Productive Neoclassical Prefixes in Spanish

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

(Spanish)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

2015

Date of final oral examination: June 8, 2015

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my wife Rachel, my son Eli and my brother Gabe:

Rachel, for being a true friend and support during these long years of graduate work,

Eli, for reminding me not to take myself too seriously and

Gabe, for being a vivid model of perseverance and optimism in the face of life's difficulties.

All three of you have greatly affected my life for the good.

Thank you.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the patience and guidance of my advisor

Fernando Tejedo-Herrero, whose significant contributions to the department

and to my individual studies are truly appreciated.

Particularly noteworthy for this thesis are his suggestions on the

theory and data concerning morphological recategorization.

I also thank my committee members

Thomas Cravens, Catherine Stafford, Grant Armstrong and Rajiv Rao

for their insight and feedback toward this project.

Abstract

This dissertation is a corpus based study that attempts to trace the diachronic and synchronic role of eight representative neoclassical prefixes in the Spanish lexicon: *anti-*, *hiper-*, *macro-*, *mega-*, *micro-*, *neo-*, *(p)seudo-* and *super-*.

Chapter one lays the theoretical groundwork relative to neoclassical prefixes in Spanish. After analyzing scholars' take on the phenomena of neologisms and productivity, several related issues are addressed, including the role of language contact and recategorization (primarily *prefix > noun* and *prefix > adjective* debonding). Chapter two traces the diachronic (in)significance that these prefixes have had in Spanish during the majority of their history (1200-1900 C.E.), beginning first with their roles in their source languages Greek and Latin. I conclude that, while these elements were present in the lexicon, they have played a very minor role in the history of Spanish and have not been considerably productive during the majority of their existence in said language.

Chapter three presents the bulk of the synchronic investigation and includes multiple samples from a variety of modern electronic sources that exemplify the role these prefixes play in the current Spanish lexicon. In regard to general productivity, I show that type and token frequency with these elements has grown tremendously in recent decades, as they have infiltrated multiple contexts, registers and levels of formality in the language. I also argue that borrowings from English with neoclassical prefixes in turn contribute to increased productivity with these elements when combined with native Spanish roots. Concerning recategorization, I demonstrate that two particularly noteworthy changes can be seen in neoclassical prefixes of modern Spanish due to the widespread use of these semantically and morphologically transparent elements, both

of which have resulted in innovative morphological forms that mark plural and at times gender: 1] *prefix* > *noun* debonding, in clippings such as *el hipermercado* > *el híper* (plural: *los híper* or *los híper*es); 2] *prefix* > *adjective* debonding, such as *pseudouniversidades* > *pseud*as *universidades.* Both phenomena can be observed with several neoclassical prefixes and have parallels in other Romance languages such as French, Italian and Portuguese.

This study advances our understanding of morphological productivity in modern languages. It specifically contributes to our knowledge of the role that English borrowings play in the modern Spanish lexicon, the significance of word relations such as analogy and calque formations, and the variation and change that can occur with widely diffused and transparent morphemes, particularly in regard to morphological recategorization.

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"Un idioma no tiene tantas o cuantas voces sino todas las que hagan falta, siempre que la forme uno con arreglo a su índole propia y al modo de composición y derivación normal. Los prefijos y sufijos los tenemos para algo…Paréceme que a usted le ha llamado la atención la cantidad de voces nuevas que empleo. Pues bien, muchas las formo con arreglo al espíritu formativo de la lengua misma (metafisiquear, chirigotizar, gramatiquería, fulanismo, etc.), y su legitimidad se basa en que las entiende todo el que las lee." -Miguel de Unamuno a Ricardo Palma, 1903. (Robles 1991)

"Los neologismos han sido considerados desde un punto positivo en la medida en que constituyen un enriquecimiento del léxico, que así se hace más apto para designar con mayor precisión cada objeto, cada concepto; pero también desde un punto de vista negativo, siendo reprobados al considerarse elementos que corrompen el equilibrio de la lengua, principalmente cuando se trata de palabras o expresiones procedentes de otros idiomas…el estudio de los neologismos resulta interesante no sólo porque muestra la vitalidad de la lengua, sino porque permite poner de relieve las evoluciones sociales." (González García 2007:84)

0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 Hellenisms and Latinisms in the history of Spanish.

0.1.1 Incorporation of Hellenisms in Spanish

It is no secret that there are Hellenisms in Spanish.[1] In many European languages, academic fields such as medicine and philosophy have been full of Greek elements for centuries. Nonetheless, one of the general purposes of this study is to demonstrate the following two lesser known facts. First, Hellenisms are not limited to elite textbook terminology but are present in practically every register of modern Spanish. Second, they have not survived merely as

[1] In the present study, the term *Hellenism* will be used in a broad sense to encompass any loanword whose original source is ancient Greek, regardless of its type or period of entry. With such a definition, those words adopted by direct spoken contact with Latin as well as those who came through written Latin or contact with other European languages in later centuries will be generally classified as *Hellenisms*.

historical fossilizations but are actively productive in the 21st century, many of them are being used in countless new words and phrases every day.

However, although it is certain that Greek has played a significant role in the history of the Spanish language, the majority of contact between these two languages has been indirect and secondary. Overall, the Iberian languages have not had a close relationship with spoken Greek for many centuries, and the Hellenisms that have resulted from direct contact with the spoken language were those that entered directly into Latin during the classical and *koine* periods and subsequently were maintained during the development of what are now known as the Romance Languages. Hellenisms are unique among most loanwords in Spanish, then, since the majority have come through writing, either via written Latin or directly from Greek texts at a later date (Dworkin 2012:179; Lapesa 1981:59-64).

It can be said, therefore, that Latin played two separate roles in providing Greek elements to the Spanish language. The first was the oral transmission of the words borrowed during the earlier centuries, which tend to be nouns of a general nature such as *lámpara* 'lamp' (< Latin *lampada* > Greek λαμπάς 'torch'), *esponja* 'sponge' (< Latin *spongia* < Greek σπογγιά 'sponge') and *bodega* '(small) convenience store' (< Latin *apotheca* < Greek ἀποθήκη 'granary, receptable') (DRAE s.v.; OCGD s.v.). The second was that of later centuries in what can actually be classified as borrowings of borrowings, since Spanish speakers adopted these terms from written Latin, which in turn had taken them from Greek at an earlier time, such as *clima* 'climate' (< Latin *clima* < Greek κλίμα 'region, district') *estómago* 'stomach' (Latin *stomachus* < Greek στόμαχος 'throat, stomach')[2] and *tesoro* 'treasure' (< Latin *thesaurus* < Greek

[2] Compare with Greek στόμα 'mouth' (OCGD s.v.).

θησαυρός ‘treasure’) (DRAE s.v.; OCGD s.v.).[3] For several centuries, abundant Hellenisms thus entered Spanish disguised as Latinisms, so to speak, since these tended to be specialized terms that orthographically maintained their transliterated Latin form. Such words constitute the greater part of Hellenisms today (Penny 1991:236). So important was Latin for the adoption of Hellenisms that some scholars view the two classical languages as forming a single source for such loanwords, and classify these terms as “Grecolatino” (Álvarez de Miranda 2005:1048).

Although there are many possible methods of classifying these numerous Hellenisms, Penny (1991:235-37) provides a brief but useful overview of these terms in Spanish by distinguishing between three main groups based on their semantic interpretation:

> 1] Those that are of a non-specialized nature that refer to household items and other aspects of daily life, as are the previously mentioned *lámpara, esponja* and *bodega.* As has been said, these were adopted at an early period as a consequence of direct contact between spoken Greek and Latin.
>
> 2] Those that are of ecclesiastical nature such as *biblia* ‘bible’ (< Latin *biblia* < Greek βιβλία ‘books’), *blasfemar* ‘blaspheme’ (< Latin *blasphemare* < Greek βλασφημεῖν ‘blaspheme, slander’) and *mártir* ‘martyr’ (< Latin *martyr* < Greek μάρτυς ‘witness’), which came primarily due to the prominent role that Greek played (especially in writing) in the early Christian Church (DRAE s.v.; OCGD s.v.).
>
> 3] Scientific terms like *astronomía* ‘astronomy’ (< Latin *astronomia* < Greek ἀστρονομία ‘astronomy’), *cardíaco* ‘cardiac’ (< Latin *cardiacus* < Greek καρδιακός ‘related to the heart/mind’) and *síntoma* ‘symptom’ (< Latin *symptoma* < Greek σύμπτωμα ‘chance, accident, misfortune’), which were adopted throughout several

[3] See PDL for detailed definitions and examples of usage for both Latin and Greek terms.

centuries, particularly during periods of technological advances (DRAE s.v.; OCGD s.v.; PDL s.v.). This group contains the majority of terms borrowed with prefixes attached and thus is the most significant for the data presented in this present study.

Of these three main groups, the third is not only the largest but also the most universal, with cognates in numerous European langauges. This also makes it clear that Spanish is not alone in its adoption of Hellenisms. So frequent and widespread is the Greek presence in European languages that some scholars like Booij (2005:19) refer to these terms as part of the "Pan-European lexicon." Furthermore, it is also obvious that there has been mutual influence among these languages, so that some terms are indeed borrowings of borrowings just like those that historically came via Latin. For example, research has shown that several words containing *macro-*, *mega-* and *micro-*, which are common in the business and technological world, have come through the influence of English equivalents (Penny 1991:271).[4]

English itself has been quite prone to Greek neologisms, which is significant given its general lexical influence throughout the world today. Yet it certainly is not unique in that regard, nor is it alone in its influence on modern Spanish. Other nearby languages such as French have also been the source of some Hellenisms. Although its role as a *lingua franca* has lessened on the global scale, French still remains in close contact with peninsular Spanish varieties, as is illustrated by the recent adoption of certain terms like *hipermercado* '(large) supermarket' from *hypermarché* (DRAE s.v.).[5] Examples such as these give evidence toward the fact that the phenomenon of double borrowing continues to be active in the present age.

[4] See sections 3.2 for further details regarding English influence with these prefixes.
[5] *Hipermercado* first appears in the CREA corpus in 1980. Equivalents in other Romance languages exist as well, compare Italian *ipermercato* and Portuguese *hipermercado* (CID s.v.; DPLP s.v.).

Although it is certain that Hellenisms were present in Spanish throughout its history, the early 20th century was a significant turning point, particularly so for prefixes. In addition to increased contact with English (whose lexicon is full of terms with neoclassical prefixes), there is evidence of numerous neologisms with these elements which appear in contexts and registers previously unseen. Greater presence in informal language has produced several changes in how these prefixes are perceived and used. At times it has resulted in semantic expansion, such as with *anti-* in *crema anti-arrugas* 'anti-aging cream' and *chaleco anti-balas* 'bullet-proof vest,' which go beyond the historical interpretation of 'against' or 'opposed to' and expresses the more specific values of 'prevents' or 'protects (against).' Other times the changes have been seen on the morphosyntactic level, as when certain prefixes break free and are postposed to a noun (*macroíndices* '(macro)indexes, (macro)rates' > *índices* ***macro***) or are used to mark gender and number (*pseudouniversidades* '(pseudo)universities' > *pseud**as** universidades*).[6] These innovations clearly break the boundaries of prefixes and require a new classification formed by a detailed analysis of the data.

0.1.2 Previous studies on Hellenisms and related phenomena in Spanish

Despite the history mentioned above, there have been relatively few studies dealing with Hellenisms in the Spanish lexicon and even fewer that analyze current trends in lexical derivation with Greek elements. That is not to say that there is no mention of Greek influence, since the majority of works dealing with general history of the Spanish language do include data concerning its role in providing loanwords during past centuries. Such is the case at least with

[6] Throughout this study, Spanish neologisms for which there is no established gloss in English will be presented with the corresponding prefixes in parenthesis, as is shown with these two examples.

Cano Aguilar (2005), Dworkin (2012), Lapesa (1981), Penny (1991) and Pharies (2007), yet given the breadth of their content, these publications offer few details on the subject.

Some of the earliest studies that deal exclusively with Hellenisms in Spanish are two reference works, the first being Eseverrí Hualde's *Diccionario etimológico de helenismos españoles* (1945) and the second Mateos' *Etimologías griegas del español* (1955). They contributed much by way of data and useful commentary in regard to the origin and diffusion of Hellenisms in general. There have also been more recent reference works on this subject such as González Castro's brief dictionary *Palabras castellanas de origen griego* (1994), which is useful yet offers no information concerning the history or diffusion of the terms included nor does it provide any detailed definitions or descriptions of modern usage. A few decades ago, Quilis published *Helenismos en la lengua española hablada en Madrid* (1984), one of the few studies on this topic that has dealt with a specific variety of the Spanish language. Nevertheless, Quilis' focus and method differs from the present study in that he centered on Hellenisms in general without isolating a particular group of them, nor was it his purpose to include historical data for those lexical elements included in his analysis. In regard to Spanish word formation, many have laid a strong foundation in manuals that include analyses of Hellenisms, the most consulted of which are: Almela Pérez (1999), Alvar-Ezquerra (1993), García, Meilán & Martínez (2004), Lang (1990), Penny (1991) and Varela & García (1999).

Perhaps the most significant work of all in the field of Hellenisms in Spanish, at least the most exhaustive, is the recent book by Bergua Cavero (2004) *Los helenismos del español: historia y sistema*. This author deals with a variety of aspects, from orthographic patterns and phonology to morphosyntax and semantics. Nevertheless, although this publication has greatly advanced the field, it has also made clear the fact that there remains much to research in diverse

areas concerning this word class, especially in the collection of data about productivity and the presence of Greek elements in non-specialized registers.

The study of neologisms and morphological productivity in general has received greater focus than Hellenisms since the mid-20th century, and there have been many noteworthy studies done in recent years, particularly Alvar-Ezquerra (1998, 1999 and 2007) and the two editions of his dictionary (1994 and 2003), as well as several studies by García Platero (1995, 1998 and 2009). These works are very relevant due to their focus on specific recent neologisms in the Spanish language, and have been widely referenced and studied in the literature since their publication.[7] In English there have been numerous important works as well, such as Ahmad (2000), Ayto (1996 and 1999) and Bauer (2001), which are foundational for sections 1.2 and 1.3. of this present study.

There have undoubtedly been several significant studies done on the characteristics and functions of prefixes in recent decades, including those of neoclassical origin. Besides general analysis included in Booij (2005), Matthews (1991), Quirk et al. (1985) and Varela & García (1999), many have chosen to deal only with one or two prefixes in particular, such as García Platero (1994) (*anti*-), Martín García (1996) (*anti*-, *contra*-), Neira Martínez (1972) (*sub*-, *super*-) and Rodríguez Ponce (1999) (*mega*-, *super*-). Others have had a slightly wider inclusion like Martín García (1998), who focused on those classified as "intensifiers" (*hiper*-, *macro*-, *mega*-, *micro*-, *super*- and others). However, these studies deal almost entirely with synchronic data (with the exception of Neira Martínez 1972) and do not include any analysis of modern borrowings.

[7] See, for example, recent works by González García (2007) and González García & Arribas Jiménez (2010).

Despite the many and valuable contributions of the above works, it is still true that the role of Greek in the Spanish lexicon has been a lesser-emphasized area of Hispanic linguistics and it is therefore important that further investigation be carried out. This is especially true for studies that deal directly with productivity of Greek elements in non-specialized registers. Scholars like Fernández-Sevilla (1982) include this issue only as a subdivision of neologisms in general, while others like Calonge (1995) focus only on religious or scientific terms. Bergua Cavero (2004), although he includes sections that deal with neologisms, does not incorporate much documentation from the available corpora nor does he emphasize productivity in the present day.

0.2 Study questions and structure/description of the project

This present study attempts to fill some of the void mentioned above by examining more attentively the current situation of neologisms with neoclassical prefixes in order to come to a more precise understanding of the everyday lexicon of Spanish speakers. It will give particular attention to productivity patterns in most recent years and those that occur in more informal registers, since they have historically received the least attention in the literature. Of the various neoclassical prefixes that could be included, the following eight will be analyzed here, as being representative of their word class: *anti-*, *hiper-*, *macro-*, *mega-*, *micro-*, *neo-*, *(p)seudo-* and *super-*.[8] The overarching research questions here are the following:

1] What has been the historical development of these modern prefixes? How does history explain the usages observable today?

[8] While the emphasis in this present study is undoubtedly Hellenistic prefixes, the Latinism *super-* was also chosen due to its striking parallels with the other seven, namely, that it too was present but relegated to sparse learned terms until the 20th century, has been present in several English borrowings (*superstar*, *supervirus*, etc.), and has also shown significant recategorization as a noun, adjective and more (see section 3.2.8 for information on English influence with *super-*, and section 3.3.8 for details on recategorization.)

2] Under what conditions can elements that historically are found only in specialized and scientific registers infiltrate informal everyday language? Which aspects change and which stay the same? Can any diatopic variation be perceived in the data?

3] When there is an influx of loanwords with transparent morphemes equivalent to those already in the language (like the eight prefixes listed above), to what extent do these affect native speakers' perception and use of these morphemes? For instance, how have English loanwords such as *megahit* and *superstar* affected native Spanish productivity with *mega*- and *super*-?

4] Why do speakers reanalyze certain morphemes and what kind of new morphosyntactic functions and/or semantic changes are produced?

5] If recategorization is a slow and gradual process, which modifications can be expected to occur early on and which tend to occur at a later period? Are there changes not yet seen that could be expected in the future if the current trends continue?

To attempt to answer these and other questions, this study includes both diachronic and synchronic data regarding the Classical languages and Spanish from a variety of relevant (mostly electronic) sources. Overall, the main ideas to be presented in this thesis can be summarized as follows. Chapter one lays the theoretical groundwork for relevant issues such as the classification of prefixes, morphological productivity, the characteristics of lexical borrowing, and morphological recategorization. Chapter two deals with question #1 and it will be shown that these prefixes have had a long history in Spanish, some examples of which date back to borrowings in the classical Latin era (1st century B.C.E. or earlier) such as Greek ὑπερβολή > Latin *hyperbole* 'excess, exaggeration' which was used during the first century C.E. by Seneca

the Younger in *De Beneficiis* (PDL s.v.).[9] Some of these borrowings survived in the development of Spanish and others were borrowed at a later time, yet they remained almost exclusively restricted to religious, political or scientific registers, such as *antífrasis* 'antiphrasis' and *macrocosmo* 'universe.'[10] These are clearly wholesale borrowings with a Greek root and not neologisms produced in Spanish with native roots. Generally speaking, it can be said that these elements survived history but played little role in shaping the Spanish lexicon during the greater part of their history in the language.

Chapter three presents the bulk of the synchronic investigation and includes multiple citations from a variety of modern electronic sources that exemplify the role these prefixes play in the current Spanish lexicon. Question # 2 is dealt with in section 3.1. Representative corpus data will show that, starting mostly in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, (some earlier, like *(p)seudo-*, and some later, like *macro-*) there was a boom in productivity with these prefixes that infiltrated many registers and contributed numerous neologisms to the lexicon. Throughout the 20th century, many terms with native and non-specialized roots appear in the sources, such as *macropantalla* '(very) large screen' and *megafiesta* 'big party,' which are speaker creations of *macro* + *pantalla* and *mega* + *fiesta* rather than wholesale borrowings such as *antifrasis* and *hiperbasis*.

Section 3.2 attempts to answer question #3. It will be demonstrated that around starting mostly in the early to middle 20th century, contact with English increased significantly due to that language's rise in global prestige, which resulted in an even greater type and token frequency with neoclassical prefixes in Spanish. The influx of loanwords resulted most often in

[9] Greek ὑπερβολή literally meant 'passing over,' and when used metaphorically it could be seen as equivalent to the modern English phrase "over the top" (OCGD s.v.; PDL s.v.).
[10] The DRAE (s.v.) defines *antífrasis* as "figura que consiste en designar personas o cosas con voces que signifiquen lo contrario de lo que se debiera decir."

calque formations in which the neoclassical prefix remains unchanged: English *megahit* > Spanish *megaéxito*; English *superstar* > Spanish *superestrella*.

Both questions #4 and #5 are dealt with in section 3.3. It is argued that, after a period of significant productivity as prefixes, the morphological and semantic transparency of these elements and increased type and token frequency have contributed to reanalysis. Due also in part to fuzzy word classification, speakers are now expanding the domains of many neoclassical prefixes as nouns and adjectives, which has produced morphologically adjusted forms such as plural *híperes* and feminine *(p)seuda*.

This study advances our understanding of the role that Hellenisms (and Latinisms) have played in Spanish, and the influence that they continue to have in the modern lexicon. It specifically helps fill the void of studies that deal with Hellenisms in non-specialized registers, as well as contributing to our understanding of the variation and change that can occur with widely diffused and transparent morphemes, particularly in regard to morphological recategorization.

1. THEORETICAL ISSUES

This chapter lays the theoretical framework for the central concerns dealt with in the rest of the study. Starting in 1.1 with the classification of prefixes, the most preliminary of the issues presented, I conclude that the eight listed here (*anti-*, *hiper-*, *macro-*, *mega-*, *micro-*, *neo-*, *super-*, *(p)seudo-*) fall into the category of derivational morphemes and should be classified as *neoclassical*. Next I deal with issues that arise in the language when speakers employ these prefixes in innovative ways in diverse contexts. Sections 1.2, 1.3, 1.4., 1.5 and 1.6 are closely related in that they all deal in one way or another with this primary theme. In the first three of these (sections 1.2, 1.3 and 1.4) I deal mostly with definitions and characteristics of relevant terms found frequently in the literature. For instance, in 1.2 I examine the difficulties associated with the classifications *hapax/nonce words*, *neologisms* and *established words*, and argue that although these terms are useful in lexical analysis, they must be generalizations with no absolute dividing line. Sections 1.3 and 1.4 can be viewed as a continuation of 1.2 and they deal with the definitions and features of important concepts such as *productivity*, *creativity*, *analogy* and *transparency*. Section 1.5 leaves behind issues with terminology and begins to deal more specifically with the widespread phenomenon of lexical borrowing and its relation to neoclassical prefixes in Spanish. It will be proposed that the prolific borrowing of terms with neoclassical prefixes, particularly from English (*megahit*, *superstar*, etc.), has played a significant role in the increase of type and token frequency with these elements in the modern Spanish lexicon (the details of which will be illustrated in section 3.2.) The final section of this chapter, 1.6, lays the theoretical framework for *recategorization*, one of the foremost contributions of this thesis. It will be argued (and detailed in section 3.3) that speakers have reanalyzed these prefixes and are employing them in functions associated with other word

classes, especially adjectives and nouns, which is illustrated by syntactic postposition (*megabarcos* ‘(very) big boats’ > *barcos mega*) and plural/gender marking (*pseudocalma* ‘(pseudo)calm’ > *pseuda calma*). Overall, the bulk of the theory presented in chapter one is directly related to the corpus data that will be presented in chapter three.

1.1 Prefixes

There are two main issues at hand in this section: 1] whether the elements analyzed here should be classified as prefixes or fall into a separate class of morphemes referred to by another name such as *precomponent* or *prefixoid*, as some scholars have suggested, and 2] if word formation with prefixes should fall under composition, derivation or another separate category. In section 1.1.1, after reviewing certain distinct scholarly opinions, I propose that the elements in question should be classified as a subdivision or class of prefixes called *neoclassical* (Quirk et al. 1985:1545; Booij 2005:30). In 1.1.2, after briefly reviewing the many differing opinions on the topic, I propose that there are only two significant distinctions that should be made in respect to the derivation/composition debate: A] the distinction between derived words with two bases (composition) and those with only one base (derivation), and B] the distinction between prefixation and suffixation. As long as these two are outlined, all others are of secondary importance.

1.1.1 Definition and analysis of *prefix* and alternative terms

It is generally accepted that the term *prefix* refers to a morpheme that appears before and attached to a lexical base, such as *circum*- in *circumnavigate* or *over*- in *overrule* (Matthews 1991:131; Parker & Riley 2000:88). As these examples illustrate, many prefixes are either

synchronically used prepositions or historical preservations of them[11]. Both types can be seen in modern Spanish with ***de****tener* 'stop, arrest,' ***sobre****volar* 'fly over' and ***entre****tener* 'entertain' representing prepositions also used contemporarily as free morphemes, and the bound morphemes ***pre****ver* 'forsee' and ***pos****poner* 'postpone' having their origin in Latin *prae* and *post*.

Publications from recent decades have included many definitions of the term *prefix*, and multiple subcategories of this class have been suggested, such as *temporal*, *causal*, *gradative*, etc. (Varela & García 1999:4995). When dealing with Greek and Latin elements such as those in this present study, classifications have also been quite varied. Bergua Cavero (2004:142-43) has claimed that the line that separates a prefix from a first element in a compound is fuzzy and arbitrary, and that among scholars there is a lack of agreement as to what does or does not constitute a prefix in Spanish. Previously, Alvar-Ezquerra (1993:49) had indicated as well that this class of morphemes are elements whose classification is difficult, in part due to the fact that they are learned borrowings whose function may or may not have been different in Greek or Latin, and many of them are artificially created in the scientific world. The fact that these elements carry significant lexical weight is also an issue, and for some scholars this disqualifies them as members of the prefix category (David Pharies, personal communication, April 23, 2015).

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[11] This fact is clearly seen in the verbal system of ancient Greek, in which eighteen of its prepositions commonly functioned as prefixes. It was an extremely productive method, and the bases could take on a variety of meanings depending on the prefix used. Some examples are the following:

βαίνω 'I go' => **κατα**βαίνω 'I go down'
εἰμι 'I am' => **πρόσ**ειμι 'I am close (by)'
γιγνώσκω 'I know' => **ἀνα**γιγνώσκω 'I read'

At times even two prepositions could be attached, as in **ἐπεισ**όδιον, a combination of ἐπι and εἰς, which was adopted in English as *episode* and Spanish as *episodio* (DRAE s.v.; OED s.v.; OCGD s.v.). Bergua Cavero (2004:130-132) asserts that, in the past, many Indo-European prepositions are likely to have functioned more like adverbs, to have had greater syntactic flexibility and to have been phonologically tonic. With the passing of time, these tended to lose their phonological weight and became more syntactically dependent on nouns and verbs.

This being the case, the majority of authors have felt the need to distinguish to some extent the elements dealt with in the present study, and this has occurred in two ways. First, many have rejected the traditional term *prefix* and have sought a different one altogether. This can be seen as early as Eseverrí Hualde (1945:14) who suggested that *precomponent* ("*precomponente*") be used for those of classical origin. More recently, Alvar-Ezquerra (1993:50) proposed that they be referred to as *prefixal elements* ("*elementos prefijales*"), yet the most commonly seen is *prefixoid* (or *prefijoide* in Spanish language publications). However, there are two different ways that this term has been used. Those like Almela Pérez (1999:62), Moreno de Alba (1996:23) and Penny (1991:256-271) utilize *prefixoid* only for those elements that diachronically stem from adjectives or nouns, while reserving the traditional *prefix* for those that were originally prepositions. In the context of the present study, this would mean that only *anti-*, *hiper-* and *super-* would qualify as prefixes while the rest would be prefixoids.

The second interpretation of *prefixoid* can be found in Lang (1990:181) and Varela & García (1999:4997). In these publications the term refers to those bound classical elements that do not act truly like prefixes due to fact that they can appear both in word-initial and word-final position (such as *-fil-* en *biblió<u>filo</u>* 'bibliophile' and *<u>fil</u>ó<u>sofo</u>* 'philosopher') and at times can also take derivational suffixes (*fobia* 'phobia' > *fób<u>ico</u>*).[12]

An alternative option for distinguishing this class of elements is to maintain the category of *prefix* yet specify the particular subgroup to which it belongs. Hualde, Olarrea & Escobar (2001:188-91), Lang (1990:168-180) and Varela & García (1999:5036-38) have given various suggestions based primarily on semantic interpretations, such as *locative* or *oppositional prefixes*

[12] Bergua Cavero (2004:189-90) rejects the term *prefijoide* in Spanish in part due the fact that it carries undesired connotations in such derogatory terms as *cretinoide* and *imbeciloide*.

(*anti*-), *intensifying prefixes* (*macro*-, *mega*-) and *qualifying prefixes* (*neo*-, *(p)seudo*-), among others. Quirk et al. (1985:1545) and then Booij (2005:30) have chosen the more general *neoclassical* to refer to all elements of Greek and Latin origin that are productive today, including but not limited to those in this present study.

Therefore, in regard to the issue of terminology, it is here proposed that the elements of Greek and Latin origin that attach to a base in word-initial position are in fact prefixes, as many scholars have recently affirmed (Bergua Cavero 2004:130-145; García, Meilán & Martínez 2004:278-279; Torres Martínez 2008:400, cited in Stehlík 2011:48; Varela & García 1999:4997-98). As these authors in particular have put forth, the elements treated here fulfill the most fundamental requirements for this class of morpheme, which are morphosyntactic in nature:

1] They are not integrated into the base but maintain a clear morphological division, even at times when forming an "uncomfortable" hiatus (*anti-imperialista* 'anti-imperialist').[13]

2] They do not alter word category of the base (Bergua Cavero 2004:129).

3] The position in the word is initial (**fascista-anti*, **liberalmega*), in contrast with some morphemes like *-fil-* which can appear in word-initial or word-final position.

4] They do not accept derivational suffixes such as *–dad* o *–ción* (**hiperdad*, **seudoción*) (Felíu Arquiola 2009:68; Varela & García 1999:4997-98).

This being the case, there is insufficient reason to search for an alternative term, as long as the necessary specifications are made between these and other subclasses of prefixes. It is true that the eight prefixes in this present study carry more lexical weight than others such as *a*- or *des*- (*atormentar*, *desmontar*), but the classification here is based primarily on

[13] Matthews (1991:131) also establishes this as a fundamental criterion for affixes, whether prefix or suffix.

morphosyntactic behavior and not lexical qualities. In this present study, then, the items analyzed will be referred to as *neoclassical prefixes* (Quirk et al. 1985:1545; Booij 2005:30), which encompasses those morphemes of ancient Greek and Latin origin which attach to a base in word-initial position. The alternative *precomponent* is rejected due primarily to the fact that it suggests a separate class of morpheme when they are really a type of prefix. The term *prefixoid* as used by Almela Pérez (1999:62), Moreno de Alba (1996:23) and Penny (1991:256-271) is also rejected since it separates the items based on their use in the original language. Since the present study primarily analyzes prefixal use in modern Spanish, this distinction proves unnecessary. *Prefixoid* in the sense of Varela & García (1999) is rejected due to the fact that it does not represent the same items included here.

In the present study the term *neoclassical prefix* is preferred for the following reasons:

1] It clearly maintains the classification of *prefix.*

2] It specifies well the class of prefixes dealt with here, namely, those used in new words (*neo*-) but whose origin is found in ancient borrowed elements (-*classical*).

3] It encompasses all of the elements included here under one term, unlike the multiple terms used by some such as Hualde, Olarrea & Escobar (2001), Lang (1990) and Varela & García (1999).[14]

1.1.2 Prefixation and its relation to derivation and composition

While many word formation methods are commonly attested in modern Spanish, prefixation is a particularly "general and active" way to create neologisms (Varela & García 1999:4995). In fact, Esteban Asencio (2008:155) found that prefixation was the most active

[14] Many of these are useful, however, particularly those of Varela & García (1999), and will be referenced in this study when relevant.

method for neologisms in the language of the press in modern Spain, more so even than suffixation or composition. For instance, according to this author, between 1994 and 2003, prefixation accounted for 33.8% of all neologisms in the press, while suffixation accounted for 21.8% and composition only 8.6%. This method is also versatile, being observed in the four main word classes: 1] nouns (desnutrición 'malnutrition,' sobremesa 'tablecloth, dessert'), 2] verbs (conllevar 'involve,' hiperventilar 'hyperventilate'), 3] adjectives (antinatural 'unnatural') and 4] adverbs (rebien 'very well') (Varela & García 1999:5024).

Among the many possible methods for word formation, the most general division made in the literature is between composition and derivation. Yet as Estopà (2011:5) has noted, the separation of these two is not always clear and at times there are no absolute limits between them. As a result, there has been much debate over what exactly should be included in these categories, particularly in regard to prefixation. Lázaro Mora (1986:221) laments this fact, stating that students of morphology have undergone much unnecessary confusion when attempting to sort out the various contrary opinions on this topic. To give an extended analysis of these opinions is beyond the scope of this present study and is of secondary importance for the study of neologisms, yet due to the amount of ink spilled in the literature, some mention of them is deemed necessary.

Overall, most scholars agree that the fundamental difference between composition and derivation lies in the type of morphemes that comprise the produced words in question, namely, that the former refers to a combination *base + base*, while the latter to those with *base + affix*.[15]

[15] Derivation at times does not result in a construction of *base + affix*. For instance, Booij (2005:72) also includes zero-morpheme conversion under derivation, and Felíu Arquiola (2009:61) includes substraction, which she defines as a non-affixal derivation that typically results in a phonologically shorter unit, such as in Spanish *deslizar* 'to slide' > *desliz* 'slip' and *perdonar* 'to forgive' > *perdón* 'forgiveness.' These are less frequent, however, in both languages.

For many, then, the crux lies with whether the resulting words have two bases (composition) or only one (derivation) (Felíu Arquiola 2009:61; García, Meilán & Martínez 2004:311; Lang 1990:13).[16] With these definitions, *sordomudo* 'deaf-mute' is considered an example of composition, since both its constituent parts *sordo* 'deaf' and *mudo* 'mute' are bases, whereas *labrador* 'farmer' (< *labrar* 'to cultivate') would be an example of derivation since the suffix *–dor* is an affix and not a base (Alvar-Ezquerra 1993:51; Moyna 2011:12,15).[17]

The controversy centers not necessarily on the separation of derivation and composition but rather on prefixation and its relation to these two word-formation methods. The majority of the multiple proposals on this topic can be divided into three main categories, alongside some of the scholars who have held these views:

1] Words formed with prefixes are examples of composition (Alemany Bolufer 1920:178; Bello 1981:167-171; Iordan & Manoliu 1972:37-38).[18]

2] Words formed with prefixes are examples of derivation (Booij 2005:52; Felíu Arquiola 2009:66; Fromkin, Rodman & Hyams 2003:107; García, Meilán & Martínez 2004:271; Hualde, Olarrea & Escobar 2001:188; Moreno de Alba 1996:17; Stehlík 2011:63).

3] They are examples of neither but form a separate class of word formation (Almela Pérez 1999:58; Lázaro Mora 1986:226;[19] Penny 1991:255-71; Varela & García 1999:4995-96).[20]

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[16] It is important to distinguish between a *compound* and a *complex* word. A compound typically is defined as having two paired bases, while complex simply means more than one morpheme (Bauer & Huddleston 2002:1622). Therefore, all the terms analyzed in this present study fall into the category of complex words since they are comprised of at least two morphemes, but are not examples of compounds.

[17] Although the term *affix* is not limited to prefixes and suffixes, these are certainly the most salient members of their morphological class. Others less commonly used are *interfixes* and *circumfixes* (Almela Pérez 1999:161 and 187).

[18] Cited in Lang (1990:256) and Almela Pérez (1999:57). Lázaro Mora (1986:222) also claims that the RAE holds this view in its *Esbozo de una nueva gramática de la lengua española* (1973:170).

[19] Lázaro Mora (1986:226) also says that to classify prefixation under derivation (view #2) is plausible.

As Almela Pérez (1999:57), Lang (1990:256) and others have declared, the first view can be seen as the more traditional one, yet few hold to it in the present time. It originated in part due to the fact that many prefixes can function as syntactically independent elements, mostly as prepositions or adverbs. The second group, those who classify prefixation under derivation, is held by the majority of modern scholars such as those mentioned above, grounded mostly on the general division of two bases (composition) vs. one base (derivation). The third group contains those who claim that, given the fundamental differences between prefixes and suffixes, it is more reasonable to establish a separate category on the same level as derivation and composition, thus having three principal word formation classes. Lang (1990:168-169) summarizes those differences as follows (examples are mine):

1] Prefixes can have corresponding forms in other word classes, whereas suffixes do not. Many prefixes have equivalent independent prepositions or adverbs (*contra*, *mal*, *sobre*, etc.)

2] Prefixes do not alter the morphological category of the base, whereas suffixes normally do (*tienda* 'store' N > *mega*tienda N; *actualizar* V 'to actualize' > *actualiza*ción N 'actualization').[21]

3] Prefixes have less morphological cohesion with the base, as is reflected at times by the use of hyphens, which never occurs with suffixes.

