associated with specific action. |

Informant #22 (female, 28, Arizona)

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| Ariana Grande | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I hardly know anything about Ariana Grande, so I am not sure what sort of action I would associate her with. |
| Miley Cyrus | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | Yes In the context of doing something a little outrageous |
| Donald Trump | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | Yes In the context of acting irrationally or making things up on the spot, or of being xenophobic. |
| Barack Obama | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | Other Obamify |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | I'd use his last name because that's the name I identify his policies with more, and I would say "to Obamify" rather than "to Obama" or "Obamize" because the second two are harder to pronounce in a complete sentence |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | Biden doesn't stand a chance if he can't find a way to Obamify his campaign |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | Biden doesn't stand a chance if he can't find a way to garner more enthusiasm among young progressive voters and convince them that he represents institutional change |

| Bernie Sanders | |
|--|---|
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | Yes I think of it more as a part of a phrasal construction: to go all Bernie on sthg, eg to "He went all Bernie on me" would mean "He got very passionate and idealistic about solving a problem" |
| Elizabeth Warren | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Warrenize |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | It's the easiest to pronounce. Also, I associate the name Elizabeth with many other people, namely the Queen of England. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | We're witnessing the Warrenizing of progressive American politics |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | We're witnessing a shift of left-wine American politics towards an approach that tries to give the impression of keeping to the hard left, while making centrist compromises |
| Edward Snowden | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | Other I'd favor passive construction: to be Snowdened |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | If I actually say Snowdenize out loud, I'd say "Sno-dnize", which loses any similarity to "Snowden", so the meaning is lost. "To Snowden" doesn't sound like a verb to me, I think it has to do with how it is accentuated? (I'm a native English speaker, but I teach English as Second Language, so I analyze stuff like accentuation in English) |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | Yeah, Company/Government got completely Snowdened |

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| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | Some insider entity leaked compromising information about a certain powerful institution |
| Daenerys Targaryen | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Do not know who that is |
| Thor | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Thor |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | Thorize sounds too much like another verb, maybe "authorize" or "theorize" |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | Yeah man, go ahead an thor that shit. (I guess might say that to a friend in the context of talking about actually physically hitting or beating something, like if we were camping and trying to break up firewood... this is a scenario that would actually happen in my life) |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | Hit it really hard with a blunt object |

Informant #23 (female, 46, Arizona)

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| Ariana Grande | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I don't follow much of what she does. I suppose if others started and it was a context that applied to me, perhaps I'd do what they would, but otherwise, I think it would be more common to say "do the Arianda Grande" or "do an Arianda Grande" |
| Miley Cyrus | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Same as previous answer--more like "do a..." or "do the..." |
| Donald Trump | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb same as before--do a Trump, perhaps do a Trumpet. I've heard people use his first name in different ways, but I don't know about as a verb--so I might hear do a Donald, or do the Donald |
| Barack Obama | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Maybe I've heard. I don't remember--but I think Obamatize would be more common, or do an Obama |

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| Bernie Sanders | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb same |
| Elizabeth Warren | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb She's not as well known so I don't think it will come to anything and both parts of her name are too common to separate and make sense to use. Again, maybe a do an Elizabeth Warren |
| Edward Snowden | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb same answers |
| Daenerys Targaryen | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I don't even know who that is. |
| Thor | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Thor |

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| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | Either one could happen, but Thor is uncommon enough, simple enough, and the way it sounds is fine, so that you wouldn't need to add "ize" |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | I haven't watched enough of these movies to know exactly what he does other than destroy things, so I can't help you here. |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | I haven't watched enough of these movies to know exactly what he does other than destroy things, so I can't help you here. |

Informant #25 (female, 29, Texas)

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| Ariana Grande | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb It sounds like you're giving something to Ariana Grande |
| Miley Cyrus | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb It sounds like you're giving something to her |
| Donald Trump | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb It sounds like you're giving something to him |
| Barack Obama | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb It sounds like you're giving something to him |
| Bernie Sanders | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb It sounds like you're giving something to him |

