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When neologisms don't reach the dictionary: occasionalisms in Spanish

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Abstract

In this research we have analysed a type of neologism that does not become part of the common speech and so has no chance of being incorporated into a general language dictionary: the *occasionalisms*. They have been defined by several authors as volatile language events difficult to detect and typified by their context-dependency and language creativity. With this research we intend, on the one hand, to contribute with the description of the theoretical concept of *neologism* by defining one of the groups that are obtained following the lexicographical criterion and, on the other hand, to play a part in the definition of occasionalisms by finding regularities and their tendencies in formation processes and in formation rules. The data we have used belongs to the *Neómetro* database and applying the methodology described below we have obtained an occasionalism corpus. After analysing the data, we can confirm that occasionalisms are not linguistic random acts and they are lexical units that fulfil an expressive function in a specific context.

Keywords: occasionalism; nonce-word; neology; lexicographical criterion

1 Introduction and Objectives

Our aim in this article is to analyse, within the framework of lexical innovation, a type of neologism that does not become established in speakers' use of and so has no chance of being incorporated into a general language dictionary: the occasionalism. In one of the first works in which the concept of *neologism* appeared, Matoré (1952) highlighted the distinction that had to be made between prototypical neologisms and other units that appear in social use. Algeo (1993) also focused on these less institutionalized words and established up to 43 categories within the units of a corpus that did not make it into normative dictionaries.

In this perspective of lexical innovation, the situation of occasionalisms is that of expressive rather than denominative units created by speakers, a highly active line of lexical research for French and English, but which has not received much attention for Spanish. Nevertheless, Spanish has a lot of material with which to study occasionalisms, since these neologisms appear in neology databases because they belong to the group of words that can be obtained following the lexicographical criteria, as we will see later with examples such as *neohisteria* (“Y entramos en un proceso de *neohisteria*. Y buscamos respuestas en el yoga, las terapias y las religiones alternativas”)¹ or *cernudear* (“El deseo no se describe, observa Clavecía; los poemas, sí. Y sigue *cernudeando*”).²

In this article we will offer, first of all, a brief state of the art that will allow us to know at what stage the research on occasionalisms is and to establish the theoretical elements from which to develop our work. Next, we will present the data that make up our occasionalism corpus, since our main objective is precisely to contribute to the study of occasionalisms in Spanish. Finally, we will focus on the analysis of the data in order to isolate the main tendencies within these lexical creations that are usually considered transgressive inventions and for which no regularities have been described.

2 Neologisms and Occasionalisms

The lexicographical criterion proposed by Rey (1976) and systematically applied in the work of detecting neologisms has allowed research to advance considerably in the description of neology in the different languages of the world, given that the lexicographical criterion makes it possible to detect neologisms in an objective and largely automated process. Indirectly, this criterion has also been useful in neology from a theoretical point of view because it has made specialists aware of the need to distinguish the theoretical concept of neologism from the applied one, which constitutes one of the great unresolved issues in the studies of this field from its beginnings. Matoré (1952: 87) defined *neologism* as “*acception nouvelle introduite dans le vocabulaire d'une langue à une époque déterminée*”, but he pointed to a distinction between what he considered *necessary creations* and *luxury creations*. In relation to the latter, Matoré stated that “*elle dépend en réalité du milieu et du moment ; pour des mondains qui désirent se distinguer, telle création de mot désignant un aspect nouveau et souvent fugace de la mode*” and added “*on ne sait jamais quand apparaît une création si elle est passagère ou non*” (1952 : 88). Other authors among those considered *fathers of neology* in the French context followed this line: Rey (1976) pointed out the existence of words that could be considered neologisms but that might be due to an artistic or ludic factor, and Guilbert (1975) also established this difference and called these units *néologismes de langue*.

In this section we will present the current state of knowledge, half a century after these first contributions to neology as a discipline. We will focus on the two aspects that are most relevant to our research: a review of the results offered by the lexicographical criterion and a summary of the elements used at present to distinguish occasionalisms from neologisms.

¹ *Fashion&Arts*, 19/02/2017.

² *La Vanguardia*, 3/03/1989.

2.1 The Lexicographic Criterion as a Starting Point

The lexicographic criterion applied to the practice of detecting neologisms indicates that the term *neologism* can be used to refer to any lexical unit which is detected in use (usually taken from press texts, but increasingly enriched with texts from other sources such as social and other media) and is not included in the *exclusion corpus*, i.e. the corpus taken as a reference and normally made up of general lexicographical works. But considering that dictionaries exclude from their list of lemmas many lexical unities for very different reasons, by the sole application of this criterion, a heterogeneous group of units which we call *lexicographical neologisms* is obtained, among which neologisms strictly speaking can be found.³ In the case of Spanish, all the nodes of the two Spanish neology networks⁴ apply the lexicographical criterion and have detected the following examples as the twenty lexicographical neologisms most frequently found in press in the last ten years: *smartphone*, *app*, *eurozona*, *blog*, *chavismo*, *hashtag*, *soberanista*, *bullying*, *copago*, *ciberataque*, *selfie*, *tablet*, *tuit*, *playoff*, *sobrecoste*, *mediocentro*, *reality*, *uribismo*, *megaproyecto* and *recapitalización*. Several of these twenty units are no longer neologisms because they have recently been included in the academic dictionary of Spanish, *Diccionario de la lengua Española* (from now on DLE): *blog*, *soberanista*, *tuit*, *reality*, and also *selfi* and *tableta* for *selfie* and *tablet*. Some of the remaining words are given another name in Spanish and therefore do not appear in the dictionary (*acoso escolar* for *bullying* or *aplicación* for *app*), others are *witness words* (such as *chavista*, *chavismo*, *urbismo* from Hugo Chávez and Álvaro Uribe, who were presidents of Venezuela and Colombia respectively), and many others are words that have been stabilized in use for years, so that the reason they are not in the dictionary is not their recentness but rather their semantic transparency and the predictability of their forms, as we can see in *recapitalización*, *megaproyecto*, *mediocentro*, *sobrecoste* or *copago*. But if we look closely at all the lexical units detected by applying the lexicographical criterion, and not only at the most frequent ones, we realize that other types of non-recent units appear: dialectalisms, specialized lexical units, colloquialisms, variants and occasionalisms, among others.