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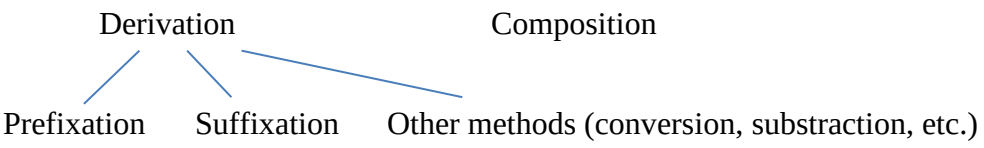
[20] Alvar-Ezquerra (1993:39-49) is unique in proposing that prefixation with learned prefixes ("cultos") such as *auto-*, *mono-* and *super-* be classified under derivation, while prefixation with "vulgar" prefixes (*re-*, *pre-*, *contra-*, etc.) be part of composition. His reason for such a division appears to be diachronically motivated, whether the elements have been borrowed or not.

[21] Suffixes do not always alter the grammatical category of the base, in English or Spanish (*friend* N > *friendship* N; *pink* Adj > *pinkish* Adj; *gol* N 'goal' > *golazo* N '(great) goal'; *niño* N 'boy' > *niñito* N 'little boy') (Booij 2005:53; Fromkin, Rodman & Hyams 2003:87; Lang 1990:32). As a possible solution to the classification of this difference between prefixes and suffixes, Felíu Arquiola (2009:61) uses the term *heterogenous derivation* to refer to a change in word class (as in most suffixation) and *homogenous derivation* when there is no such change (as in prefixation). While this is certainly useful, nevertheless, it does not address the remaining differences.

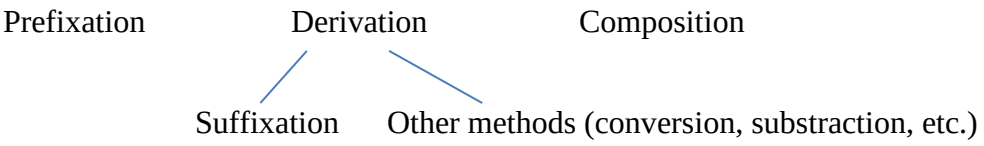
4] Prefixes do not alter the phonological stress of the base, but suffixes often do (*amplio* /ˈampljo/ ‘wide’ > *amplitud* /ampliˈtud/ ‘width’).

Attempting to classify prefixation as a separate word formation process is based primarily on issues one and two, namely, that prefixes can have corresponding free morphemes and that they do not change word class. These have been the most problematic for many scholars. This being said, with respect to prefixation and its relation to the methods in question, it is here proposed there are only two significant distinctions that should be made: A] the distinction between produced words with two bases (composition) and those with only one base (derivation), and B] the division between prefixation and suffixation. As long as these two are kept apart, all others are of secondary importance. Either of the following proposals would therefore prove satisfactory:

Option A: Prefixation and suffixation are separate but both included under derivation



Option B: Prefixation forms its own category separate from derivation and composition



In summary of this preliminary section 1.1, the eight elements analyzed in this present study are deemed *prefixes* (and not *precomponents* or *prefixoids*) for the morphosyntactic reasons mentioned, and their word construction falls under derivation, which is generally accepted as being a *base* + *affix* makeup. The relevance of this will be seen more clearly in

section 1.6 and 3.3, which discuss debonding, the type of recategorization that specifically involves affixes.

1.2 Neologisms

Having established the criteria for the classification of the fundamental term *prefix*, in 1.2 I examine recent publications regarding the classification of other fundamental terms, namely, *neologisms*, *hapax/nonce words* and *established words*. Given the fact that this thesis deals directly with morphological and lexical innovation, it is critical to examine these definitions and the difficulties associated with them (along with other related terms like *productivity*, *creativity*, *analogy* and *transparency* in sections 1.3 and 1.4). Here I conclude that it is inevitable that these terms be generalizations with no clear dividing line. *Neologism* encompasses a wide range of possibilities including semantic change and borrowings, the latter of which has played a significant role in modern Spanish productivity with neoclassical prefixes. In regard to *hapax/nonce word*, I conclude that despite their ephemeral nature they provide valuable data for measuring productivity. Some have promoted the use of dictionaries to define an *established word*, and I conclude that this is useful but potentially problematic.

All human languages show variation and change in virtually every aspect and the lexicon is no exception. As Dworkin (2012:2) has recently attested, "the entry of a neologism in a language…is an example of lexical change, a process which includes both the addition to and elimination of elements from a language's lexical stock…" While all languages are in a constant state of such fluctuation, adding new elements and altering or leaving older ones, there are undoubtedly times when vocabulary change is greater. These periods tend to coincide with times of significant social advances, especially in technological and other academic areas, or when there is a rupture in social ties such as after a foreign invasion, as with the Normans in England

or the Arabs in the Iberian Peninsula. According to Fernández Galiano (1964:196), the 18th century, among others, was an example of such a time in the Spanish language for classical terms. During this period which he refers to as a "century of neologisms," many Peninsular Spanish writers in particular were engulfed in ancient works and were eager to imitate all things Greek and Roman. This eagerness resulted in multiple adoptions which have become a vital part of the lexicon today, such as *bibliografía* 'bibligraphy,' *farmacia* 'pharmacy,' *sinfonía* 'symphony' and *sistema* 'system' (Penny 1991:237).

Ayto (1999:iii) has also noted that, especially for English, the 20th century has proven to be another period of great lexical change, possibly the greatest the language has ever seen, particularly in the creation of terms. This author claims that it is directly related to the fact that the world "has changed almost beyond recognition" due to the "myriad new ideas, inventions, discoveries and schemes" in the past one hundred years or so. In fact, he concludes that given these changes it "would be astonishing if the vocabulary of English had not grown substantially." Ahmad (2000:712) reiterates Ayto's claims to the sheer number of words that exist today compared to a century ago. While the day-to-day vocabulary of any given speaker perhaps may not be significantly larger, the number of total terms in the system, especially when including those of scientific and technological nature, are in all likelihood greater than ever in history. To study neologisms, then, is to study variation and change in one of its most salient and relevant forms in modern society.

Many scholars such as Esteban Asencio (2008:146) have recognized that the lexicon is an area of language which is particularly susceptible to alteration, due in part to the barrage of "constant innovations" by the speakers, whether consciously or not. Others have attested to the

fact that it is common for speakers to "create many lexical neologisms each day" (Estopà 2011:1). Andersson & Trudgill also observe this high turnover rate, so to speak:

> All languages have very large vocabulary resources. Adult native speakers of English know between 50,000 and 250,000 words, and it is not difficult for them to find replacements…speakers of the world are very creative. As soon as a word loses too much emotional force to be effective, it will be replaced by another. (1990:148)

In these processes of lexical fluctuation all speakers of a given system participate to some degree, as Fernández-Sevilla has declared:

> En el proceso de renovación de una lengua participan todos los hablantes, bien de una manera activa, acometiendo una tarea creadora, bien pasivamente, aceptando y consolidando las innovaciones que otros inician (…) (1982:10)

However, as this author points out, not everyone's role is the same. Since only a minority of new words end up being established in the language community, the majority of speakers participate only passively in this process, either rejecting or solidifying the innovations of others (Ahmad 2000:713).

The term *neologism* has had an inclusive definition in the literature during recent decades. Fernández-Sevilla (1982:10) defines it simply as "new elements that enrich the system" and later Alvar-Ezquerra (2007:13) as "every lexical element of recent incorporation in the language." Yet there is disagreement as to exactly what falls into this category, with one issue being whether or not to include borrowed elements from other languages alongside those derived internally. The majority of scholars consulted in this study claim that loanwords are in fact to be considered neologisms as well (Ahmad 2000:712; Dworkin 2012:3-5; Esteban Asencio 2008:148; García Platero 2009:317; González García 2007:83), yet some such as Alvar-Ezquerra (2007:31) prefer to establish a dividing line between foreign and domestic terms. For this

scholar, there is a fundamental difference between internal creations and borrowings and therefore would be an error to combine the two groups under the same classification. Still others refer to both types as neologisms but note that the internal or external source should be the "first subclassification" of these words (Martín Camacho 1994:310 after Alarcos Llorach 1992:25). In this study I will take the most commonly shared opinion that the term *neologism* incorporates any newly acquired term, regardless of its source. Once a term is adopted, it is equally part of the language system and is just as "new" as any other. At the same time, it is recognized that there are fundamental distinctions between foreign and internally derived words.[22]

That being said, there are several ways that neologisms come to be, and Ayto (1999:viii) has divided these into five main categories: 1] semantic change, 2] composition and derivation, 3] shortening, abbreviation and acronym, 4] borrowing and 5] coining. Of these five, the second is the most common but all are relevant and will be dealt with to some extent in this present study.

Of these many methods to choose from, not all are equally used in a given speech community or during a particular period in time. For example, Ayto (1999:viii-ix) also notes that while compounding is as old as the English language itself, other methods like blends (*smog*, *brunch*) and acronyms (*Aids*, *NATO*) have a much shorter history, having become commonly used really only since the beginning of the 20th century. He attributes this in part to the "proliferation of organizations and other entities with multi-word names…and an increasingly rushed world." At least at times, then, method choice is due to extra-linguistic aspects of society. Other times, however, it bears no relation to societal characteristics but rather language internal constraints. For instance, zero-derivation conversion, which has also increased in popularity in

[22] See section 1.5 for further discussion of loanwords.

modern English, is simply not possible in other systems with a more highly inflected morphology. English speakers can turn nouns and even proper names like *Google* into verbs with no morphological (or phonological) alteration in the word itself, whereas in Spanish it would be necessary to add a derivational suffix to mark that particular transformation (*Google* > *googlear*).[23]

Motivation to create neologisms varies as well, and tends to fall into two main categories. The first contains those that are fundamentally essential to communication since they refer to new entities or ideas in a changing society (*fax*, *internet*, *environmentalism*, etc.), while the second contains those "unnecessary" since they are employed for stylistic or prestigious reasons, often times in informal registers (*rad*, *hip*, *cool*, or Peninsular Spanish *guay* 'cool, great' *molar* 'to be cool, great') (Esteban Asencio 2008:5; García Platero 2009:317). Alvar-Ezquerra says this in the following way:

> Las causas que llevan a la aparición de un elemento nuevo no siempre son las mismas, ya que en unas ocasiones son objetivas, por la necesidad de nombrar una realidad nueva, y en otras son meramente subjetivas, por la necesidad expresiva que siente el hablante. Esto es, unos neologismos son de carácter denotativo, aquellos que resultan necesarios por faltar una denominación para algo nuevo que surge en el mundo, y otros son meramente estilísticos, los que surgen por la voluntad individual de expresar de una manera que se considera nueva…o para presentar de una forma distinta lo ya conocido (…) (2007:13)

Neoclassical prefixes can and have been used in both of these classes in modern Spanish: those that name a new reality or idea, especially in scientific advances (*microscopio*

[23] See section 1.6 for more on conversion and related phenomena.

'microscope,' *megáfono* 'megaphone') and those that are merely stylistic, like a great number of those analyzed in this study (*mega-idiota* 'mega-idiot', *hiperchulo* '(really) good-looking').[24]

This second class illustrates clearly that many times neologisms are used when there is no linguistic gap to fill in the lexicon but rather a desire to embellish the language by stylistic diversity. This class comprises the largest group of neologisms, often seen in forms of metaphor, irony, word-play, etc. Lehrer (1996:64) notes that such innovative forms "are everywhere, some of these linguistic objects appear in almost every conversation."

Within this group some scholars have also noticed variation in social factors such as age and occupation. In more than one study García Platero (1995:50; 2009:326-327) has noted that certain members of society are more prone to use stylistic neologisms than others. For instance, journalists and other members of the media are particularly prone to this type of word creation due to a desire to charm the reader or listener with "expressive" words.

Prestige also plays a role in the creation of words of the stylistic class. Cazorla has noted the following:

> El neologismo atrae porque aquel que lo acuña o utiliza se siente distinguido con respecto a los demás…considera que esto otorga a su discurso o contribuye a hacerlo, un aire avanzado, penetrante y al día. (1985:101, cited in Romero Gualda 1995:270)

The use of innovative words like these also tends to be greater among speakers of younger generations due to a greater desire to belong to a specific peer group. In other words, adopting certain terms can be a way to establish social belonging, whether they be internal

[24] Within what was later classified by Alvar-Ezquerra (2007:13) as the "necessary" group of those that attempt to fill a lexical gap, Martín Camacho (1994:313) argues that it is not always true that they represent an entirely new concept. At times, they are simply new morphological forms that could previously be expressed only by phrases. According to this author, such is the case with certain terms found in the writings of Juan Goytisolo, such as *donjulianesco* 'that pertaining to the count Don Julián.'

derivations or borrowings (García Platero 2009:326-327; Núñez Pertejo & Palacios Martínez 2014:211).

In addition to social factors, certain contexts and semantic areas of language tend to be more susceptible to neologisms than others. Besides the more obvious scientific fields, which have historically been full of lexical innovations, other areas such as politics and popular culture also show considerable fluctuation in terminology, more so than religious or taboo terms (Esteban Asencio 2008:153).[25]

While some words like these continue for centuries in the language, many also come and go without ever spreading or becoming established in the speech community. For some scholars, this is in fact a fundamental issue for the classification of a neologism. New formations that disappear without being diffused in the general language have been referred to as *hapaxes* (from ancient Greek ἅπαξ 'once'), *nonce-words* or *nonce-formations* (Bauer 2001; Booij 2005; Fischer 1998; Moyna 2011). As can be expected, this class of words is actually quite numerous, yet only a minority survive and spread to a significant population of speakers, and this is particularly so for affixed forms (Ahmad 2000:711; Ayto 1996:186).[26] It is undeniable, then, that many words are created every day that do not last, like the Spanish *tontométrico* 'something that measures the level of stupidity' and *historicidio* 'the act of hiding or changing historical facts' (Alvar-Ezquerra 2007:16). For this reason, many do not consider them neologisms but claim that is it

[25] In fact, taboo words have shown impressive resistance to neologisms, since the core group has gone unchanged for centuries. Some such as Ayto (1999:vii) have even marveled at the lack of innovation in taboo words, noting that only really one widespread term has come about since the beginning of the 20 century (*motherfucker*), whereas those whose origin can be traced even back to the Chaucerian era or before (*arse/ass*, *shit*, *cunt*) are just as widely used as ever "with no obvious replacement in sight."

[26] Ayto (1996:186) claims that affixed forms are particularly likely to be *hapaxes* due to their being formed in a more ad hoc manner.

necessary to distinguish this class of words from those that are diffused in the system (Bauer 2001:38; Booij 2005:69).

Nevertheless, many scholars have noted that *hapaxes* are of great value for linguists, due mainly to the fact that they can still show important patterns in language productivity, in spite of their ephemeral nature. Booij (2005:69) emphasizes the importance of these elements and claims that "morphological productivity manifests itself most clearly in words that never make it into the dictionary."[27] Lehrer (1996:69-70) also strongly defends this idea, stating that in other areas of linguistic study such as syntax and semantics there are similar phenomena. For instance, as she points out, "most sentences that are constructed do not stay in the language," yet their formation can tell us a great deal about the structural possibilities of that system in particular. An ephemeral nature, then, can also be observed in other areas of language, not just word formation.[28]

Logically, every new word must have had a beginning in a specific place and time, yet there are difficulties in establishing the precise difference between the classification of *hapax/nonce word* and *neologism*. Fischer comments on these two terms in the following way:

> A neologism is a word which has lost its status of a nonce-formation but is still one which is considered new by the majority of the members of a speech community. This definition already presupposes a certain distribution and frequency of the item…also a permanent frequency over a certain period of time and, above all, the distribution in various communicative contexts and domains. (1998:4)

Therefore, according to this author, it is necessary at least for a word to have been repeated to a certain extent by others before it can be called a neologism. Nevertheless, there

[27] This same opinion is also voiced by Alvar-Ezquerra (2007:15) and García Platero (2009:324).
[28] Harris and Campbell (1995:73-75) also observe the hapax nature in syntax, which they deem "exploratory expressions," stating that many such novel utterances "are never repeated."

remain many imprecise aspects of the above definition, namely, the exact meaning of "certain distribution" and "certain period of time."

Bauer (2001:39) also admits this problem and recognizes that there is no definite line between these two classifications. He uses the term *neologism* only to refer to new words that "become part of the norm of the language," yet the difficulty remains in attempting to pin down what exactly is meant by "norm," especially when dealing with variation and change. For example, what is a normally used word for an educated member of the upper class would not be so for someone in the working class (and vice-versa), indeed, it could be entirely unknown. The same can be said with respect to regional differences as well.

Phrases such as "certain distribution" and "norm of the language" show how vague and indeterminate these classifications must be. It would be absurd to attempt to establish an exact number of speakers or a specific period of time needed in order for a *hapax* to become a *neologism*. In these cases, it is inevitable that there be a certain level of flexibility, which at times creates disagreement concerning the status of certain words. Sablayrolles (2009:107) notes that professional lexicographers themselves often do not agree as to the classification of these words and there is much discrepancy when attempting to compile neologisms into databases or specialized dictionaries. And of course it is impossible for anyone to predict the success that any present word may have in generations to come, whether speakers will use it more or less than they do now. The only thing that can be stated for certain is that there is a difference between *hapax* and *neologism*, namely that the latter survives and the former does not, but at any given point of the transition the line between these two classifications is by necessity nebulous.

An almost identical difficulty exists when attempting to establish when a new word has lost its status of *neologism* and become a regular or "established" lexical item. As Ayto (1996:181) has noted, this too is also a notion that is itself "tinged with subjectivity." Some like Alarcos Llorach (1992:21-22 cited in García Platero 1995:56) have proposed vague criteria such as "when they go unnoticed" or when they are "assimilated and don't stand out." Others have sought to establish a more precise dividing line based on their inclusion in certain reference works, particularly dictionaries. For example, Alvar-Ezquerra (2007:19) notes that for some, if a word is included in a dictionary it can no longer be considered a neologism. For these scholars, this type of publication is the deciding factor since it only includes terms that have existed for a certain period of time and therefore cannot be considered new.

It is certainly true that dictionaries can be valuable in classifying word status. In this present study it is recognized that this particular proposal is useful but not without complications. For example, as Ayto (1999:v-vi) has shown, some words spread more quickly than others. A recently formed word that diffuses rapidly could lose its status as a neologism before another that has been in the language for a longer period. In those cases, a term that diffuses more slowly would still be considered a neologism based only on the fact that it has not yet been included in a dictionary, when it is in fact older. García Platero (1995:54) also points out that many times the novel status of a particular term can be hard to get rid of, as some continue to view them as neologisms even after being incorporated into the DRAE.

In a more recent article, (García Platero 2009:318-319) has proposed two more important arguments on the topic, which can be summarized as follows. First, dictionaries are by necessity limited, and the inclusion or exclusion of a particular word tends to be based on frequency of use. In other words, some words are not included solely because they are not used enough or in

the right domains.[29] Second, similar arguments could be used in regard to social variation, since a term's inclusion in a dictionary often is based on its acceptance in the standard and prestigious varieties of the language. This makes it possible for a word to have existed for years in an informal register or regional dialect without forming part of any reference work. Another difficulty with Alvar-Ezquerra's (2007) proposal is the greater frequency of revision of such works, many of which have become electronic with the rise of internet. Words can be documented at a much quicker pace than before, so the mere inclusion of a given term should not automatically result in the loss of its "new" status.

As is the case for hapaxes, it equally difficult if not impossible to predict future diffusion of neologisms. Some that are established for a while fall away practically unnoticed, and others that appeared destined for obscurity become widespread after a period of time. As an example of the first of these, Hockett (1958:308) refers to the derivational suffix *–eteria* which enjoyed a short season of productivity in the early decades of the 20th century. According to this author, there were new terms coined like *booteteria* and *booketeria* (places that sell boots or books) that came by influence of *cafeteria*, yet they failed to have a lasting effect on the system. Lehrer (1996:68-69) likewise describes how analogy with *bootlegger* produced neologisms such as *foodlegger* and *gaslegger* around the World War II era, but these are all but lost today. Still others pass through a period of dormancy, followed by a rise in popularity, as Ayto writes:

> It is not at all uncommon for a new term to potter around for decades in obscurity (often as a piece of jargon known only to specialists), and then to find itself suddenly thrust into the spotlight: *greenhouse effect*, for example, was coined the 1920s, but few non-climatologists had heard of it until the 1980s. (1999:v-vi).[30]

[29] Ayto (1996:182) also mentions this and refers to it as the dictionary's "filter."
[30] This same author gives other examples of this delayed spread into the general lexicon in terms like *communist* and *department store*, which were coined in 1850 and 1887 respectively, yet were not widely known until well into the 20th century (Ayto 1999:v-vi).

This being said, in the present study the term *neologism* will be used to refer to some words of recent incorporation in the DRAE (*hiperactivo*, *neofascismo*) yet many of those analyzed here do not appear in this source (*hiperchulo*, *mega-idiota*, *superfácil*). It is recognized that those words not included in dictionaries are the clearest representations of neologisms, yet fuzzy classification is at times unavoidable for the above mentioned reasons.

1.3 Productivity

In section 1.3, I consider the term *productivity*, which is intricately tied to *neologisms*, *hapax/nonce words* and *established words* seen in the previous section. After dealing with recent publications concerning morphological *productivity*, I conclude that the term is fundamentally used to refer to the freedom with which speakers may use a given element to form neologisms, and that it is subject to word-formation rules of the particular language system.

The lexicon of any given language consists of a conglomeration of elements with different sources. In regard to modern Spanish, García, Meilán & Martínez (2004:64) divide the lexicon into three general groups based on the origin of their constituents. The first and largest group they label as *patrimonial*, whose source is found in the diachronic preservation of vocabulary inherited from spoken Latin in the Iberian Peninsula. The second is *acquired*, which encompasses any type of loanword, either from modern spoken languages or classical texts. The third and last group is referred to by these authors as *multiplied*. This category includes those terms that are produced internally by native speakers themselves, mainly by derivation or composition. While both the second and the third group include those elements most relevant to neoclassical prefixes, productivity is observed only in the third group that comprises the *multiplied* lexicon. As Alvar-Ezquerra (2007:18) has stated, invented words are rare; what more

often occurs is a new combination of existing elements (lexical or grammatical) or the borrowing of a foreign element.[31]

Over half a century ago, Hockett (1958:307) was one of the first scholars to use the term *productivity* in relation to morphology and the lexicon, with the basic definition as follows: "the productivity of any pattern…is the relative freedom with which speakers coin new grammatical forms by it." According to this same author, the derivational suffix *–ly* is an example of a productive element in English because it can form new adverbs by being attached to adjectives like *riotous* > *riotous**ly*** and *daring* > *daring**ly***.

Fischer, following the definition of Hockett, also emphasizes that, while speakers do have freedom to some extent, the process is always carried out by adhering to previously established morphological rules:

> In general, productivity is defined as the ability of speakers/hearers to produce and understand new words…In a narrow sense, productivity refers to rule-governed word-formation processes which are carried out by the creation and comprehension of new words (…) (1998:17)

If follows, then, that one cannot simply create a word at will with no regard to structure. Speakers do not have complete liberty but are confined to the accepted patterns of the speech community. It is in this sense that productivity is based on "limited and defined rules" (Bauer & Huddleston 2002:1623; Martín Camacho 1994:310).[32]

Generally speaking, if a particular element is used to form neologisms, then it is said to be productive, while those that are not are deemed unproductive. Nevertheless, it is to be

[31] Ayto's (1996:184) study showed lexical inventions (what he calls "coinings") as less than 1% of English language neologisms between the 1970s and early 1990s. See section 1.5 for a discussion of loanwords and borrowing.
[32] See the following section for further discussion of this argument.

expected that some are more productive than others (Bauer & Huddleston 2002:1630). The most fundamental way of measuring the level of productivity of a given element is by its neologic type frequency, that is, the number of neologisms that contain it (Anshen & Aronoff 1988:643). As Fischer (1998:17) again notes, "the degree of productivity of a certain lexical element generally corresponds to the number of new coinages which have been created by it." To be sure, there are various degrees of productivity, yet the impossibility of drawing clearly distinguishable lines has forced scholars to generalize with groupings such as *high productivity*, *low productivity* or *semi-productivity* (Bauer 2001:17; Bauer & Huddleston 2002:1630; Matthews 1991:69).[33] Almela Pérez (1999:44) gives clear examples of this (what he calls *gradabilidad* 'gradeability') with the derivational suffixes *–able* and *–ear*, which have been used in modern Spanish to a much greater extent than others like *–dumbre* and *–ancia*. Likewise, degrees of productivity are clearly found with the neoclassical prefixes included in the present study, as there is abundant evidence that intensifiers like *mega-* and *super-* are more productive than prefixes such as *neo-*, the former of which not only appear in a greater number of neologisms but also in more diverse registers.[34]

However, as some scholars have pointed out, it is important to clarify that frequency in a language does not equate productivity. The productivity of a particular element can be measured, not by the total number of items in the system that contain it but rather by the number of new items that contain it. In other words, productivity is directly tied to neologisms (Booij 2005:67-71). To use a hypothetical example relevant to this study, if there are one hundred total neologisms in Spanish with *anti-*, but only twenty with *contra-*, *anti-* would be considered more productive at the present time even if there are more total terms in the language with *contra-*.

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[33] Faitelson-Weiser & Gringas (1992:42ff cited in Almela Pérez 1999:44) propose five degrees of productivity: 1] very productive, 2] productive, 3] somewhat productive, 4] seldom productive and 5] very seldom productive. However useful these divisions may be, they remain generalizations.

[34] See the following sections for further discussion of these particular prefixes: *mega* (3.1.4), *super* (3.1.8).

Therefore, when an individual element is commonly seen, it does not follow that it is productive, yet logically, if it is in fact productive, it tends to be recurrent as well (Bauer 2001:21). At times there are habitually used terms that contain completely unproductive elements, typically as a result of historical preservations of fossilized forms. Bauer (2001:3) gives the inflectional suffix *–en* in English as an example of this, since it was very common in past centuries to mark the plural form of nouns and is still maintained today in a few well-known words such as *childr**en*** and *ox**en*** (instead of **childs* or **oxes*). Despite being understood and used by modern English speakers there is no evidence that it has formed the plural of any neologism in the past century. Others have noted similar examples with the suffix *–th* in terms like *health* and *wealth* as well as plural forms marked with vocalic adjustment such as *mouse* > *mice*, *goose* > *geese*, neither of which are productive in English today (Anshen & Aronoff 1988:646-650).

Some morphemes that were productive in the past have ceased to be so, while others abound in certain varieties or registers but not in others. Concerning geographical variation, Camus Bergareche (1996:70-72) provides valuable data from the northern Spanish province of Asturias. In the language of this region, this author claims that the suffix *–(i)ego* to express the semantic value of 'relative to or belonging to' is of "notable diffusion" and has given rise to several terms such as *monte* > *montiego* 'from the hills' and *temprano* > *tempraniego* 'early (summer) heat' that do not exist in the rest of the Peninsula. While this suffix does form part of other dialects, it remains fossilized in terms such as *mujeriego* 'womanizer' and *veraniego* 'of summer' and is "certainly not productive." Examples such as these illustrate that productivity, as part of human language, also varies in space and time. As will be seen in the respective sections

dealing with modern productivity, the neoclassical prefixes examined in the present study are no exception.

1.4 Creativity, analogy and transparency

Here I conclude my analisis of the fundamental terminology related to morphological and lexical innovation which will be critical for the rest of the study. In this section 1.4, the relationship between *creativity*, *analogy* and *transparency* is analyzed as well as the different aspects of their connection with morphological productivity. Productivity is essentially rule-governed creativity in action. Speakers' creativity is based on analogy of previously understood elements, and for them to be understood they must be transparent. Analogy can also result in new productive morphemes and the spread of newly acquired semantic values. I conclude that these concepts are directly related to neoclassical prefixes in modern Spanish and can explain some recently documented formations.

An important and closely intertwined aspect of productivity that has been of great interest since the early publications of Noam Chomsky (1957; 1965) is the constant *creativity* that speakers demonstrate in language. In fact, productivity in the context of this present study can be viewed essentially as lexical creativity in action and it is therefore difficult to separate the two concepts. It is undeniable that people regularly say and hear things that they have never said or heard before, and more often than not there is no significant communicative difficulty. According to Chomsky (1965:8), one of the first scholars to deal with this issue was the Prussian Wilhelm von Humboldt, a linguistic pioneer of the 19th century who emphasized that human languages can, in theory at least, "make infinite use of finite means." Since then there have been many who recognize and study this phenomenon.

Linguistic creativity is particularly evident in morphology. As Fromkin, Rodman & Hyams have attested:

> [As listeners] we can decompose a word into its component parts and if we know the meaning of those parts, we have a good guess at the meaning of the whole. [As speakers] we can combine morphemes in novel ways to create new words whose meaning will be apparent to other speakers of the language (…) (2003:77)

Creativity is thus neither ad hoc nor completely original but rather a copy of old patterns with new materials or new patterns with old materials. This duplicative aspect is in fact what makes it possible. As Vallès likewise asserts, this process can be viewed essentially as the linguistic equivalent of constructing a new machine with used parts:

> By observing the common prefix in words such as *superheroi* 'superhero' and *superministre* 'superminister', [Catalan] speakers manage to abstract the pattern and use it productively to coin the neologism *supertaxa* 'supertax'…[I]t is necessary to compare similar conventional words and to observe the same morphemes in advance, in absence of which neologisms would be impossible to decipher. (2003:146)

All this is possible thanks to speakers' knowledge of the language structure in question. This is fundamental for the success of the created form, since, if an individual does not handle the system well (during infancy for example) and does not produce a form that aligns enough with the language's accepted patterns, the innovations will logically neither be understood nor propagated (Hockett 1958:308). Thus creativity is not limitless but rather restricted to the accepted norms of the speech community. However, while the majority of well-formed lexical innovations are understood by native speaking adults, there are still occasions when their interpretation is not clear to everyone. The listener can misunderstand based on false connections, as when someone interprets the term *bibliography* as having something to do with

Christian writings due to words like *bible* and *biblical*, or *gullible* as meaning 'something related to (*sea*)*gulls*' (Fromkin, Rodman & Hyams 2003:91).

The term *analogy* has been commonly used in the literature to refer to this type of connection that speakers make between new and old elements (Bybee 2010; Wanner 2006).[35] Used often in diachronic grammar studies in reference to verb paradigms, such as Lathrop (2002) and Lloyd (1987), in the most basic sense it denotes the process of producing new language elements based on the structures of those previously in existence (Anshen & Aronoff 1988:648; Bauer 2001:75).[36] In regard to the lexicon, Matthews (1991:79) uses it to speak of neologisms that come about due to their being "similar to other terms," and Fromkin, Rodman & Hyams (2003:574) define it as "the use of one form as an exemplar by which other forms can be similarly constructed." So important is analogy in the lexicon that Martín Camacho (2007:186) declares it to be at "the base of every morphological process," particularly in individual word creation and interpretation.[37]

One particularly common type of analogy that is most relevant for this present study is known as *proportional* or *four-part analogy*, in which A: B :: C: X, with X being the analogously formed word (Schendl 2001:37; Wanner 2006:44).[38] For instance, the sources

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[35] *Analogy* has a long history of use in diverse fields of research. In this present study it is used in accordance with recent linguistic publications principally regarding morphology and semantics. For a detailed history of the term in linguistics, see Zamora Salamanca (1984).

[36] For example, Lathrop (2002:169) proposes that the non-etymological –g– in 1st person present tense verbs like *tengo*, *vengo* and *pongo* were possibly formed by analogy based on verbs with –*ngo* such as *frango*, *plango* and *tango*.

[37] Well over a century ago, Humboldt likewise had expressed this opinion as to the fundamental and vital role analogy plays in language, calling it the "principal motor of linguistic creativity" (cited in Zamora Salamanca 1984:379).

[38] This is to be distinguished from *paradigmatic analogy* or *levelling*, in which an element is modified to better fit into the pattern of inflectional morphemes, such as with verbal or case endings (Booij 2005:264).

consulted here suggest that the Spanish *neosemita* '(neo)semite,' recorded in 1911 (CORDE), was analogously formed from *neocristiano* 'neochristian':[39]

Cristiano: neocristiano :: semita: neosemita[40]

For this or any other type of analogy to occur there reasonably must be a transparent model from which others of like formation and interpretation can be made (Siemund 2008:9). As Bauer & Huddleston (2002:1627) have said, "words are most clearly analyzable into constituent parts when the latter occurs with the same or similar meaning elsewhere." Therefore, speakers' creativity is based on analogy of previously seen and understood elements, and for them to be understood they must be transparent. In other words, they must have a "formal morphological structure which correlates systematically with their semantic interpretation" (Booij 2005:34). Vallès expands on this in the following citation:

> In order for speakers to establish these kinds of morphological relations, morphemes must be transparent from a morphosemantic standpoint; that is to say, a recurrent association between some semantic content and a phonological form must be observable. Morphosemantic transparency is a requirement in order to acknowledge this paradigmatic relation…thus prompting future eventual activations of new formations. (2003:141)

Transparency, then, is vital for there to be productivity. Neoclassical prefixes and others of similar makeup are particularly transparent, due in part to the fact that from a morphological standpoint, they are typically the most peripheral. In other words, they are found the farthest from the base when combined with other morphemes such as negative prefixes, thus providing a clearer separation in the mind of the speaker. For example, as Martín García (1998:108-112)

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[39] See section 3.5.3 for further discussion of similar neologisms with *neo-*.

[40] Such analogy can but does not always result in the loss of previously used equivalent terms. For instance, Schendl (2001:37) argues that *kine*, the older plural of *cow* was lost when the form *cows* arose via analogy with *bulls*:

*Bull: Bulls :: Cow: *Kine > Cows*

For *neosemita*, however, no such lexical loss occurred.

writes, the terms *super-desagradable* ‘very unpleasant’ and *super-inmoral* ‘very immoral’ are possible but **des-superagradable* and **in-supermoral* are not:

[super[des[[agrada$_{v}$]ble$_{adj}$]$_{adj}$]$_{adj}$] *[des[super[[agrada$_{v}$]ble$_{adj}$]$_{adj}$]$_{adj}$]

[super[in[moral$_{adj}$]$_{adj}$]$_{adj}$] *[in[super[moral$_{adj}$]$_{adj}$]$_{adj}$]

This peripheral nature likely contributes to their fuzzy categorical status that prefixes can have, and thus plays a significant role in their recategorization as independent nouns and adjectives.[41]

Bauer & Huddleston (2002:1627) claim that the two main distinguishable types of transparency in the lexicon are morphological and semantic, both of which are necessary for productivity. Terms such as *strawberry*, for instance, have morphological transparency (*straw* + *berry*) based on other similar forms like *blueberry* and *blackberry*, yet not semantic transparency since *straw* does not bear the same relation to the fruit as do *blue* and *black*. Both types of transparency can also be lost over time. These authors point out that *blackmail* was originally a compound meaning ‘illicit money’ based on *black* ‘illicit’ (*black magic*, *black market*, etc.) and *mail* ‘rent, money.’ While still maintaining a clear morphological division, it has become lexicalized and is no longer semantically transparent based on the combination of its parts. On the other hand, morphological transparency has been lost with *husband*, which was originally an Old English compound of *hús* ‘house’ and *bónda* ‘holder, owner’ but now is viewed as a single indivisible unit (OED s.v.). Therefore, neither of these is likely to produce analogous forms.

Transparency thus plays an important role not only in the creation of neologisms but in their acceptance in the speech community, both from a morphological and semantic standpoint.

[41] See sections 1.6 and 3.3 for details regarding recategorization.

In the context of this present study, the same can be said about derived forms with neoclassical prefixes. Interpretation and diffusion of terms like *neodarvinismo* 'neodarwinism' are based on previous knowledge of terms like *neo-kantismo* 'neokantism.'[42] These, then, exemplify how internally produced neologisms are not purely original.