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| Elizabeth Warren | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb It sounds like you're giving something to her |
| Edward Snowden | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb It sounds like you're giving something to him |
| Daenerys Targaryen | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb It sounds like you're giving something to her |
| Thor | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb It sounds like you're giving something to him |

Informant #27 (female, 25, Arizona)

| Ariana Grande | |
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| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | Other To do/pull an Ariana Grande |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | Adding to do/to pull in front of a proper noun implies that one is acting in similar fashion to said proper noun. By indirectly applying the proper noun to the verb, the speaker is able to embody the qualities of the proper noun, rather than the proper noun itself. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | I pulled an Ariana Grande and decided to wear an oversized sweatshirt dress today. |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | The above sentence details characteristics that are employed from common knowledge surrounding the proper noun. For example, it is common knowledge that Ariana Grande favors sweatshirt dresses, knee high boots, bunny ears, etc. Therefore, by alluding to these and other signifiers, one is able to embody the likeness of Ariana Grande, the overt qualities that she possesses. |
| Miley Cyrus | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | Other To do/pull a Miley (Cyrus), To go all Miley (Cyrus) |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | Last summer she chopped off her hair, went all Miley Cyrus. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | As applied to Ariana Grande, Miley Cyrus is a proper noun that I would only employ as an auxiliary within another verb. Similarly to Ariana Grande, by employing the proper noun in a verb, the speaker is embodying the qualities, rather than the proper noun itself. |

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| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | By alluding to the characteristics that Miley Cyrus possesses, I am able to compare behavior, appearance, and any other form of likeness, in a way that others are able to understand and make reference to. |
| Donald Trump | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | Yes He really Trumped things up back there. |
| Barack Obama | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | Other To Obamify |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | Here, the proper noun can used as a method of treatment, in which the proud noun is applied to the given situation. Acting adjacent to an adverb, the proper noun aids in describing the manner in which a given verb is carried out. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | We Obamified the situation. I hope that the presidency gets Obamified. |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | As a verb, Barack Obama denotes both the characteristics and actions of his personhood. Here, they are directly applied to a given situation. |
| Bernie Sanders | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | Other To go (all Bernie Sanders) |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | I personally do not find Bernie Sanders to be applicable as a stand alone verb. Similar to Ariana Grande and Miley Cyrus, I would use his name in conjunction with another verb. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | She went all Bernie Sanders on him, demanding for visibility and justice. |

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| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | By referencing the proper noun, one can apply similar qualities to any given situation or individual. The knowledge surrounding the proper noun aids in making a connection with said qualities and characteristics. |
| Elizabeth Warren | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Warrenize |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | Similar to Obama, Warren can act as a stand alone verb, implying the characteristics of her personhood. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | We need to Warrenize the economy. |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | By alluding to the characteristics of Elizabeth Warren's political platform, I am able to make comparison toward any given situation. |
| Edward Snowden | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb To many, I would argue that Edward Snowden do not hold as much commonality/ready access in pop culture. While hacking and leaking are at the forefront of many, I personally feel that many do not readily associate such with Snowden. If one were to employ Edward Snowden as a verb, I believe that many would be confused, simply because they either do not know who Edward Snowden is, or they do not know enough about him to understand the reference. |
| Daenerys Targaryen | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | Yes She Daenerysed his ass. |

| Thor | |
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| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Using Thor as a verb does not sound natural. Rather, I would employ Thor via a simile or comparison. |

Informant #30 (male, 26, Arizona)

| Ariana Grande | |
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| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Ariana Grande |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | If used as a verb, it would likely appear as the gerund ex "Wasn't she Ariana Grande-ing?" I can think of a present tense usage as well though. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | "Miley Cyrus has really gone back to her roots as a pop and country singer, I think." "Yeah for a second there she was really Ariana Grande-ing." Or: "Isn't that artist white though?" "Yeah but he sort of Ariana Grandes, so I get the confusion." |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | The most-likely novel meaning for this verb in my mind would be as a novel verb which means "to perform blackness as a white person." |
| Miley Cyrus | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Miley Cyrus |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | Much like with Ariana Grande's name, I think this verb would almost exclusively appear as a gerund form but it could appear in other contexts. "Girl, you really need to get it together. Life isn't a party and you can't twerk your way out of depression." "Yeah I'm sorry I be Miley Cyrus-ing hard." (This is generally a sentence one might think would be reserved to AAVE but many younger people would use the form be+ gerund as well in informal speech.) |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | Again, the use of this verb would probably tend toward gerund form. "Taylor Swift has been Miley Cyrusing lately, she can't seem to act right." |