For this reason, since Cabré et al. (2004) the usefulness of continuing to apply this criterion in the detection of neologisms has been widely discussed and, aside from the absence of a better-known objective criterion, it has been determined that it is useful and that it presents a high degree of interest both for lexicography and for the study of lexical innovation; for lexicography, because it makes it possible to discover gaps in dictionaries and, for the study of lexical innovation, because it allows us to isolate different types of words, whether newly created or not, as well as to study lexical evolution mechanisms. Naturally, it also contributes to the exhaustive detection of neologisms themselves. We will now focus on occasionalisms, one of the types of unit that are detected, one which is difficult to dictionaries.⁵

2.2 Occasionalisms as a Non-evolutionary Unit

As we saw at the beginning of this section, from the start, the definition of neology has proved ineffective in distinguishing authentic, prototypical neologisms from other types of words that are documented in language use. A neologism is not just a “new word”, as any speaker might say, nor is it a “new word, meaning or turn of phrase in a language” as the normative dictionary of Spanish says. In addition to their recentness, neologisms must meet at least another requirement, which is, according to Hohenhaus (2007) and Schmid (2008), that they are to become established in speakers’ use of the language. With this second requirement, occasionalisms will not be considered neologisms, because they have a non-evolutionary character, as we will see below.

Lipka et al. (2004) and Hohenhaus (2007) place particular emphasis on the distinction between what the English literature has called *nonce-word* (also *nonce-formation* or just *nonce*), the first occurrence of a word in a language, and what is properly considered a neologism. Although in some studies the first appearance of a word is given the name of *hapax legomenon*, Hohenhaus’ distinction between these two words is relevant: *hapax* refers to the first time a word is registered in a given corpus and *nonce word* refers to the first time the speaker registers a word in his/her lexicon, that is, the first time a user “creates” the word.

The distinction between occasionalisms and neologisms is even more evident in the current literature in the French context, where the concept of *occasionalism* is described with greater clarity. Thus, Dal and Namer (2018) and Sablayrolles (2018), among others, define it as a unit that meets a communication need in a given and specific context. They consider that these units cannot be analysed outside the context in which they were created, since their sole purpose is to respond exclusively to an expressive need (whether ironic, playful, etc.) for a given phrase. In fact, Sablayrolles (2018) also questions whether these occasional creations should be considered neologisms simply because they are documented once in use.

The concept of the *nonce word* as the first stage of a word is defended by Štekauer (2002) and Hohenhaus (2007), so that, from its creation, this word could initiate a process in which the second stage is called *institutionalization* (the use of the word by the speaking community), and the last stage, *lexicalization*, at the end of which it could be included in dictionaries (Hohenhaus 2007). Schmid (2008) makes an adjustment to this which is especially interesting to us: for him the progression of a nonce-word can be developed at three levels, so that three parallel processes occur: *institutionalization* (socio-pragmatic level), *lexicalization* (structural level) and *hypostatization* (cognitive level).

What concerns us for our research on occasionalisms is *the first stage* seen from Schmid’s three perspectives. An occasionalism is a non-evolutionary unit and, from the moment of its creation, it shows no signs of following the process

³ According to this criterion, different kind of units are collected, including occasionalisms, ephemeral neologisms (Cabré 1989), words with occasional use, neologisms themselves and terminological units among others.

⁴ The network Antenas Neológicas (<https://www.upf.edu/web/antenas>) brings together since 2003 peninsular and American Spanish neology observatories, with nodes in Spain and in different Latin American countries; NEOROC (<https://www.upf.edu/web/neoroc>) brings together since 2004 neology observatories located in different places in Spain.

⁵ To *dictionary*: to include a neologism in a dictionary.

that a neologism would follow, but it *can* be analysed from the three levels: its appearance in language use as a *one-time unit* with pragmatic value; its non-lexicalizable character because of its transgressive formation (it doesn't follow the traditional word-formation rules); and the absence of cognitive hypostatization, since its appearance does not initiate the construction of a concept: the unit is understood with the help of the context it depends on.

2.3 The Dictionarization of Neologisms and Occasionalisms

Lexicographic neologisms are then those neologisms that are documented in use and cannot be found in general normative dictionaries⁶ whose mission is, in most Romance languages, to collect the most institutionalized words (term used under Schmid's perspective) in the common mental lexicon of speakers. But this does not mean that other neologisms are not lexicographically interesting, since many of them can appear in other types of dictionaries. In fact, between the general dictionary and a glossary of transgressive words there is a continuum of lexicographical works in which more neologisms can be found.