This does not mean, however, that speaker creativity and analogy are always based on true morphological structure. As is the case for false semantic interpretation (such as with the above mentioned *bibliography* and *gullible*), at times there is also false morphological analogy. This is clearly seen in the modern English terms *hamburger* and *alcoholic*, both of which are often cited in the literature. Due to their widespread use, they have served as models for diverse neologisms such as *veggieburger*, *turkeyburger*, *workaholic*, *chocoholic* and *sexaholic*, despite the fact that *–burger* and *–(a)holic* are not true morphemes in the original terms (Parker & Riley 2000:98-100).[43]

In a similar way to that of endings like *–(a)holic* in English, Martín Camacho (2007:183) has argued that such is the case for the derivational suffix *–iano* in modern Spanish. Historically, the ending *–ano* was often attached to proper names to denote the value of 'related to' or 'having to do with,' such as in *Ovidio* > *ovidiano* and *Horacio* > *horaciano*. Due to the many well-known instances in which the proper name ended with *–io*, speakers falsely analyzed the *–i–* as forming part of the suffix itself and subsequently produced like terms with *–iano* even for names that do not end in *–io*: *Freud* > *freudiano*, *Galdós* > *galdosiano*. Booij (2005:262) also proposes

[42] In CORDE, *neo-kantismo* first appears in 1883 and *neodarwinismo* in 1949.
[43] The word *hamburger* is derived from the German city Hamburg and *–(a)holic* is the second half of the word *alcohol* with the derivational suffix *–ic*. *Alc-* is not a morpheme and although *ham* is a word in English, it bears no relation to the original term (Parker & Riley 2000:98-100). In both cases there has been a reanalysis of elements followed by analogous creation of new terms. Similar cases in Spanish have been noted such as *bikini* > *monokini* in which *bi-* is reanalyzed as meaning 'two' although it originally stems from the toponym *Bikini Atoll* (Marshall Islands) (Martín Camacho 2007:178).

that a similar phenomenon occurred with –*mente* in certain Romance languages, including Spanish. Originally a noun meaning 'mind,' its frequent combination with adjectives resulted in reinterpretation as a derivational suffix and subsequent productivity as such. It is in this sense that analogy can actually result in new productive morphemes.[44]

Some scholars such as Martín Camacho (2007:179-180) have noted other ways in which Spanish analogous forms come from morphological and semantic transparency:

1] Synonymy: *bailar* 'to dance'*: bailarín* 'dancer' *:: danzar* 'to dance'*: danzarín* 'dancer'

2] Antonymy: *bello* 'beautiful'*: beldad* 'beauty' *:: feo* 'ugly': *fealdad* 'ugliness'

3] Pairings of related words (neither synonyms nor antonyms):

Comer 'to eat'*: comestibles* 'food' :: *beber* 'to drink': *bebestibles* 'drink'

Forms such as these are likely to have occurred in recent neologisms with neoclassical prefixes. For instance, Vallès (2003:149) attests that terms with the prefix *micro-* have actually contributed to productivity with *macro-* due to their close albeit antonymous meaning, and antonymous pairs are abundant (*microcentro/macrocentro* 'macro/microcenter', *microrregión/macrorregión* 'macro/microregion).[45] Pairings of related words likewise are not hard to find, such as the previously mentioned *neocristiano* and *neosemita*.

Another important role that analogy and transparency can play in the lexicon can be seen when there is evolution in the semantic value(s) of a prominent term, which can result in new productivity via analogy with the same new interpretation. Martín Camacho (2007:181) claims that this was the case for the neologisms *motero* 'someone passionate about motorcycles' and *rebajero* 'someone passionate about sales (shopping),' that came by analogy with *futbolero*

[44] See section 1.6.2 for further discussion of the relationship between reanalysis, analogy and recategorization.
[45] See section 3.1.5.2 for antonymous examples with *macro-*/*micro-*.

‘someone passionate about soccer.’ Previous terms with *–ero* expressed the semantic value of ‘inclined to’ such as in *traición* ‘betrayal’ > *traicionero* ‘inclined to betrayal’ and *embuste* ‘deception’ > *embustero* ‘inclined to lying/deception,’ but *futbolero* drifted in meaning, albeit slightly, and its widespread use in turn produced others of like definition.

1.5 Language contact and productivity

Having dealt thus far mostly with definitions and characteristics of fundamental terms, I now turn to theory regarding the more specific contributions of this study, namely, language contact (section 1.5) and recategorization (section 1.6). Section 1.5.1 deals with central notions regarding language contact, lexical borrowing, and speaker motivation that will explain much of the data presented in 3.2. These can be broken down as follows:

1] Every documented language has been affected to some degree by contact.

2] Contact is most visible in the lexicon.

3] Contact is often unbalanced but normally not unidirectional.

4] Most loanwords are adapted to native phonology and morphology.

5] Speaker motivation usually is related to the presence of lexical gaps, a desire for prestige, or other stylistic purposes.

Section 1.5.2 attempts to deal with the relationship between English loanwords and modern Spanish productivity. I conclude that contact with English has been intensified due to modern societal changes, and that the presence of numerous transparent loanwords with neoclassical prefixes is highly significant due to the fact that the resultant increase in type frequency has heightened speaker perception and thereby contributed to increased productivity

with those elements and native Spanish roots. The analysis of such influence is of vital importance to understanding the current boom with these elements.

1.5.1 Fundamental principles of language contact and the lexicon

If it is true that no man is an island then it is equally true that no language is either. Modern linguistic studies have thus far produced no evidence of any language that has developed entirely on its own. Even in the case of extremely isolated tribal languages, upon further investigation, a shared structure with neighboring languages or the presence of borrowings have been confirmed (Thomason 2001:8). It is clear upon analysis that there is certainly no "pure" language in the modern world, as likewise there are no pure societies or cultures (Gimeno Menéndez & Gimeno Menéndez 2003:256-257). As Ahmad (2000:711) has said, modern globalization of many aspects of society like technology, sports and food makes it almost impossible not to be affected by vocabularies of other languages. Increased efficiency of travel has played a significant role as well in making the world smaller day by day. Even those who formally attempt to reduce borrowings find themselves unable to escape foreign influence.[46]

Although virtually all aspects of a language can be used by another, including phonemes, semantic values and morphosyntactic structures, lexical borrowing is the most salient and frequent type of borrowing. This could be true in part due to the fact that the lexicon is less stable than other areas of language and is thus more susceptible to outside influence. More stable areas such as phonology, inflectional morphology (especially in verbal paradigms) and syntax show greater resistance to variation and change and are thus less likely to be borrowed

[46] A good example is seen in the top-down prescription of some European language academies. Even if they manage to minimize the use of foreign elements, they still find themselves forced to create new terms in order to fill in the lexical gaps that those words occupy. In a sense, then, when the *Acadamie Française* replaces *broadcasting* with *télédiffusion* and *hovercraft* with *aéroglisseur*, they are still being affected from the outside, albeit in a less obvious way (Ahmad 2000:711).

(Dworkin 2012:5; Winford 2010:176). Siemund (2008:5) also notes that when two linguistic communities enter into contact, what is first affected is the lexicon. Only after prolonged and intimate contact, often by way of widespread bilingualism, do other aspects such as syntax begin to show significant amounts of borrowing.[47]

Another reason why lexical borrowing happens so regularly is that it can come not only by direct spoken contact but through written texts as well, something that is not likely to be the case for other aspects such as phonology. Textual influence, as has already been noted in section 0.2, is one of great importance for the majority of Hellenisms, and both spoken and written language contact have contributed to the presence of Anglicisms in modern Spanish (Dworkin 2012:8). Speakers, then, do not need to be in the same place or time for contact to occur, as is illustrated by classical Latin and Greek, which continue to have great influence in modern European languages. In the same way, the language of the Koran continues to be studied by many across the globe yet there are no longer any native speakers of that historical variety of Saudi-Arabian Arabic (Thomason 2001:2).

Bilingualism also logically plays an important role in the adoption and diffusion of loanwords, many of which enter first through the bilingual speakers of a community and then spread to the entire system (Dworkin 2012:7). Widespread knowledge of English among Spanish-speaking communities in Spain and the Americas has indisputably facilitated contact between the two languages. However, while extensive bilingualism is commonly present in contact situations, it is not always necessary for borrowing to occur. An interesting example of this is the word *taboo*, which is said to have been borrowed directly from Captain James Cook in

[47] Among all loanwords, the majority are nouns, followed by adjectives, verbs and adverbs. Rarely borrowed are conjunctions, prepositions and pronouns, as well as opaque or embedded elements such as certain affixes (Dworkin 2012:5 and 15; Thomason 2001:76-77).

his interaction with a Tongan Indian tribe in 1777, yet neither he nor anyone else at that time was proficient in both English and Tongan (Thomason 2001:9 and 72). In modern society this is also seen in the fact that many native speakers of other languages have adopted English, French or Spanish terms from movies, commercials, or other sources, despite the fact that they are only minimally proficient in these languages.

The relationship between any two languages tends to be unequal with respect to the number of borrowings that occur. In other words, the socially dominant language typically gives more words to the subordinate language than vice versa. This, however, does not mean that borrowing is always unidirectional. One needs not to look far back in history to find examples of socially dominant languages adopting numerous terms from subordinate ones.[48] English has been enriched by numerous loanwords from Spanish (*cigar*, *guerilla*, *lasso*, *ranch*, *burrito*) and Spanish likewise adopted many indigenous terms for the new flora and fauna of the Americas (*maíz* 'corn,' *tabaco* 'tobacco,' *condor* 'condor,' *llama* 'llama') (Lapesa 1981:460-461 and 557; OED s.v.).

The history of these languages shows that borrowing can vary tremendously through space and time, both in regard to the source language as to the actual number of terms themselves (Thomason 2001:9). Middle English, for example, borrowed extensively from French in the centuries following the Norman invasion, yet since the beginning of the 20th century French influence on English lexicon has been severely limited. In fact, foreign influence as a whole has significantly diminished in English, as it now accounts for only approximately 5%

[48] The terms *dominant/subordinate* are preferred here instead of *majority*/*minority* due to the fact that in certain contact situations, the socially dominante language is actually spoken natively by the minority of the population. For example, such was the case in the early periods of the Spanish conquest of the Americas, and in the British occupation of India, in which the vast majority of the population spoke little or none of the European languages in question.

of its neologisms (Ayto 1999:ix).[49] Spanish also saw a great influx of Arabisms while a large part of the Iberian Peninsula was politically subordinate, yet now loanwords from modern Arabic in Spanish are virtually non-existent (Cano Aguilar 2002:53-54).

History also has given clear evidence to show that once a loanword has been adopted, it tends to be adjusted to the phonology and morphology of the recipient language. Whereas some maintain obvious foreign characteristics, the tendency is toward total adaptation (Winford 2010:172-175). As Bergua Cavero (2004:37) points out, this has been the case historically with both Hellenisms and Anglicisms in Spanish. For instance, the neuter plural ending -α in the Greek τὰ βιβλία 'the books' (via Latin *biblia*) became a feminine singular in the Spanish *la Biblia* 'the Bible' with a plural *las Biblias.*[50] Likewise, the initial phoneme /ʃ/ in the English *shilling*, which is not found in the phonological system of the majority of Spanish varieties, was subsequently modified to /tʃ/ in Spanish *chelín.* However, as will be seen in specific cases presented in section 3.2 of this present study, modification to recipient language norms is not always immediate or complete. What often occurs is a period of transition in which both the borrowing and the adapted native equivalent will exist side by side as a doublet until eventually one of the two obtains dominance. To illustrate this, Romero Gualda (2002:409-410) points out that the celebrated poet Bécquer used the original French form *touriste* 'tourist' in his writings, but about a generation later Galdós and others had preferred the adapted *turista,* which has since

[49] In the present time, less globally used languages such as Catalan tend to have a higher rate of borrowed terms. In a study of Catalan neologisms that appeared between 1999 and 2008, Domènech Bagaria & Estopà Bagot (2009:52) concluded that over 25% of them were borrowings, mostly from Spanish and English. This represents a figure much higher than that of modern English (Ayto 1999:ix).

[50] When a new term is borrowed that closely resembles a native term, semantic adjustment can occur as well, either in one or both of the terms. In English, the native term *deer,* which at one time meant simply 'animal,' was replaced by the borrowed *animal* in the general sense and subsequently was reduced to refer to only a specific type of animal, as it is used today (Thomason 2001:87).

been established as the standard form.[51] A similar case can be seen in the Anglicism *reportero* (< *reporter*), which at one time maintained the original English accentuation and spelling in Spanish (*repórter*), yet later became standardized in its present form (Cano Aguilar 1988:265).

The length of time required for the complete transition can vary greatly from case to case. There are many instances in modern Spanish that can be viewed as real-time examples of this transition stage, and their incomplete integration to native patterns can be phonological, morphological or both.[52] Other loanwords either take longer to adjust to native patterns or never fully do so. The English word *octopus* is a good example of this, which since the 18th century has had at least three different plural forms due to its mixed classical origin (*octopi*, *octopodes*, *octopuses*), and the most widely used today (*octopi*) follows Latin declension norms.[53]

That being said, it is important to mention another fundamental issue at hand, namely, why speakers commonly use foreign elements in their native languages in the first place. Scholars tend to give four principal motivations for this phenomenon, which are similar to those for neologisms in general. First, at times there is a real linguistic need to name new items or ideas. Throughout history there have been many periods of lexical expansion that have typically come during times of scientific discovery and other social advances. Since, as we have

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[51] CREA records no use of *touriste.*

[52] An example of incomplete phonological integration in modern Spanish is found in the English word *show* with the pronunciation /ʃo/ or /ʃou/, which has been used extensively throughout Latin America and Spain in recent decades (EUM registers over 21,000 occurrences and EP over 9,000), despite the fact that the phoneme /ʃ/ is not natively used in the majority of dialects outside of the Southern Cone. This is interesting due to the fact that it concerns the same phonological adjustment (/ʃ/ > /tʃ/) which occurred in other loanwords like the already mentioned English *shilling* > Spanish *chelín* as well as the French *chef* /ʃ/ > Spanish *chef* /tʃ/. Since the same phonemic adjustment has occurred previously in Spanish, it is possible that the same will take place in the future with *show*, yet it is not certain. A similar case can be seen in the incomplete morphophonological adaptation of the plural morpheme –s after a single consonant instead of the native inclusion of the vowel –e–, as in *los jets* or *los récords* instead of **los jetes* or **los récordes* (Lapesa 1981:458).

[53] Originally taken as a learned word no later than 1758, the plural form *octopi* was used in order to matched second declension Latin nouns ending in *–us*, while *octopodes*, although less common, matched Greek pluralization norms. However, due to the fact that neither follows native English morphology, speakers later began to use the regularized form *octopuses*. All three of these forms are still registered in the OED over two centuries after the initial borrowing.

previously seen, invented words are rare, one method for lexical expansion is simply to adopt foreign elements, that is, to adopt the term originally used by the language of the speakers who are responsible for the new item (Alvar 2007:18). As Weinreich has said:

> The need to designate new things, persons, places, and concepts is, obviously, a universal cause of lexical innovation…lexical borrowing of this type can be described as a result of the fact that using ready-made designations is more economical than describing things afresh. Few users of language are poets. (1974:56-57)

When the Spanish came to the New World, for example, the new flora and fauna presented them with a real need for new words. Although in certain cases they expanded the meaning of native terms (*pavo* 'peacock' > 'turkey'), many times it proved more efficient to simply adopt the indigenous term (Dworkin 2012:4). Similarly, in the last century or so the need for new terms has been increasingly demanding due to the rapid rate of technological developments, particularly in communication.[54]

The second principal reason speakers use borrowed terms is the desire for social prestige (Bergua Cavero 2004:112). Unlike the first, this can be viewed as non-essential from a linguistic point of view since it fills no lexical gap in the system. Even from a surface analysis, it is clear that speakers can and often do employ foreign terms even when equivalent words already exist in their native tongue. For people across the globe, using English phrases and words (or French, Italian, etc.) can be a way to demonstrate academic achievement or social prowess, and among most communities, knowledge of a foreign language is certainly prestigious. This issue is particularly relevant to English/Spanish language contact, since knowledge of English in Spain and many Latin American countries has been socially esteemed for the last several decades.

[54] Siemund (2008:10) points out, however, that sometimes speakers perceive there to be a gap in the lexicon when there is in fact no genuine linguistic need.

Alvar-Ezquerra (1999:64) attributes the use of many English loanwords in Spanish to the speakers' desire for such prestige and elevated social status, and in agreement with this idea is Dworkin, who recently has claimed the following:

> It is probably safe to state that Gallicisms and Anglicisms in modern Spanish that exist alongside Spanish signifiers for the referent at issue reflect the status of French and of English at the time of the borrowing, and give to the speaker a certain air of cosmopolitanism and sophistication. (2012:9)

The third reason why speakers use loanwords is the desire for stylistic expression or embellishment of the language (Alvar-Ezquerra 2007:13). That is to say that many feel the need to use varied terms and phrases even when doing so fills no lexical gaps nor is it necessarily motivated by social prestige. Gimeno Menéndez & Gimeno Menéndez say that this is particularly evident in language of the press:

> Habría también préstamos con un matiz más coloquial y poco convencional procedentes de muchos campos, y se encontrarían más frecuentemente en la jerga periodística…algunos usuarios, particularmente los periodistas, emplearían préstamos ocasionales por razones estilísticas, en el caso de cambios de código, o con una clara intención humorística. (2003:149)

The fourth and final motivation that speakers may have in employing foreign terms is much more case-specific than the other three, with a particular relevance to Anglicisms in Spanish. Romero Gualda (2002:415) suggests that many times there is a purely phonological factor involved when the borrowed term is monosyllabic. When this is the case, even if a corresponding native term exists, it is probable that phonological efficiency plays a major role in the preference of the monosyllabic term over the native polysyllabic equivalent. This author cites specifically the recent use of several such terms, particularly *crack*, *shock*, *chat*, *chip* and

sprint. Motivation can vary, then, and all four of these in particular contribute in some way to the presence of loanwords in Spanish.

1.5.2 Anglicisms and Spanish language productivity

Álvarez de Miranda (2005:1042) has stated that the lexicon is a mirror of history, and this is certainly true in regard to loanwords in Spanish. As is the case with many European languages, language contact has played a major role in the Spanish lexicon throughout its history. English is simply the most recent of many that have left linguistic footprints, following others such as Arabic in the Middle Ages, Italian during the Renaissance, and French in the 17th and 18th centuries (Gimeno Menéndez & Gimeno Menéndez 2003:137; Lorenzo 1999:20). As many scholars have noted, the 20th century was a period in which the Spanish language underwent significant growth in vocabulary by way of loanwords. Already by the 1960s scholars such as Dámaso Alonso attested to this fact:

> Si como hecho lingüístico el extranjerismo es un fenómeno que se repite una y otra vez en la historia de las lenguas, nunca como en la época presente ha llegado con esta abundancia extraordinaria, sobre todo en países como los de nuestra comunidad lingüística, de poca capacidad creativa en materias de técnica. (1964:393-394, cited in García Platero 1995:51)

Throughout the 20th century and beginning of the 21st, the influx of loanwords in Spanish has unquestionably been dominated by English, particularly so starting in the late 1940s and 1950s. It was during those decades when publications regarding Anglicisms in Spanish started becoming more common, and it has subsequently been an extensively studied field (Gimeno Menéndez & Gimeno Menéndez 2003:139-140).[55] Since that time the pattern of English

[55] A few examples of earlier publications are Ricardo Alfaro's *Diccionario de anglicismos* (first in 1950, with later editions in 1964 and 1972) and Ernesto Juan Fonfrías' *Anglicismos en el idioma español de Madrid* (1968).

dominance throughout European languages has continued, with little sign of slowing down. Testimony to this is Domènech Bagaria & Estopà Bagot's (2009:58) recent study of neologisms during the decade of 1999-2008, which concluded that in the language of the Spanish press, Anglicisms comprised at least 50% of written loanwords, compared to the much lower French (7%) and Italian (5%).

As with other situations of contact, the invasion of Anglicisms can be directly tied to cultural influence. As Lorenzo has claimed:

> La penetración de usos extranjeros -palabras o expresiones más amplias- en un idioma no es otra cosa que una manifestación más del predominio político, cultural o económico de una potencia sobre otras. (1999:20)

Some also attribute the sheer number of Anglicisms, at least in part, to social changes that communication and transportation have undergone in recent history. According to them, English simply has more ways to influence other languages than was true in the past. Romero Gualda attests the following with respect to this:

> Cuenta el anglicismo con más conductos de entrada que los que tuvo el galicismo, si éste contó con el libro como medio de difusión, ahora son la publicidad, la música, el cine, las relaciones comerciales, técnicas y científicas, la facilidad de los viajes y los intercambios estudiantiles, la comunicación por internet, etc., los que coadyuvan a que la penetración del inglés sea extensa y profunda, en casi todos los campos de nuestras actividades cotidianas podríamos encontrar voces con este origen. (2002:417)

From this perspective, English can be said to have an unfair advantage in relation to other languages in history who could not have had such extensive contact as is now possible. Its presence in many different registers and contexts is no surprise, then, particularly so in those

pertaining to popular culture, technology and sports, since these are areas of a more international character (Alvar-Ezquerra 1999:57; Dworkin 2012:228).[56]

English has given multiple semantic loanwords as well, in which a partial cognate takes on a previously unknown meaning in order to fully match its English counterpart. This is true for *página* (< [*web*]*page*) and *sitio* (< [*web*]*site*), which have adopted new uses in relation to the internet (Alvar-Ezquerra 1999:61-62). Similar to this is what can be viewed as semantic expansion of a borrowing, as is mentioned in Romero Gualda (2002:417). What often occurs, for example, is that a polysemous English word is borrowed and originally confined to only a particular context, yet over time takes on other semantic values in order to more fully mirror the English source word, with the result being that both terms now form a fully cognate pair. Dworkin argues that in the initial borrowing of polysemous terms, reduction is the norm:

> A word is rarely borrowed with the full semantic load it carried in the donor language. The recipient language will take a word with only one of its donor-language meanings, ignoring its other senses, secondary uses and connotations. (2012:12)

Yet as Romero Gualda (2002:417) argues, over time these terms can adopt other semantic nuances of the source to more fully mirror each other. This author illustrates this phenomenon with the borrowings *rol* (< *role*) and *mitin* (< *meeting*). *Rol* was first borrowed in a sociological context and was thus confined, yet has now expanded to more fully mirror English's *role*, which is found in contexts such as a player's role on a sports team or a worker's role in a job situation.

[56] English lexical influence has been multifaceted, but is especially prominent in popular culture. Lorenzo (1999:20) says that this could be due in part to the fact that over 80% of the movies shown in Spain are foreign, the vast majority of which are filmed in English. However, Dworkin (2012:224) argues that some should be deemed *pseudo-Anglicisms*, since they came via French and do not have equivalent use in modern English, such as *autostop* 'hitchhiking,' *smoking/esmoquin* 'tuxedo' (from archaic *smoking jacket*).

Mitin likewise entered Spanish in business contexts only, yet now is used in reference to a *meeting* between two sports teams as well (i.e. a game).

Such substantial linguistic effects have caused many to lament the recent invasion of Anglicisms, perceiving them as a threat to the purity of the Spanish language and seeking to minimize their excessive adoption (González García 2007:84).[57] Lorenzo (1999:20) notes that this could be in part due to the greater foreign characteristics of English loanwords in comparison to some of the Romance languages, since many Italianisms such as *soneto* 'sonnet' and *novela* 'novel' historically have gone almost unnoticed in Spanish due to their similar morphosyntactic and phonological structures. At times there is a more intense reaction from the "Purists" against Anglicisms simply because they appear and sound more foreign. Although such a response is understandable from an aesthetic standpoint, some linguists such as Alvar-Ezquerra (1999:66) and Lorenzo (1999:19) have refuted it, stating that while the influence of the English language on the Spanish lexicon is no doubt extensive at the present time, there is little cause for alarm:

> La lengua española goza de buena salud y son infundados los temores alarmistas sobre su decadencia o degeneración propagados por cierta clase de puristas que no acaban de entender que es esa salud la que le confiere vitalidad y capacidad de adaptación y creación en un mundo dinámico (…) (Lorenzo 1999:19)

Gimeno Menéndez & Gimeno Menéndez, two authors who have studied extensively the patterns of English borrowings into Spanish, have come to a similar conclusion:

> La lengua española está demostrando hoy una asombrosa flexibilidad ante las nuevas coyunturas de la penetración irresistible del inglés, la cual alcanza dimensiones

[57] See, for example, England & Caramés Lage (1978), Pérez Ruiz & Vivancos Machimbarrena (1994) and González Cruz (2003). According to Dworkin (2012:220), the former director of the *Real Academia Española* Victor García de la Concha has stated that Anglicisms are an *injuria* 'offense' to the Spanish language.

> inimaginables antes, y se extiende desde las calles de cualquier ciudad española hasta los anuncios de cualquier diario o revista escritos en español…la extraordinaria capacidad asimilatoria de esta lengua, manifestada al tomar contacto con otras culturas, contribuye a facilitar su expansión. (2003:141-142)

Therefore, those who are worried should not be. As was mentioned before, English itself absorbed countless loanwords and yet still survived as English. Loanwords, like all neologisms, possess both negative and positive aspects. The negative side is that there is a continuous disruption in the speech community and speakers are obligated to modify their own language habits to more efficiently communicate their ideas within the given system. Yet the positive contribution is that they show the capacity of a language to adapt itself to an ever-fluctuating reality. They confirm that language is in fact a living phenomenon, able to absorb new needs and preferences while shedding older ones. Many times a seemingly synonymous foreign element adds a degree of semantic distinction alongside the preexisting native term, and thus enriches the system as a whole, such as *cartel* 'poster/sign' versus *póster* '(advertisement) poster' or *compañero* 'partner, friend, colleague' versus *partner* '(business) partner.' (Alvar-Ezquerra 1999:64).

That being said, one of the most relevant aspects of English-to-Spanish borrowing for this present study is the fact that bound derivational morphemes such as prefixes and suffixes are at times borrowed into the recipient language alongside their lexical roots. These in turn can become productive themselves depending on the number of terms borrowed and their morphological and semantic transparency. As Winford points out, this has been documented before in English itself, as a result of the close linguistic contact between French and English speakers in Britain after the Norman Conquest, which led to extreme lexical mixing and a significantly affected English morphology:

> The massive importation of French words into Middle English introduced various derivational affixes that were eventually extended to use with native stems. Borrowings like *conspiracie*, *charitable* and others yielded suffixes like *–acy* and *–able*, while *enrich*, *disconnect*, etc. yielded new prefixes. (2010:176)

The presence of numerous French loanwords in English familiarized the speakers with derivational suffixes and prefixes like *–acy*, *–able*, *en-* and *dis-*, so much so that they eventually adopted them as native elements to be combined with non-French roots.

It is proposed here that a similar phenomenon has occurred in Spanish over the last half century. Direct contact with spoken and written English has resulted in the influx of numerous Anglicisms, many of which are borrowed with neoclassical prefixes already attached to the base, such as Greek *mega-* and *micro-* and Latin *super-* in terms such a *megahit* > *megahit/megaéxito*, *microprocessor* > *microprocesador* and *superhighway* > *supercarretera/superautopista* (Lorenzo 1999:23-24).[58] The specific borrowings dealt with in this study are thus unique due to the fact that they constitute lexical borrowings yet contain one or more transparent elements that can be separated by the speaker to be used independently in further productivity. *Megahit* and others of similar structure have been borrowed wholesale into Spanish from English and thus constitute lexical borrowings. However, calque forms such as *megaéxito* (< *megahit*) show that Spanish speakers have indeed morphologically separated the term into its parts.

Data from the sources consulted suggest that English contact has increased type frequency with neoclassical prefixes, which has undoubtedly heightened speakers' awareness of such items.[59] As Bybee claims:

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[58] See section 3.2 for details concerning English influence with these prefixes.

[59] The term *type frequency* is generally accepted to mean the number of items with the same item or pattern (phonological, morphological, etc.) in a given system. This can apply to stem + affix patterns (Bybee 2007:9).

> (…) The mind is sensitive to repetition…constructions are connected if they have properties in common…repetition strengthens memory representations for linguistic forms and makes them more accessible…type frequency is a major factor determining the degree of productivity of a construction. Constructions that apply to a high number of distinct items also tend to be highly applicable to new items. (2007:8-14)

Although these are not new elements in Spanish, it is here argued that the influx of such borrowings has contributed to their increased productivity in Spanish with native roots, and at times to their semantic modification.[60] Such terms are numerous and transparent, and the fact that they already existed in Spanish makes it easier for them to be interpreted and spread. As has been seen in section 1.3, semantically and morphological ally transparent terms can and do serve as models for productivity. The influx of recent transparent loanwords with neoclassical prefixes proves significant, then, since speakers are provided with more terms that can be analyzed and imitated.[61]

1.6 Recategorization, degrammaticalization and debonding

In the previous section I discussed loanwords and the particular relevance of English influence, which has contributed immensely to lexical change in the Spanish language throughout the last several decades. This influx (taken up again in section 3.2) has impacted word/morpheme category change in Spanish, one of the most significant issues for this present study. As can be expected, numerous subdivisions and various terms are used in the literature to refer to such processes (*category shift*, *transcategorization*, *decategorialization*, [*de*]*morphologization*, *lexicalization*, *functional shift*, *relisting*, etc.) which at times overlap significantly with other terms as well (Brinton & Closs Traugott 2005:96-98; Doyle 2002:69;

[60] See section 3.2.1 concerning English influence with *anti-*.
[61] Although none of the loanwords analyzed here from English has given a neoclassical prefix that is new to Spanish, Lorenzo (1999:23) says that English has introduced new prefixal elements like *ciber-* (< *cyber-*) in prominent terms such as *ciberespacio*, which subsequently has become productive with native roots as well.

Nagano 2008:372 following Lieber 1992:159; Norde 2009:10; Valera 2006:172-173). For clarification sake, the term *recategorization* (Ramat 2001:393)[62] in this present study is the most general and refers to any word/morpheme category change in language, *degrammaticalization* (Willis 2007:271 and others) will be used to refer to the more specific phenomenon of leftward movement on the *lexical* <<>> *grammatical* continuum, and the two most recurrent subdivisions involving a bound affix becoming a free morpheme (*prefix* > *noun*; *prefix* > *adjective*) will be referred to as forms of *debonding* (Norde 2009:3-8).[63] After briefly discussing the various subtypes of recategorization, I will analyze the particular features of debonding in language change. This present section 1.6 will thus lay the groundwork for the particular characteristics and examples of debonding with neoclassical prefixes in modern Spanish dealt with at length in section 3.3.

1.6.1 Terminology and characteristics of recategorization, degrammaticalization and debonding

Examples such as the Spanish *los macroíndices* 'macroindexes, macrorates' > *los índices macros* involve a recategorization of a bound element to a free one, that is, when a morphological unit becomes a syntactic one. Alterations in word or morpheme category are commonly observed in languages throughout the world, especially with items that show great type and token frequency (Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991:38). Such changes can be divided into three principal subdivisions: *conversion*, *grammaticalization* and *degrammaticalization*. What is frequently deemed *conversion* refers in the most fundamental sense to a category change

[62] Ramat uses the term *recategorization* (or *transcategorization*) primarily to refer to a category change from major to minor word class (*decategorialization* in Brinton & Closs Traugott 2005:25). In this present study it will be used more generally to refer to any word/morpheme category change, as is the case with the Spanish equivalent *recategorización* in Bosque (1999:70).

[63] Brinton & Closs Traugott (2005:57) prefer the term *syntacticization* when the affix is derivational, as is the case with neoclassical prefixes.

from one free morpheme to another, such as *adjective* > *noun* or *noun* > *verb* (Balteiro 2007:7; Don 2005:2). In English, one of the most frequently observed conversions is the so-called *zero derivation* change of *noun* > *verb* (*fish* N > *fish* V), as in *they caught a fish* (N) versus *they fish a lot* (V). In these occurrences the change does not immediately result in a morphologically modified form and is thus deemed *zero* (Booij 2005:5; Matthews 1991:65; Valera 2006:172). Modern English has become extremely prone to such constructions, even so much as to convert proper names or company names into verbs (*Google* N > *google* V).[64] Converted elements may in time adopt derivational or inflectional morphemes as well. When this occurs, it can be deemed *total conversion*, whereas when the element undergoes limited morphological alteration, it can be viewed as a *partial conversion*. For example, when *fish* N converted to *fish* V, it subsequently produced additional inflected forms like *fish<u>ed</u>*, *fish<u>es</u>* and *fish<u>ing</u>*, and thus is considered complete. However, the modern Spanish change of *alerta* N 'alert' > *alerta* A (*hubo un alerta* 'there was an alert' versus *él está alerta* 'he's alert') is a good example of partial conversion, since it is still commonly used as both a masculine and a feminine adjective without the masculine form **alerto* (DRAE s.v.).[65] Nevertheless, whether there is morphological alteration or not, any category change of *free morpheme* > *free morpheme* can be considered an example of conversion.

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[64] Zero derivation in English it is quite common due to its limited morphology, but in Spanish it occurs much less. For instance, for the equivalent *fish* N > *fish* V change to occur in Spanish there must be a morphological alteration: *pez* N > *pescar* V (**pez* V). See Don (2005) for details on conversion in certain Germanic languages such as Dutch, English and German.

[65] Originally from the Italian noun phrase *all'erta* 'on the alert' (DRAE s.v.). Although the DRAE (s.v.) includes the masculine form *alerto*, it is extremely rare in the sources consulted. CREA and CORPUS XXI register only one example:

> Condados y pueblos de Virginia estén **<u>alertos</u>**: nosotros nos enfrentaremos en las cortes y en las calles y venceremos (CORPES XXI. Mitzi Macias. 8-29-2007. "Victoria para indocumentados." *Washington Hispanic.*)

Alerta(s) remains the standard form when used adjectivally and does not change for masculine or feminine adjectives.

The second term *grammaticalization* is perhaps the most inclusive and has been the focus of numerous and extensive studies in recent years.[66] Although semantic change is often involved as well (such as bleaching), in the most basic sense it refers to any change which involves a free morpheme becoming more bound, that is, a rightward movement on the *lexical* <<>> *grammatical* continuum. In true cases of grammaticalization, there typically is a movement of at least one step to the right on the cline presented by Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer (1991:13, after Givón 1979:208-209):

Discourse > syntax > morphology > morphophonemics > zero.[67]

As can be imagined, there are numerous historical examples of grammaticalization in many world languages. A much-cited example is found in the of the synthetic future and conditional tenses in Romance, in which the conjugated forms of the Latin verb expressing possession and at times obligation *habere* 'to have,' after years of phonological reduction, fused together with the infinitive and thus transformed into bound inflectional morphemes: Latin *cantare habeo* 'I have to sing' > Spanish *cantaré* 'I will sing.'[68] Its frequent use in deontic contexts (i.e. "I have to…") contributed to reanalysis as a simple expression of future action ("I am planning on…, I'm going to…"). A second clear example in Spanish comes from the modern adverbial marker *–mente*, which stems historically from the Latin noun *mens* 'mind' (accusative *mentem* > Spanish *mente*), and was so commonly coupled with adjectives that it became reanalyzed as a purely grammatical element in constructions like *intensa* + *mente* > *intensamente* '*intensely*,' *terrible* + *mente* > *terriblemente* '*terribly*,' etc.

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[66] See Davidse, Breban & Brems (2012), Narrog & Heine (2011) and Stathi, Gehweiler & König (2010), among others.

[67] A later version was proposed by Hopper & Closs Traugott (2003:7):

Content item > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix [> zero]

[68] See PDL for details on the definition and use of Latin *habere*.

On the other hand, as its name implies, *degrammaticalization* can be seen as a general reversal or leftward cline movement, in which an item becomes less grammatical and more lexical.[69] Compared to its counterpart, degrammaticalization has been less studied and far fewer examples have been found. In fact, up until only about twenty years ago, there was debate among scholars as to whether such a phenomenon even existed, and morphosyntactic cline movement was deemed "unidirectional." In other words, it was argued that in regard to the cline presented above, the only possible movement was rightward.[70] Lehmann (1995:19), for example, after examining several claims to degrammaticalization such as the Proto-Indo-European *–*a* and the Proto-Germanic genitive suffix –*s*, concludes that "no cogent examples of degrammaticalization have been found."[71] Likewise, Haspelmath concludes:

> Grammaticalization is the gradual drift in all parts of grammar toward tighter structures, toward less freedom…[it] is unidirectional in that elements and structures always become more grammatical(ized), while the reverse (development of less grammatical from more grammatical structures or elements) is practically unattested…grammaticalization is overwhelmingly unidirectional.[72] (1998:318 and 347)

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[69] Haspelmath (2004) prefers the term *antigrammaticalization* (cited in Brinton & Closs Traugott 2005:104).

[70] "Unidirectional" here is used to mean 'only rightward' on the lexical > grammatical cline. However, virtually all examples of grammaticalization and degrammaticalization are "unidirectional" in the sense that they only move in one direction without turning around. That is to say that if a lexical verb becomes an inflectional morpheme, it will not subsequently revert and go back to a lexical verb (*cantare habeo* > *cantar he* > *cantaré* *[> *cantar he* > *cantare habeo*]). As Willis (2007:276) has argued, "this is clearly impossible – unless languages have memories – or else likely to arise only by pure chance."