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| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | The verb to Miley Cyrus here means to not comport oneself appropriately, to act out for attention, and particularly using hypersexuality for attention. Alternatively, it could also probably mean the same thing as to Ariana Grande ie. to perform blackness as a white artist/person. |
| Donald Trump | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | Yes This verb is (unlike for the previous 2) to Trump. The first name is dropped, i can't recall an exact use but something like "Boris Johnson doesn't seem to care about facts at all." "Yeah he Trumps pretty hard." or "He's Trumping all the time." Trump is a synonym for using intense hyperbole, bullying, disregarding facts, and/or lying. |
| Barack Obama | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Though I love the idea of this as a verb, there are other people who were as good or better than Barack Obama at almost everything he did. I think the use of proper names as verbs for me would be limited (almost exclusively) to the most extreme behaviors that person is known for. Other than maybe drone strikes, Barack Obama is a gifted orator but there are also better. |
| Bernie Sanders | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Bernie Sanders |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | Once again I think this would appear mostly as the gerund form "Bernie Sanderling." |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | "Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez is probably going to continue advocating for democratic socialism and maybe even run for president." "Yeah I could see her Bernie Sanderling." |

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| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | To Bernie Sanders would be to advocate for universal healthcare, and/or free higher education, to have integrity in your moral convictions, and to continue to advocate for the poor or working class even when your opinion is unpopular. |
| Elizabeth Warren | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I don't think I would use this name as a verb for the same reasons I would not use Barack Obama's name as a verb. There are other people who have done it more notably or just plain better than her. |
| Edward Snowden | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Snowden |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | I had a hard time deciding between to Edward Snowden or to Snowden on this one. I think ultimately his first name would be dropped though. As with many others I'd say it would tend toward the gerund but this one in particular I could see being put into the preterite. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | "So the most recent whistleblower leaked those important documents and is seeking asylum in another country." "Yeah they Snowdened for sure!" |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | To (Edward) Snowden would be to leak important information (righteously) and then flee the country seeking asylum. |
| Daenerys Targaryen | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Daenerys Targaryen |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | I can imagine this verb in almost every conjugation. |

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| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | "Yeah in Vietnam the US sort of Denaerys Targaryened the whole place." "She is a crazy bitch, she's going to Denaerys Targaryen them." |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | This verb could mean a lot of things but unfortunately the last season of Game of Thrones would probably lead to it meaning: to commit mass murder or to go insane and lose one's moral compass. |
| Thor | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Personally I think this one has too much historical baggage to use. Are we talking about actual mythology Thor? That character is quite a bit different than Marvel Thor. I would have a hard time sorting out what this name as a verb would mean. |

Informant #35 (male, 33, Arizona)

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| Ariana Grande | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I don't know who that is. It doesn't have any meaning to me. This is not proper English. |
| Miley Cyrus | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb It doesn't mean anything. |
| Donald Trump | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Donaldize |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | That's sounds better than the rest |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | To show an incredible failure. Or deep hatred. |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | It means to think you are better than every while having all of the facts wrong |
| Barack Obama | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | Yes Anti Obama people use it a lot. |

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| Bernie Sanders | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb This is not a word. |
| Elizabeth Warren | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Not a word. |
| Edward Snowden | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Not a word. |
| Daenerys Targaryen | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I don't know who that is. |
| Thor | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Doesn't make sense. |

Informant #36 (female, 23, Arizona)

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| Ariana Grande | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Because names are Proper nouns not verbs. |
| Miley Cyrus | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Because names are proper nouns not verbs. |
| Donald Trump | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Because it is not a verb |
| Barack Obama | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Obamize |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | I could see someone using this answer in the sentence I provided below |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | I want to obamize everything |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | It means I want to make things good again |