First of all, Spanish has a type of general dictionaries called *usage dictionaries* (*diccionarios de uso*) because they attempt to reflect real usage and not correct usage (although it cannot in fact be said that general dictionaries do *not* reflect the lexicon considered correct), including the *Diccionario de uso del español* by María Moliner (1991; 2016), the *Diccionario del español actual* by Manuel Seco et al. (2006) and the *Diccionario de uso del español actual (Diccionario Clave)* by SM editorial (2011). These dictionaries traditionally incorporate a greater number of neologisms, so that they sometimes represent their prelude to official dictionarization in the standard dictionary.

Secondly, Spanish also has dictionaries of neologisms whose list of lemmas is based on lexicographical criteria, so that they function as a complement to the standard dictionaries. In this case we must highlight the *Diccionario de voces de uso actual* by Manuel Alvar (1994) and the *Nuevo diccionario de voces de uso actual* by the same author (2001), together with the most recent work also published on paper *Neologismos del español actual* (Moliner 2013). Since dictionaries of neologisms have to make a sustained effort not to become outdated, many are published directly online so that they can be continually updated, such as the *Diccionario de neologismos online* (IULA 2007)⁷ and the *Diccionario de neologismos* (NEOMA 2016),⁸ or blogs specializing in neologism such as *Martes Neológico*,⁹ produced by *Centro Virtual Cervantes*, and *Antenarío*,¹⁰ which belongs to *Antenas Neológicas*¹¹ network.

All of these lexicographic resources focus, in fact, on a certain type of neologisms, those that have certain stability in use, thus playing the function of usage dictionaries before the dictionarization of a word.

Consequently, low-frequency neologisms are not included in the dictionaries we have seen so far, but they also have their own lexicographic place with transgressive word dictionaries – which are particularly frequent in French¹² with works such as the *Dictionnaire des mots sauvages* by Rheims (1989), the *Dictionnaire des mots rares et précieux* (2006), the *Dictionnaire des mots rares et savoureux* (Horvilleur 2013) or *Mes mots sauvages* (Brisac 2018).

The aim of these works is not to reflect the new lexicon of the language but to show the most audacious creations, and they contain very interesting material for the study of lexical innovation because the resources used in the creation of highly expressive units can be observed in them. We are not aware of the existence of current works of this kind of dictionaries for Spanish, but we do know of works that somehow include infrequent units¹³ and, in any case, occasionalisms would find their lexicographical space in this last type of dictionary.

3 Data and Methodology

The data we have used for this research belong to the *Neómetro* database,¹⁴ whose basis is data from BOBNEO,¹⁵ to which a substantial amount of linguistic and documentary information has been added. At present this database has 6,134 lexicographical neologisms¹⁶ in different stages of analysis, and for our research we have selected the 3,402 units with the maximum level of completeness, so that for each neologism we have the following information:

- Lemma, grammatical category, and variants (if any).
- Usage context with the source and the date.
- Linguistic analysis: type of neologism and analysis of its constituent elements.

⁶ Some dictionaries have a section of institutionalized word that are being used but they have to be reconsidered every year and also, they are spotted apart from the regular dictionary pages, occasionalisms do not belong to this kind of lexical units.

⁷ <http://obneo.iula.upf.edu/spes/>

⁸ <https://www.um.es/neologismos/index.php/>

⁹ <https://blogscvc.cervantes.es/martes-neologico/>

¹⁰ <https://antenario.wordpress.com/>

¹¹ *Antenas Neológicas* is the Spanish neology network (<https://www.upf.edu/web/antenas>) which gathers neology observatories from Spain and America.

¹² For English we find a similar type of dictionary whose aim is also to present uncommon, transgressive or playful words, such as *The Dord, the Diglot and an Avocado or Two: The Hidden Lives and Strange Origins of Common and Not-So-Common Words* (Garg 2007) or *Where a Dobbob Meets a Dikdik: A Word Lover's Guide to the Weirdest, Wackiest and Wonkiest Lexical Gems* (Casselmann 2010).

¹³ For example, Muñoz Laso (2018) collects more or less institutionalized neologisms of French origin, and Ramos (2000) collects Spanish colloquialisms.

¹⁴ *La medición de la neologicidad y la dictionariabilidad de los neologismos del español (Neómetro)*, ref. FFI2016-79129-P (AEI/FEDER, UE), funded by the Spanish *Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad*.

¹⁵ <http://obneo.iula.upf.edu/bobneo/index.php>

¹⁶ The dictionaries that are part of the exclusion corpus are the *Diccionario de uso del español de América y España (VOX)* and DLE.

- Usage analysis: date of the first occurrence, types of text where it is documented, frequency of period (2015-2019), total frequency (1989-2019), record and thematic area.
- Documentary analysis: presence in usage dictionaries (*CLAVE*¹⁷, *Diccionario de uso del español*, *Diccionario del español actual* and *Diccionario de argentinismos, neologismos y barbarismos*),¹⁸ in standard dictionaries for other languages (Oxford English Dictionary, *Lo Zingarelli* for Italian, *Le Grand Robert* for French and the *Gran Diccionari de la Llengua Catalana* for Catalan), in neologism dictionaries (*Diccionario de voces de uso actual*, *Nuevo diccionario de voces de uso actual*, *Diccionario de neologismos online* and *Neologismos del español actual*) and also the presence in corpora (CREA and CORPES XXI).