[71] Lehmann explains these two cases as follows:

> Proto-Indo-European *–*a* was a derivational nominal affix with collective meaning. In Latin, it was grammaticalized to the plural marker of neuter nouns, e.g. *ovum* 'egg,' pl. *ova*. In Italian, the Latin neuter nouns have become masculine and form their plural in –*i*. However, –*a* is again used as a derivational collective suffix, e.g. in *muro* 'wall' – *mura*, *uovo* 'egg' – *uova*…in Proto-Germanic, the genitive suffix –s was a flexional ending bound to the word. In Modern English, however, we find such phrases as *the King of England's daughter* and *the man I met yesterday's son*, where the –*s* is agglutinated to a complex NP. (1995:16-18)

[72] Haspelmath bases much of his argument on phonetic characteristics involved in grammaticalization, stating:

> The continuum of phonetic variation can only be shifted upward, leading to the loss of the most clearly articulated variants…the unidirectionality of grammaticalization is a direct consequence of this…since the ease of perception is less important with frequent items, they are subject to greater phonetic reduction…the reverse development is impossible. (1998:321-322)

It appears, however, that phonetic qualities play a lesser role in degrammaticalization than in grammaticalization, certainly so in the particular cases dealt with in this present study.

Yet at about the same time others such as Harris & Campbell (1995:337) refuted these declarations, asserting that true examples of reverse-cline movement, while undoubtedly less common, are present in certain languages. To prove this, these authors cited the example of the Old Estonian clitics *–es* and *–ep*, which historically marked questions or exclamations but later functioned as independent words in sentence-initial position. Such examples demonstrate, however, that cases of degrammaticalization typically do not move through the entire cline but rather only show movement of one step (Norde 2009:8).[73] It is now the general consensus that category innovations between bound and free elements can occur in both directions; that is to say that a free element can become bound and a bound become free, lexical items can become more grammatical and viceversa. In both such changes there can be either a loss or acquisition of certain grammatical features such as gender, number, case and tense markers.[74]

Within degrammaticalization there are also three main subdivisions: *degrammation*, *deinflectionalization*[75] and *debonding*, that last of which refers to leftward cline movement with affixes and is therefore the most relevant for this present study. Degrammation is uncommon in languages and is seen when a functional word gains semantic and morphosyntactic traits, such as when the preposition *up* becomes a lexical verb in phrases like *to up the volume*. Deinflectionalization refers fundamentally to the loss of paradigmacity, such as the possessive –s in English and Swedish which historically marked the genitive but now is the lone remnant of the lost substantival case system.

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[73] However, Norde (2009:8) also points out that in certain cases of debonding there is a possibility of "jumping over" an intermediate step.
[74] In the literature, there are many examples of this, such as the English word *while* that was originally a noun meaning 'moment, period of time' and as such was capable of marking grammatical number (*whiles*), yet has since shifted to a temporal conjunction and no longer holds that capacity (Ramat 2001:398).
[75] Also referred to as *deflexion* by Willis (2007:274).

In summary, then, the following simplified tree chart can help to clarify the relationships between the numerous terms/phenomena cited in the literature, from the most general (*recategorization*, etc.) to the most specific (*degrammation*, *deinflectionalization*, *debonding*). Those terms which include the phenomena analyzed in this present study are presented in bold:[76]

Recategorization [or *category shift*, *relisting*, etc.]
A change of word/morpheme category

Conversion
Free > Free
category change
Google N > *Google* V

Grammaticalization
Rightward cline movement
(lexical >>>>> grammatical)
Cantare habeo > *cantaré*

Degrammaticalization
Leftward cline movement
(lexical <<<<< grammatical)

Degrammation
Semantic or
morphosyntactic
gain with functional word
(*to up the volume*)

Deinflectionalization
Loss of paradigmacity
(historical -s genitive in
English/Swedish)

Debonding
Bound > Free
movement with affix
(-*ism* > *ism* N)

The specific phenomenon most directly dealt with here is therefore *debonding*, which involves the degrammaticalization of a derivational affix, in this case, prefixes. Compared with other types of category change in languages, fewer examples exist of debonding, and like degrammaticalization itself, its seldom occurrence led many to doubt its existence entirely. Haspelmath (1998:347), for instance, states firmly that "there are at most a few cases of affixes turning into phrasal clitics (like Scandinavian and perhaps English genitival -*s*), but no good examples of affixes turning into free words." Yet in the last few decades several scholars have

[76] Terms, definitions and examples primarily follow those used by Hopper & Traugott (2003); Nagano (2008); Norde (2009) and Ramat (2001). Arrangement is my own.

refuted this. One of the more referenced examples is that presented by Doyle (2002:68), who documents how the inflectional suffix *–maid* (1st person plural) in Early Modern Irish (c.1200-1600) has since become the independent 1st person plural pronoun *muid* 'we' in the modern Irish spoken in the Conomara region:

Molfa-maid Praise.FUT-1pl 'We will praise'	(Early Modern Irish)
Molfaid *muid* Praise.FUT we 'We will praise'	(Contemporary Conomara Irish)

Norde (2009:207-209, 220-225) lists a few more documented cases, such as the following:

1] *Haga* in Northern Saami (spoken primarily in the region of Finnmark, Norway), which was formerly an absessive case marker but has subsequently become a free adverbial element meaning 'without,' either preposed or postposed.

2] The prefix *bö* in Northern Swedish, historically a transitivizing affix (*be-*) found in verbs such as *behöva* 'to need,' which can now be used as a verb in certain contexts with the meaning 'need.'

3] The English suffix *ish*, which has become a free morpheme with the interpretation 'sort of' or 'kind of.'

Debonding, like most examples of language evolution, occurs slowly over time during which there is typically a transition period, sometimes very long, and equivalent forms will exist concurrently, thus representing a change of A > A~B > B:[77]

[77] At times referred to as *gradualness* (Brinton & Closs Traugott 2005:26-27; Closs Traugott & Trousdale 2010:23; Hopper & Closs Traugott 2003:49).

> (…) When an innovated form B enters the grammar alongside of an older form A, it does so abruptly…however…the spread is gradual…Older and newer forms coexist for individual speakers as well as for communities over time. Indeed, A probably never "becomes" B without an intermediary stage in which A and B coexist. (Hopper & Closs Traugott 2003:46-47)

These same authors go on to state that it is through the overall accumulation of individual acts of innovation that change occurs in language, and the transition stage could last even centuries. The older forms may or may not completely fall away at a given point in the future, and it is therefore not always immediately clear whether they constitute merely sporadic innovations or permanent language change. In the opinion of Brinton & Closs Traugott:

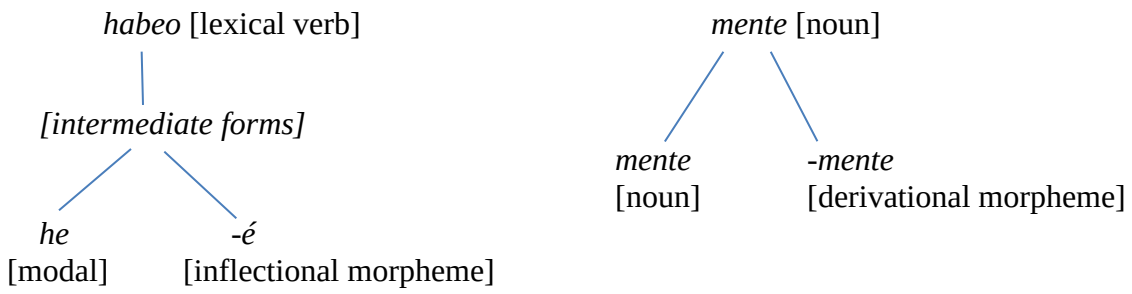
> Textual evidence suggests that many changes involve periods of relative indeterminacy in which it is not clear whether the older or the newer usage is in evidence; in other words, the steps may be tentative at first. Indeed, the first steps may never result in change, in the sense of acceptance by a community of speakers. (2005:26)

When the innovations become more established, however, what often has occurred historically is a split in functions which results in two separate lexical entries, a phenomenon sometimes referred to as *divergence*, which Willis explains as follows:

> Grammaticalization [and degrammaticalization] frequently leads to the split or divergence of a single item. As is grammaticalizes in one context, it remains ungrammaticalized in another [or vice-versa], and the two diverge, resulting in independent lexical items, and independent subsequent histories. (2007:296)

As this author notes, this phenomenon is not limited to debonding but is also observed in many cases of both grammaticalization and degrammaticalization. For instance, in both examples mentioned above regarding grammaticalization in Spanish, divergence is clearly exemplified, since the lexical verb *habeo* gave way not only to the inflectional future morpheme

–é but also the modal verb *he* from the present perfect tense. Likewise, the noun *mente* grammaticalized as an adverbial marker but still survives as a noun as well in modern Spanish. The split can be simply seen as follows:



As these examples show, the original category can be maintained entirely with no alteration, like with *mente*, or it can be lost, as is the case with *habeo*, whose remnants no longer function as lexical verbs. In both instances, however, there has been divergence.

As Doyle (2002:79) has noted, debonding is also much more likely to take place when the morpheme in question is morphologically and semantically transparent. When there is a clear division in the speakers mind, it is logically more likely to gain syntactic independence.[78] The final result, then, can be viewed simply as a syntactic representation of what has already occurred on the morphological and semantic level. Such characteristics are certainly observable in various examples with neoclassical prefixes, as with the previously mentioned *los macroíndices* > *los índices macro*, in which the syntactic adjustment shows debonding of the prefix. Numerous changes that follow this pattern will be examined in section 3.3, where it will be argued that these represent the beginnings of the degrammaticalization process.

[78] This is not to be confused with category status, which is often fuzzy and leads to reanalysis, as will be discussed in the following section. A morpheme can be transparent in meaning and structure but categorically fuzzy.

1.6.2 Reanalysis and ambiguity

One of the most important phenomena related to recategorization of any kind is reanalysis, which has long been recognized in diachronic studies as a mechanism for many morphosyntactic innovations. While some scholars such as Haspelmath (1998) have voiced the opinion that reanalysis is less significant than previously thought, Harris & Campbell maintain the following:

> Reanalysis has been the most important concept for most attempts to explain syntactic change throughout the history of linguistics…not all diachronic developments in the domain of syntax involve reanalysis…but this is clearly a major mechanism of syntactic evolution which we must understand (…) (1995:61, after Langacker 1977:57)

Simply put, reanalysis refers to an adjustment in interlocutor conception regarding a given linguistic element yet "does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation" (Harris & Campbell 1995:61). These authors later cite the example of the French negating element *pas*, which originally was used only as an intensifier of *ne*, but due to the frequency in which these appeared together they were reanalyzed as an obligatory pair. As a result, *pas*, which was originally not required in negations, became so over time. This type of change can occur on many linguistic levels and is certainly not limited to syntax.

One fundamental characteristic of reanalysis is its covert nature, which Hopper & Closs Traugott explain as follows:

> In reanalysis, the hearer understands a form to have a structure and a meaning that are different from those of the speaker, as when [Hamburg] + [er] 'item of food from Hamburg' is heard as [ham] + [burger]. Sooner or later someone substitutes the word *cheese* or *beef* for *ham*; but this substitution is merely the symptom of a change that has already occurred silently. The reanalysis is covert until some recognizable modification in the forms reveals it. (2003:50)

Reanalysis is thus "covert" since it takes place on the interpretive level in the mind of the interlocutor, but becomes manifest in the production of innovative forms such as *veggieburger*, *cheeseburger*, etc. It is in this way that analogous forms can prove or confirm that reanalysis has occurred.

While not always the case, the category of the words/morphemes in which such changes take place is often ambiguous or fuzzy. Lack of clarity with respect to morpheme category (and at times semantic interpretation) thus plays a major role in various types of recategorization (Brinton & Closs Traugott 2005:26; Willis 2007:273). According to scholars such as Harris & Campbell (2007:70), true ambiguity requires at least two possible interpretations that are distinct from one another, such as in the phrase "visiting relatives can be dangerous." The structural ambiguity is seen in the following two interpretations based on the category of the word *visiting*:

Visiting as a gerund:

Visiting relatives can be dangerous. = 'It can be dangerous to visit relatives.'

Visiting as an adjective:

Visiting relatives can be dangerous. = 'Relatives that visit can be dangerous.'

Reanalysis is therefore made possible by the ambiguity regarding the word category of the term *visiting*, indeed, "reanalysis presupposes a potential structural ambiguity" (Haspelmath 1998:326). However, ambiguity does not always affect the semantic interpretation to the same degree as the previous example. This is observable in many instances, such as the adjective/adverb fuzziness observable in both English and Spanish, particularly among common

terms like *fast* and *slow* in identical syntactic sequences (*subject + verb + adjective/adverb*), which show variation in the adverbial structures:

> He is slow (adjective). He works slow/slowly (adverb).[79]
>
> Él es lento (adjective). Él trabaja lento/lentamente (adverb).

These are good examples of category fuzziness without significant effect on semantic interpretation, which is also the case with the majority of instances with neoclassical prefixes.

In previous studies, reanalysis has been argued to be a significant factor in certain cases of debonding. For instance, in the specific example with the Northern Saami *haga* 'without' mentioned previously, Norde (2009:234) argues that reanalysis of word boundary has been the primary factor in the observed innovation. In regard to structural or categorial ambiguity, Baker claims the following:

> Many words one usually thinks of as being a member of one category can also be used as members of another category in a suitable context…such ambivalence of category is fairly widespread, and can be exploited in creative ways by speakers in response to a particular communicative situation. (2003:266-267)

Among the "widespread" examples in modern languages, there are certain qualities that can contribute to fuzziness, particularly in regard to morphological ending, and some forms are more prone to reanalysis than others, as Willis argues:

> For a grammatical item to be reanalyzed as a verb, it must look as though it has some appropriate form of person, number and tense marking. Similarly, for it to degrammaticalize as a noun, it must look as though it has some appropriate form of case and number marking. This situation must arise by chance (…) (2007:303)

[79] In the case of English *fast*, category fuzziness, combined with high token frequency, has likely contributed to the severe reduction of the adverbial form *fastly*, which in modern English is virtually obsolete (OED s.v.). *Fast* is now the standard form for both adjectival and adverbial uses.

In other words, the fuzzy nature of certain category memberships is exacerbated by "chance" morphological forms. This appears to be the case with certain neoclassical prefixes included in this present study, particularly those ending in –o such as *macro*, *micro* and *(p)seudo*. Due to the fact that the –o is the default ending for the majority of descriptive adjectives in Spanish, it is much more likely that they can be re-interpreted as such. Take for instance, constructions such as *medio hermano* 'half brother' (preposed adjective) versus *pseudohermano* '(pseudo)brother' (prefix), both of which have the same ending (–o), the same function (they modify a noun) and are in a similar syntactic position (immediately before the modified noun). Once speakers begin viewing the latter as equivalent to the former, constructions such as *pseuda hermana* '(pseudo)sister' logically will follow, being formed in the likeness of *media hermana* 'half sister.' Thus the "chance" ending –o in all likelihood contributes to reanalysis by adding to the fuzzy nature of their category status.[80] Category fuzziness is thus directly related to cline movement in either direction, and as will be seen in section 3.3, the data suggest that this is the case with debonding of neoclassical prefixes.

1.6.3 Clippings

As will be shown in section 3.3, many of the neoclassical prefixes included here have been recategorized as nouns as a result of clipping. Clipped forms, especially those that involve affixes, have been deemed examples of degrammaticalization (Brinton & Closs Traugott 2005:60; Norde 2009:223).[81] In both English and Spanish these can be seen, as with the prefixes *ex* < *ex-husband*, etc., *bi* < *bisexual* and *híper* < *hipermercado* 'large supermarket' (Brinton &

[80] See section 3.3.7 for further discussion of this prefix and its relation to forms like *medio*.
[81] Referred to in Brinton & Closs Traugott (2005:60) as *syntacticization*, yet with the same qualities as *degrammaticalization* in this present study, that is, changes that involve "a bound morpheme acquiring status as a lexeme."

Closs Traugott 2005:60). Yet due to the fact that many clippings do not involve bound morphemes, they are not all examples of degrammaticalization.

As a general definition, Bauer & Huddleston (2002:1634) state that the term *clipping* suggests a "cutting off a part of an existing word or phrase to leave a phonologically shorter sequence." These forms then constitute a new base, which can in turn accept derivational or inflectional affixes according to the language in question. Such forms are common in language, and the motivation for them is based almost exclusively on their phonological efficiency.[82] *Advertisement*, for example, pronounced /'ædvər¸taizmınt/ in standard American English, is commonly clipped to *ad* /æd/, thus resulting in a reduction of four syllables to one. It is not difficult to see, then, why they appear so frequently in modern language. Due to their nature, clippings most often occur in frequently used terms that are polysyllabic, and parallel forms often can be observed in English and Spanish (English: *professor* > *prof*; *photograph* > *photo;* Spanish*: profesor/a* > *profe*, *fotografía* > *foto*). However, differences can be seen in some parallels, since English clips both word-initial and word-final elements, whereas Spanish tends to clip word-final elements only (English: *basketball* > *ball;* Spanish *basquetbol* > *básquet*).[83]

The examples given above provide good evidence of the fact that clippings adopt regular morphological characteristics of the language in question, and in the case of nouns this is most evident in pluralization. For instance, whether the clipped form represents a true morpheme in the original term or not, it becomes a base to which regular plural morphemes attach: English *professor* > *prof* > *profs*, Spanish *professor* > *profe* > *profes*. As will be dicussed in further

[82] As mentioned in section 1.2, clippings are classified as neologisms by many. That is to say that alongside derivation, composition and others, it is a productive method in modern Spanish and English, yet certainly one that is less commonly used. For example, Ayto's (1996:184) study of the English lexicon, mostly between the 1970s and early 1990s, showed that these forms constituted less than 3% of all neologisms during that time period.
[83] Clippings that result in the loss of word-initial elements can occur in Spanish, such as *muchacha* 'girl' > *chacha*, yet these are quite rare (Álvarez de Miranda 2009:150).

detail in section 3.3, the same occurs with clipped neoclassical prefixes such as *hipermercado* > *híper* > *híperes* and *supermercado* > *súper* > *súperes*.

Clippings also appear to be directly tied to cultural changes, and have thus increased in modern society, becoming particularly common during the second half of the 20th century (Álvarez de Miranda 2009:149). As Lang points out:

> The advance of clipping at the present time is remarkable. Like acronymy, blending, and back formation it is part of the desire for a type of streamlined synthetic language conforming with modern lifestyles. The stylistic dimension of clipping is particularly marked and…it represents a dynamic area of modern language change, with consequences for the grammar as much as for the lexis. (1990:201)

Both English and Spanish can attest to this, as countless examples can be seen in modern language, with new clippings being formed regularly (*picture* > *pic*, *televisión* 'television' > *tele*, *universidad* 'university' > *uni*, etc.).[84] As these demonstrate, this type of word formation most regularly occurs with nouns,[85] and the clipped form does not alter word category (*fotografía* N 'photograph' > *foto* N). As nouns, they in turn may take determiners or modifiers, and even be used in compounds (*una minifoto* 'miniphotograph,' *una fotonovela* 'photonovel').

Such forms, then, represent a formal change without affecting the semantic interpretation of the element in question. In other words, *una foto* means the same thing as *una fotografía*, just as *el súper* means the same as *el supermercado* (Lang 1990:200). This is true at least when the

[84] While clipping is widely observed in the world's languages, Bauer & Huddleston (2002:1635) say that speakers of some dialects and languages are more prone to clipping than others. English speakers overall seem more apt to do so than Spanish speakers, and within the English language Australians tend to clip more than the British.

[85] In English there are some examples of what appear to be clipped verb forms, but in all likelihood are rather converted nouns and not originally clipped as verbs. For example, the form *to photo* (< *to photograph*) is an acceptable verb in modern English, yet in all likelihood is a converted form that originates from the noun (*photograph* N > *photo* N > *photo* V). Compare the equivalent Spanish construction, which is not acceptable: *fotografía* N > *foto* N > **foto* V. While verbal clippings do not appear to exist in Spanish either, there are examples of certain common phrases combining and subsequently being clipped (*fin de semana* 'weekend' > *finde; por favor* 'please' > *porfa*) (Álvarez de Miranda 2009:150).

clippings are recently formed. Over time, however, there can be a semantic breach in which two separate terms are maintained in the lexicon with differing values despite having the same origin. For example, *fan* in modern English was originally a clipping of *fanatic*, but is now used primarily in sports or entertainment registers with the value 'enthusiast' or simply 'someone who likes X.' Although both *fan* and *fanatic* still maintain semantic similarity, their values have drifted enough to where they are now undoubtedly viewed as separate lexical items (Bauer & Huddleston 2002:1634; OED s.v.). When clippings first appear, they tend to abound mostly in informal registers, while both the complete and clipped form exist side by side as a doublet. Yet over time a widely used clipping can replace the original term in virtually all registers, such as *movie* < *moving picture* in English and *mega* < *megabyte* in Spanish (Bauer & Huddleston 2002:1635; Quirk et al. 1985:1581).

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF NEOCLASSICAL PREFIXES IN SPANISH

After some preliminary comments on corpus research and prestige in classical languages, in this chapter I give a diachronic summary of the eight prefixes included in this study, beginning with a brief analysis of their use in the classical languages and then their presence in Spanish up until the end of the 19th century. It is here argued that in the majority of cases, these elements have existed in isolated and non-productive contexts in Spanish for centuries after being borrowed from Greek (via Latin). Although they were present in the language, they did not become significantly productive until the middle or late 19th and early 20th century (with the exception of *(p)seudo-*, which shows productivity beginning at least as early as the middle 18th century). Since then there has been a productive boom with all of these elements, which includes expansion to general and informal contexts, and semantic and morphosyntactic changes, as will be detailed in chapter three.

2.1 Corpus data in research

The data from both chapter two and three are mainly due to certain technological advances that have made possible research methods that only fifty years ago were unthinkable, namely, the use of the electronic corpus or database. Throughout the rest of this present study, the principal source of morphological and lexical information will come from this type of source, ten of which will be regularly consulted. These can be broken down as follows:

1] *Corpus Diacrónico del Español* (CORDE) – Corpus of historical Spanish

2] *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* (CREA) – Corpus of modern Spanish

3] *Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI* (CORPES XXI) – Corpus of modern Spanish

4] *Corpus del Español* (CE) – Corpus of historical and modern Spanish.[86]

5] *El País* (EP) – Modern Spanish electronic newspaper (Spain)

6] *El Universal* (EUM) – Modern Spanish electronic newspaper (Mexico)

7] *El Universal* (EUV) – Modern Spanish electronic newspaper (Venezuela)

8] *La Nación* (LN) – Modern Spanish electronic newspaper (Argentina)

9] *La República* (LR) – Modern Spanish electronic newspaper (Perú)

10] *Perseus Digital Library* (PDL) – Ancient Greek and Latin archive and corpus

These sources will provide the necessary data concerning the prefixes in question, both on a diachronic and synchronic level. As Bauer (2004:103) has argued, comparing the contents from several representative sources increases the likelihood of more genuine overall results, and for this reason I have attempted to include those mentioned above. Generally put, the greater the number of sources, the better, and the bigger those sources are, the better. Sheer size, of course, is not the only factor of consequence and many others should be considered, including register and diatopic/diastratic variation. The Spanish language sources, although far from perfect, will provide more than sufficient data concerning these factors as well.

In the present study, the most comprehensive and authoritative sources of those above are from the *Real Academia Española* (CORDE, CREA and CORPES XXI), and will lay the foundation for all the data included here. The more specific databases that will be consulted (#5-#9) are national newspapers that are based in the country's capital city: *El País* (EP) in Madrid

[86] According to their respective websites, CORDE includes ~236.000.000 words from the years 1200-1975, 97% of which come from books and 3% from the press; 74% of the texts are from Spain and 26% from the Americas or Sephardic communities. CREA includes ~154.000.00 words from 1975-2004, 44% from books, 44% from the press, 10% from transcribed speech and 2% from miscellaneous written sources (emails, chats, pamphlets, etc.); 50% of the data comes from Spain and 50% from the Americas. CORPES XXI is the most recent corpus from the RAE and is a work in progress as of 2015. It includes at least 160.000.000 words from various written and oral sources starting in 2001 (www.rae.es). The CE corpus contains ~100.000.000 words from the 13th-20th centuries, ~20.000.000 of which are from the 20th century (www.corpusdelespanol.org).

(www.elpais.com), *El Universal* (EUM) in Mexico City (www.eluniversal.com.mx), *El Universal* (EUV) in Caracas (www.eluniversal.com), *La Nación* (LN) in Buenos Aires (www.lanacion.com.ar) and *La República* (LR) in Lima (www.larepublica.pe). Although smaller and more restrictive, these have proven to be of great usefulness in collecting lexical data that do not otherwise appear in the larger sources such as those of the *Real Academia*. In addition to this, they were chosen primarily for the following reasons:

1] Being national and widely consulted newspapers published in their respective capital cities, they are therefore significant representatives of the standard language of those regions.

2] They represent distinct varieties of the Spanish language.

3] They provide very recent material and are updated on a daily basis.

4] They primarily contain language of the press, which, as García Platero (2009:326) says, provides an essential source for measuring fluctuation in vocabulary.[87]

Also of great importance will be the Perseus Digital Library classical corpus (Tufts University), which provides crucial data concerning the ancient Greek and Latin languages. Other relevant reference works for this study will be the Martí Antonín's *Diccionario de neologismos de la lengua española* (1998) and Alvar-Ezquerra's two editions of *Diccionario de voces de uso actual* (1994 and 2003). These will be particularly helpful due to the fact that they provide a concrete definition for the individual terms, something that is not always the case when dealing with other lexical resources.

[87] Others such as Hurtado González (2003) have also recognized the significance of language used in the press.

Electronic linguistic corpora and other similar resources, although inevitably limited in scope, continue to present ground-breaking possibilities for modern researchers. As Bauer (2004:97-103) has said, attempts have been made throughout history to gather and analyze quantitative language data, such as Edmond Edmont's famous questionnaires that he distributed and collected throughout France in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, yet the enhancement of computer databases in the last few decades has expanded this method of study tremendously. This same author goes on to claim that, although the majority of studies on language variation and change have in a sense been corpus based (given the fact that they deal primarily with a specific and limited body of literature), modern electronic storage and search capacities have enabled researchers to obtain and examine information more effectively than ever, and in ever-increasing measures. Examples are now much more readily obtained and can be measured numerically in a more accurate way.

Despite these advances, corpus-based research still presents a few significant limitations, one of which is the problem of accurate representation of real language use. In other words, in the samples analyzed there ideally needs to be an authentic reflection of how people genuinely speak and write on a regular basis. Given that any source will be incomplete, there can certainly be more or less correlation with general speech and writing in some corpora than in others. The goal, of course, is to obtain the best possible material. When dealing diachronically, another limitation is the lack of historical documentation. We simply have restricted access to language of the past, particularly to everyday speech. What has survived represents for the most part formal registers that in many cases are artificial or belong only to the elite members of society. If it were otherwise, the results and conclusions would perhaps be different. As William Labov has famously said in his *Principles of Linguistic Change*:

> (…) Historical linguistics, then, can be thought of as the art of making the best use of bad data…there are some limitations of the data that cannot be compensated for…we usually know very little about the social position of the writers and not much more about the social structure of the community. Though we know what was written, we know nothing about what was understood, and we are in no position to perform controlled experiments on cross-dialectal comprehension. Our knowledge of what was distinctive and what was not is severely limited (…) (1994:11)

Although the linguist's lot has greatly improved with the technological boom, similar things could be said about the use of corpora in synchronic research. Although they represent an exciting innovation in the academic world, they are not free of problems. Ideally, the best analysis possible would only be obtained by first having full access to all speakers of a given system, yet as Halliday et al. have pointed out, this is simply not possible even today:

> Corpus linguistics can never give us the full picture…all corpus linguistics can do is work with a (suitable) sample of the discourse... [W]e can compile larger and larger corpora, and we can also use the ever-growing Internet as a vital corpus. Nevertheless, as new words and phrases are coined day by day, it is conceptually impossible to come up with a corpus that comprises the whole vocabulary of a discourse community. There will always be words which are not contained in our corpus. (2004:99-100 and 104)

Conclusions based primarily on representative data are inevitable in corpus linguistics. Cantos (2012:104) has affirmed that "decisions about populations usually have to be made on the basis of sample information." This present study fully recognizes these limitations and all the conclusions should therefore be taken with this in mind. However, it should also be said that modern tools such as electronic corpora are extremely valuable, perhaps the most valuable that we have today, and should continue to be fully and regularly utilized, especially for morphosyntactic and lexical research (Bybee 2007:7). In respect to this, Cantos has stated the following:

> Today, corpus linguistics offers some of the most powerful new procedures for the analysis of language…increasing numbers of researchers are seeing the potential benefits of the use of an electronic corpus as a source of empirical language data for their research…the increasing accessibility of linguistic corpora and the belief that theory must be based on language *as it is* have placed empirical research once again at the forefront of linguistics. The immediate implication of this is that linguists will increasingly demand the use of corpora and statistics in their research. (2012:100 and 117)

Corpus-based research is thus likely to continue expanding due primarily to the fact that it can help to more accurately measure variation and change by providing concrete and indisputable examples of real language use. Although the limitations of such sources have been recognized, their positive contributions to current language studies far outweigh the drawbacks. To continue developing more reliable electronic sources should be one of the primary goals of modern linguistics, since it is only by detailed documentation of the more familiar and casual discourse that scholars will truly be able to analyze what is really occurring in the language and thereby be able to make more accurate claims in regard to its variation and change. There have been many steps in the right direction (CORPES XXI, modern newspaper databases) to develop sources that not only include a greater number of documents but also a wider range of semantic contexts, and these must continue if studies in this field are to continue advancing.

2.2 Classical languages and prestige

The immense influence that the Greek and Latin languages have had throughout history is undeniable. Together they are reasonably to be considered two of the most significant European languages ever, given their social and linguistic prominence through space and time. However, many have come to extreme conclusions to explain the reasons behind such influence, and the belief in the superiority of the classical languages was a widespread opinion for many

centuries in Western Europe and can be seen even well into the modern era.[88] It is therefore necessary to mention here that this present study does not endorse the opinion held by some throughout history that the classical languages themselves have in some way been superior to others. In fact, it is here emphasized that there is no particularly special linguistic aspect of either Greek or Latin that has been directly related to its social prominence. The popularity that these languages have enjoyed is unquestionably a result of extra-linguistic factors.

Recent linguistic theory has plainly affirmed this idea, both in regard to languages as to varieties within the same language system (Harlow 1998:9-11). Trudgill, a pioneer and one of the most recognized authorities in modern sociolinguistics, says the following:

> (…) The scientific study of language has convinced scholars that all languages and correspondingly all dialects are equally 'good' as linguistic systems. All varieties of a language are structured, complex, rule-governed systems which are wholly adequate for the needs of their speakers. If follows that value judgments concerning the correctness and purity of linguistic varieties are social judgments (…) (2000:8)

Fromkin, Rodman & Hyams agree when they assert that "any judgments as to the superiority or inferiority of a particular dialect or language are social judgments" (2003:457).

Much has been done in recent decades as well in studies related to two or more varieties of the same language. Labov, another pioneer and leader in the field, conducted a study that analyzed the linguistic differences between "standard" American English and the African-American variety of New York City, the latter of which has been an object of prejudice for

[88] Mateos (1955:15-16), for example, maintains that the characteristics of the Greek language are among "the richest and most perfect" ever and later declares that the writings of Classical authors such as Xenophon and Demosthenes represent a pure language of reason and passion, while later varieties became "corrupted" with foreign elements. Equal praise has been given to Latin, by those such as Conde de los Andes, the author of an article titled "El noble latín" published in 1964. In this work, the traditional prejudice against vernacular tongues is maintained even to the point of holding extreme opinions such as the following: "[N]o existe lengua superior ni parecida siquiera al latín…el latín supera a todos los idiomas por la variedad y libertad de la construcción…refleja como ninguno los movimientos de la imaginación (…)" (1964:207).

generations due in part to its supposed structural inferiority. Although he of course recognizes the grammatical and phonological differences between the two, his conclusion is as follows:

> There is nothing in the [African-American] vernacular which will interfere with the development of logical thought, for the logic of standard English cannot be distinguished from the logic of any other dialect of English by any test we can find (…) (1972:229)

It is equally certain that neither Greek nor Latin were better at communicating logic, passion or any other human expression; that has been done daily in all languages since the beginning of our species.

That being said, it is important to point out two basic principles which directly apply to this issue. First, it is certainly true that every system has developed vocabulary in certain areas more so than in others, depending on social needs or interests. For example, in many indigenous languages there is a higher percentage of words relating to the flora and fauna since that is a more relevant area in their society, while languages like English and German often do not make the same distinctions. Evans (1998:165), in his article about the structural complexity of the aboriginal languages of Australia, writes that "[Languages] tend to have the richest vocabulary in those areas in which their speakers have been interested long enough to develop specialized terms." If this is true of aboriginal languages it is also true of the classical languages. Greek had multiple terms that sprung from their interest and prowess in politics, philosophy and warfare, yet there were unquestionably other areas where their vocabulary was less particular.

Second, it is an obvious truth that the world's grammatical systems differ from each other, at least on the surface level. A language like Spanish has highly inflected verbal paradigms and a greater number of personal pronouns than a language like English (Spanish distinguishes between the first person plural masculine *nosotros* and the feminine *nosotras*, and

between the second person singulars *usted*, *tú* and *vos*, while English only has *we* and *you*), yet English has the capacity to form numerous phrasal verbs by simply changing the preposition that follows (*go in*, *go out*, *go up*, *go down*) while Spanish uses an entirely different root to express these same ideas (*entrar*, *salir*, *subir*, *bajar*). All of this serves to illustrate that languages can express what its speakers deem necessary and they do so by using different methods, yet that does not prove that any particular system is better than the others.

It is no secret, then, that some languages enjoy more social prestige than others, as is clearly true of Greek and Latin. The question arises, then, as to why this is so. Modern sociolinguists such as those mentioned above affirm that, fundamentally, prestigious varieties are simply those spoken by prestigious people, and non-prestigious varieties are those spoken by non-prestigious people. Linguistic prestige can be caused by many factors but none of them is based on structure of the system itself (Trudgill 2000:8-13). In support of this is the already mentioned modern English, which right now is enjoying just as much prestige and social influence as Latin and Greek did in the past, if not more so due to revolutionary innovations in global communication. Much like with the classical tongues throughout history, people over many regions and professions study English and use countless English terms on a daily basis, yet the structure of these languages differs greatly: English has limited morphology, rigid syntax and an orthographic system that is often proven erratic and confusing. It would be highly unsound to assert that the English language is prestigious due to its structural superiority. It is prestigious mainly because those who speak it have political power and economic success, in the same way that those who spoke Latin and Greek did in their time.

This being the case, it would be convenient here to briefly mention a few factors that most likely have contributed to the prestige that the Greek and Latin languages have enjoyed for

so many centuries. Although many could be listed, four are the most noteworthy.[89] First, Greek and Latin were some of the earliest well-documented European languages. The Greek and Roman empires are often considered the foundation of western civilization due at least in part to the significant amount of written documents that have survived from those eras. This is especially the case in regard to literary works, although not limited to them. We know that there were undoubtedly people groups in those same regions long before the Greeks or Romans came along, but our knowledge of them and their languages is very limited in comparison. Due to this, these languages are often viewed as the beginning of modern European languages, and are treated as such from an etymological standpoint.

The second reason is that many Greeks and Romans were renowned scholars of their day. In addition to Thales being considered the father of philosophy, it is well-known that other Greek philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle have enjoyed immense fame and influence for over two thousand years, and their ideas helped form the foundation of modern thinking. Western medicine also can trace the origin of many practices and teachings to ancient Greece and even today it is common for doctors to formally begin their careers with the Hippocratic oath, which supposedly can be traced back the ancient scholar Hippocrates. Other notable Greeks and Romans left a permanent mark in modern learning as well, such as Archimedes and Pythagoras in mathematics, Herodotus and Livy in history and Homer, Cicero and Virgil in literature.

Third, the Greeks and Romans had political prowess and military fame. It is no secret that ancient leaders such as Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar are considered among the finest of all time, and even before them there were formidable military forces in Greece, including the famous Spartans, who continue to be revered and honored by modern Western

[89] While others have undoubtedly held similar views, the arguments here proposed are my own.

society. No doubt Greek prestige advanced along with Alexander's empire, and their invasions facilitated the spread of *koine* as the lingua franca of that era. The same is true as well for the Latin language, which spread almost exclusively via military conquest.