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| Bernie Sanders | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Because it is not a verb |
| Elizabeth Warren | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Because it isnt a verb |
| Edward Snowden | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I dont know who this is |
| Daenerys Targaryen | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Not a verb or doesnt have meaning |
| Thor | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Because it isnt a verb and doesn't mean anything to me |

Informant #39 (female, 18, Arizona)

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| Ariana Grande | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Grandize |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | I feel like grande is associated with the cup at starbucks so potentially to grandize could mean to make a drink a grande. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | I would like to grandize my coffee please. (It would probably be used more as a slang type term though.) |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | It means to make a drink a grande. |
| Miley Cyrus | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I think the way that these verbs would sound wouldn't be nice coming out of your mouth so it would feel weird to use it as a verb. |
| Donald Trump | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | Yes She trumped his card. |
| Barack Obama | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb |

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| | I think because this name feels really unique to him, these verbs would be automatically associated with him and wouldn't be able to be used in a normal context unless you were talking about Barack Obama. |
| Bernie Sanders | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Bernie |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | This kind of reminds me of the friends episode where Monica's mom said that Monica "pulled a Monica" at her party. I think that this could be used in a similar context where someone does something that reminds the other person of Bernie Sanders. This is different than Barack Obama though because Bernie has more well-known views I feel. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | He bernied that presentation! |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | I think it would mean doing something like Bernie Sanders would have done. |
| Elizabeth Warren | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Elizabeth is much too common of a name and I think to Warren would sound too much like to warrant to be used as a verb that would mean something totally different. |
| Edward Snowden | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Snowden |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | I think his last name could be used to describe whistleblowing because his case is pretty infamous. |

| | |
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| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | She's going to snowden the whole operation. |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | It means to be a whistleblower, just in a verb form. |
| Daenerys Targaryen | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I have no idea how to pronounce her name and the verb would be much too difficult to say in normal conversation. |
| Thor | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Thor |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | This word feels really familiar and I am not sure why but I feel like to Thor feels like it definitely should be a verb. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | She thored her paper to shreds. |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | It kind of means to shred or to tear. |

Informant #41 (female, 34, Colorado)

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| Ariana Grande | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I've never heard anyone use Ariana Grande as a verb... or any celebrity name for that matter. |
| Miley Cyrus | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I would never use this name as a verb because it's a proper noun describing one person's persona for performance work. If I were to use it as a comparison, I would say, "She's very reminiscent of Miley Cyrus." |
| Donald Trump | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Trump |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | To Trump something could mean to "mess" something up.. but I've never said that or heard it said. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | He trumped that up real bad. |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | He really messed that up. |
| Barack Obama | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |

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| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Too much respect. |
| Bernie Sanders | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I'm not sure... |
| Elizabeth Warren | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I just wouldn't. |
| Edward Snowden | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Same as before. |
| Daenerys Targaryen | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Same as before. |
| Thor | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb It wouldn't make sense... |

Informant #42 (female, 23, Arizona)

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| Ariana Grande | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb It doesn't sound right when I say it out loud |
| Miley Cyrus | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Again, none of the above options sound right when I say them out loud |
| Donald Trump | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | Yes When someone messes up or is a huge idiot, they're "trumping" |
| Barack Obama | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I would usually use Barack Obama or Trump or the other cultural icons listed before as nouns or adjectives. "Ex: you're such a trump." Or "that was very Obama of you" |
| Bernie Sanders | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Bernie |

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| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | I would use “to Bernie” not in reference to the presidential candidate but in reference to the dance-like move that appears in the film “weekend at bernie’s” |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | Tonight at the club, I’m going to do the Bernie! |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | It is when you throw your head and arms back and as they are limp, you shake them around behind you |
| Elizabeth Warren | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Would use the name as a noun or an adjective |
| Edward Snowden | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb He is not relevant to me |
| Daenerys Targaryen | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | Yes “I just targaryened” —> I just burned something really badly |
| Thor | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Thor |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | I think because it is one syllable, it sounds better to say. |

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| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | "I'm going to thor our tonight" — maybe to exercise really hard to achieve the body and appearance of Thor? |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | maybe to exercise really hard to achieve the body and appearance of Thor? |

Informant #43 (female, 19, Arizona)