In order to analyse the phenomenon of occasionalisms in Spanish, from the initial corpus of 3,402 units we have selected those that present a minimum frequency (a single occurrence) and that, moreover, do not appear in the dictionaries we have mentioned. After applying this search criterion, we have obtained a second corpus of 682 units, which constitutes our corpus of analysis of occasionalisms, although in order to observe specific phenomena we have further filtered the selection ensuring that they were not present in Factiva¹⁹ database or in Google's textual macrocorpus,²⁰ which has allowed us to verify that 199 of these neologisms are totally casual. In the following section we offer the results obtained after submitting the data to a morphological analysis in order to identify tendencies in their formation.

4 Results and Analysis

In this section we offer the results of our qualitative analysis of the occasionalism corpus, in which we looked for tendencies in word formation. The first observation is the great diversity of these units: some have been formed by semantic or syntactic processes, other occasionalisms are loanwords from different languages, but for the most part they are formed by derivational morphological mechanisms (*hipermalvinizar*, *corbatismo*, *acalabrante*, *alabatorio*, *dicharachería*), compounding (*ciberniño*, *cazaacadémicos*) and blending (*gorn*, *graficleta*). This diversity of processes reflects the diversity that characterizes neologisms in general, but there are preferences for certain processes that differ from general tendencies in neologism formation, as we will show in section 4.1 on tendencies in occasionalism formation processes. Leaving aside the processes and entering into the concrete level of word-formation rules, it can be observed that transgressions in occasionalism creation allow us to establish several groups that we will present in section 4.2, which deals with tendencies in occasionalism-formation rules.

4.1 Tendencies in Formation Processes

Several researchers interested in the study of playful resources in word formation have studied blending (Hohenhaus 2007; Renner 2013), which they have considered a resource that tends to form ephemeral neologisms. We did the same in a previous work (Bueno 2019) in which we observed a considerable proportion of occasionalisms in blends²¹ and this is corroborated in the corpus analysed for this research with examples such as the following:

(1) Igual que los leggins, los pantalones de corte pirata y los **pantafaldas** (que son la suma de ambas opciones) también entrarán en los armarios de los más atrevidos [*La Vanguardia*, 26/02/2017]²²

(2) La posición de Raquel M. Adsuar, **bolillotuber** con más de 11.000 suscriptores, como protagonista de una masterclass en una feria de artesanía ha levantado las quejas de la Asociación de Bolilleras de la Comunidad Valenciana. [*El País*, 27/03/2017]

In the first example, *pantafalda* instead of the usual name already found in dictionaries (*falda pantalón*), an acronym has been chosen with an incomplete lexeme (*pantalón*) and the other complete lexeme (*falda*); and in the second case, *bolillotuber*, a complete lexeme (*bolillo*) and a truncated one (*youtuber*) have also been kept for a new expression, with non-explicit denominative purpose.

Compounding is also often chosen for occasionalism creation. As in blending, an important part of the expressive force of these units lies in the union of two lexemes in a single word when this union is not very predictable. This tendency has also been observed for English occasionalism formation (Hohenhaus 2007) as well as in French (Dal & Namer 2018). In our corpus we find examples of compounding such as the following:

(3) Su horror y compasión (de los muertos) le inducen a mirar hacia otro tiempo venidero, habitado por gente que surge de la desmemoria y en la que se integra Ed, el **poeta-lavaplatos**, el último en abandonar la isla mítica una vez los muros han sido de molidos y en aquel final de 1989 asume la conciencia de su libertad. [*La Vanguardia*, 01/04/2017]

(4) Vivimos en una sociedad **smartphone-céntrica** y necesitamos transformarla en una sociedad **humanocéntrica**. [*La Vanguardia*, 13/01/2018]

(5) En Twitter, Puigdemont ha asegurado literalmente que ni los **asustafuncionarios** ni los **cazaurnas** podrán parar un referéndum que él mismo ha prometido que será vinculante. [*Cadena Ser*, 28/06/2017]

We note that in occasionalism formation, both N+N, A+A and V+N structures are used, and that in all of them two lexemes with non-complementary and sometimes antithetical semantic content are joined, a situation that is consistently repeated

¹⁷ <http://clave.smdiccionarios.com/app.php>

¹⁸ <http://www.bibliotecadigital.gob.ar/items/show/1308>

¹⁹ <https://global.factiva.com>

²⁰ Due to the documentary noise produced by the platform's search engine, we set a limit of up to 100 appearances and checked that the pages in question had no content and were without lexical or documentary interest.

²¹ In Bueno (2019) we observed that, despite being one of the least productive formation processes for neologism formation, the hapax content in blending was considerably high, reaching up to 75% of the number of units collected.

²² In all examples the date and source of the text are given; when the source is not Spanish, the country of origin is indicated.

in the other examples (such as *plaza-basura*, *cholloweb*, *poético-kitsch* or *calienta-pavas*). In the previous examples it can be observed, moreover, that there is a high degree of contextual dependency in occasionalisms because the fun factor is transferred to the immediate discursive environment: the adjective *smartphone-céntrico* plays with *humanocéntrico* and *asustafuncionarios* plays with *cazaurnas*, forming pairs in the same context.