The fourth and last explanation of the prestige that these two classical languages have enjoyed is that they are both significant in ecclesiastical history. The earliest and most authentic copies that survive of the New Testament, although they contain clear Semitic influence, are written totally in Greek (Metzger 1971:xvi-xxxi).[90] The fact that Greek had continued to be used under Roman rule well into the first and second centuries C.E. demonstrates the level of influence that that language enjoyed in the ancient world. While Latin was widely spoken as well, it never eradicated Greek in the eastern regions of the Roman Empire, despite the fact that the Romans had gained complete political and military control of that area. Yet with the translation of the Vulgate by Jerome, Latin later took over in the Christian Church, and became the foundation for all learning throughout Europe for well over a millennium.

2.3 Historical background of *anti-*

2.3.1 Ἀντί in ancient Greek[91]; *anti-* in Latin borrowings

[90] There is much debate in academic circles surrounding the authorship of many New Testament books. However, two things are generally agreed upon by the majority of scholars: 1] Most of the earliest Christians were Jews who natively spoke Aramaic. 2] The books of the New Testament as they are today were written originally in Koine Greek. It is possible that some may have first been composed in Aramaic, yet no Aramaic text that could have been the original document has been discovered, while multiple fragments in Greek begin to appear as early as the 2nd century C.E. (Benware 1993:105; Miller & Huber 2004:238; see also Ehrman 2004 and 2009).

[91] In the sections that include analysis of the original Greek, for each word there will be fundamental information concerning its use and definition which are derived from several sources, mainly dictionaries and other well-known reference works of the field, such as the *Oxford Classical Greek Dictionary* (cited in this work as OCGD). Other more specific works included are Eseverrí Hualde (1945), Owen & Goodspeed (1969), González Castro (1994) and Metzger (1998). Owen & Goodspeed (1969) deal only with words and corresponding definitions that appear in the writings of Homer, while Metzger (1998) does the same for the New Testament. These particular works are significant since Homer represents the foundation of the documented ancient Greek language, not only one of the earliest but undoubtedly the most influential for writers and readers of all the Western world. Homer was to the Greeks what Shakespeare was to English and Cervantes to Spanish – familiar to all and of enormous cultural and linguistic influence. The *koine* of the New Testament is included due to the fact that it represents a much later

Although its interpretation could vary widely according to context, as is typical of this word class, the preposition ἀντί was used primarily to express two semantic values: 1] 'against' or 'opposite' and 2] 'instead of' or 'in place of'. The first value could be manifested either in a locative sense ("The shelves lean *against* the wall") or a figurative one ("I'm *against* the ideals of the Nazi party.")

'Αντί did not enjoy widespread use during either the classical or the *koine* period. In fact, the surviving texts suggest that it was one of the least used prepositions in ancient Greek. Testimony to this is the fact that it occurs a total of only 25 times in all of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, compared to other words of its class such as ἐπί 'on, about' and κατά 'down, according to', which appear over 500 times each (Owen & Goodspeed 1969:46-47).[92]

Wallace (1996:365-67) and Metzger (1997:25) write that during the classical period, the semantic value of 'instead of' or 'in place of' was not as frequent as 'against' or 'opposite', yet in later centures the former use grew considerably, so much so that it was the principal definition for ἀντί throughout all of the New Testament. Nevertheless, this preposition still continued to occur seldomly in comparison to others. In the New Testament, ἀντὶ appears a mere 21 times, whereas others such as ἐκ 'out', εἰς 'to, toward' and ἐν 'in(side)' are documented several hundred times each (Wallace 1996:357). Throughout the classical and *koine* periods, many authors utilized ἀντί as a prefix for verbal and substantival forms. When this was the case it most regularly carried the value of 'against' or 'opposite', either in a locative or figurative sense. A

(minimum 600 years) and quite distinct variety than that of Homer, but one that is also well-known and historically significant due the large number of ecclesiastical borrowings.

[92] However, it must be pointed out that Homer also employed other words with the same root and similar interpretation, as is the case with the locatives ἄντα, ἄντην and ἀντίον, all of which could express the value of 'facing, opposite.' Even though they appear with equal or greater frequency than ἀντί in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, they are still of much less consequence than other words of the same category.

few examples are ἀντιλέγω 'to speak against, oppose, respond to' and ἀντιπορεύομαι 'to move against/advance against' (OCGD s.v.).

Anti- appears in Latin texts from at least the first century C.E., in transliterated forms such as *antidotum* (from ἀντίδοτον 'a remedy against poison'), *antithesis* (from ἀντίθεσις 'opposition')[93] and *antitypus* (from ἀντίτυπος 'repercussion, counter-blow'). Some of these loanwords are used fairly frequently in surviving texts. For instance, *antidotum* is found over twenty times in Pliny the Elder's masterpiece *Naturalis Historia*, written around the year 77 C.E. (Souter 1949:18; PDL s.v). During the vast majority of the medieval period, several more transliterations entered the academic lexicon, in which the dominant semantic value was 'against' or 'opposite,' such as *antiprosopon* 'an opposing character' (6th century) and *antiphrasis* 'use of a word in a sense contrary to the norm' (9th century). However, there is little evidence to suggest that this prefix was productive with native Latin roots, since all the forms that appear in this time are transliterations with Greek roots. In the sources consulted in this present study there is no example of *anti-* combined with a Latin root until the 12th century[94] (*anticrux* 'rival cross') (Latham 1965:23; Souter 1949:18).

2.3.2 *Anti-* in Spanish from 1200-1900 C.E.

Despite the prevalence of the semantic value 'instead of' or 'in place of' for much of the history of ἀντί in ancient Greek, it was the value 'against' or 'opposite' that survived in the loanwords found in Spanish and indeed in the majority of Hellenisms found in European languages to this day. Although historically there have been a few terms that appear to maintain

[93] *Antithesis* originally was used in Latin as a grammatical term that referred to 'the substitution of one letter for another' (PDL s.v.).
[94] In a Latin text copied in the British Isles, included in Latham (1965:23).

the value of 'instead of' or 'in place of,' there is no evidence to suggest that it was productive in Spanish at any point in history. The surviving semantic value of 'against' or 'opposite' was reduced as well, since its locative sense was lost completely in all neologisms with *anti-* in Spanish.

In the surviving texts from the greater part of the time between the 13th and 18th centuries, *anti-* is found in Spanish only in loanwords with Greek roots, most of which were highly restricted in use, like the previously seen *antiphrasis*, which was maintained from Latin and later written as *antifrasis* and then *antífrasis*. Despite the fact that it appears somewhat frequently in CORDE between the 15th and 19th centuries (approximately 50 times), this term never came to form an integral part of Spanish vocabulary, neither does it represent a semantically transparent loanword.[95] Support of this is the fact that authors gave detailed and complicated explanations of its definition, as in the anonymous work titled *Las Etimologías romanceadas de San Isidoro* (1450):

> (…) Entre yronia e **antifrasis** este departimiento ha: que yronia por sola pronunçiaçión demuestra lo que quiere que se entienda, así commo quando dezimos al ombre que mal faze: "Bien es lo que fazes", e **antifrasis** non significa lo contrario por boz de pronunçiamiento mas tan solamente por sus palabras de aquellos cuya nasçençia es contraria, así commo desuso avemos dicho quando pusimos enxemplo d'ella (…) (CORDE).[96]

Other loanwords with *anti-*, however, were much more historically influential and transparent. One of the earliest and most widespread of such terms is *antichristus* 'anti-Christ,'

[95] The DRAE (s.v.) registers *antífrasis* as "figura que consiste en designar personas o cosas con voces que signifiquen lo contrario de lo que se debiera decir."
[96] Throughout this thesis, the particular terms I wish to highlight in the direct citations will appear underlined and in bold letters. These do not appear thus in the original sources.

which later gave way to *antichristo* and then the modern *anticristo*.[97] Its morphological and semantic transparency is aided by the fact that its root is a well-known proper name, and such transparency is highly likely to have resulted in subsequent analogous forms.[98] This term has been found throughout the centuries in texts written by highly influential authors, from the *Libro de las maravillas del mundo* by Juan de Mandevilla even to *Don Quixote* (book II, chapter VI):

> (…) Don Quijote, volviendo en sí y sosegándose un poco, comenzó a decir: - Rey Don Sancho, rey Don Sancho, no dirás que no te aviso que del cerco de Zamora un traidor había salido. - ¡Mal haya el ánima de **Anticristo**! - dijo Sancho -: estamos con las nuestras en los dientes, y ¡y ahora se pone muy de espacio al romance del rey don Sancho! Vámonos de aquí (…) (CE)

Other similar terms can be found during this time period, such as *antipapa* (1325),[99] which also possesses a certain level of morphological and semantic transparency.[100]

Table 2.1 Historical distribution (1200-1900 C.E.) of *anticristo* and *antipapa* in CE and CORDE[101]

	Anticristo	***Antipapa***	**Totals for both by century**
1200-1299 CE	0	0	**0**
1200-1299 CORDE	0	0	

[97] *Anticristo* has its origin in the *koine* Greek term ἀντιχρίστος, found in the New Testament and later transliterated into Latin as *antichristus*, which appears five times in Jerome's *Vulgate*, and originally referred in the most fundamental sense to any person or idea opposed to Jesus Christ or that rejected him as a spiritual leader (ARTFL). It later came to be more specifically associated with the man mentioned in John's *Revelation* and in Paul's epistle to the Thessalonians, who is presented as a powerful political and military figure in open opposition to Christ.
[98] The OED (s.v.) claims that in English, "the analogy for all these [*anti-Jesuit*, *anti-English*, etc.] seems to have been given by *antichrist* and its adj. *antichristian*, which (with the analogous *antipope*) were almost the only examples in use before 1600." It is probable that the same can be said of all equivalent terms in European languages, including Spanish.
[99] The DRAE defines *antipapa* as "hombre que no está canónicamente elegido Papa y pretende ser reconocido como tal."
[100] Unless otherwise noted, all dates included with specific terms in chapter 2 represent the earliest attestation in CE or CORDE.
[101] Included are plural forms and the early alternative form *antichristo*.

1300-1399 CE 1300-1399 CORDE	5 0	1 1	**7 (2.1%)**
1400-1499 CE 1400-1499 CORDE	10 6	0 18	**34 (10.3%)**
1500-1599 CE 1500-1599 CORDE	32 9	0 18	**59 (17.8%)**
1600-1699 CE 1600-1699 CORDE	165[102] 5	1 7	**178 (53.9%)**
1700-1799 CE 1700-1799 CORDE	3 3	7 6	**19 (5.7%)**
1800-1899 CE 1800-1899 CORDE	5 3	3 22	**33 (10%)**
Total tokens	**246**	**84**	**330 (100%)**

As these examples demonstrate, the earliest terms with *anti-* are substantival with transliterated Greek roots, both in Latin and Spanish. However, there are a few appearances of adjectives and Romance roots with this prefix as early as the 16th century, such as *antinatural* 'unnatural,' which is found in the *Epistolario* by Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (1532):

> (…) No olvidemos que es por completo **antinatural** que el hombre, que fue creado por Dios como «animal sociable» por excelencia, aborrezca el trato con sus semejantes (…) (CE)

[102] Tokens here are inflated due to Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza's *El Antichristo* (1610), which uses the term some 143 times. However, the fact that there were publications bearing that title supports the idea that it was a relatively well-known term at the time.

Yet such terms are very limited in number and the sources consulted here do not suggest that they were widely used. In the 16th to 18th centuries, there is little evidence that *anti-* was productively used in the Spanish lexicon. The terms that are found are academic borrowings such as *antipatía* 'antipathy' (1589), *antipodio* 'antipodes' (1604), and *antilogía* 'antilogy' (1736), all of which have a transliterated Greek root.

Montero Curiel (1998:322) argues that it is in the 19th century when a significant number of neologisms first appear with *anti-* in Spanish and its productivity is evident with native roots. Certain surviving texts, especially those of political nature, contain neologisms with *anti-* and suggest that it was widely used and understood during the 19th century. Juan Valera's *Diez años de controversia parlamentaria* (1868) gives a clear example of this:

> No hay que decir que el señor Pastor Díaz es enemigo del Ejército, antes lo ama; pero quiere un Ejército militar, y no político. No quiere que el Gobierno sea un Estado Mayor; la Ordenanza, Código; los consejos de guerra, tribunales. El Gobierno militar le parece **antimonárquico**, **antiliberal**, **antieuropeo** y **antimilitar** asimismo. (CORDE)

As this citation also demonstrates, during this time period *anti*-begins to be commonly attached to adjectival roots, while systematically expressing the semantic value of 'against, opposed to.' Other adjectival examples of this period include *antisocial* 'antisocial' (1811), *antihigiénico* 'antihygienic' (1856) and *antidemocrático* 'antidemocratic' (1889) (CE; CORDE).

2.4 Historical background of *hiper-*

2.4.1 Ὑπὲρ in ancient Greek; *hyper-* in Latin borrowings

The preposition ὑπὲρ, had wide possibilities of usage that included both locative and figurative interpretations. All the sources consulted in this study concur that there were three principal definitions of this word in ancient Greek: 1] 'above, on top of' (locative), 2] 'excessive,

beyond' and 3] 'instead of, in return for.' While this last definition is present since Homer, it is the least frequent of the three in the surviving texts of the classical centuries. Later on during the *koine* period, however, it's use increased significantly and was even synonymous with ἀντί in certain contexts (Wallace 1996:383).

In Greek compounds ὑπὲρ was considerably versatile, and there are abundant examples that have survived, including with adverbs, a word class that was less commonly joined with prepositions. The following illustrate its wide range of possibilities, both semantically and morphologically: ὑπερεσθίω (verb) 'to eat too much,' ὑπερηφανία (noun) 'arrogance / pride,' (literally: 'appearance above'), ὑπερπόντιος (adjective) 'beyond the sea' and ὑπέρευ (adverb) 'excessively well' (OCGD s.v.).

Textual evidence indicates that a few terms with ὑπὲρ- were adopted into Latin as early as the first century B.C.E. and subsequently transliterated as *hyper-*. Some of the earliest examples of this are the adjective *hyperboreus* 'extreme north,' which is found in Horace's *Odes* from the first century B.C.E. , and the noun *hyperbole* 'exaggeration' used during the following century by both Seneca the Younger in *De Beneficiis* and Quintillian in *Institutio Oratoria* (PDL s.v.). Nevertheless, other than these there is little evidence to suggest that *hyper-* played a prominent role in the Latin language of that time.

In later centuries a few more transliterations are found in the surviving texts, such as *hypermetrus* 'beyond the end of the line/boundary' (4th century) and *hypersarcosis* 'excess of flesh' (5th century), as well as some terms from the 6th century that refer to types of musical scales: *hyperdorius*, *hyperiastius*, *hyperlydius* and *hypermixolydius* (Souter 1949:179). Yet

overall, *hyper*- remained reduced in usage and did not have an influential role in the lexicon during that time period.

2.4.2 *Hiper*- in Spanish from 1200-1900 C.E.

One of the first appearances of a term with *hiper*- (or the alternative *hyper*-) during this time period was *Hyperion*[103] from the Alphonsine *General Estoria II* (13th century). Although it is a proper name, it is relevant due to the fact that the writer offers a clear and concise analysis of its construction and definition:

> (…) Et **Hyperion** diz aqui ell Autor por aquel qui es sobre todo...ca el griego dize hyper por lo que el castellano sobre & dize aun el griego on por lo que el castellano otrossi todo. Onde este nonbre Hyperion conpuesto destas dos palabras Griegas: hyper & on en el griego, tanto quier dezir en el castellano cuemo sobre todo. (CE)

Later in the 15th century others are registered by some very influential lexicographers of that time, such as Alfonso de Palencia. In addition to the already seen *hiperbole* and *hiperboreo*, this scholar also includes *hipérbaton* 'hyperbaton' and *hiperdulia* 'hyperdulia,' the last of which shows *hiper*- functioning as an intensifier, as is illustrated the following definition found in his *Universal vocabulario de latín en romance*:

> Adorare es soberana mente honrar. Tres maneras son de adorar. Ca la veneracion atribuyda alos muy poderosos del siglo se dize dulia. La que se da alos muy santos se llama **hiperdulia**. La adoracion fecha ala diuinidad dizimos la latria. (CE)

During the 16th and 17th centuries, new constructions with *hiper*- appear in Spanish from learned circles, yet these also had Greek roots, like *hipercrítico* 'hypercritic' (1580) and *hiperbasis* 'offence, error' (1662). In the sources consulted here there is no example of this

[103] Name of the mythological father of the sun (Segura Munguía 1985:330).

prefix combined with a non-Greek root until the 19th century. Nevertheless, some terms did enjoy widespread use throughout this period. For example, during several centuries, particularly the 17th and 18th, the most frequently used word with this prefix was the aforementioned *hiperbole* (later *hipérbole*). Besides being somewhat recurrent in the texts (CORDE registers over 75 occurences in 45 documents between 1500 and 1800), it gave way to three other derived forms: the adjective *hiperbólico* (~1550), then the adverb *hiperbólicamente* (1636) and the verb *hiperbolizar* (1664) (CORDE). Yet despite this, it is unlikely to have greatly influenced productivity with *hiper*- in the general lexicon due to its lack of transparency, since the root **bole* is not used independently in Spanish.

Hiper- has been common in the medical field for well over a century with the semantic value of 'excessive(ly).' With medical advances in the 19th century, there was a large influx of new terms like *hipertrofia* 'hypertropy' (1861), *hiperestesia* 'hypersensibility to pain' (1876) and *hiperquinesia* (1887)[104], more so than in most other areas of study. However, due to the fact that they were of a very specialized nature and were not semantically transparent, they most likely had very little influence on the language as a whole. Yet other terms of learning were much more significant. For instance, *hipersolidez/hipersólido* '(hyper)solidity/(hyper)solid' (1865), *hipersecreción* 'hypersecretion' (1876) and *hipersensibilidad* 'hypersensibility' (1890) are some of the first examples of *hiper*- combined with a non-Greek root (CE; CORDE). In addition to that they are also much more semantically transparent since the root in itself is not as restricted as those previously mentioned. It is likely that such terms laid the foundation for this prefix to begin infiltrating informal registers in the following century.

[104] The definition of *hiperquinesia* does not appear in RAE sources. The contexts in which it is used in CORDE suggest it is a type of abdominal malady.

2.5 Historical background of *macro-*

2.5.1 Μακρός in ancient Greek; *macro-* in Latin borrowings

The adjective μακρός primarily expressed the semantic value of 'great distance,' either horizontal 'long/wide' or vertical 'high.' In compounds, it was very regularly used in a chronological sense, such as in the noun μακροθυμία 'patience' (literally 'long spirit/heart'), the adjective μακρόβιος 'long-lived' and the verb μακρολογέω 'to speak for a long time' (OCGD s.v.). Although it was possible to use μακρός in the general sense of 'big', it was less frequent since other words such as μέγας typically were used in those contexts (PDL).

Textual evidence indicates that *macro-* was borrowed into Latin during the 1st century C.E. in a few Greek transliterations. Although they are limited in number, they are found in the writings of some highly influential authors of that time period, such as Quintilian, who was from the region of Hispania that is at present La Rioja, Spain. This author uses μακρολογία in his work *Institutio Oratoria*, which, although written in Latin, is littered with Greek loanwords, some of which even appear written using the Greek alphabet. He reminds his readers that they "should avoid *macrology*, which is the use of more words than necessary."[105] In the same century, in book six of his *Naturalis Historia*, Pliny the Elder refers to the *macrocephali* 'large-headed people' as part of his description of the fictitious region of Themyscira, which was home to the Amazon women (PDL s.v.). It is not clear to what extent these terms were employed in the general language of that time, but their presence in the texts at least confirms their use in some registers.

[105] (…) *Vitanda etiam* ***μακρολογία****, id est longior quam oportet sermo* (*Instituio Oratoria* 8 3:52; PDL).

In subsequent centuries the examples of further borrowings with *macro-* are few in number. Souter (1949:238) registers only two more transliterations before the 6th century: *macrochera* 'with long hands/arms' (4th century) from μακρόχειρα and *macronosia* 'long illness' (5th century) from μακρονοσία.

2.5.2 *Macro-* in Spanish from 1200-1900 C.E.

There is no evidence that suggests *macro-* was widely used in Spanish during the greater part of the medieval and early modern centuries (12th-18th centuries). In the sources consulted here, examples of productivity are non-existent during that entire time period, yet there are some terms that show it at least continued to be present in the language. These were consistently learned words with Greek roots, as is *macrocosmo* 'universe' which appears in Pedro Marín's *Sermones* from the year 1455 (CE). Certain dictionaries and other reference works dealing with Castilian vocabulary also contain a few examples with *macro-*, like Alfonso de Palencia's well-known *Universal vocabulario en latín y en romance* from 1490:

> Piper: arbol que nasçe en India enel lado del monte caucaso tiene las foias semeiantes al enebro…[su] frutto quando no es maduro se llama pimienta luenga & lo incorrupto es blanco & llama se leucopiper que quiere dezir pimienta blanca & **luenga** se llama **macropiper**. (CORDE)

While in this particular quote there is clear morphological division between prefix and root, as well as a plain definition of the prefix itself ("luenga"), the surviving texts do not suggest a prolific use of *macro-* in Spanish during that period.

Besides Palencia's work, others also show that many terms with *macro-* in historical Spanish expressed the semantic value 'long.' Antonio de Nebrija's *Gramática castellana* (1492), another famous work of that same century, registers the previously seen *macrología* as

"luengo rodeo de razones & palabras" (CORDE). In his *Dictionarium latino-hispanicum*, this same author also includes two more words with *macro-*, along with their Latin equivalents, namely the previously seen *macrochir* (sic) 'with long hands/arms' and *macróbios*, which is defined as *longaevus* or 'of long life' (CE). Words like these could have perhaps enjoyed certain diffusion, yet it is sure that they played a minor role in the general lexicon. In all of these the semantic value expressed is 'long,' which is a continuation of the fundamental use of μακρός in ancient Greek.

During the 19th century, there is more documentation of *macro-* appearing frequently in scientific contexts with a more general definition of 'long', 'wide' or 'tall,' particularly in biological terms such as *macrocarpa* 'macrocarpa (tree)' (1801), *macroscópico* 'macroscopic' (1894), *macrospora* 'macrospore' (1896) and *macropoda* 'macropod' (1896) (CORDE). Even so, the productivity of *macro-* in non-specialized language is not present in the sources consulted in this study. In fact, from the 12th to the 19th century there is not one example of such a neologism in the data under examination. Its infiltration into the general Spanish lexicon did not come until the middle of the 20th century.

2.6 Historical background of *mega-*

2.6.1 Μέγας in ancient Greek; *mega-* in Latin borrowings

The sources consulted here agree that the primary and prototypical definition of the adjective μέγας was 'big' or 'large,' and this was true both when used independently as well as when in a compound.[106] As is the case with *big* in English and *grande* in Spanish, μέγας could be used to denote both physical or figurative size (as in *a big building* versus *a big problem*).

[106] When used in a compound it typically had the form μεγα- if paired with masculine roots and μεγαλ(ο)- with feminine ones, but these did not represent semantic variations.

Other secondary values include the idea of ‘greatness’ or ‘exceptional quality’ without reference to size, similar to *great* in the English phrase *a great guy* and the Spanish equivalent *gran(de)* in the phrase *un gran hombre*. The adjective μέγας was also regularly employed as an adverb in the neuter form μέγα, as was the case with similar words in ancient Greek. When adverbial, μέγα commonly acted as a general intensifier with the value ‘much’ (OCGD s.v.).

Μέγας was an extremely common word in ancient Greek, either as a separate adjective or as part of a compound. This is especially true in the works of Homer and other renown classical authors. In fact, it is one of the most frequently used words in all of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, occurring more than 500 times (Owen & Goodspeed 1969:46). In subsequent centuries the popularity of μέγας did not diminish either, as is illustrated by the fact that in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.E. , Herodotus also used it at least 500 times in his *Histories* and Plato some 150 times in the *Republic* alone (PDL). With its rather general definition, compounds in all three principal word classes were commonly seen, such as with the verb μεγαλαυχέω ‘to boast greatly,’ the noun μεγαλοφροσύνη ‘mental greatness, pride’ and the adjective μεγαλεῖος ‘splendid’ (OCGD s.v.).

Interestingly, despite its extreme frequency in ancient Greek, there are virtually no examples of transliterations with *mega-* in Latin. But for a few toponyms and proper names, no source included here registers any Latin terms with *mega-* through the 5th century C.E., with the possible exception of *megalopolis* from μεγαλόπολις ‘large city’ or ‘metropolis,’ which could be used in a general sense or to refer to the specific city by that name in southern Greece (Souter 1949:247).

2.6.2 *Mega-* in Spanish from 1200-1900 C.E.

Mega- does not have a significant history in Spanish. In the sources included in this study, the earliest cases of its use are not documented until the mid-16th century, with the first being *megaduque* '(mega)duke,' found in Jerónimo Zurita's *Anales de la corona de Aragón* (1562):

> Roger casa con una sobrina del emperador de Constantinopla: nómbranle por general del imperio con común, aplauso. Era por esta causa muy estimado y conocido en todo el imperio griego. Y aportando con la armada a Constantinopla le dio el emperador por mujer una sobrina suya, hija del emperador de La Zaura y de su hermana; y fue nombrado luego por general del imperio, que en su lengua vulgar llamaban los griegos **megaduque**, a cuya jurisdicción estaba sujeto el almirante y el gobierno de todas las islas de Romania y los lugares marítimos del imperio. (CORDE)

While this term did not play a major role in the lexicon of that time period, it is unique due to the fact that it has a non-Greek root and is not scientific in nature.[107]

In the 17th to 19th centuries there is no evidence that *mega-* was productive in Spanish nor that it was used in non-specialized contexts. The neologisms that appear are scientific in nature and contain Greek roots, many of which were borrowed from other European languages during the same time period. For instance, *megalítico* (1872) 'monument of large uncut stones' and *megalomanía* (1892) 'delusion of power or self-importance' were adopted in Spanish after the English *megalithic* (1839) and the French *mégalomanie* (1873), neither of which were widespread in use nor transparent in meaning (Block & Wartburg 1964:400; CORDE; OED s.v.).

Nevertheless, despite being rather limited in influence, some of these words represent curious semantic innovations. It is during this time period that *mega-* is first documented to

[107] According to Segura Munguía (1985:233), the Spanish word *duque* has its origins in the Latin *dux* and came via medieval French *duc* in the year 1295.

mean 'one million' in Spanish when used in certain scientific contexts. According to the sources consulted in the present study, this particular semantic value was not included in the Greek μέγας, yet since the 19th century several other terms with it have been adopted throughout Europe. While it is not entirely clear why this innovation came about, what is certain is that the earliest examples are related to the study of electricity and usually paired with the proper name of a prominent member of the field. For instance, the first of the documented terms with this definition, and the only one that appears before 1900 in the sources included here is *megohm*, with an *ohm* being a unit of electrical resistance derived from the German physicist Georg Simon Ohm (OED). While this class of terms became more numerous in the 20th century, *mega-* clearly carried the meaning of 'one million (units)' in Spanish before 1900, albeit in restricted contexts such as the following, from Martín y Santiago's *Material telegráfico de línea* (1888):

> El aislamiento de cada conductor, o sea la resistencia del cauchú al aislamiento de cada conductor, no ha de ser menor de 200 **Megohms** por cada mil metros, o kilómetro, a la temperatura de 20 grados centígrados. Saben nuestros compañeros que las palabras griegas mega y micro significan un millón y una millonésima: luego, 200 Megohms = 200.000.000 Ohms. (CORDE)

While this particular term never became widespread in the language, others that followed during the 20th century such as *megawatt* and *megahertz* did so.[108] Nevertheless, *mega-* interpreted to mean 'one million (units)' has remained restricted in use and there is no evidence of its productivity outside scientific fields.

2.7 Historical background of *micro-*

2.7.1 (Σ)μικρός in ancient Greek; *micro-* in Latin borrowings

[108] See section 3.2.4 for further discussion of *mega-* in similar terms with this definition.

The adjective μικρός and the alternative form σμικρός are present in Greek literature since Homer, but their use in earlier centuries was not as recurrent as other elements included in this study, as is illustrated by the fact that they only appear a total of six times in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, as opposed to other similar words like μακρός that were used over 200 times in the same works (PDL).[109] The sources consulted here concur that the prototypical definition of (σ)μικρός was 'small' or 'little.' It was commonly used in reference to small physical size, yet was also employed figuratively in reference to something of little importance or relevance. As was the case with above mentioned μακρός, (σ)μικρός was also used in relation to chronological time, in which case its semantic value was 'short.' In the same way as the modern Spanish *pequeño* 'small,' (σ)μικρός was at times used substantivally to refer to a young (and typically small) person and in those instances is translated simply as 'child.'

In compounds, its semantic values did not vary significantly but were consistently 'small' or 'short' (μικροπολίτης 'citizen of a small town'), with the possible exception of some like μικρολογέομαι, in which it took on the more specific meaning of 'to examine/describe in detail' (OCGD s.v.).

Textual evidence suggests that *micro-* did not have a significant presence in Latin. The earliest borrowings do not appear until the 4th century C.E. and they are few in number. Souter (1949:252) only records two such terms: *micrologus* 'deprecatory' (4th century), and *microsfyxia* 'slow pulse' or 'weak pulse' (5th century).[110]

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[109] In regard to the forms themselves, many renown writers of the Attic and Ionic dialects, including Homer, Sophocles and Plato, preferred σμικρός, yet μικρός was more generally used during the classical and koine periods and is therefore the most well known today. There does not appear to have been any semantic distinctions between the two variants (PDL; OCGD s.v.).

[110] Compare with *asfyxia* 'no pulse' or 'stopped pulse.'

2.7.2 *Micro-* in Spanish from 1200-1900 C.E.

Micro- has neither a long nor a prolific history in Spanish. Textual evidence suggests that throughout the majority of its past it has been confined to a mere handful of terms, and the sources included in this present study do not register any until the 15th century, in the learned borrowings *micrología* (1428)[111] and *microcosmo* 'microcosm' (1490).[112] Since then a few terms entered the language that have enjoyed widespread use up until the present time, such as *microscopio* 'microscope' (1672) and *micrófono* 'microphone' (1881).[113] All examples found represent scientific terms, the majority of which have Greek roots: *microbio* 'microbe' (1885), *microbiología* 'microbiology' (1894) and *micro-organismo* 'micro-organism' (1894). There is no evidence to suggest that *micro-* played a significant productive role in the Spanish lexicon before the 20th century.

2.8 Historical background of *neo-*

2.8.1 Νέος in ancient Greek; *neo-* in Latin borrowings

The Greek adjective νέος had two basic and closely related meanings: 'young' and 'new.' The former was in fact the primary definition and was consistently used throughout the classical and *koine* periods by virtually all major authors. As can be expected, the idea of 'young' tended to be used in reference to human beings, and when this was the case it was often used substantivally with a definite article, in virtually the same way that *el/la joven* 'young boy/girl' are used in Spanish today. Ὁ νέος, then, would mean 'the young man' or 'the youth'

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[111] *Micrología* appears only once in CORDE, in Enrique de Villena's *Tratado de Astrología* (1428) and is not clearly defined.

[112] *Microcosmo* is first defined by Alfonso de Palencia (1490) as "menor mundo" and then by Francisco Martínez de Castrillo (1570) as "pequeño mundo" (CE).

[113] *Micrófono* in Spanish is, in all probability, a transliteration of the English term *microphone*, coined by the British inventor M. Hughes in 1878. While the apparatus has changed significantly the term has not, in either language (OED s.v.).

(Morwood 2001:123). There is little interpretational difference noted for νέος in the writings of the classical and *koine* centuries, yet in the *koine* period the adjective καινός became more frequently used to express the idea of 'new' whereas νέος continued to mean 'young' in the majority of instances.[114]

The neuter singular form νέον was used adverbially in adjectival compounds with the meaning 'recently' or 'newly.' It typically appeared shortened to νεό- as in νεόγαμος 'recently married,' νεόκτιστος 'recently founded' and νεότευκτος 'recently made.' Although less commonly combined with nouns, a few examples can be found, like νεοδαμώδης 'new citizen' (OCGD s.v.). Unlike other elements included in this study, the sources consulted here register no example of νεό- in verbal compounds, which suggests that if such a formation was possible it was at least far less common.

There is scant evidence that this prefix had any significant presence in Latin, at least not in the period of the Roman Empire. The few borrowings that occur come at a later period and are confined mostly to religious works. Two of the clearest examples are *neomenia* 'new moon' and *neophytus* 'neophyte,' neither of which has been recorded in any Latin text prior to the 4th century C.E. but are found in the Vulgate and subsequent ecclesiastical writings.[115]

2.8.2 *Neo-* in Spanish from 1200-1900 C.E.

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[114] While καινός 'new' had appeared in many writings of the classical period such as those of Sophocles and Plato, it seems to have grown in popularity after the 1st century C.E. among authors like Plutarch, Lucian, the New Testament writers and early Church fathers (PDL).

[115] The first is used as a transliteration of νεόμηνία 'new moon,' a word which is only found a total of four times in non-biblical Greek texts, though it is in some influential writings such as Herodotus' *Histories*. *Neophytus* is in the Vulgate only once and is used to mean 'recent convert.' Interestingly, the original νεόφυτος, which literally means 'newly planted,' also only appears once in ancient Greek, in Paul's first letter to Timothy. It was thus likely restricted to religious circles in both languages.

Due in part at least to the fact that *neo-* originally was borrowed as a prefix and not an independent adjective, the Greek adjectival meaning of 'young' was not carried over into Spanish. What survived was the meaning 'recent(ly)' or 'new(ly),' which, as has been mentioned, was the primary use of νέο- in Greek compounds. The words that are seen during this time period are primarily preservations of Latin loanwords with original Greek root, like the previously seen *neomenia* and *neophytus*.[116] Borrowing such as these two certainly had little influence on posterior productivity in Spanish due to a lack of semantic and morphological transparency.

Nevertheless, starting in the 17th century there are a few examples of *neo-* with non-Greek roots and a more transparent formation and interpretation. A clear example comes from Fray Jerónimo Mendieta in his *Historia eclesiástica indiana* (~1604), the immediate context of which suggests that *neo conversos* refers simply to those 'recently converted' to Catholicism:

> (…) La facultad [puede] absolver con Autoridad Apostólica a todos los **neo conversos** [*sic*] de todos los casos reservados a la Santa Sede…imponiéndoles saludable penitencia en la forma por la Iglesia acostumbrada según os lo dictare vuestra prudencia. Finalmente a fin de que esos párvulos en Cristo no se corrompan con los malos ejemplos, decretamos que ningún apóstata pretenda ir a esas regiones…para que no puedan corromper y seducir a esas almas tiernas. (CORDE)

While the sources included here do not register a significant number of terms with *neo-* during that time, examples such as this prove that this prefix was at least present in the language to some degree. Yet based on the surviving evidence it does not appear to have played a noteworthy role in the lexicon.

[116] In Spanish, *neophytus* showed orthographic fluctuation during several centuries (*neophyto*, *neophito*) until finally being established as *neofito*, the form used today in the DRAE (s.v.; CE).

What is certainly the case is that *neo-* did become much more widespread in more recent periods. During the middle of the 19th century it appeared with many transparent roots, especially in political and religious contexts. These were primarily substantival/adjectival pairs such as *neocristianismo* 'neochristianity' (1844)/*neocristiano* 'neochristian' (1894), *neocatolicismo* 'neocatholicism' (1869)/*neocatólico* 'neocatholic' (1861), *neopaganismo* 'neopaganism' (1861)/*neopagano* 'neopagan' (1869) (CORDE; CE). Most important perhaps is the slight semantic innovation that such terms carried, namely, not only 'new' but 'new and derived from.' In other words, *neopagano* refers to a new type or kind of pagan, contrasted with a person who is simply new to paganism. What is also striking during that period is the negative contexts in which some of these terms are found. When *neo-* expressed the idea of 'new and derived from,' at times there is a clear derogatory implication as well. Examples of this usage is found in Juan Valera's *La revolución y la libertad religiosa en España* (1869):

> El falso catolicismo de esta secta hace un abominable consorcio, y se funda sobre las más groseras doctrinas sensualistas del siglo pasado; es una horrible herejía, que ha venido a contaminar en nuestro país a muchos legos, que presumen de religiosos, y tal vez a alguna parte del clero. Ya se entiende que hablamos de lo que se llama **neocatolicismo**…ya se sabe que los excesos y extravíos de esta secta han sido la causa principal de la revolución española…Todos los **neopaganos** han sido y son, en realidad, impíos. (CORDE)

Although this sample is no doubt an extreme case, it is certain that in many instances terms with *neo-* carried undesirable connotations. Other times it is less clear, however, whether there is any overtly negative association, as in *neolatino* 'neolatin' (1863) and *neoplatonismo* 'neoplatonism' (1880) and *neokantismo* 'neokantism' (1892) (CORDE). What is certain is that *neo-* is present in numerous Spanish language neologisms by the end of the 19th century, although confined almost exclusively to political and religious registers.