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| Ariana Grande | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb A name is noun not a verb, it just does not make sense. |
| Miley Cyrus | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I don't know of any scenario where I would use this as a verb |
| Donald Trump | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb personal preference |
| Barack Obama | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb it would be hard to use for just specific scenarios |
| Bernie Sanders | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Bernie Sanders |

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| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | I have heard this the most among other students |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | Are you going to Bernie Sanders the syllabus? They might Bernie Sanders the healthcare system. |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | It is tied to socialism and the idea of free college |
| Elizabeth Warren | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb She has done too many things to be tied to just one concept that will be easy to understand or "catch" in a phrase |
| Edward Snowden | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | Yes Snowden = to expose, to reveal; specifically tied to government secrets "They're going to Snowden Jeff Bezos" to pull a snowden is also used |
| Daenerys Targaryen | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I dont know who this is |
| Thor | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb its too short use or make changes to. thor usually equals strength, lightning, and a hammer |

Informant #44 (female, 17, Arizona)

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| Ariana Grande | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb Because there is nothing significant about her to have a verb named after her and utilized. |
| Miley Cyrus | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Miley Cyrus |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | I would maybe use this when speaking about a dance move that Miley Cyrus has done. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | In the famous dance with Robin Thicke, Miley Cyrus danced very sexually, so I would probably be referring to this if I were to use "To Miley Cyrus" as a verb |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | It would mean to dance sexually as Miley Cyrus did in her dance |
| Donald Trump | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Donald Trump |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | Personally, I do not like Trump, so I would use this as an insult |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | I would use "To Donald Trump" when I am talking about making something worse or ruin something |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | This would mean something insulting or mean that somebody is making something worse |

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| Barack Obama | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Barack Obama |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | To "Barak Obama" feels like a better option because the other made-up verbs seem too playful to be a serious word |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | I would, as opposed to "to Donald Trump", use this verb to describe something that is made better |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | I would use this verb when somebody is making a good decision or ameliorating something |
| Bernie Sanders | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I do not believe I know him well enough to be able to use his name as a verb |
| Elizabeth Warren | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I also do not think I know Elizabeth Warren well enough to use her as a verb, I don't really know what she stands for. Although, I think to Warrenize sounds cool, but maybe it's only because it sounds like "womanize" which is already a real word |
| Edward Snowden | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Snowdenize |

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| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | This verb sounds the most pleasing to me |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | I would use this word when talking about someone who hacked something or leaked something, saying that they Snowdenized it |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | This verb, to me, would mean that somebody hacked or leaked something, and I think I would use it more as a compliment, or kind of in awe that they were able to Snowdenize something |
| Daenerys Targaryen | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I have no idea who this is so I would not be able to use this verb! |
| Thor | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I don't think I am into superheros enough to use one as a verb |

Informant #45 (female, 19, Arizona)

| Ariana Grande | |
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| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | To Arianize |
| Can you briefly explain your choice above? | I wouldn't use a name as a verb, if I did, I would add an ending like "ize", "ing", etc. |
| Imagine a sentence and context in which you would use the form you chose (please give as many details as possible) | I am going to arianize my hair. |
| Describe as precisely as you can what it means to you | It means to tie your hair half up and half down with the half up part being in a high ponytail. |
| Miley Cyrus | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I don't have anything I would relate to acting as a verb to her. |
| Donald Trump | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | Yes When someone is talking about building something up (a wall), I've heard "I'm going to Donald Trump it." |
| Barack Obama | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb There's nothing significant to relate to it that I could use to make a verb out of it. |

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| Bernie Sanders | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I couldn't relate it to something to make a verb out of it that would make sense. |
| Elizabeth Warren | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I don't know who that is. |
| Edward Snowden | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | Yes If someone is talking about leaving or hiding out, "I'm just going to Snowden it" |
| Daenerys Targaryen | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | No |
| Which one of the following verbs would you be most likely to use (choose the best option)? | I would never use this name as a verb I don't know who that is. |
| Thor | |
| Do you recall hearing someone (or yourself) use this name as a verb? | Yes My guy friends that work out a lot always say, "I'm going to Thor up." (As in bulk up) |