The use of Greek and Latin forms is also one of the tendencies observed in occasionalism formation because they give the resulting unit an appearance of denominative formality which makes it sound cultured or specialized. When coupled with unpredictable lexematic bases, the transgressive effect is evident and is often used with a clearly ironic or critical purpose, as we can see in examples such as the following:

(6) Esto es el tarificador, **calculógrafo** le llamaban, donde se ponía la hora en que empezaba la conferencia y cuando terminaba para poder establecer la tarifa. [*Radio RNE*, 12/03/2015]

(7) Doy al play a otra joya de la **vladivideoteca**, en la que Montesinos se acerca a un espejo para apretarse la corbata al cuello y se hace un guiño a sí mismo, en realidad a la cámara que se esconde detrás de su imagen. [*El País Semanal*, 26/03/2017]

(8) Pichetto se adjudicó la mejor marca del **abucheómetro**. [*Página 12* (Argentina), 27/02/2016]

To finish this overview of formation resources with a higher presence in occasionalism formation, we will refer to the formation of words on the basis a proper name. It would be usual in this case for the proper names used for this purpose to be non-local and markedly timeless, but the playful character is sometimes achieved by using names of people (sometimes first and last names, sometimes just the first name and more frequently, the last name) or also names of places, brands or institutions.

(9) ¿Es ahora un GP menos **alonsodependiente**? [*La Vanguardia*, 01/04/2017]

(10) Se daban las condiciones para que una coalición **azañista-conservadora**, macerada en Sevilla, le metiera un buen tajo a la autonomía catalana, con el presidente del Gobierno lavándose las manos. [*La Vanguardia*, 23/05/2010]

(11) El 51% de los **melenchonistas** dará su voto a Macron el domingo. [*El País*, 06/05/2017]

(12) Pero Fernández es solo provisional, y Susana Díaz y Pedro Sánchez se acusan de **filopodemismo** o de encubierto derechismo. [*El Periódico de Catalunya*, 16/04/2017]

With these examples we wanted to show that the use of proper names is frequent in different word formation processes: the compounds in the first two examples, *alonsodependiente* and *azañista-conservador*, are based on the name of the Formula 1 pilot Fernando Alonso, and the Spanish politician Manuel Azaña; in the third example, *melenchonista* has been formed by suffixation on the name of the French politician Jean-Luc Mélenchon; and in the fourth one, *filopodemismo*, the suffixation has been made with the name of the Spanish political party *Podemos*. *Leganordiano* (related to the *Lega Nord* political party in Italy), *cyberlouvre* (related to the French Museum of *Louvre*), *puigdemonista* (relating to the Catalan politician Carles Puigdemont) or the *vladivideoteca* mentioned above and many others confirm the tendency of current Spanish occasionalism formation to be based on proper names from different sectors of society.

4.2 Tendencies in Formation Rules

In the occasionalism corpus a large number of examples have been found of what Hohenhaus (2007) calls *attention-seeking device*, linguistic elements that manage to capture the recipient's attention. Occasionalisms are usually themselves *attention-seeking devices* in the way they are formed, which transgresses a rule either by the choice of the base, by the union of bases with antithetical features, by mixing registers or by other means. In this section we will focus on several word-formation rules, specifically suffixation and neoclassical compounding, which we have observed are particularly efficient in occasionalism formation.²³

The suffix *-ez* is used to form abstract feminine nouns that indicate the quality of the adjective from which they derive, but the rule can be transgressed by attaching the suffix to nominal bases (especially in the case of proper nouns) in order to create a striking effect, as we can see in the following examples:

(13) Inventor de los términos "putrefacto" y "carnuzo" para definir a un tipo de señor inmovilista y estatal, dado a la caspa en la hombrera y a la **bigotez**, un tipo, pues, que despedía el hedor de una España muerta pero insepulta. [*El País*, 23/07/1995]

(14) La humillación a la que se sometió al PSOE, no por parte del PP precisamente, sino por parte d'ERC con la **rufianez** que fue una cosa bastante notable y también el señor de Bildu, que tampoco estuvo mal, así como la actitud de Podemos. [*Cadena Ser*, 31/10/2016]

(15) Yo sigo pensando que ha perdido **raphaelez**. [*El País*, 14/07/2012]

In the following examples we can see verbs that have been made with the suffix *-ear*. Although they all derive from a noun, which is a regular behaviour for this suffix, the result is striking because of the noun chosen in every case, which is unlikely to be transformed into an action:

(16) El dj alemán **deephuseará** en mandarine, compartiendo cabina con el remixero inglés Nic Fanciulli. [*Página 12* (Argentina), 10/12/2015]

(17) Según usted también debieron ser asesinados Bolívar, Santander y demás guerrillos que medio liberaron a este pobre país del yugo español, Napoleón debería haber sido **falsopositivado**, Robespierre había sido mejor motosierrarlo y está muy bien que hayan asesinado al guerrillo Jesús de Nazaret. [*El Espectador* (Colombia), 26/04/2016]

(18) Entre las cartas de Clos abundan las entradas gratis para ir al Fòrum, que hace las funciones de la cárcel en el Monopoly **tradicioneando** a la baja. [*La Vanguardia*, 25/12/2004]

²³ In our research we are focusing on knowing what the productive mechanisms of occasionalisms are in order to cover this issue in lexicographical works.