2.9 Historical background of *(p)seudo-*

2.9.1 Ψευδ- in ancient Greek; *pseudo-* in Latin borrowings

There were three main words with the root ψευδ- in ancient Greek: the noun ψεῦδος 'a lie,' the verb ψεύδω/ψεύδομαι 'to lie' and the adjective ψευδής 'lying/false.' In addition to these independent uses, in both the classical and *koine* periods it was frecuent for this element to appear in compounds as ψευδο- with the interpretation 'false,' 'fake' or 'impostor.' Multiple examples survive of substantival compounds like ψευδοδιδάσκαλος 'false teacher,' ψευδοπάρθενος 'false/supposed virgin' and ψευδοκῆρυξ 'false messenger/herald.' It also could be combined with verbs and adjectives, such as ψευδομαρτυρέω 'to give false testimony' and ψευδολόγος 'lying' (OCGD s.v.).

As these examples illustrate, the definition of ψευδ- was consistent regardless of the class of word in which it was found. All of the sources consulted in this study agree that it fundamentally expressed the idea of 'false.' In some cases it is less clear, however, whether or not the person involved takes an active role. On one hand, there is 'false' in the sense of 'someone that appears to be someone he or she is not,' in which case it is not required that there be willful deception. Ψευδοπάρθενος, then, could refer to a woman who was assumed to be a virgin by others around her, whether or not she took an active role of dishonesty. After all, people can simply assume things that are not true. On the other hand there is 'false' in the sense of 'someone who actively pretends to be someone he or she is not,' (i.e. a 'deceiver' or 'impostor') which is more likely in examples like ψευδόμαρτυς 'a false/lying witness' (OCGD s.v.).

Textual evidence shows that *pseudo-* was used in several Latin words borrowed from Greek. Some of the first documented in the sources included here are *pseudomenos* 'false syllogism' (< ψευδόμενος) and *pseudothyrum* 'false door, secret door' (< ψευδόθυρον), both of which were used by Cicero in the 1st century B.C.E. (PDL). The majority of later terms with *pseudo-* in Latin are ecclesiastical in nature. This does not come as a surprise, though, when one considers that the Greek New Testament contains at least ten different compounds with ψευδο-, in addition to the verb ψεύδομαι 'to lie' and the noun ψεῦδος 'a lie' (Wigram 1903:806). Many of these compounds frequently were transliterated in the Vulgate, such as ψευδοπρφήτης > *pseudopropheta* 'false prophet,' ψευδοαπόστολος > *pseudoapostolus* 'false apostle' and ψευδόχριστος > *pseudochristus* 'false christ' (ARTFL). However, this was not always the case, as other times Jerome translates ψευδο- with a form of *falsus* or *mendax*.[117] In the 4th and 5th centuries C.E. other ecclesiastical terms with *pseudo-* are used in Latin that do not appear in the New Testament, such as *pseudopresbyter* (from ψευδοπρεσβύτερος 'false elder') and *pseudoisrahelita* (*sic*) (from ψευδοϊσραηλίτης 'false Jew') (Souter 1949:332).

While during that period this prefix was mostly used in relation to the Church, it was not restricted to that context, as illustrate certain examples of loanwords of a more general nature such as *pseudopatum* (6th century), from ψευδόπατον 'false pavement/floor.' It is also true that words with *pseudo-* in Latin are not limited to Greek transliterations. In fact, the presence of this prefix combined with native Latin roots suggests that it may have been productive in that

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[117] Clear examples of this are found in the Matthew 26:60, where the Greek πολλῶν **ψευδομαρτύρων** is rendered *multi* ***falsi testes*** 'many false witnesses,' and in Peter's second epistle, which contains two terms with ψευδο- but only one has a *pseudo-* equivalent:

> Ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ **<u>ψευδο</u>προφῆται** ἐν τῷ λαῷ, ὡς καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν ἔσονται **<u>ψευδο</u>διδάσκαλοι**…
> Fuerunt vero et **<u>pseudo</u>prophetæ** in populo, sicut et in vobis erunt **magistri <u>mendaces</u>**…
> "There were false prophets among the people, as also there will be false teachers among you." (2 Peter 2:1; ARTFL; PDL)

language as early as the 5th century C.E. At least three examples survive from that century: *pseudoliquidus* '(pseudo)liquid,' *pseudocalidus* '(pseudo)warm' and *pseudocastus* '(pseudo)chaste' (Souter 1949:332). What is certainly true is that there is more evidence of its presence in Latin than there is for any of the Greek prefixes analyzed in this study.

2.9.2 *(P)seudo-* in Spanish from 1200-1900

(P)seudo- has a fairly strong presence in historical Spanish, with clear evidence of expansion to other semantic fields as well as multiple terms with non-Greek roots well before the 19th century. This is especially true with terms like *pseudourbanos* '(pseudo)urban' (1582), *seudomédicos* '(pseudo)doctors' (1606), *pseudonobles* '(pseudo)nobles' (1626) and *pseudoeruditos* '(pseudo)scholars' (1772), all of which maintain the original semantic value of 'false.' The last of these can be seen in the following citation from José Cadalso in his essay *Los eruditos a la violeta* (1772), in which he labels them as "inept" and not to be confused with "true" scholars:

> En todos los siglos y países del mundo han pretendido introducirse en la república literaria unos hombres ineptos, que fundan su pretensión en cierto aparato artificioso de literatura. Ni nuestra era, ni nuestra patria está libre de estos **pseudoeruditos**, (si se me permite esta voz). A ellos va dirigido este papel irónico, con el fin de que los ignorantes no los confundan con los verdaderos sabios (…) (CORDE)

Besides the preservation of ecclesiastical terms such as *(p)seudoprofeta*, this prefix continued to thrive in religious writings as well throughout this period, with multiple examples like *pseudo-messías* '(pseudo)messiah' (1736) *seudoiglesia* '(pseudo)church' (1758) and *seudopredicadores* '(pseudo)preachers' (1758), all of which provide both semantic and morphological transparency.

The sources included in the present study attest to multiple neologisms in the 19th century from various semantic fields and levels of formality, from academic terms like *pseudo-arqueólogo* '(pseudo)archeologist' (1881) and *pseudonaturalismo* '(pseudo)naturalism' (1886) to the more informal and *seudo-coches* '(pseudo)carriages'. The last of these is found in Modesto Lafuente's *Viajes de fray Gerundio por Francia, Bélgica, Holanda y orillas del Rhin* (1845), in which the author compares French and Spanish carriages, with the following evaluation:

> Ninguna de las ciudades de Francia que yo he visto, inclusa Paris, y creo que ninguna de las que dejé de ver, presenta una coleccion de carruajes de alquiler tan cómodos, decentes y vistosos como Burdeos. Comparados con ellos nuestros **seudo-coches**, anti-carretelas y calesines elementales de la calle de Alcalá, y plazuela del Angel y las Delcalzas, seria como comparar una obra en pergamino con otra en tafilete. (CORDE)

Below are other representative terms with this prefix according to the century in which they first appear in sources CE and CORDE:

Table 2.2 Historical terms with *(p)seudo-* by century in CE and CORDE[118]

1200-1299	**Ø**
1300-1399	**Ø**
1400-1499	Pseudographia, pseudopropheta
1500-1599	Pseudodíptero, pseudourbano
1600-1699	Pseudoprofecía, seudomédico
1700-1799	Pseudo-crítico, pseudoerudito, seudoiglesia, pseudo-messías, pseudonoble, seudopredicadores, pseudo-teólogo

[118] Terms are combined from both corpora and listed according to earliest appearance. Orthography, particularly the use of *p-* and the use of a hyphen, is that of the sources.

1800-1899	Pseudoaristocracia, pseudo-arqueólogo, pseudo-caballeresco, seudo-calvinismo, pseudoclasicismo, seudo-coche, seudoelegante, pseudo-entusiasta, seudo-europeo, pseudofeudal, pseudofilósofo, pseudo-liberal, pseudo-místico, pseudonaturalismo, pseudonervioso, seudo-original, pseudo-redondo, pseudo-reforma, seudo-sabio

Given this evidence, it is safe to say that *(p)seudo-* had a significant and productive presence in the Spanish lexicon since at least the 18th century, although at that time it was still mostly relegated to religious registers. Thus being the case, it represents the earliest productive neoclassical prefix included in this study.

2.10 Historical background of *super-*

2.10.1 *Super-* in Latin

Like the Greek ὑπὲρ, *super* in Latin was a preposition that primarily carried the semantic value of 'over,' 'above' or 'upon.' It was often used as a locative, such as in *super terrae* 'above (the) earth' but was not limited to that use. Also like its Greek equivalent, *super* could express the concept of 'beyond' o even 'outside of,' as in *Lydia super Ioniam procedit* 'Lydia extends beyond Ionia' (PDL s.v.). *Super-* was used extensively in Latin compounds with these semantic values. PDL and Souter (1949:400-406) list well over fifty such terms, many of which are verbs, like *superinscriptio* 'to write over/above,' *supercresco* 'to grow over/up' and *superpono* 'to put over/on top of.' It could also be used as a general intensifier, as in *supermaledico* 'to strongly curse.' Even though *super* is native to Latin, it is possible that some of the prefixal constructions came about by language contact with Greek terms containing ὑπὲρ. Rodríguez Ponce (1999:362) affirms that many such compounds were in fact calques from Greek terms.

2.10.2 *Super-* in Spanish from 1200-1900 C.E.

In Spanish, *super-* is a learned borrowing from Latin and doublet with the vernacular *sobre* (Lathrop 2002:199).[119] Its use during the majority of the 13th and 14th centuries is limited mostly to the artificial language of the *fueros* or *notoriales* with only a few prefixal uses in terms like *superhumeral*,[120] *superscripto* 'superscript' and *supernomine* 'surname, nickname' in which the locative value of 'over, above' is present. Besides these, this prefix appeared in a few lexicalized terms like *superficie* 'surface' and *superstición* 'superstition' (or with cedilla as *superfiçie* and *superstiçion*), but since their roots were neither transparent in meaning nor were they used independently, they were of little if any productive importance. As Rodríguez Ponce (1999:362) points out, *super-* was adopted in Spanish as a prefix and not as an independent element. The 15th and 16th centuries saw the appearance of a few more such terms like *superlativo* 'superlative' (1409), *superabundante* 'superabundant' (1453), *superintendente* 'superintendent' (1577) and *superexceder* 'superexcede' (1589) yet the majority of these are also Latin learned borrowings. However, some of these appeared in influential authors and works, such as Cervantes' *La ilustre fregona* (1613):

> (…) Entraron, en fin, en la posada, y la Argüello, que era una mujer de hasta cuarenta y cinco años, **superintendente** de las camas y aderezo de los aposentos, los llevó a uno que ni era de caballeros ni de criados, sino de gente que podía hacer medio entre los dos estremos. Pidieron de cenar; respondióles Argüello que en aquella posada no daban de comer a nadie, puesto que guisaban y aderezaban lo que los huéspedes traían de fuera comprado (…) (CORDE)

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[119] As doublets, many minimal pairs can be found in modern varieties: *sobrevivir/supervivir* 'survive,' *sobrenatural/supernatural* 'supernatural,' etc.

[120] A type of ephod worn by religious leaders, from the Latin *superhumerale* (DRAE s.v.). This term appears in Alfonso X's *General Estoria I* (~1275):

> (…) **Superhumeral** fue vestidura que troxieron los obispos de la vieja ley en los ombros aquella más apuesta e más fermosa que en la yente de los judíos se sopo estonces fazer, e quel dixieron este nombre **superhumeral** porquel trayén en los ombros e sobre las otras vestimentas. (CORDE)

From the 17th to the end of the 19th there were surprisingly few neologisms with *super*- in Spanish, with only a few examples such as *supervivencia* 'survival' (1648) and *superfino* '(super)fine' (1778). Overall, the sources suggest it remained infrequently productive.

2.11 Conclusion for historical background of neoclassical prefixes in Spanish

There is little doubt that despite their long history in the Spanish language, these neoclassical prefixes overall had an insignificant presence in the general lexicon. The historical documentation consulted suggests that while some such as *(p)seudo*- and perhaps *anti*- and *neo*- show significant productivity at earlier periods, the majority were unproductive and confined to terms used only by the learned few in highly reduced contexts from approximately the beginning of the 13th to the end of the 19th century. This is surprisingly true even for certain elements that are widely used today in virtually all registers, such as *mega*- and *super*-. Semantically, there was little change from Greco-Roman usage, yet in some instances there was obvious reduction in possible values, such as the loss of locative capacities with prefixes like *anti*-, *hiper*- and *super*-, which functioned primarily as prepositions in the classical languages. In regard to morphosyntax, it is evident that they appear only as bound morphemes during the majority of the centuries analyzed here (with the exception of *(p)seudo*-, as will be discussed at length in section 3.3.7). Generally speaking, then, it can be said that these elements survived history but played little role in shaping the Spanish lexicon until the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century.

3. NEOCLASSICAL PREFIXES IN MODERN SPANISH (1900-present)

3.1 General productivity patterns with neoclassical prefixes in Spanish

In section 3.1, after briefly analyzing the nature of intensifiers in modern Spanish, I give an overview of the role that neoclassical prefixes play in the current lexicon and cite specific examples of productivity that have been documented since the year 1900. I conclude that all eight of those included have undergone a productive boom since the beginning of the 20th century and have spread to many registers that were previously unseen in the historical data available to us.

3.1.1 Intensifiers in Spanish

Given the fact that five of the eight prefixes included in the present study are classified as intensifiers (*hiper-*, *macro-*, *mega-*, *micro-*, *super-*), it is here fitting to briefly analyze the characteristics that define this class of prefix in modern Spanish. As Varela & García (1999:5024-5025) have attested, modern Spanish speakers are particularly adept at intensifying. Testimony to this is the fact that, besides the large number of elements in this class, there are at least four different morphosyntactic ways to intensify in the language, some of which are common universally and others that are not: 1] use of quantifiers like *muy* and *mucho*, 2] repetition with or without coordinating conjunction (*es guapa guapa* 'she's (very) pretty,' *libros y libros* 'books and books'), 3] suffixation (*guap<u>ísima</u>* '(very) pretty,' *gol<u>azo</u>*, '(great) goal,' *fracas<u>ote</u>* '(big) failure,' *bellez<u>ón</u>* 'a real beauty') and 4] prefixation (*hiper-*, *macro-*, etc.).

Although intensifying prefixes are exceptionally common in modern Spanish, Martín García (1998:104-112) names a few important restrictions on their use. First, they are limited mostly to the three main word classes (nouns, adjectives and verbs), with some exceptions for

certain common adverbs, like *bien* > *superbién* '(super)well.' Among those classes excluded are conjunctions, pronouns, articles and prepositions.

Second, within adjectival derivation, only those classified as "qualifying" can be intensified. That is to say that there logically must exist a possibility of gradience in the base itself. For instance, words like *inteligente* 'intelligent' and *fuerte* 'strong' can take the prefixes *super-* and *mega-* since it is possible to have more or less intelligence and strength, whereas relational adjectives like *presidencial* 'presidential' and *paterno* 'paternal' cannot, since, according to Martín García (1998:105), one either falls into this category or does not. Therefore, according to this author, the Spanish adjectives *presidencial* and *paterno* cannot accept intensifying prefixes since they do not possess possibility of variation of quality.[121]

Third, prefixed intensifiers do not denote numeric quantities in nouns. Other methods such as repetition can do this, since a phrase like *libros y libros* refers to a high number of books, rather than any particular aspect of the individual books themselves. However, the terms *megalibros* or *superlibros*, would refer to a qualitative aspect of the individual books, such as physical size or popularity. All three of these characteristics can be observed in the available corpus data.

As was seen in chapter two, these elements have always had some basic intensifying qualities throughout their history, in the sense that they refer to items that are 'big', 'wide' or 'over' but as will be shown in the present chapter, their use as intensifiers has increased

[121] However, one could argue that adjectives like *presidencial* and *paterno* could at times take intensifiers, when one speaks in a non-literal sense, since it is possible for an action or statement to be more or less fitting with the position. For instance, it could be said of a father who is very involved in the development of his children: "Es un hombre superpaterno."

significantly in modern Spanish, and numerous neologisms confirm that speakers are dominantly employing them in this manner.

3.1.2 *Anti-* in Spanish since 1900

The significant increase in productivity and the development of new semantic values are the most salient aspects of *anti-* during the 20th and 21st centuries. The data available suggest that, in modern Spanish, *anti-* is the most productive prefix of Greek origin and, ironically, it has enjoyed more popularity in Spanish than in ancient Greek itself. So claims Casado Velarde (1995:163), who also classifies it as one of the most commonly used prefixes in the press today, together with the patrimonial *re-*, *des-/dis-*, *co(n)-*, *pre-* and *multi-*. Alvar-Ezquerra (2007:13) attests to its prolific nature and records over 200 neologisms with it in his 1994 and 2003 works. Consequently, even twenty years ago it had become so frequent that some have spoken out against its excessive use, such as the author Vicente Verdú, who wrote against what he deemed the authentic explosion of *anti-* in modern Spanish (cited by Montero Curiel 1998:327).[122]

Anti- has indeed become a very versatile element that can be found in numerous contexts and registers, being particularly common in terms related to religion, politics and medicine (*anti-democrático* 'antidemocratic' 1993, *anti-hindú* 'antihindu' 1996, *anti-arrugas* '(anti)wrinkles' 1998). As was seen in section 2.1.2, one of the first registered uses of this prefix in Spanish was in combination with a proper name (*anticristo* 'anti-Christ') to express the semantic value of 'against' or 'in opposition to,' and this continues to be productive in the 21st century, with recent examples such as *anti-Bono*[123] (2002) and *anti-Bush* (2004). Similarly, it also appears with

[122] Article published in EP (1-3-1993) titled "La explosion del anti-." Other authors have noted the rise of this prefix in other languages as well, such as Heyna 2009:197 who states that "it is very obvious that the prefix *anti-* is highly productive [in French]."
[123] This term refers to the Spanish politician José Bono Martínez (CREA s.v.).

terms denoting race or ethnicity (*anti-israelí* 'anti-israeli' 1988), countries (*anti-España* '(anti)Spain' 1977, *anti-Estados Unidos* '(anti)United States' 2009) and even military groups (*anti-talibán* '(anti)taliban' 2001), like the following citation illustrates:

> En Queta, Pakistán, Ahmed Karzai, hermano menor del líder **anti-talibán** Hamid Karzai, informó de que fuerzas de la oposición luchaban codo a codo contra los talibanes en la provincia de Uruzgan, situada al norte de Kandahar. (CORPES XXI. 11-20-2001. "Mercenarios talibanes se atrincheran en la ciudad (…)" *La Razón*. Spain.)[124]

As these examples show, *anti-* continues to be used in both substantival and adjectival derivation. Yet another construction that has also become common in the last few decades is that seen in such noun phrases as *máscara anti-gas* 'gas mask' (1995), *chaleco anti-balas* 'bullet-proof vest' (1998) and *crema anti-arrugas* 'anti-aging cream' (1998), which could be considered syntagmatic compounds since they function as a unit and refer to one particular entity, in the same way as other terms like *coche bomba* 'car bomb' (Estopà 2011:3) . These formations contain two aspects of interest here: 1] *Anti-* combines with a noun yet functions as an adjective. For example, both *gas* 'gas' and *balas* 'bullets' are nouns yet act as modifiers in the phrases *máscara anti-gas* and *chaleco anti-balas* (Pena 1999:4333). 2] *Anti-* acquires the more specific semantic value of '(something that) protects from X' or 'prevents X,' in these cases, that which protects from toxic air or gunshots. As will be discussed in section 3.2.1, this semantic innovation extended widely during the 20th century under English influence with loanwords such as *anticongelante* 'antifreeze,' and now can be seen in numerous neologisms related to personal hygiene or care products, like *antiacné* '(anti)acne,' *antiarrugas* '(anti)wrinkles,' *anticonceptivo* 'contraceptive' and *antienvejecimiento* 'anti-aging' (Lang 1990:171; Montero Curiel 1998:323).

[124] Name of author is not provided in CORPES XXI.

The following table shows how frequently such terms appear in the sources consulted, and some such as *anticonceptivo* have enjoyed particularly extensive use in recent years.

Table 3.1 Frequency of *antiacné, antiarrugas, anticonceptivo* and *antienvejecimiento* in CORPES XXI, CREA, EP, EUM, EUV, LN and LR [125]

	antiacné	***Antiarrugas***	***anticonceptivo***	***antienvejecimiento***
C. XXI	6	44	1,090	50
CREA	5	27	720	8
EP (Spain)	0	18	297	17
EUM (Mexico)	5	120	1446	157
EUV (Venezuela)	27	174	1,090	223
LN (Argentina)	17	194	762	84
LR (Peru)	9	106	2,400	189
Total tokens/ hits	**69**	**683**	**7,805**	**728**

Despite its wide diffusion in substantival and adjectival derivation, the use of *anti-* in verbal derivation is practically non-existent. For example, one of the few verbs that can be found with this prefix is *antipatizar* (1993),[126] yet in all likelihood it stems rather from the noun form

[125] Plural forms included. Throughout section 3.1, numbers for EP, EUM, EUV, LN and LR represent total hits in the search engine on the website in question. Certain hits may represent more than one token. See bibliography for specific web addresses.
[126] Included in the DRAE (s.v.) with the definition 'sentir antipatía hacia algo o alguien.'

antipatía and is therefore not a true example of direct derivation with verbal roots. Yet even this type of formation is not possible the majority of the time: *anticongelante* > **anticongelar*, *antidemocracia* > **antidemocratizar* (Montero Curiel 1998:327).

3.1.3 *Hiper*- in Spanish since 1900

From the beginning of the 20th century, *hiper*- has been used primarily as an intensifier to denote the basic values of 'excessive(ly)' or 'very much,' which, as has been seen, was also true for ὑπὲρ- in ancient Greek and certain Latin borrowings with *hyper*-. However, unlike these classical elements, *hiper*- does not typically carry the locative meaning 'above' in modern Spanish neologisms. Together with others such as *macro*- and *mega*-, Varela & García (1999:5025) include *hiper*- in the class of intensive prefixes that augment size or quality of the root to which it is attached. This is true in a wide range of registers of modern Spanish. On one side of the spectrum are the highly specialized scientific terms, great in number but of limited influence in the general lexicon, like *hipercloridia* 'hyperchloridia' (1902), *hipertiroidismo* 'hyperthyroidism' (1912), *hipervirilización* 'hypervirilization' (1936) and more recently *hipermetabólico* 'hypermetabolic' (1999). Others are less specialized but still relegated to formal registers, such as *hiperluminoso* 'hyperluminous' (1927), *hipererotismo* 'hypereroticism' (1936) and *hiperexcitable* 'hyperexcitable' (1975). Yet despite their origin, some of these neologisms have branched out and made their way into the general lexicon while continuing to maintain the idea of 'excessive(ly),' such as *hipersensible* 'hypersensitive' (1929) and *hiperactivo* 'hyperactive' (1964), both of which are used today in non-medical contexts.

As Alvar-Ezquerra (2003:566-569) points out, on the other side of the spectrum, *hiper*- is often used more informal registers to denote the highest class or grade of a particular quality,

what he defines as ‘en grado sumo.’ In other words, it can be viewed as a supreme intensifier, as with *hiperlíder* ‘(hyper)leader’ (1994) and *hiperautor* ‘(hyper)author’ (1999), which refer to the best or most elite leaders and authors of their class. During the past few decades, this prefix has continued to flourish in adjectival derivation as well with this same semantic value, as can be seen in the examples *hiperfamoso* ‘(hyper)famous (1991) and *hiper-competitivo* ‘(hyper)competitive (1997) (CREA). Another clear example of this type of productivity is found in the following article from the Chilean newspaper *La Época*:

> (…) Destruyendo mitos y lugares comunes sobre las posibilidades de desarrollo de este deporte, en Argentina, país **hiper-futbolizado**, el popular club Boca Juniors se ha clasificado recientemente campeón 1997 de la Liga Nacional de básquetbol trasandina. (CREA. Jaime Figueroa. 6-26-1997. “Boca, rey de los cestos argentinos.” *La Época.* Chile.)

In addition to regular adjectival derivation, *hiper-* is also more commonly used in verbal derivation than most neoclassical prefixes. However, as is usually the case, the data suggest that most of these forms were derived later from extant nouns or adjectives rather than being produced originally as verbs. For example, *hiperextender* ‘to hyperextend’ (1988), *hiperventilar* ‘to hyperventilate’ (1992) and *hipersensibilizar* ‘to hypersensitize’ (1999) all appear well after their substantival equivalents *hiperextensión* ‘hyperextension’ (1964), *hiperventilación* ‘hyperventilation’ (1943) and *hipersensibilidad* ‘hypersensitivity’ (1912). Nonetheless, there are a few instances where a verb form is produced shortly after its corresponding noun or adjective, as is the case with *hiperprotección* ‘(hyper)protection’ (2001) and *hiperproteger* ‘to (hyper)protect’ (2003). The sources thus indicate that type and token frequency with this prefix have grown significantly in recent decades, and certain neologisms such as *hipermercado* have become highly relevant for recategorization, as will be shown in section 3.3.2.

3.1.4 *Macro-* in Spanish since 1900

Macro- is the second of five prefixes included in this study which can be said to be intensifiers of quantity or quality in modern Spanish. As has been shown in section 2.3.2, *macro-* does not have a long history of widespread use nor of productivity in the Spanish language. In the general lexicon it is a rather recent addition, since the first examples of neologisms with non-specialized and non-Greek roots do not appear until the second half of the 20th century. During the first half, the pattern begun in the previous century continued, with new scientific acquisitions such as *macrofago* 'macrophage' (1906), *macrogameto* 'macrogamete' (1926) and *macrocítico* 'macrocytic' (1943) representing the bulk of neologisms with this prefix. There are also a few examples of terms with Latin roots, like *macroeje* 'macro-axis' (1902) and *macronúcleo* 'macronucleus' (1926), yet there is no evidence to suggest that *macro-* had infiltrated non-specialized registers at that time.

While it stayed prolific in the scientific world, the second half of the 20th century saw a rise in *macro-* terms with more generalized roots, such as *macrovida* '(macro)life' (1958), *macrodefecto* '(macro)defect' (1973) and *macrodimensional* 'macrodimensional' (1973). These increased in number in the following decades, with examples like *macrosocial* 'macrosocial' (1977), *macrociudad* '(macro)city' (1980) and *macro-lista* '(macro)list' (1982).

Despite being significantly productive really only since a few decades ago, *macro-* has expanded rapidly into numerous registers and contexts in modern Spanish. The corpora show that it has spread impressively in recent years, since between 1990 and 2000 alone, CREA registers this prefix more than 1,866 times in 1,000 documents, whereas between 1900 and 1975 it appears in CORDE only 503 times in 96 documents. Not only do the sources show that the

terms themselves are being used frequently, but there is also clear evidence of an increase in neologisms, both by productivity with native roots and borrowing from other languages. A testimony to this is the fact that Alvar-Ezquerra (2003:684-693) includes no fewer than 90 total neologisms in Spanish with this prefix.

As part of the general lexicon throughout the Spanish-speaking world, *macro-* can be used to express at least three related yet distinguishable semantic values, the third of which is the most recent. First, as was the case with the ancient Greek μακρός, it can denote 'great width' or 'great length.' This can be observed in certain geographical terms such as *macrorregión* 'macroregion' (1980) and *macrocontinente* 'macrocontinent' (1984), and others with a more particular sense like previously seen *macrociudad* (1980) (Alvar-Ezquerra 1994:318):

> Abastecer de energía a las **macrociudades** como Pekín tiene un precio: las vías están saturadas, machacadas por tanto transporte de mercancías y materias primas. Se calcula que, en la autopista del atasco más largo del mundo, el tránsito ha aumentado un 40 por ciento en pocos años (…) (CORPES XXI. Ana Fuentes. 2012. *Hablan los chinos. Historias reales para entender a la futura potencia del mundo*. Spain.)

In these cases what is emphasized is horizontal distance, be it width, length or both. While μακρός was also used to express great vertical distance, the data do not show a recurrent use of this kind in modern Spanish, although it is possibly present in some neologisms such as *macroedificio* '(macro)building' (1994).

When this prefix denotes 'long length,' in some instances it is difficult to decide whether it is physical, chronological or a combination of the two. Such is the case in the phrase "un macro-informe de ochocientas páginas" which originally appeared in the Spanish newspaper *El Mundo* in 1995 (CREA). It could refer to the physical length of the report, the time it takes to

read it, or both. However, according to Alvar-Ezquerra (2003:692), in other instances it clearly refers to length of time, as in *macro-rave*, which refers to a rave "de larga duración."

Secondly, *macro*- can be used to express 'great physical size' without specific reference to width or height. In these cases the distinction between *macro*- and *mega*- is not clearly defined: *macrosala* '(macro)room' (1993) and *macroescultura* '(macro)sculpture' (1995). As an illustration of this possible ambiguity, the former word is defined by Alvar-Ezquerra (1994:321) simply as a 'sala de muy grandes dimensiones.'[127]

The third and perhaps now most common use of *macro*- in recent Spanish neologisms is to refer to an entity or phenomenon that is 'widespread' or that has 'many parts or participants.' This particular interpretation was neither present in μακρός nor in the historical Spanish terms with *macro*-, both of which were dominantly used to portray physical or chronological length (CORDE; OCGD s.v.). However, presently this semantic value can be observed in diverse words like the partial synonyms *macrosondeo* '(macro)poll' (1986) and *macroencuesta* '(macro)survey' (1995), both defined as polls or surveys involving many informants (Martí Antonín 1998:201). *Macro*- is also used this way in regard to other types of public events, such as a *macrobaile* '(macro)dance' (1992), which Alvar-Ezquerra (1994:319) defines as a dance "con numerosos participantes." More recently, EUM published an article (12-1-2011) titled "Reino Unido vive macrohuelga," in which it describes how thousands of strikers took the streets in protest. It is unclear exactly how this semantic value began to take hold, but it is likely to have been propagated by widespread terms such as the already seen *macroeconomía*.

[127] See section 3.1.4.2 for further comparison between *macro*- and *mega*-.

In regard to morphology, in the vast majority of instances *macro-* is used in substantival derivation. Examples from the past few decades show that adjectival derivation is also present in the language (*macropolítico* 'macropolitical' 1979, *macrorregional* 'macroregional' 1985 and *macrocultural* 'macrocultural' 1990). These, however, are much less frequent, as is illustrated by the fact that out of the over 90 neologisms with this prefix that are included in Alvar-Ezquerra (2003: 684-693), only seven are adjectives. Verbal derivation with this prefix does not appear in any source included in this study. *Macro-* then, has less morphological flexibility than μακρός had in ancient Greek, since the latter was also attached to verbal roots, as is illustrated by the aforementioned μακρολογέω 'to speak for a long time' (OCGD s.v.).

3.1.5 *Mega-*

3.1.5.1 *Mega-* in Spanish since 1900

One does not have to look far to note that *mega-* has become an extremely popular prefix in modern Spanish. Along with others such as *anti-*, its use has grown immensely during the last few decades and does not show signs of slowing down. A testimony to its popularity today can be found in the fact that CREA (1975-2004) registers approximately 1,600 tokens of this prefix in 900 documents, and CORPES XXI (2001-2015) almost 5,000 times in over 2,500 documents.[128] In addition to the high rate of occurrence, *mega-* is not confined to any particular register but appears in a wide range of semantic contexts. This is due perhaps, at least in part, to its basic and inclusive definition, since *mega-* acts mainly as an intensifier in modern Spanish, in a similar way to the more common *muy*, *mucho* and *gran(de)*. As such, it is usually used to express the extreme nature of an aspect or characteristic, both in regard to quantity as well as quality, and this can occur in several different ways.

[128] Tokens include recategorized uses as well. See section 3.3.4 for further details on such forms.

First, *mega-* is commonly used in modern Spanish as an intensifier of quantity to denote exceptionally large physical size, especially of inanimate objects. Recent examples of this can be seen in *megapantalla* '(mega)screen' (2000), *megatelescopio* '(mega)telescope' (2002), *mega-libro* '(mega)book' (2003) and *megaobra* '(mega)work' (2003), which are interpreted as being not just big but 'very big,' as can be seen in the particular use that follows:

> Por último, como una forma de recordar su compromiso con el ambiente, los niños pasaron a ver la película *El agua y el hombre*; que este año ganó el Festival Imax en París, Francia, frente a una "**megapantalla**" que mide 17 metros de altura y 24 metros de ancho. (CREA. 11-7-2000. "Odisea en México." *La Nación.* Costa Rica.)

Second, *mega-* is used in modern Spanish to denote large figurative size. That is to say that many times it is paired with a root that represents something inmaterial or conceptual. Although not as numerous as other uses, there are some clear examples of this that have appeared in recent decades, such as *megaconcepto* '(mega)concept' (1982), *megainvestigación* '(mega)investigation' (1997) and *megamulta* '(mega)fine' (2011). In these examples *mega-* is interpreted as meaning 'very big' but without any reference to physical dimensions:

> (…) La Telefónica México no pudo o no quiso levantar de la mesa una querella contra Teléfonos de México en cuyo curso se le acaba de aplicar la segunda multa millonaria a ésta de la temporada, aunque sin posibilidad de comparación con la **megamulta** de casi 12 mil millones de pesos (…) (CORPES XXI. Alberto Barranco. 6-24-2011. "Tucotel quiere más." *El Universal.* Mexico.)

Third, as Varela & García (1999:5025) have noted, *mega-* in many contexts functions as a more general intensifier of both quantity and quality with the values 'very much' or 'great,' without special reference to either physical or figurative size. When used as an intensifier of quantity, it is often paired with an intangible root, such as in *megadiversidad* '(mega)diversity'

(1993). This particular term appears several times in the sources consulted here and a good illustration of its interpretation can be seen in the following citation:

> (…) [E]n la República Mexicana exist[e] una riqueza y una diversidad de especies de plantas y animales muy superior a la que se encuentra en todo el resto de Norteamérica…se ha identificado a México entre los seis países que poseen lo que se ha dado en llamar "**megadiversidad** biológica…" Los siguientes ejemplos ilustran la riqueza natural de México: Existen alrededor de 30,000 especies de plantas superiores (…) (CREA. Héctor Ceballos-Lascuráin. 1998. *Ecoturismo: Naturaleza y desarrollo sostenible.* Mexico.)

It is clear from the context that *megadiversidad* here is used to express the extreme nature of the diversity of the Mexican flora and fauna and that it means '(very) much diversity,' more so than the default intensifier *mucho*. Other examples of this same type of usage can be seen in *megainflación* '(mega)inflation' which formed part of the headline of the 2010 EUM article titled "Venezuela en riesgo de megainflación," interpreted as meaning 'very much inflation.'

When used in reference to quality, Rodríguez Ponce (1999:368) says that this prefix can be used with a "purely intensive value" even when combined with certain physical objects like magazines or answering machines. For instance, this author states that *megarrevista* '(mega)magazine' and *megacontestador* '(mega)answering machine' do not refer to large-sized items but rather to ones of exceptional quality, similar to the phrases "a great magazine" or "a great answering machine" in English. Yet as has been seen with the above examples like *megapantalla*, this prefix undoubtedly can refer to physical attributes when its root is an inanimate object. Thus it is that *megarrevista* could mean 'a large magazine' (size) or 'a great magazine' (quality). With such terms there is a possibility of ambiguous interpretation that could only be clarified by the context in which it is used.

It is within this third category that *mega-* is often used as an intensifier in adjectival derivation. When this is the case, it also commonly denotes the extreme or maximum quality of the modified word, in a greater way than other intensifiers such as *muy*. A good illustration of this is read in the following EUV article:

> (…) He aquí la lista de cosas que quiero botar por la ventana…Los tramposos. Los más tramposos. Los **megatramposos**…Los agresivos. Los más agresivos. Los agresivísimos…Los arrastrados. Los más arrastrados. Los arrastradísimos (…) (EUV. Carolina Jaimes Branger. 12-26-2005. "Para botar por la ventana.")

What is of most interest here is that *mega-* acts as an equivalent of the superlative suffix *–ísimo* in the sequences, which strongly supports the argument of its extreme intensifying nature. Therefore, in terms such as these, the two affixes can be said to mirror each other with semantic value of 'very X' or even 'extremely X,' i.e. *mega-tramposo* '(mega)cheater' = *tramposísimo*. Rodríguez Ponce (1999:369) gives other examples of adjectives with this same value, such as *megacrujiente* '(mega)crunchy,' *megadeprimente* '(mega)depressing' and *megahorroroso* '(mega)horrifying,' which could then be viewed as equivalents of *crujientísimo*, *deprimentísimo* and *horrorosísimo*.

In modern Spanish morphology, *mega-* is similar to *macro-* in that the vast majority of derivation with it is substantival. As has already been shown, adjectival derivation with *mega-* is also found, yet the sources suggest that this occurs to a much lesser extent. For example, out of the 44 total neologisms with this prefix listed by Alvar-Ezquerra (2003:726-731), 40 of them are nouns and the remaining four adjectives. Instances in which *mega-* occurs as a verbal prefix are virtually non-existent in the sources consulted in this study.[129] Despite this apparent

[129] A possible exception can be seen in a commentary made in the opinion section of EUV from February of 2012:

morphological limitation, there is some evidence of expansion into other contructions and functions associated with other word classes, such the adverb *megabién* '(mega)well':

> Ariel habló con una que dijo llamarse Mamen y que después de una cortísima conversación sobre la nada dejó caer un ¿sabes? me lo estoy pasando **megabién**. No parecía tener otra ocupación que sostener su rizo rubio tras la oreja y exhibir el bronceado uniforme y excesivo. (CORPES XXI. David Trueba. 2008. *Saber perder*. Spain.)

Although limited in frequency, this evidence suggests that *mega* is currently in the process of expanding in use in modern Spanish, even to other word classes that previously did not accept this prefix.

3.1.5.2 Synonymy with *macro-* and *mega-*

As was seen in chapter 2, *macro-* and *mega-* have always carried related semantic values, with the former being used primarily to express great length or height, while the latter was reserved for the general 'big.' The data suggest that this semantic closeness has been maintained in Spanish and both can now function as intensifiers that express the general semantic value of 'very big' (physically or figuratively). They thus show considerable semantic overlap in numerous instances (González García & Arribas Jiménez 2010:268).[130] As has been shown, however, these two prefixes do not merge in every context, but rather represent only a partially synonymous pair. In the same way as the English *baggage/luggage* or *to kill/to murder* cannot

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"Lo que Obama le hizo a su país no tiene nombre, Obama **mega triplicó** [sic] la deuda en su primer año de gobierno (…)" The exact interpretation of this phrase is uncertain.

[130] The DRAE (s.v.) gives the same fundamental definition for the two ("grande"), and Varela & García (1999:5025) also combine them in the same category of intensifiers that refer to the extreme size or quantity of its root.

always be freely exchanged, these two prefixes are not always substitutable (*macroeconomía* ≠ *megaeconomía*, etc.).[131]

Yet given the significant overlap, it would be expected to find some examples of substitutable minimal pairs and there are indeed a number of such forms in the sources consulted. Alvar-Ezquerra (1994:337; 2003:687-691,727-730) includes several, including *macroconcentración/megaconcentración* '(macro/mega)concentration,' *macrofusión/ megafusión* '(macro/mega)fusion,' *macrolibrería/megalibrería* '(macro/mega)bookstore' and *macroproyecto/megaproyecto* '(macro/mega)project.'[132] Other sources confirm their synonymy as well, as can be seen in the following citations:

> (…) Cientos de simpatizantes, en su mayoría extranjeros, observaron imágenes sobre la guerrilla y los últimos incidentes con el ejército, en una **macropantalla** frente a la catedral. (LN. [Author not provided]. 2-25-2001. "Comienza la 'caravana por la paz': los zapatistas emprenden su marcha.")
>
> Los trabajadores del Sindicato Mexicano de Electricistas (SME) en huelga de hambre en el Zócalo decidieron que no moverán el campamento para dar paso a las instalaciones de la **megapantalla** en la que serán transmitidos los partidos del Mundial del futbol. (CORPES XXI. P. Muñoz, A. Méndez & M. Pérez. 6-8-2010. "Descarta el SME mover el campamento que mantiene en el Zócalo capitalino." *La Jornada*. México)

Samples such as these suggest that this particular minimal pair has no obvious semantic distinction in these contexts, as both denote large physical size of a screen used in a public place,

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[131] For example: "She has a lot of emotional baggage/*luggage." "He accidentally killed/*murdered his brother" (Murphy 2003:29-30).

[132] The definitions according to Alvar-Ezquerra (2003) are as follows:
Macroconcentración 'concentración con gran asistencia de público.'
Megaconcentración 'concentración con gran número de personas.'
Macrolibrería 'librería de grandes dimensiones.'
Megalibrería 'librería con gran número de volúmenes.'
Other possible synonymous minimal pairs listed in Alvar (2003:687-690,727-728) are *macroentidad/megaentidad*, *macroespectáculo/megaespectáculo* and *macroproyecto/megaproyecto*.

in order to accommodate a large number of viewers. Pairs such as *macroproyecto/ megaproyecto* show similar synonymy as well in the following instances:

> El **macroproyecto** tendría capital nacional y extranjero e incluye hoteles y campos de golf…que se construiría en las cercanías de la zona arqueológica de Chichén Itzá. (CORPES XXI. Ana Mónica Rodríguez. 12-16-2009. "Difunden en YouTube complejo turístico para Chichén Itzá." *La Jornada*. México)
>
> Basta con considerar que tan sólo en Guanacaste hay 55 **megaproyectos** en ciernes, que demandan 7000 hectáreas y 3 millones de metros cuadrados de construcción para imaginar el impacto que estas pueden tener sobre nuestros recursos naturales. (CORPES XXI. Olger Rojas Elizondo. 9-2008. "Responsabilidad ambiental del desarrollo turístico: una necesaria discusión y acuerdo nacional." *Boletín de Ciencia y Tecnología.* Costa Rica.)

It is clear from the context that both terms are substitutable in that they refer mainly to the large physical nature of the construction projects, as well as the large number of people involved, the length of time to complete, etc.

Nonetheless, despite the synonymy that exists between these two prefixes, some data suggest that there may be diatopic variation in regard to the distribution of some of their pairs. That is to say that while both a *macro-* and an equivalent *mega-* term may exist in the language, one of the two is noticeably preferred over the other in certain regional varieties. The data suggest that this is particularly evident in pairs that reference large public events. The following table 3.2 can help illustrate this.

Table 3.2 Frequency of three minimal pairs with *macro-* and *mega-* in EP, EUM, EUV, LN and LR

	EP (Spain)	**EUM (Mexico)**	**EUV (Venezuela)**	**LN (Argentina)**	**LR (Peru)**
Macrofiesta	224	23	24	2	8
Megafiesta	10	40	40	108	29
Macroconcierto	67	66	143	6	7
Megaconcierto	7	91	46	131	308
Macroespectáculo	10	2	2	2	0
Megaespectáculo	2	10	9	67	17
Total hits with the 3 *macro-* terms	**301 (94%)**	**91 (39.3%)**	**169 (64%)**	**10 (3.2%)**	**15 (4.1%)**
Total hits with the 3 *mega-* terms	**19 (6%)**	**141 (60.7%)**	**95 (36%)**	**306 (96.8%)**	**354 (95.9%)**

These numbers suggest that, whereas all examples appear in all sources (with the exception of *macroespectáculo* in LR), the three terms with *macro-* are far more commonly used in Spain (EP) whereas those with *mega-* are preferred in Argentina (LN) and Perú (LR). These regional preferences of one prefix over the other when referring to large public events is also supported by the fact that certain minimal pairs exist only when comparing two dialectal regions. In other words, at times the sources give no evidence of a particular minimal pair existing in the same region, but equal terms are present when comparing two or more Spanish-speaking dialects. A good example is *macrodesfile/megadesfile* '(macro/mega)parade,' the former of which appears in EP four times but does not appear at all in LN. The latter, on the other hand,

registers 57 times in the LN but none in EP. This would then be one of the few clear cases in which the data consulted suggest significant diatopic variation with these eight prefixes.

In other dialectal regions such as Mexico and Venezuela the preference for either *macro-* or *mega-* with these terms is not significantly marked, as both countries manifest a much more equal distribution. In fact, some sources show evidence of both words being used interchangeably in the same paragraph:

> Sube a 4 las muertes tras **megafiesta** de Halloween…La joven de 17 años que permanecía ingresada en estado crítico en un hospital de Madrid desde el jueves, tras resultar aplastada en una **macrofiesta** de Halloween en Madrid, falleció hoy, informaron fuentes del centro sanitario. (EUM. [Author not provided]. 11-3-2012. "Suben a 4 las muertes tras megafiesta de Halloween.")

Although minimal pairs with *macro-* and *mega-* that refer to large public events do not appear to differ semantically, according to some there are instances when they can be distinguished, albeit slightly. For example, Alvar-Ezquerra (1994:318, 337) attests to the fact that while both *macroconcierto* and *megaconcierto* can refer to a "very big" concert with many people present, the former contains a more inclusive definition since it can also refer to the length of the concert itself, that is, to how long the event lasts, whereas the same is not true for *megaconcierto*. Nonetheless, this is not always clearly defined in the immediate context and what appears to be the case often is that *macroconcierto* does contain a combination of these related factors, as can be seen in the following excerpts from EP:

> Más de 60.000 personas recuerdan a Diana en un **macroconcierto** en Londres…[asisten] al maratoniano concierto de seis horas de duración…El macrorrecital, en el estadio londinense de Wembley, se ha celebrado en medio de extremas medidas de seguridad (…) (EP. [Author not provided]. 7-1-2007. "Más de 60.000 personas recuerdan a Diana en un macroconcierto en Londres.")

> Beyoncé, Salma Hayek y Frida Giannini organizan un **macroconcierto** por los derechos de las mujeres…"Hacer ruido por el cambio" vendría a ser el eslogan de esta campaña y las 52.000 personas que…llenaban el estadio de rugby de Twickenham (Londres)…[Beyoncé] puso fin a una gala de cuatro horas (…) (EP. Eugenia de la Torrente. 6-2-2013. "Noche de ruido y divas en Londres.")

The long duration of the concerts is undoubtedly included in these examples, so Alvar-Ezquerra's claim does appear to be supported by the sources included here. Yet the fact that the large number of fans and musical groups in attendance are primarily emphasized makes it less certain that *macro-* and *mega-* can be distinguished solely on semantic values. That is to say that the fundamental requirement for a *macroconcierto* or *megaconcierto* is a large number of people in attendance, not its duration. Yet what seems most likely is that several nuances are included in these terms and the distinction often is not explicit.

3.1.6 *Micro-*

3.1.6.1 *Micro-* in Spanish since 1900

Micro- is unique among the prefixes included here due to the fact that it is the only one that functions as a diminutive rather than an augmentative. In other words, it is the only neoclassical intensifier whose semantic value minimizes the quantity or quality of its root. As such, it can refer to very small physical size, as in *microbús* 'microbus' (1974), *microburbuja* 'microbubble' (1988), *microcomputadora* 'microcomputer' (1988) and *microlentes* 'microlenses' (2000). However, as the first of these terms illustrates, size is always relative when dealing with inanimate objects. That is to say that this prefix functions simply as an extreme diminutive, regardless of the actual size of the object referenced, since a *microbús* is actually bigger than an average car. The interpretation, then, is based on the speaker's understanding of what constitutes normal dimensions for the object in question.

The semantic value of ‘very small’ can also be figurative, and this is particularly regular in terms related to business and commerce (*microempresa* ‘microbusiness’ 1985 > *microempresario* ‘microbusinessman’ 1992, *microcomercio* ‘microcommerce’ 1997, *microcrédito* ‘microcredit’ 1996, *micropréstamo* ‘microloan’ 2000). The following table demonstrates just how common some of these terms have become in the modern lexicon.

Table 3.3 Frequency of *microempresa(s)* and *microcrédito(s)* in CORPES XXI, CREA, EP, EUM, EUV, LN and LR

	Microempresa(s)	***Microcrédito(s)***
CORPES XXI	692	397
CREA	330	61
EP (Spain)	194	179
EUM (Mexico)	1,016	989
EUV (Venezuela)	1,160	911
LN (Argentina)	372	496
LR (Peru)	4,950	356
Total tokens/hits	**8,714**	**3,389**

As these examples illustrate, the overwhelming majority of neologisms with *micro-* are nouns and the sources reveal no examples of verbal or adverbial derivation with this prefix. In addition to functioning as a diminutive intensifier to express general small physical or figurative

size, *micro*- can express the semantic value of ‘small-scale’ or a phenomenon with ‘few parts or participants,’ which is a mirror opposite of its counterpart *macro*-.

> Durante años, Cemex, SA, de México ha dependido de las "hormigas" para su crecimiento: los millones de constructores independientes en el mundo en desarrollo que construyen sus sueños, parte por parte, con sacos de cemento comprados en la tienda de la esquina junto con arroz y frijoles. Ese enfoque **micro-repetido**…convirtió a Cemex en la tercera cementera más grande del mundo (...) (CREA. [Author not provided]. 2000. *Excélsior* Mexico.)

Based on the immediate context, this term refers to an action that is repeated on the ‘small-scale’ by individuals but has large-scales consquences. The idea of ‘small-scale,’ then, only appears when the action is compared to the ramifications for the company as a whole. Overall, the sources suggest that this prefix has increased in frequency in a parallel manner to its antonym *macro*-, as will be further discussed in the following section.

3.1.6.2 Antonymy with *macro*- and *micro*-

This pair represents a unique lexical relationship, since there has been no modification in its fundamental antonymy for well over two millennia. Μακρός and (σ)μικρός were antonymous in ancient Greek and modern remnants in European languages have maintained that quality. *Macro*- and *micro*- thus represent a strongly related yet opposite pair. As Murphy (2003:29-30) has claimed, antonymy is often a productive relationship due in part to the fact that antonyms typically provide a clear and exclusive opposite, which is not the case for simple negation. Since antonyms are pairs and not simply members of a group like synonyms, they provide a more evident relationship and are thus more easily associated, (*microeconómico* is a more clear and communicative opposite than *no macroeconómico*). Such association is heightened when they share phonological and morphological similarities. As Jones et al.

(2012:3) have claimed, such similarities increase perception of antonymy and thus increase the likelihood of their paired use in discourse, as is true for other antonymous relationships like *maximize/minimize*. Because of this, it is more probable for *macro-/micro-* to flourish as an antonymous pair than *macro-/mini-*, since the former share more morphophonological properties than the latter.

Concerning the multiple minimal pairs with these prefixes, Vallès (2003:149) claims that historically it was more common for the *micro-* terms to be coined first while the *macro-* equivalents came via analogy, yet pairs can come in both directions. She further claims that at least 52% of the words with the prefix *macro-* included in her study have a *micro-* equivalent and 40% were produced contemporaneously or subsequently to *micro-* equivalents.

The sources included in this present study certainly support these claims. It is difficult to find a *macro-* term for which a *micro-* antonym does not exist. Numerous examples of antonymous minimal pairs suggest that these prefixes continue to actively influence each other in the modern Spanish lexicon. Alvar-Ezquerra (2003:686-691; 745-754) has registered several such pairs within the last few decades, including *macrocentro/microcentro* 'macro/microcenter,' *macroespacio/microespacio* 'macro/microspace,' *macropolítico/micropolítico* 'macro/micropolitical' and *macrorregión/micro-región* [sic] 'macro/microregion'.[133]

Furthermore, the corpora show numerous examples of minimal pairs juxtaposed in the immediate context, by way of comparison. Take for instance the following excerpts:

[133] Alvar-Ezquerra's definitions are as follows: *macrocentro/microcentro* 'centro de la ciudad entendido en sentido amplio/...entendido en sentido reducido'; *macroespacio/microespacio* 'espacio de grandes dimensiones/espacio, o distancia entre objetos o seres, reducido'; *macropolítico/micropolítico* 'político a gran escala/…a escala reducida'; *macrorregión/micro-región* 'región de gran/pequeña extensión o con un gran/reducido número de habitantes.'

> La teoría social moderna se encuentra en una encrucijada: ¿Es válido para nosotros hacer generalizaciones a nivel de **macro-comportamiento** (comportamiento en agregados sociales) tomando como base el **micro-comportamiento** (comportamiento individual)? (CORPES XXI. Eduardo Enrique Sacayón Manzo. 2003. "La aplicabilidad de la investigación: dos posibles intervenciones." *Un llanto ante la sociedad: la violencia en el sistema escolar.* Guatemala.)

> La educación superior, en especial en los países en vías de desarrollo, presenta peculiaridades que tienden a afectar la calidad de sus procesos y sus resultados…la coexistencia de **macro-universidades**, con más de 100 mil alumnos con **micro-universidades** (…) (CORPES XXI. Francisco López Segrera. 2006. "Notas para un estudio comparado de la educación superior a nivel mundial." *Escenarios mundiales de la educación superior. Análisis global y estudios de casos.* Argentina.)

Also, at times the immediate context offers clear parallelism and analogy with other terms of like structure and meaning:

> La misma distancia que separa la **macroeconomía** de la **microeconomía** separa la **macroeducación** expresada en cifras nacionales de matrícula o eficiencia, de la **microeducación** que llega a las familias. (CREA. [Author not provided]. 1996. "La educacion en el informe." *Proceso*. Mexico.)

These examples suggest that there is a strong correlation between minimal pairs with these prefixes, so much that speakers often view them as a unit to be used together. However, the corpora suggest that this is true only to a certain extent and that the correlation is not always evenly dispersed. The following table 3.4 shows representative patterns of distribution among some seven minimal pairs.

Table 3.4 Frequency of seven antonymous pairs with *macro-* and *micro-* in CORPES XXI, CREA, EP, EUM, EUV, LN and LR [134]

	CREA	C. XXI	EP (Sp.)	EUM (Mex.)	EUV (Ven.)	LN (Arg.)	LR (Peru)	Total
Macroeconomía	114	74	2,315	690	119	1,109	394	**4,815**
Microeconomía	17	34	77	132	14	207	49	**530**
Macroproyecto	9	22	156	57	133	9	259	**645**
Microproyecto	9	3	6	0	13	4	14	**58**
Macrocentro	10	8	44	43	6	514	13	**638**
Microcentro	131	50	6	28	6	5,123 [135]	6	**5,350**
Macroespacio	3	8	12	0	4	1	2	**30**
Microespacio	10	20	16	0	5	1	3	**55**
Macropolítica	7	7	5	4	5	11	4	**43**
Micropolítica	12	13	13	6	8	31	8	**91**
Macrosocial	33	24	0	7	4	13	3	**84**
Microsocial	14	10	2	3	3	8	0	**40**
Macrorregión	26	14	3	4	2	23	2,790 [137]	**2,862**
Microrregión [136]	97	24	0	42	5	17	22	**207**
Total tokens/ hits for all *macro-* terms	**202 (41%)**	**157 (50%)**	**2,535 (95%)**	**805 (79%)**	**273 (83%)**	**1680 (24%)**	**3,465 (97%)**	**9,117 (59%)**

[134] Includes plural forms.
[135] *Microcentro* is a very recurrent term in the Southern Cone region to refer to a dense and busy urban area, typically with many open markets, bus stops, etc. (See LN s.v.). However, the data suggest that it is not widely used in other Spanish-speaking regions.
[136] Includes the orthographic variants *macroregión* and *microregión*.
[137] *La Macrorregión Norte*, (at times also spelled *La Macro Región Norte*) is a common term in Perú that refers to the northern provinces of the country (LR s.v.).

Total tokens/ hits for all *micro-* terms	**290 (59%)**	**154 (50%)**	**120 (5%)**	**211 (21%)**	**54 (17%)**	**5,391 (76%)**	**102 (3%)**	**6,331 (41%)**

While the overall distribution is relatively equal and there certainly are a number of antonymous pairs that appear, among these particular examples it can be concluded that the frequency for each individual pair is unequally distributed between *macro-* and *micro-* equivalents. The majority of pairs analyzed in this present study show a significantly greater number of tokens for either of the two. This is not to say that association does not play a role in productivity, but only that each term is individual and shows varying frequency in the lexicon. While it is likely that the existence of many antonymous pairs is a result of analogous association, the frequency of use is not parallel.

Nonetheless, an important aspect to consider is that individual semantic values most likely are restrictive in some of these cases, with certain terms logically being used with greater frequency than others. For instance, it is to be expected that *macroeconomía* and *macroproyecto* are found more often in these sources than their counterparts *microeconomía* and *microproyecto*, since the majority of written publications deal with large-scale public issues, on a nation-wide level. Likewise, *microcentro* is much more likely to be referenced in communication, if one is referring to the specific area of a large urban area that is the most densely populated or habitually visited.

3.1.7 *Neo-* in Spanish since 1900

During the 20th and 21st centuries, there have been several related yet distinguishable semantic values for *neo-* in Spanish. First and by far the most common is that of ‘new, revived

or modified,' which, as has been seen, began during the 19th century. According to Guerrero Salazar (2002:358), this prefix has flourished most evidently in terms referring to politics or religion, and the sources record evident examples throughout the 20th century, some of which stem from famous and influential authors such as Pío Baroja:

> Los semitas inventaron un paraíso materialista (en el mal sentido) en el principio del hombre; el cristianismo, otra forma de semitismo, colocó el paraíso al final y fuera de la vida del hombre y los anarquistas, que no son más que unos **neocristianos**, es decir, **neosemitas**; ponen su paraíso en la vida y en la tierra. (CORDE. Pío Baroja. 1911. *El árbol de la ciencia.* Spain.)

Although *neocristiano* 'neochristian' was indeed used before this date, this example is the first time *neosemita* '(neo)semite' appears in the sources included here. Besides religion, other examples from politics, art and philosophy are recorded, often in noun and adjective pairs with *–ismo*/*–ista*, such as *neocolonialismo* 'neocolonialism' (1943) and *neocolonialista* 'neocolonialist' (1968), *neoexpresionismo* 'neoexpressionism' (1961) and *neoexpresionista* 'neoexpressionist' (1961), *neofascismo* 'neofascism' (1976) and *neofascista* 'neofascist' (1977).

Within this category numerous instances occur in which a term is derived from the proper name of leaders in a field of study or system of thought, as are *neoconfucionista* '(neo)confucionist' (1953), *neodarwinismo* 'neodarwinism' (1949), *neolamarckista* 'neolamarckist' (1972) and *neoestalinismo* 'neostalinism' (1977). These tend to carry one of two possible distinctions, the first of which is a teaching by a group or individual who adhers to only some of the original thoughts of that leader or who adds to the original theories. This is the case for *neodarwinistas* 'neodarwinists' and *neolamarckistas* 'neolamarckists' in the following citation:

> Hace poco más de un siglo que salió la obra de Darwin, y en este tiempo han proliferado, de un modo asombroso, las teorías sobre el evolucionismo…La huella de Lamarck y Darwin fue tan profunda, que, en esencia, se puede hablar de corrientes "**neodarwinistas**" y "**neolamarckistas**", que introducen elementos nuevos…para explicar el proceso evolutivo, pero que siguen, en lo esencial, las líneas explicativas de los dos grandes creadores de la teoría. (CORDE. Jose María Benavente. 1972. *¿Qué es la evolución?* Spain.)

The author makes clear that this class of scientists includes those who still consider themselves followers of the fundamental aspects of the original theories, yet add to them or modify them in some way.

The second interpretation of *neo-* refers to a teaching by a group or individual that promotes a fallen system's ideals, or that attempts to reinstall a past system of government or thought. As Alvar-Ezquerra (2003:830-831) points out, *neohippies* (< English "neohippies") (1991) want a return to the ideals promoted in the 1960s and 70s, they are not necessarily a different type of hippie. Also, the DRAE (s.v.) defines *neonazismo* 'neonazism' (1990) in a similar fashion: "movimiento político e ideológico, posterior a la Segunda Guerra Mundial, que reivindica las doctrinas y prácticas del nazismo."

Although these semantic values continue to be most prevalent in political and religious neologisms, there is evidence of them having expanded to other contexts and registers, as the examples *neotauromaquia* '(neo)bullfighting' (1980) and *neotelevisión* 'neotelevision' (1999)[138] illustrate. In many of these cases, this prefix not only expresses 'new, revived or modified,' but is often used derogatorily to denote something that does not live up the the quality of the original, or something that is a poor substitute of "how it should be." This is well illustrated in the following article concerning modern Spanish bullfighting:

[138] Used to refer to the genre of modern television programs such as reality shows and "docu-shows" (CREA s.v.).

> Cada vez hay menos banderilleros que banderilleen como Dios manda, y en cambio cada vez hay más banderilleros que les gritan a sus espadas la **neotauromaquia** desde la boca del burladero. Un banderillero le gritaba a Ramón Bustamante lo que había de hacer en cada momento, y gracias a que Ramón Bustamante hacía exactamente lo contrario pudo interpretar el toreo clásico, con personalidad y gusto. (EP. Joaquín Vidal. 3-11-1991. "Aprendices del toreo vulgar.")

The second principal category of words with *neo*- in Spanish contains those that can be used to denote the general semantic value of 'new' or 'recent' without being 'revived or modified.' A clear example is *neorural* '(neo)rural' (2002), which describes someone who previously lived in an urban environment but was recently reestablished in a rural setting. In other words, someone who is simply 'new' to a rural life, as the following quote illustrates:

> Vivía en la periferia de Madrid. Lo dejé todo y me vine aquí…no quiero jefes, ataduras, vivimos con libertad. En la naturaleza. Me empleo en la huerta, en alguna construcción que se haga, poco más...La vida de los **neorrurales**, gente que deja la ciudad para emprender una nueva vida en el campo, tiene que servir como ejemplo. (EP. Juan Diego Quesada. 9-16-2010. "No moleste, por favor.")

The third category of words with *neo*- is much less common but is semantically significant. Interestingly, this prefix occurs at times with certain adjectival forms of place names as a replacment for *nueva*. For instance, people from *Nueva York* or *Nueva Zelanda* are commonly referred to as *neoyorquinos* (or *neoyorkinos*) or *neozelandeses*.[139] These show that there is at least a general equivalence in the language of *nuevo* = *neo* that could therefore help to increase the semantic transparency of *neo*-.

As has been seen by the previous examples, *neo*- is used in substantival and adjectival derivation. While that in itself is not unusual for this class of prefix, what separates *neo*- is the

[139] The phonetic similarity between English *new* and Spanish *neo* could possibly be a factor as well with these particular cases, since both of these place names originate from English.

fact that it has a much higher frequency of adjectival derivation than others included in this study, due mostly to the prevalence of forms with *–ista*. For instance, of the approximately 90 neologisms with this prefix registered by Alvar (2003:827-835), at least 50 are adjectives. As is the case with others, verbal derivation only occurs from previously existing nouns or adjectives, such as in *neocolonismo/neocolonialista* > *neocolonizar* 'to (neo)colonize' (Alvar-Ezquerra 2003:828). The sources included here register no examples of verbal derivation without a previously produced noun or adjective.

3.1.8 *(P)seudo-* in Spanish since 1900

Since the end of the 19th century, little has changed with this prefix in regard to its productivity and semantic value. It continues to be an active part of the Spanish lexicon with the fundamental interpretation of 'false' or 'counterfeit.'[140] As will be seen in section 3.3.7, the most significant changes have been in the area of morphosyntax, with the recategorization of *(p)seudo-* as an adjective.

As a prefix, (*p*)*seudo-* most commonly combines with nouns, and these can be found in a wide range of contexts and registers. Like the majority of Hellenisms, this prefix continues to flourish in specialized academic jargon of numerous fields, like *pseudosarcomatoso* 'pseudosarcomatous' in medicine, *pseudorriemanniana* 'pseudoriemannian' in physics and *pseudoestepa* 'pseudosteppe' in geography, but it is certainly not limited to these. A variety of examples spanning the last thirty or forty years give proof of the expansion of *(p)seudo-* into

[140] In regard to its orthographic representation, the DRAE (s.v.) continues to accept both forms (*pseudo-* and *seudo-*), as is also the case with other Hellenisms that originally contained the letter ψ, which historically was transliterated in the Roman alphabet as *ps*. Since the /p/ is not pronounced, many feel it unnecessary to maintain its representation in writing, yet due to its history, the full *ps-* is still found today. The data suggest that there is no interpretative distinction and relatively equal distribution exists between the two variant forms. For example, CREA registers 728 tokens with *pseudo-* and 700 with *seudo-*.

more familiar vocabulary, being combined with roots of non-specialized nature: *pseudoproblema* '(pseudo)problem' (1977), *pseudodebate* '(pseudo)debate' (1986), *pseudocarrera* '(pseudo)race' (2002), *pseudopadre* '(pseudo)father' (2002). Like *anti-*, this prefix is also often found attached to proper names of salient historical figures, such as *seudo-Aristóteles* '(pseudo)Aristotle' (1983), *seudo-Agustín* '(pseudo)Agustine' (1991) and *seudo-Ghandi* '(pseudo)Ghandi' (2001), in reference to persons or ideas that attempt to imitate the teachings or lifestyle of the figure in question. *(P)seudo-* also continues to be productive in adjectival derivation, and many examples are found in the lexicon: *seudorreligioso* 'pseudoreligious' (1980), *pseudooficial* '(pseudo)official' (1995), *pseudosólido* '(pseudo)solid' (2000), *pseudocreativo* '(pseudo)creative' (2002).

As is true for *neo-*, *(p)seudo-* is often used pejoratively in reference to persons or phenomena that are poor substitutes or inadequate representations of the idea in question. In such contexts, the primary semantic value expressed is 'more or less' or 'sort of,' which differs slightly from the historical usage.[141] This is illustrated by the following use of *pseudocomedia* '(pseudo)comedy':

> (…) Más triste aún si pensamos que todos los estereotipos y clichés en los que sustenta sus **pseudocomedias** (¿qué otra cosa puede pensarse cuando la primera y timorata risa del respetable se escucha pasados más de 70 minutos de proyección, es decir, casi media película?) (CREA. [Author not provided]. 6-1-2003. "Una mirada crítica a faustino (…)" *Fondo negro.* Bolivia.)

Despite still mostly being found in substantival derivation, this prefix has flourished in recent decades, showing considerable versatility as one of the few neoclassical prefixes to be used in verbal derivation as well, as can be seen with *pseudoinstalarse* '(pseudo)settle in' and

[141] Quirk (1985:1541) et al. say *pseudo-* is also 'pejorative' or derogatory in English. As will be seen in section 3.3.7, this semantic value could play an important role in syntactic position of debonded *(p)seudo*.

pseudoresolverse '(pseudo)solve itself' in the following citations, both of which express the innovative semantic value 'sort of:'

> Digo que el tiempo se encargó de aclarar estas dudas porque, como no podía ser de otra manera, Paula terminó **pseudoinstalándose** en casa. No fue una mudanza completa (…) (CORPES XXI. Eduardo de la Puente. 2002. *Por qué tardé tanto en casarme: crónica despiadada de las mujeres de mi vida.* Argentina.)
>
> Ana O seguía cuidando a su padre pero a costa de sentir cada vez más aversión por él, a la vez que ternura; este conflicto aparentemente interno **se pseudo-resolvía** a través de los síntomas que presentaba (episodios de ceguera, parálisis en los miembros superiores, etc.) (CORPES XXI. Francisco Rosa Novalbos. 3-12-2002. *Cuaderno de Materiales, Universidad Complutense de Madrid*. Spain.)

Despite the fact that these new verbal uses are still a small minority of neologisms with *(p)seudo-* when compared to substantival and adjectival derivation, they do represent recent innovation in the Spanish lexicon and suggest that productivity with this prefix is expanding into functions associated with other word classes and morphosyntactic constructions that were not historically possible.

3.1.9 *Super-*

3.1.9.1 *Super-* in Spanish since 1900

Since the middle of the 20th century, *super-* has been extremely productive in modern Spanish, testimony to which is the fact that Alvar-Ezquerra (1994:543-560; 2003:1182-1214) registers well over 300 neologisms with this prefix. This is even more impressive given its very limited historical use.

Over the last fifty years, *super-* has been used dominantly in substantival and adjectival derivation as an intensifier of quality with the semantic value of 'great,' and as an intensifier of

quantity with the value of 'very (much)' (Rodríguez Ponce 1999:365).[142] Examples are numerous in the corpora, with both positive and negative concepts: *superjugador* '(super)player' (1980), *superdifícil* '(super)difficult' (1990), *superinteligente* '(super)intelligent' (1990), *superprograma* '(super)program' (1996), *superdesagradable* '(super)unpleasant' (1998 EP) and *superfácil* '(super)easy' (1998).[143] As is the case with *mega*- and *hiper*-, many times this prefix is used to add greater emphasis than would be present with the default *muy* or *mucho*.[144] *Superfácil*, then, would be used to refer to something beyond *muy fácil*:

> (…) El snowbike es otra más de las alternativas que los centros de deportes invernales están empezando a ofrecer a sus clientes para diversificar la oferta de emociones. "Te diviertes desde el primer momento. Lo mejor de estas bicis con esquís", asegura, "es que es **superfácil** controlarlas y que son muy accesibles para gente con poca movilidad o muy patosa en el esquí tradicional. (CREA. Martín Compston. 1-10-2003. "El país de las tentaciones." *El País*. Spain.)

The context suggests that in this particular example that the speaker uses prefixal *super*- to add more emphasis than would be present with *muy*. A gradient can be seen, then, such as the following, with an increased quantity from left to right: *fácil* > *muy fácil* > *superfácil*.

Earlier in the 20th century, *super*- was also used to convey the semantic value 'excessive(ly),' (equal to the English 'over-' in certain expressions) in the same way as *hiper*-. This is true at times even in scientific terms with Greek roots, such as *supercloración* 'superchlorination' (1974), but in less formal registers as well such as *superproducción* 'overproduction' (1911) and *superpoblado* 'overpopulated' (1933). However, examples with

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[142] As Martín García (1998:113-114) points out, while both *sobre*- and *super*- in modern Spanish have their origin in the Latin preposition *super* 'on top (of), above', *sobre*- has maintained this status while *super*- has been relegated to being an intensifier and has lost most of its locative capacity.
[143] *Super-easy* (hyphenated) appears in the OED (s.v.) under "ad hoc combinations" with the meaning 'very easy.'
[144] It is also true that *super*- can intensify diminutive concepts. For example, Rodríguez Ponce (1999:366) uses *superminifalda* '(super)miniskirt' to illustrate this, with the interpretation of 'a very short miniskirt'. It is not, however, normally used as a diminutive.

this value are scarce, particularly in recent decades, and it is not always clearly distinguishable from the more common intensifying value of 'much' and 'very' (Rodríguez Ponce 1999:366). *Super-* as a locative has also diminished significantly, yet there are still remnants of this value of 'over' and 'above' in some 20th century neologisms like *superregional* '(super)regional' (1935), *supersónico* 'supersonic' (1951) and *superespacial* 'superspatial' (1978). However, recent productivity with this value is all but non-existent (Guerrero Salazar 2002:361; Rodríguez Ponce 1999:365).[145]

According to Romero Gualda (1995:280), it is since 1980 that *super-* has been used dominantly in Spanish with a superlative intensifying value, while neologisms with the value of 'excessive(ly)' have diminished, especially in juvenile speech. This suggests that the intensifying values are flourishing among the younger generations, while the older values of 'excessive(ly)' and the locative 'above' are not. This could represent a semantic shift in progress that with time will result in the newer values becoming so dominant that the others die out altogether.

Morphosyntactically speaking, *super-* has become quite versatile, as is witnessed by the fact that it can be used in derivation with all four word types permissible with intensifiers: nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs (Martín García 1998:104). Nonetheless, it must be stated that in modern Spanish it much more commonly is attached to substantival and adjectival roots. Verbal and adverbial derivation with this prefix are present but far less productive.[146] Within verbal derivation, despite the presence of learned borrowings that maintain the locative 'above' or 'on

[145] González García & Arribas Jiménez (2010:278) suggest a possible locative interpretation for certain sports terms with this prefix, such as boxing classes *superligero*, *superpluma*, etc., which would be interpreted as 'superior al ligero' and 'superior al pluma.' Neither of these terms appears in the DRAE.
[146] For instance, out of the numerous items included in Alvar-Ezquerra (2003:1182-1214) with *super-*, only two are verbs (*superdisfrutar* and *supercomercializar*) and none are adverbs. Neither of these appears in CREA or CORPES XXI.

top (of)' (many of which are pairs with *sobre-*, such as *superponer/sobreponer* 'to put on top of'), recently produced forms dominantly carry the semantic value of either 'excessive(ly)' or 'very much.' Rodríguez Ponce (1999:367) cites *superproteger* 'to overprotect' (1997) and *superperdonar* 'to (super)forgive' (1998) as clear examples of this. *Super-* has appeared in adverbial derivation, yet this is fairly limited, and has only been seen with a few common bases in recent decades like *superbién* '(super)well' (1990) and *superasí* '(super)so' (1998) (Rodríguez Ponce 1999:367).