Next, we will show examples of occasionalisms created by the transgression of word-formation rules. In this case they are surprising because Greek and Latin roots are prototypically used for terminological unit formation. The neoclassical combining form *-metro*, for example, is used to name measuring devices, such as *pluviómetro* for rain or *termómetro* for temperature, where the base of this word is formal. For its part, *-itis* is used to name body part infections, such as *otitis* or *hepatitis*, where the base is also formal. The transgressive rupture that we observe in the following occasionalisms is found in the selection of the base, with the result somehow representing an instrument (*-metro* examples) or a metaphorical infection (*-itis* examples):

(19) El **masomenómetro** argentino trabajando a full. [*La Nación* (Argentina), 07/06/2011]

(20) El primer nivel de nuestro **fermentómetro** no es muy arriesgado: son productos fermentados que "forman parte de nuestra cultura", como afirma Samy Ali, chef de La Candela Restó. [*Icon*, 06/05/2017]

(21) Hay un interés recurrente por inocular el virus de la **consensualitis**, lamentó el representante de ERC en alusión al hecho de que sean PP y PSOE los que decidan sobre los territorios. [*La Vanguardia*, 09/02/2005]

(22) El pragmatismo y la determinación de la Fed se ha llevado buena parte del miedo reinante en el ambiente y aunque todo mundo sabe que las cosas no se arreglan de un plumazo, la **catastrofitis** se ha evaporado. [*La Vanguardia*, 20/09/2007]

We end the examples of tendencies in word-formation rules in occasionalisms with different cases that also involve neoclassical combining forms: *macro-* on the one hand and *ciber-* on the other:

(23) Casado y con tres hijas, sus firmes convicciones de izquierda e igualdad y su lealtad responden al perfil que el presidente socialista quiere para su **macroministro** de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales. [*El Sur*, 18/04/2004]

(24) Si en lugar de centrarse en ir a por **macroinfluencers** o celebrities, que son muy caros, van a por microinfluencers que son más pequeños, van a llegar a menos gente pero van a tener más influencia en su público objetivo. [*La Vanguardia*, 23/10/2016]

(25) Una particular **ciberrepública** para trabajar, vivir y luchar. [*El País*, 05/05/2008]

(26) [...] artefactos de defensa e identificación, protección para guardianes, **ciberalambradas** que reciben los funcionarios, etc. [*El País*, 24/12/2004]

Occasionalisms formed with *macro-* are part of a larger group of occasionalisms, also frequently used, formed with a number of positive or negative intensifiers (*megamentimedio*, *minibarbi*, *microacoso*, *macrofortuna* or *nanocarrera*, among others); these are semantically transparent examples whose expressive value lies in their hyperbolic character. Occasionalisms formed with *ciber-*, on the other hand, have been on the increase in recent years, when this neoclassical combining form has demonstrated a plasticity that allows it any type of combination with any syntactic category and with different functions: several are denominative and have become institutionalized in speakers' usage (*ciberataque* or *ciberdelincuencia*), and some have even become part of the standard dictionary (*cibercafé* or *cibercultura*), while others, such as *ciberalambrada* and *ciberrepública*, clearly have a playful or critical function.

Besides the types of formation that we have chosen in order to illustrate that occasionalisms present regular tendencies, we find in our corpus other forms created by suffixation and neoclassical compounding, and by other word-formation processes that we will attempt to cover in future works.

5 Conclusion

The bibliography presents occasionalisms as volatile language events, difficult to detect and, because of their transgressive and context-dependent nature, linked to linguistic creativity and productivity. Our research confirms that the marked creativity they display is not at variance with their following certain recurring patterns; we have shown these by giving examples of the processes which are most productive of occasionalisms. Occasionalisms are not random linguistic acts.

This research has allowed us to take a step forward in understanding occasionalisms themselves. Our observation of the data corroborates the traits that the literature attributes to occasionalisms: lexical units that fulfil an expressive function in a specific context and do not follow the usual development of a neologism as they do not start the process of institutionalization after their first appearance and remain in the initial state of *nonce-word*. However, our observation also casts a doubt on whether all occasionalisms meet these features to the same extent, since, nowadays, with the existence of enormous dynamic word corpora, it is easy to find different casual occurrences of the same word, either because different speakers in different contexts can produce the same occasionalism or because an occasionalism can be reproduced by others (specially in social media) but without setting in motion the process of social institutionalization, grammatical lexicalization and cognitive hypostatization that would make it lose its occasionalism nature.

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Appendix 1: Occasionalisms, Translation and Context

Occasionalism	Translation	Context	Translation & Notes
neohisteria	neohysteria	"Y entramos en un proceso de neohisteria. Y buscamos respuestas en el yoga, las reparias y las religiones alternativas)".	And we start a process of neohysteria . And we look for answers in yoga and in alternative religions.
cernunedar	to cernudate	"El deseo no se describe, observa Clavecí; los poemas sí. Y sigue cernudeando".	Wish cannot be described -Clavecí states-poems can. And she keeps cernudating . [Related to the poet Cernuda]
hipermalvinizar	to hypermalvinize	Las opciones de la Argentina hoy no pueden oscilar entre "desmalvinizar" o *hipermalvinizar* la política exterior del país.	The options of Argentina today cannot range between "demalvinaze" or " hypermalvinize " the foring policy in the country.
corbatismo	tieism	Pero el *corbatismo*, en su impecable trayectoria tiene una mancha imperdonable.	But there is an unforgivable stain in the tieism faultless trend.

acalabrante	electric-shocking	El *acalabrante* mar es siempre caldo de tiburones que parece que sonrien, pero que en realidad no hacen otra cosa que enseñar los dientes.	The electric-shocking sea is always place for apparently smiling sharks which are really showing their teeth.
alabatorio	praisory	Hallaron un extenso y *alabatorio* reportaje a la candidata de la lista Celeste en la página web que dirige la hija de Gils Carbó.	They found a vast and praisory report on the candidate in the Celeste list in the web site run by Gils Carbó's daughter.
dicharachería	chattyness	Se habla de la protección del entorno y de secretos de familia, pero todo queda en *dicharacherías*.	We talk about environment protection and family secrets, but it's all chattyness .
ciberniño	cyberboy/girl	El mercado de los juguetes se dirige a *ciberniños* cada vez más pequeños.	The toy market is adressed to increasingly younger cyberboys .
cazaacadémicos	academic slayer	Buffy, la *cazaacadémicos*. ¿Twin Peaks?, ¿The wire? Frío, frío. La serie más analizada por los investigadores del mundo es Buffy la Cazavampiros	It's a gameplay between Buffy, the Vampire Slayer and "Buffy, the Academic Slayer ".
gorn	gorn	*Gorn* es la fusión del gore y el porno; fuckwash (revisión del brainwash o lavado de cerebro) es follarse a alguien hasta cambiar sus convicciones.	Gorn is the combination of gore and porn; fuckwash (a new version of brainwash) is fucking with someone to make them change their convictions.
graficleta	graffbyke	La *graficleta* es un proyecto de Joshua Kinberg inspirado en el célebre GraffitiWriter, en que las tecnologías digitales permiten convertir las bicis en un inédito medio de comunicación	The graffbyke is a project by Joshua Kinberg inspired in the famous GraffitiWriter.
pantafalda	trouskirt	Igual que los leggins, los pantalones de corte pirata y los *pantafaldas* (que son la suma de ambas opciones) también entrarán en los armarios de los más atrevidos.	Gameplay between <i>pantalón</i> (trousers) and <i>falda</i> (skirt).
bolillotuber	bobbintuber	La posición de Raquel M. Adsuar, *bolillotuber* con más de 11.000 suscriptores, como protagonista de una masterclass en una feria de artesanía ha levantado las quejas de la Asociación de Bolilleras de la Comunidad Valenciana.	Bolillo is a technique in which we use wooden thread bobbins to create some kind of confection. The youtuber teaches this technique and the gameplay is made with these two words <i>bolillo</i> and <i>youtuber</i> .
poeta-lavaplatos	dishwasher-poet	Ed, el *poeta-lavaplatos*, el último en abandonar la isla mítica una vez los muros han sido de molidos y en aquel final de 1989 asume la conciencia de su libertad.	Ed, the dishwasher-poet, the last to leave the island.
smartphone-céntrica	smartphone-centric	Vivimos en una sociedad *smartphone-céntrica* y necesitamos transformarla en una sociedad humanocéntrica.	We live in a smartphone-centric society and we need to turn it into a human-centric society.
asustafuncionarios	civil servant-buster	En Twitter, Puigdemont ha asegurado literalmente que ni los *asustafuncionarios* ni los cazaurnas podrán parar un referéndum que él mismo ha prometido que será vinculante.	In Twitter, Puigdemont has literally stated that neither the civil servant-busters nor the ballot box-hunters will be able to stop the referendum.
cazaurnas	ballot box-hunter	En Twitter, Puigdemont ha asegurado literalmente que ni los *asustafuncionarios* ni los cazaurnas podrán parar un referéndum que él mismo ha prometido que será vinculante.	In Twitter, Puigdemont has literally stated that neither the civil servant-busters nor the ballot box-hunters will be able to stop the referendum.
plaza-basura	rubbish-position	Se limitaron a protagonizar un encuentro de equipos mediocres y poco estructurados que en vez de aspirar a la Premier League compitieron buscando una *plaza-basura* para la próxima Liga de Campeones.	They were looking for a "trash-position" in the next Champion League instead of fighting for a good one.
cholloweb	bargain-web	Las *chollowebs* para ahorrar, intercambiar y compartir viven su edad de oro.	Bargain-webs to save, change and share money are living their best time.
poético-kitsch	poetic-kitsch	Un ambivalente manifiesto feminista cargado de esteticismo *poético-kitsch* y humor negro, la castración sin paliativos del único personaje masculino de la película fue más de lo que algunos estómagos pudieron soportar.	A polyvalent feminist manifest full of poetic-kitsch skepticism and black humour.
caliente-pavas	chick-turner	Un ajedrez *caliente-pavas* que ha mezquinado información y al mismo tiempo ha dado de probar carne a las fieras constantemente.	A chick-turner chess that has skimped on information.
calculógrafo	calculographer	Esto es el tarificador, *calculógrafo* le llamaban, donde se ponía la hora en que empezaba la conferencia y cuando terminaba para poder establecer la tarifa.	This is the rating machine, or calculographer , where the start and finish time of the lecture appears to fix the tariff.
vlavidioteca	vlavideo library	Doy al play a otra joya de la *vlavidioteca*.	I press <i>play</i> on another gem in the vlavideo library .
abuchoómetro	boometer	Pichetto se adjudicó la mejor marca del *abuchoómetro*.	Pichetto got the best results in the boometer .

alonsodependiente	alonsoaddict	¿Es ahora un GP menos *alonsodependiente*?	Is a less alonsoaddict GP right now?
azañista-conservador	azañist-conservative	Se daban las condiciones para que una coalición *azañista-conservadora*, macerada en Sevilla, le metiera un buen tajo a la autonomía catalana, con el presidente del Gobierno lavándose las manos.	The perfect conditions arose to let an azañist-conservative coalition, marinated in Seville, struck the catalan autonomy with the President copping out .
melenchonista	melenchonist	El 51% de los *melenchonistas* dará su voto a Macron el domingo.	51% of melenchonists would give their vote to Macron on Sunday.
filopodemismo	philopodemism	Pero Fernández es solo provisional, y Susana Díaz y Pedro Sánchez se acusan de *filopodemismo* o de encubierto derechismo.	But Fernandez is just provisional, and Susana Díaz and Pedro Sánchez are accusing each other of philopodemism .
puigdemonista	puigdemonist	No hay dudas sobre el referéndum, pero se rechaza el "seguidismo" que desde el Parlament se practica con la CUP, que desdeña el modelo social del PDECat y volverá al discurso de la mafia, pero se declara *puigdemonista*.	They will retake the mafia discourse, but they declares themselves puigdemonists .
bigotez	moustachity	Para definir a un tipo de señor inmovilista y estatal, dado a la caspa en la hombrera y a la *bigotez, un tipo, pues, que despedía el hedor de una España muerta.	[...] to define a kind of state and immovilist gentleman, prone to dandruff, to shoulder pads and to moustachity , a guy who emits the stench of a dead Spain.
rufianez	rufianity	La humillación a la que se sometió al PSOE, no por parte del PP precisamente, sino por parte d'ERC con la *rufianez* que fue una cosa bastante notable y también el señor de Bildu, que tampoco estuvo mal, así como la actitud de Podemos.	PSOE was subjected to humillitation, not by PP but by ERC with remarkably rufianity .
raphaelez	raphaelity	Yo sigo pensando que ha perdido *raphaelez*.	I still think he has lost a lot of raphaelity . [Related to the Spanish singer Raphael]
deephousear	to deephouse	El dj alemán Matthias Tanzmann *deephouseará* en Mandarine, compartiendo cabina con el remixer inglés Nic Fanciulli.	German dj Matthias Tanzmann will deephouse in Mandarine sharing stand with English remixer Nic Fanciulli
falsopositivar	to fake-positive	Napoleón debería haber sido *falsopositivado*, Robespierre había sido mejor.	Napoleon should have been fakepositived , Robespierre would have been better.
tradicionear	to tradition	Entre las cartas de Clos abundan las entradas gratis para ir al Fòrum, que hace las funciones de la cárcel en el Monopoly *tradicioneando* a la baja.	Among Clos's letters there are plenty of free tickets to go to Fòrum, which makes Monopoly prison fuctions traditioning low .
masomenómetro	moreorlessometer	El *masomenometro* argentino trabajando a full.	The Argentinian moreorlessometer working "a tope".
fermentómetro	fermentometer	El primer nivel de nuestro *fermentómetro* no es muy arriesgado: son productos fermentados que "forman parte de nuestra cultura".	The first level of our fermentometer is not very risky: they are fermented products that are part of our culture.
consensualitis	consensualitis	Hay un interés recurrente por inocular el virus de la *consensualitis*, lamentó el representante de ERC en alusión al hecho de que sean PP y PSOE los que decidan sobre los territorios.	There is a frequent interest in inoculating consensualitis virus.
castastrofítis	catastrophitis	El pragmatismo y la determinación de la Fed se ha llevado buena parte del miedo reinante en el ambiente y aunque todo mundo sabe que las cosas no se arreglan de un plumazo, la *castastrofítis* se ha evaporado.	Even if everybody knows things cannot be fixed at a stroke, catastrophitis has gone.
macroministro	macrominister	Casado y con tres hijas, sus firmes convicciones de izquierda e igualdad y su lealtad responden al perfil que el presidente socialista quiere para su *macroministro* de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales.	His character matches the profile the socialist President wants for his macrominister .
macroinfluencer	macroinfluencer	"Si en lugar de centrarse en ir a por *macroinfluencers* o celebrities, que son muy caros, van a por micro-influencers que son más pequeños, van a llegar a menos gente pero van a tener más influencia en su público objetivo", asegura Noelia Herrero, que ya trabaja en Digital Commerce de Desigual.	If they don't focus on macroinfluencers or celebrities, who are very expensive, but in micro-influencers who are smaller, they will get to fewer people but they will have greater influence on their objective audience.
ciberrepública	cyberepublic	Una particular *ciberrepública* para trabajar, vivir y luchar	A particular cyberepublic to work, live and fight for.
ciberalambrada	ciberwirefence	...artefactos de defensa e identificación, protección para guardianes, *ciberalambradas, que reciben los funcionarios...	Defence and identification mechanisms, protection for guardians and ciberwirefences the civil servants get.