In casual speech, *super-* has certainly become widespread as an intensifier. At times, it is also used in combination with one or more intensifiers (often with *ultra-*) in order to add an increased emphasis to the statement. For example, in recent years several different combinations have been documented, such as *super-ultra-liberales* '(super…)liberals' (2001) and *super-híper-ultra-católico* '(super…)catholic' (2008 LN). Other times these elements can be combined with the superlative suffix for an even greater effect, as in the *archi-ultra-super-recontra-conocidísimo* '(…super…)well-known' (2011 EUV) and the Mexicanism *supermultipadrísimo* '(super)…cool' (2008 EUM). Perhaps the clearest example of their extremely informal nature can be seen in the following comment given in reference to a 2012 EUV article dealing with housing in Venezuela, in which these elements are combined even with onomatopoeia:

> ¿Bueno y que pasó con la **súper-hiper-mega-uff-guao** Misión Vivienda? ¿No que le iban a dar su 'vivienda digna' y 'bien equipada' hasta a los marcianos y a los habitantes de toda la galaxia? (EUV. 10-2-2012. "Manifestantes trancan la avenida Francisco de Miranda a la altura del Inavi." Comentario de Jorge Luis Sué Orellana.)

Although other neoclassical intensifiers are present at times (*hiper-* and *mega-*) and *super-* does not always appear first in the sequence, *super-* is present in vast majority of these

constructions and thus appears to be the fundamental or default intensifier in the minds of many speakers.

3.1.9.2 Synonymy with *hiper*- and *super*-: the case of *hipermercado/supermercado*

Although they both stem historically from synonymous prepositions expressing the semantic value 'over' or 'above' (both locatively and figuratively), these two prefixes have since developed an innovative relationship of graded intensity when used as prefixes, in a similar way to what has been seen in the diminutives *mini*- and *micro*- (Martín García 1998:110). The gradient is evident in substantival and adjectival derivation and proceeds as follows, from less intense to more intense: Ø > *super*- > *hiper*-. In this way, the adjective *corto* 'short' and the noun *banco* 'bank, bench' can be intensified in this fashion, with *hiper*- representing the greatest intensity of quantity or quality: *corto* > *supercorto* > *hipercorto*; *banco* > *superbanco* > *hiperbanco* (Rodríguez Ponce 1999:370- 371).[147]

This gradable distinction is most readily observable in the pair *hipermercado/ supermercado* '(hiper)market/supermarket,' in which the former refers to a bigger version of the latter that typically sells more numerous and diverse products. The sources consulted confirm that both these terms are 20th century neologisms, the former of which originates from the French *hypermarché* and the latter from the English *supermarket* (DRAE s.v.).[148] In fact, the gradient relationship itself, at least in this particular case, also is likely to have originated in French during the second half of the 20th century (*marché* > *supermarché* > *hypermarché*), which later passed to English and other European languages, including Italian, Portuguese and Spanish (Italian

[147] In agreement with this is Alvar-Ezquerra (2003), who regularly defines *hiper*- in Spanish neologisms as 'en grado sumo' or 'en extremo.'

[148] DFL registers *hypermarché* as 'surface de vente au détail de plus de 2.500 m2, exploitée en libre-service, offrant un large assortiment de produits, établie le plus souvent à la périphérie des villes et dotée d'aires de stationnement.' The OED (s.v.) defines *supermarket* as 'a large store, typically one of a chain, selling a wide range of food and groceries, as well as household goods and other products.'

ipermercato/ supermercato; Portuguese and Spanish *hipermercado/supermercado*) (CID s.v.; OED s.v.; DFL s.v.).[149] It thus represents an interesting example of the mutual influence that languages in contact can possess, since English gave French *supermarché* (< *supermarket*) and French, in turn, gave English *hypermarket* (< *hypermarché*), with the end result being that both language possessed both terms.[150] Being thus a fairly recent phenomenon that has come via French and English loanwords, this pair gives yet another example of the powerful effect that language contact has had on the modern Spanish lexicon.

The distribution of this pair in Spanish is not uniform, however, since the terms with the less intense *super-* appear with greater frequency than those with the more intense *hiper-*.[151] Nonetheless, the following data suggest that while *supermercado* is and always has been used with much greater frequency in modern Spanish, *hipermercado* has existed as an intensifier of the former since the early 1980s.

Table 3.5 Historical frequency of *hipermercado(s)* and *supermercado(s)* in CORDE, CREA and CORPES XXI

	Hipermercado(s)	***Supermercado(s)***
Total tokens 1965-1969 (CORDE)	0	4

[149] Italian *ipermercato:* 'grande supermercato fornito di servizi complementari per la clientela (parcheggio auto, servizi personali, ecc.).
Italian *supermercato:* 'grande punto di vendita al pubblico caratterizzato dal sistema del self-service' (CID s.v.).
Portuguese *hipermercado:* 'Grande estabelecimento comercial em que o comprador retira as mercadorias das prateleiras ou estantes, efectuando o pagamento à saída.'
Portuguese *supermercado:* 'Estabelecimento comercial em que o comprador retira as mercadorias das prateleiras ou estantes, efectuando o pagamento à saída' (DPLP s.v.).
[150] The DFL states that the French *supermarché* is 'calque de l'americain *supermarket*'; the OED (s.v.) likewise states that *hypermarket* originates from the French *hypermarché*.
[151] The data suggest that exceptions to this pattern (i.e. the *hiper-* term being more common than its *super-* counterpart) only appear in specialized contexts such as business and medicine (*hiperinflación/superinflación, hipertensión/supertensión*) in which the *hiper-* term has become lexicalized as official vocabulary for a specific phenomenon, rather than representing a truly intensified gradient.

Total tokens 1970-1974 (CORDE)	0	7
Total tokens 1975-1979 (CREA)	0	42
Total tokens 1980-1984 (CREA)	12	39
Total tokens 1985-1989 (CREA)	50	152
Total tokens 1990-1994 (CREA)	29	163
Total tokens 1995-1999 (CREA)	128	536
Total tokens 2000-2004 (CREA)	76	418
Total tokens 2005-2009 (CORPES XXI)	92	1462
Total tokens 2010-2014 (CORPES XXI)	45	719
Total tokens from years 1965-2014	**432 (10.9%)**	**3,542 (89.1%)**

Further data show strong evidence that these two terms are regularly distinguished in the lexicon and can often be found in the same immediate context. The DRAE (s.v.) registers *hipermercado* as a "gran supermercado," and other sources as well put emphasis on the separation of these terms, like the following excerpt from the Argentinian newspaper *La Nueva Provincia* concerning the construction of a new local *supermercado*:

> (…) El Disco bahiense **será un <u>supermercado</u>, no un <u>hipermercado</u>**, según explicaron los directivos de esa firma...se apunta, particularmente, a la comercialización de alimentos de buen nivel, con atención personalizada al cliente (…) (CREA. [Author not provided]. 4-13-1997. "Super." *La Nueva Provincia*. Argentina.)

This same distinction is also made in respect to the clipped forms, as illustrated in the more recent EP article title "El súper derrota al híper" (EP. Fernando Baciela. 8-17-2012).[152] These two prefixes, then, represent two historical synonyms that are now no longer substitutable in many cases due to semantic innovation, in this particular instance, the development of a relationship of graded intensity in French which later passed to the Spanish calque forms. This association that *hiper*- and *super*- now have in the modern Spanish lexicon has now spread to other terms as well, like the previously *hiperbanco/superbanco* and *hipercorto*/*supercorto.* It is possible that, given the widespread use of such pairs like *hipermercado/supermercado*, more and more minimal pairs with these same semantic characteristics will also begin to appear.

3.1.10 Conclusion for general productivity patterns with neoclassical prefixes

The sum of all this data strongly suggests that these eight neoclassical prefixes have become firmly established in the modern lexicon, and for all general purposes are both semantically and morphologically transparent. Overall, speakers throughout the Spanish-speaking world can and do habitually employ them in a wide range of settings. The most significant change in the last century or so is not necessarily the rise in the mere number of terms but rather their infiltration into informal registers. As has been shown in chapter two, none of these prefixes are new to the 20th century, but have previously been confined mostly to formal and specialized contexts, thus being fairly limited in productivity. Yet the recurrence of terms such as *hiperfamoso* '(hyper)famous,' *megabién* '(mega)well' and *superfácil* '(super)easy' prove that they are found regularly even in the most casual and familiar conversations. Neoclassical prefixes have thus come to form part of the majority's speech, instead of being relegated only to that of the select and educated few.

[152] See sections 3.3.2 and 3.3.8 for further discussion of clipped forms.

The data also show that there is an obvious range of productivity among the eight neoclassical prefixes analyzed here. That is to say that those such as *neo-* are simply less productive than others like *anti-*, *mega-* and *super-*. Although there could be other factors affecting this, one of the principal causes is likely to be the semantic restrictions that items such as *neo-* have. As Martín Camacho (1994:312) state, there are both morphological and semantic restrictions on productivity. Logically, it should come as no surprise if those elements with more specific semantic values are less productive than those with wider, more inclusive values (Moyna (2011:87). On the flipside, then, it is likely that *anti-*, *mega-* and *super-* are more productive due at least in part to their semantic inclusivity.

3.2 Language Contact with neoclassical prefixes

In section 3.2 I give specific examples of documented borrowings from English to Spanish that contain neoclassical prefixes, such as *anti-spam* > *anti-spam* and *megashow* > *megashow/megaespectáculo*. I conclude that the English language has thus played a significant role in the modern Spanish lexicon by having contributed numerous transparent loanwords which in turn have influenced native productivity with the equivalent elements they contain. In the majority of cases, English has only contributed to increase the number of items in the Spanish lexicon, yet at times, it also has influenced semantic interpretation of neoclassical prefixes in Spanish, the most salient example of which is found in *anti-*, which commonly is interpreted as ‘prevents’ or ‘protects from X.’

3.2.1 English influence with *anti-* in Spanish

In both of these languages, the prefix *anti-* has been extremely common in recent history, and particularly over the last century. In English, this prefix has been present since at least 1559

and now registers in over 400 terms in the OED, the majority of which are nouns and adjectives with the primary semantic value of 'against' or 'in opposition to' (*anti-abortion*, *anti-constitutional*, etc.) but also 'prevents' (*anti-glare*, *antifreeze*, etc.).

English influence with *anti-* in Spanish is abundantly evident and numerous loanwords can be observed in different stages of morphological adaptation. First, there are those that have come wholesale with this prefix attached (with *anti-* in the original English) without showing any morphological or orthographic modification in Spanish. This is often the case in terms related to computers or other electronic devices, such as *sistema electrónico anti-shock* 'electronic anti-shock system' (1999)[153] and *bloqueo anti-spam* 'anti-spam blocker' (2000), but is by no means limited to these fields, as other examples appear in business (*anti-dumping* 1982)[154] and music (*anti-jazz* 2000). Many of such terms can be seen as real-time transitions from foreign element to native one, most times in form of a calque, in order to better harmonize with Spanish language morphophonological norms. When this is the case, often times alternative and equivalent terms with a native translated root will appear alongside the borrowed item in the immediate context, for clarification purposes. A good example can be seen in a recent article from *El País* (5-24-2013) titled "Nueva investigación antitrust contra Google," in which *antimonopolio* appears as a calque of *antitrust:*[155]

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[153] Unless otherwise noted, all dates appearing alongside neologisms in chapter 3 represent the earliest attestation in the three RAE corpora (CORDE, CREA and CORPES XXI), and when neologisms are presented in groups they will be in chronological order starting with the earliest.

[154] Cited in Rodgríguez González & Lillo Buades (1997:45); date represents earliest appearance in CREA. The DRAE (s.v.) registers *dumping* as: "[la] práctica comercial de vender a precios inferiores al costo, para adueñarse del mercado, con grave perjuicio de este."

[155] *Antitrust* is cited as an Anglicism by Rodgríguez González & Lillo Buades (1997:46). Neither of these terms appear in the DRAE. *Antitrust* (or *anti-trust*) in English is recorded since 1890 as an entity or action "opposed to trusts or similar monopolistic combinations," that is, opposition to any attempt by a particular business to obtain greater control over the economy by eliminating competition (OED s.v.). In CREA, *antitrust* appears in Spanish for the first time in 1979, and *antimonopolio* shortly after in 1983.

> La estadounidense Comisón Federal de Comercio (FTC) ha abierto una investigación sobre si Google ha infringido la ley **antimonopolio** con sus sistemas de ventas de publicidad…empresas de la competencia han acusado a Google de aprovechar productos de DoubleClick, como el sistema de gestión de publicidad que tiene un 80% del mercado (…)

Some of these borrowings can exist as doublets for a considerable length of time, and there are examples of both terms surviving side by side for many years. Such is the case with *anti-doping*, first seen in CREA in 1980, and its transliterated native counterpart *anti-dopaje* (1989). In this corpus, these two terms show remarkable parallel for the first two decades of existence, as both appear almost an identical number of times and with relatively the same distribution between 1980 and 2000. In the last decade both terms continue to be used, even at times interchangeably in the same article, in the same way as the above examples of *antitrust* and *antimonopolio*. For example, on May 26th, 2010, the Argentine newspaper *La Nación* published an article titled "sorpresivos controles antidoping," with the first paragraph reading as follows: "Jugadores de España y Alemania fueron sometidos a una prueba de orina en las concentraciones; habrá 575 exámenes antidopaje antes y durante el Mundial de Sudáfrica."[156] However, since the turn of the century, and particularly in the last ten years, the doublet has grown more and more unequal, with the calque form *antidopaje* showing much higher frequency of use than the foreign *antidoping*, as the following table 3.6 suggests.

[156] While *antidoping* has its origin in English, it is likely that French has played a significant role in the use of these two terms in Spanish. Rodgríguez González & Lillo Buades (1997:46) suggest that although *antidoping* originated in English, it came via French during the 1960s, and that *antidopaje* could also be morphologically influenced by French *antidopage*. However, both *antidoping* and *antidopaje* are listed as Anglicisms by these authors.

Table 3.6 Frequency of *antidoping* and *antidopaje* in CREA and CORPES XXI (1980-2014)

	Antidoping	***Antidopaje***
(CREA) number of tokens 1980-1984	6	0
(CREA) number of tokens 1985-1989	18	12
(CREA) number of tokens 1990-1994	21	12
(CREA) number of tokens 1995-1999	47	52
(CREA) number of tokens 2000-2004	24	44
(CORPES XXI) number of tokens 2005-2009	58	166
(CORPES XXI) number of tokens 2010-2014	30	98
Total tokens	**199 (35 %)**	**368 (65%)**
Total tokens 1980-2004	**116 (49.1%)**	**120 (50.9%)**
Total tokens 2005-2014	**88 (25%)**	**264 (75%)**

This data suggest that the foreign form *antidoping* is on the decline and the calque *antidopaje* is increasing in frequency.[157] If this pattern continues, the doublet can be expected to make a complete transition at some point in the near future, with the calque becoming the only regularly used form in modern Spanish.

[157] Other English loanwords with *anti-* appear to have adopted a native root almost immediately without ever forming a widely used doublet with a native Spanish root. *Antipiratería* (1997), in all likelihood a calque of *anti-pirating/antipiracy* (in electronics) is a possible example, according to the documentation available. Others include *frenos antibloqueo* (1992) (< *antilock brakes*) and *antipinchazo* (1994) (< *antipuncture*).

Some recent examples demonstrate a more complete transition period, so to speak, since the original loanword with the foreign root has died away or has drastically reduced in frequency. An illustration of this is the doublet *antistress/antiestrés*, which commonly is used in reference to medicines or bodily treatments, such as *crema antiestrés* or *masaje antiestrés.* While the unmodified English loanword still exists in Spanish, the calque form has been clearly dominant over the last two decades, so much so that the original *antistress* could be said to be dying out in Spanish. The corpora certainly support this idea, as can be seen in the following data.

Table 3.7 Frequency of *antistress* and *antiestrés* in CORPES XXI, CREA, EP, EUM, EUV, LN and LR[158]

	Antistress	***Antiestrés***
CORPES XXI	0	40
CREA	2	21
EP (Spain)	0	47
EUM (Mexico)	3	102
EUV (Venezuela)	5	387
LN (Argentina)	20	215
LR (Peru)	4	147
Total tokens/hits	**34 (3.4%)**	**959 (96.6%)**

[158] Throughout section 3.2, numbers for EP, EUM, EUV, LN and LR represent total hits in the search engine on the website in question. Certain hits may represent more than one token. See bibliography for specific web addresses.

Perhaps the most significant contribution that English loanwords with *anti*- have given to modern Spanish has been those with the semantic value of 'protects from' or 'prevents,' which is related yet not identical to that seen in historical terms and is seen in the above example of *antistress/antiestrés*, as well as others like *anti-shock* and *anti-spam*. As was shown in section 2.1, this semantic value was not present in the original Greek or early Latin borrowings, but was rather a modern innovation that became popularized during the middle of the 20th century. While there are clear examples from more recent years, borrowings from English with this semantic value have been recorded since at least 1950, one of the earliest being *anticongelante* (< *antifreeze*), which is classified as an Anglicism by Alfaro (1950:45).[159] *Anticongelante*, then, is not something that is opposed to freezing (as an *antichrist* is opposed to *Christ* or an *anticommunist* is opposed to *communism*) but rather that which prevents freezing from occurring. Other terms in electronics have become widespread in Spanish as well, particularly *antivirus* (1993) (< *antivirus/anti-virus*),[160] which has become a standard term for numerous computer programs designed to protect from software viruses. It is this semantic value that has flourished in terms related to cosmetics and medicine, as seen in subsequent borrowings like *antiperspirante* (< *antiperspirant*) (Morales 2009:45). These terms and others have served as models for Spanish productivity in subsequent neologisms like *antiacné* 'that which prevents acne' (1993), *antiarrugas* (1995) 'that which prevents wrinkles' and *antigrasa* (1995) 'that which prevents fat' (CREA; Martí Antonín 1998:11-12; Montero Curiel 1998:324).

3.2.2 English influence with *hiper*- in Spanish

Hyper- has been recurrent in English for a considerable length time. Support of this is found in the fact that the OED registers well over one hundred words with this prefix since the

[159] *Anticongelante* is also classified as an Anglicism by Morales (2009:44).
[160] *Antivirus* is listed as an Anglicism in Morales (2009:45).

17th century, and the number of these has continued to increase in recent decades. In the past, *hyper-* was typically used in substantival and adjectival derivation with the general semantic value of 'excessive(ly),' and there are a few examples of borrowings with this definition (*hyperactive* > *hiperactivo*) (Morales 2009:362). Yet English influence is most readily observable now in technological terms such as *hyperbook*, *hyperlink*, *hypermedia* and *hypertext* to express the idea of 'beyond' or 'in addition to.'[161] This specific semantic value likely was made popular by the American scholar Ted Nelson, who according to the OED (s.v.) coined the terms *hypertext* and *hypermedia* in his 1965 publications. Originally, the former word referred to "a body of written or pictorial material interconnected in such a complex way that it could not conveniently be presented or represented on paper," yet with the rise of internet it took on the more specific meaning of "a method of storing data through a computer program that allows a user to create and link fields of information at will and to retrieve the data non-sequentially" (OED s.v.).[162] However, due to the relatively restricted contexts in which they are used, some of these terms are less transparent in meaning and thus are likely to have a more limited effect on the general lexicon.

Most of these terms found their way into Spanish during the 1990s in the form of calques, as is typically the case: *hypertext* > *hipertexto* (1994), *hypermedia* > *hipermedia* (1995), *hyperbook* > *hiperlibro* (1999). While there is little evidence of widespread doublets with *hyper-/hiper-*, some terms can have variant calque forms, such as *hyperlink*, which can be used (infrequently) in its original form, can be translated into Spanish as both *hiperenlace* (2000) and *hipervínculo* (2000) (CREA). Yet there is uneven distribution between these two neologisms,

[161] Hyperbook: "an electronic book-length text with features like video links, etc." (OED s.v.).
[162] *Hypermedia* also refers to this type of information access, only mostly in reference to video and sound files. *Hypertext* later became part of the two frequently used acronyms *http* (hypertext transfer protocol) and *html* (hypertext markup language), both of which begin to appear in Spanish no later than the mid-1990s (CREA).

and evidence suggests that *hipervínculo* is the dominant throughout the Spanish-speaking world, shown in table 3.8.[163]

Table 3.8 Frequency of *hyperlink*, *hiperenlace* and *hipervínculo* in CORPES XXI, CREA, EP, EUM, EUV, LN and LR[164]

	Hyperlink	***Hiperenlace***	***Hipervínculo***
CORPES XXI	4	9	54
CREA	1	13	33
EP (Spain)	1	4	23
EUM (Mexico)	6	0	13
EUV (Venezuela)	6	3	104
LN (Argentina)	6	1	71
LR (Peru)	6	1	13
Total tokens/hits	**30 (8%)**	**31 (8.3%)**	**311 (83.7%)**

What is most significant with these borrowings is the fact that they maintain the semantic value present in the original English of 'beyond' or 'in addition to.' Language contact, then, not only has incremented the number of lexical items in Spanish with this prefix but may also be contributing to a more recurrent use with that particular interpretation.

[163] None of these three terms appears in the DRAE.
[164] Tokens for CREA and CORPES XXI include the plural forms *hyperlinks*, *hiperenlaces* and *hipervínculos*.

In Spanish as well as many other languages, such technological neologisms have become commonplace with the boom of internet and other electronic resources, yet what is also true is that they do not always carry a transparent meaning. Even within the last decade or so, many times these terms need to be defined, as is illustrated in Javier Royo's *Diseño digital* (2004), which attempts to clarify the meaning of *hipermedia* and *hipertexto*:

> Esto es un sistema **hipermedia**: un conjunto de **hipertextos** conectados entre sí. Dentro de la definición de hipermedia nos encontramos con el hipertexto. Hipertexto es el sistema de elementos sensibles (de ser pulsados) ya sean en forma visual, sonora o secuencial, mediante los cuales nos dirigimos hacia otros espacios de información. Son los nódulos que unen todas las informaciones en el ciberespacio, los nódulos de la red nerviosa (de transmisión informativa) (...) (CREA)

It is clear from such a text that certain loanwords with *hiper*- are not as transparent as others, yet as neologisms with this prefix continue to be increase in number, their semantic value is likely to become more apparent.

3.2.3 English influence with *macro*- in Spanish

The available data strongly suggest that during the 20th and 21st centuries the English language has been the source of loanwords with *macro*- in Spanish. Although the OED (s.v.) affirms that *macro*- does not have a long history in English, having been adopted only since the year 1821, since that time this prefix has been quite productive in the fields of science and technology. Of the approximately one hundred entries with *macro*- in the OED, the majority are nouns and adjectives that tend to fall into two basic categories based on their definition. The first is the more general 'large' or 'big,' as is the case with *macronutrient* (1942), which is defined as "any of the chemical elements that are necessary in relatively large amounts for normal growth and development" (OED s.v.). The second and most common is to refer to something 'over-

arching or large-scale' that has 'many parts or participants.' Clear examples of this are *macromodel* (1947) and *macrogeography* (1958), which are defined as follows:

> **Macromodel**: A theoretical or conceptual model which deals primarily with the behaviour of a system as a whole, rather than that of its constituent elements; a model that takes into account large-scale, global, or systemic factors.
>
> **Macrogeography**: A macroscopic approach to human geography that aims to identify large-scale patterns in observed phenomena rather than concentrating on local data, esp. in the analysis of population distribution, and its relation to economic and social conditions. (OED s.v.)

Within this second definition and perhaps one of the most influential terms historically with this prefix is the adjective *macroeconomic*, along with its corresponding noun *macroeconomics.* According to the OED (s.v.), the adjective form first appeared in H.W. Robinson's textbook from 1939 titled *Economics of Building*. In this publication, the author uses the term to refer to those economic issues of a widespread region or an entire nation, as opposed to the finances of an individual or small section of society. Throughout the following decades, this term became widespread in English, and transliterated equivalents began appearing as well in other European languages,[165] including Spanish, whose adjective *macroeconómico* is first appears in CORDE in 1958.[166] Since that date, it is registered in CREA more than 900 times in 650 documents throughout the Spanish-speaking world, from Spain to México to Uruguay. At present, the noun *macroeconomics* and its equivalents in other languages have become standard terms for this division of economic study in countless universities.

The English language has also been the source of terms with *macro-* in other fields of learning, such as biology and computer science, and these tend to carry the semantic value of

[165] Compare French *macroéconomique*, first documented officially in 1948 (OED).
[166] The noun form *macroeconomía* does not appear in CORDE and CREA until 1982, although it is likely to have existed before.

'large-scale' with 'many parts.' Some clear examples are *macroevolution* and *macro-instruction*, which gave way to the Spanish *macroevolución* (1969) and *macro-instrucción* (1971) (CORDE). Both of these terms express the basic idea of a widespread or overarching phenomenon with many parts or participants:

> Creo que los paleontólogos tienen mucho que decir respecto de las causas de la evolución…anticipo que, en esencia, el argumento consiste en distinguir entre los cambios de frecuencias génicas en la poblaciones…y los procesos que afectan a las especies a escala geológica, o **macroevolución**. (CREA. Juan Luis Arsuaga. 2001. *El enigma de la esfinge: Las causas, el curso y el propósito de la evolución.* Spain.)

Macro-instruction is also defined as "a single instruction written as part of the source program language which when assembled will generate many machine code instructions" (OED). In the technological world it is often clipped as *macro*, both in English and Spanish, and the DRAE (s.v.) even includes this *macro* with its only separate entry.[167]

Although fewer in number, English has certainly contributed significant terms with *macro-* to the Spanish lexicon. While some of them are found in academic contexts and are arguably not part of every speaker's lexicon, it is likely that the widespread use of such transparent loanwords has contributed to the productivity of *macro-* in Spanish during recent decades with the value of 'large-scale.'[168]

3.2.4 English influence with *mega-* in Spanish

[167] Alvar-Ezquerra (2003:684) has *macro* as a clipping of *macroeconomía*. See section 3.3 for a discussion of this and other such clippings in modern Spanish.

[168] Included in Alvar-Ezquerra (2003:686, 693) are the terms *macrocasting* 'casting en el que se examina un gran número de aspirantes' and *macroweb* 'web de unos contenidos muy amplios.' Although the roots are English in origin, it is unclear whether the prefixed forms were borrowed or internally created. Neither term appears in OED and clear examples in English are not available.

As was mentioned in section 2.5.2, the influence of terms with *mega-* from other European languages has been seen at least since the mid 19th century with examples like *megalomanía* and *megohms.* There is also evidence that suggests that contact with other European languages since then has played and continues to play an important role in the increased use of *mega-* in modern Spanish. Since the middle of the 20th century there have been more scientific neologisms used internationally like *megahertz* and *megawatt*, which have made their way into Spanish as well. These particular words are unique not only in the fact that they carry the semantic value of 'one million (units)' but that they are formal creations based on proper names of prominent scientists in the field and cannot be attributed to a single language.[169] Due perhaps in part to these characteristics, they have been adopted with little or no modification throughout Europe. With some, however, Spanish has produced equivalents that better follow native patterns: *megahertz* > *megahercio* (1984), *megawatt* > *megavatio* (1968), yet both of these are still used in their original form as well in modern Spanish.[170] Like many other loanwords, the corpora show variation (at least orthographically) in some of these, as at least four different equivalent forms appear in CORDE and CREA: *megawatt* (24 times), *megawat* (7 times), *megawatio* (12 times) and *megavatio* (166 times).[171]

This same semantic value of 'one million (units)' can be found in loanwords that undoubtedly originate from English, which has played a dominant role in the fast-paced and ever-changing technological world of the last century. In this area there has been a large influx of neologisms in English itself, many of which have now become almost universal, as is the case

[169] For instance, *hertz* was derived from the German physicist Heinrich Rudolf Hertz and *watt* from the Scottish engineer James Watt (OED). Dworkin (2012:12) classifies these as "technical neo-Latinate and neo-Hellenic formations" and states that it is very difficult if not impossible to prove where and when they were first coined. Nevertheless, Rodgríguez González & Lillo Buades (1997:336) include *megavatio* as an Anglicism.
[170] EP, LN, EUM and EUV all register *megahertz*, *megahercios*, *megawatts* and *megavatios* several times each.
[171] Nonetheless, *megavatio*, which best follows Spanish language norms, is the only one of the four that is registered in the DRAE and, as the numbers here demonstrate, is by far the most common.

for at least three with *mega*- that were coined in English during the second half of the 20th century: *megabit* (1957), *megabyte* (1965) and *megapixel* (1983).[172] (OED s.v.). These were subsequently borrowed into Spanish without being modified from the original form and first appear in CREA during the 1990s: *megabit* (1990), *megabyte* (1994) and *megapixel* (1998). Although still acting as an intensifier, here this prefix carries with it the much more specific meaning of 'one million (units)' that has been observed since *megaohm* in the late 19th century. Thus *megabit* refers to (approximately) one million bits and *megapixel* to one million pixels.[173] It is this definition that has been maintained in Spanish, however, despite having been present for well over a century, the exact meaning of *mega*- in many instances remains unclear, as is supported by the fact that there is still a need to define these terms in writing, as is illustrated in a recent newspaper article about digital cameras:

> De lo primero que se dará cuenta cuando se decida por una cámara digital es de que siempre se habla de cuántos **megapixels** puede capturar la máquina. Para tomar una foto, las cámaras digitales usan sensores de imagen, que no son más que millones de foto-elementos (o puntos de color) sensibles a la luz llamados pixels. Un millón de pixels equivale a un **megapixel**. (EUV. Raúl Chacón Soto. 2012. "La compra inteligente.")

Yet despite the presence of several terms with the definition of 'one million (units),' there is still no evidence to suggest that this use of *mega*- is productive in modern Spanish, nor that it has penetrated other registers outside of science and technology. Given its rather exclusive semantic value, however, this should not come as a surprise.

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[172] Dates represent first appearance in English as recorded by the OED. According to this dictionary, the root *bit* was originally a blend of *binary unit*, and was first documented in writing by C. E. Shannon in a 1948 article from the *Bell System Technical Journal*. The exact date of its coining is unknown since Shannon himself claims that the term was "suggested by J. W. Tukey." *Byte* refers to a group of eight consecutive bits and is first registered in 1964. *Pixel*, like *bit*, is also a blend. The American engineer Frederic C. Billingsley is attributed with the first published use of *pixel* for *picture element* in two articles in 1965 (Lyon 2006:15; OED s.v.).

[173] *Megapixel* and *megabit* in English refer to exactly 1,048,576 pixels or bits (OED s.v.).

The most significant area that has seen a substantial influx of English language terms with *mega-* is that of British or American popular culture, particularly in words related to music and film. In Spanish, words such as *megaplex*[174] (1997), *megashow* (2000), *megastore*[175] (2000) and *megahit* (2002)[176] have all been documented throughout the last decade or so in Spanish, in which this prefix functions as an intensifier of quantity or quality with the semantic value of 'very big' or 'very great.' The sources included here record numerous uses of these words, as a reflection of the influence that such industries possess in the present age, and as can be expected, they tend to appear in contexts with an overall high number of Anglicisms. A good example of this can be seen in the following newspaper article about a Madonna concert in New York City:

> Con un espectacular pero brevísimo show gratuito, Madonna presentó anteanoche en el Roseland Ballroom de Manhattan su nuevo álbum…apareció sobre el escenario en un inmenso trono dorado en forma de M, vestida con saco de smoking, pantalón de jogging negro y plateado y botas de cuero…en un gesto de agradecimiento antes de entonar, guitarra eléctrica en mano, [cantó] su **megahit** "Hung Up." (LN. [Author not provided]. 5-2-2008. "Madonna, en un show para pocos.")

As the previous quotation shows, it is common for this class of words to appear with the original foreign root, yet there are also examples of doublets with calqued Spanish roots, such as *megahit* > *megaéxito*, *megashow* > *megaespectáculo* and *megastore* > *megatienda*, which suggest that these represent a lexical change in progress. The following table 3.9 shows that

[174] Example taken from González García & Arribas Jiménez (2010:271), date represents first appearance in CREA.
[175] Popularized internationally by the Virgin Records music "megastores," yet can be used generally to refer to a very large store. Rodgríguez González & Lillo Buades (1997:335) include *megastore* as an Anglicism with the general definition of "tienda grande." Morales (2009:460) includes both *megastore* and *megatienda* as Anglicisms.
[176] *Megamix*, *megaparty* and *megatop (model)* are others of this class listed by Alvar-Ezquerra (2003:729-731) and González García & Arribas Jiménez (2010:271).

some sources like EP and LN register little difference with these three particular doublets, while other sources like EUV are more disparate with a strong tendency toward the calque root.[177]

Table 3.9 Frequency of three doublets with *mega-* in CORPES XXI, EP, EUM, EUV, LN and LR

	C. XXI	EP (Sp.)	EUM (Mex.)	EUV (Ven.)	LN (Arg.)	LR (Peru)	Total
Megahit	4	25	4	1	24	12	**70 (37%)**
Megaéxito	5	21	17	39	29	9	**120 (63%)**
Megashow	2	4	10	6	73	383[178]	**478 (80%)**
Megaespectáculo	3	14	6	9	67	18	**117 (20%)**
Megastore	9	47	20	8	74	2	**160 (41%)**
Megatienda	13	46	45	71	47	13	**235 (59%)**
Total tokens/ hits with English root	**15**	**76**	**34**	**15**	**171**	**397**	**708 (60%)**
Total tokens/ hits with calque root	**21**	**81**	**68**	**119**	**143**	**40**	**472 (40%)**

What is most significant is that in all five sources there are instances of loanwords with *mega-* that are English in origin. Although English language influence with *mega-* is primarily seen in the contexts of technology and popular culture, there is evidence of other terms from

[177] It also needs to be taken into account here that there could be an editorial propensity in some newspapers to minimize overt Anglicisms, which would account at least in part for the highly contrasting numbers in EUV.
[178] Numbers here are inflated due to the popular Peruvian television program titled "megashow," by Global TV.

other fields like *megatón* (1980) (< megaton),[179] *megapuerto* (1997) (< megaport),[180] *megascooter* (2000)[181] and *megasandwich* (2001). In these the primary meaning is 'very big' physical size.

The examples that maintain the source language roots prove that these terms are being adopted wholesale from English with the prefix *mega*- already intact. In other words, speakers are not adopting *store* or *scooter* independently and then attaching *mega*- to it. These, then, are not in themselves examples of productivity in Spanish but rather loanwords. However, one of the most striking aspects of these borrowings in particular is the fact that they subsequently translate only the root while consistently maintaining the prefix *mega*-. This is important due to the fact that not only is English the source of new lexical items with this prefix but it also could be acting as a catalyst for more Spanish language productivity with *mega*- and native roots. To what extent this is so in the minds of the speakers cannot be concretely measured, yet it is undoubtedly true that Spanish speakers are becoming more and more aquainted with these elements due to the influx of numerous transparent loanwords resultant from direct contact with the English language.

3.2.5 English influence with *micro*- in Spanish

The history and use of *micro*- in English has mirrored that of its counterpart *macro*-. It was adopted only since the mid-19th century as part of scientific terms with the semantic value 'very small' or 'small-scale,' yet throughout the 20th century numerous coinings appeared that have since been borrowed into Spanish (OED s.v.). As is to be expected, English language influence with *micro*- in Spanish is most evident in substantival derivation of terms related to

[179] Example taken from Rodríguez González & Lillo Buades (1997:336); date represents first appearance in CREA.
[180] Example from Morales (2009:459).
[181] Example and date are from Alvar-Ezquerra (2003:730); *megascooter* does not appear in CREA.

business and technology, with this same semantic value of 'very small' or 'small-scale.' In the corpora, there are three main types of borrowings with *micro-* that can be observed. First, there are those that have formed calques with little or no transition stage, such as *microprocessor* > *microprocesador* (1982),[182] *microwave (oven)* > *(horno de) microondas* (1986),[183] and *microcircuit* > *microcircuito* (1988). Second, others have been adopted wholesale with no calque form, despite possessing irregular phonological structures in Spanish, such as *microfilm* > *microfilm* (1979)[184] and *microchip* > *microchip* (1987).[185] Lastly, a few terms have given variant calques that continue to this day, the clearest example of which is *microcomputer*, which has produced at least three different forms: *microcomputador* (1981), *microordenador* (1982) and *microcomputadora* (1988). As is true for *macro-*, productivity with *micro-* in Spanish is on the rise and the presence of several English loanwords is likely to be contributing to such an increase.

3.2.6 English influence with *neo-* in Spanish

The OED registers approximately 150 terms with *neo-* in English since its adoption in the mid-17th century, the majority of which are nouns and adjectives which carry the semantic value of 'new, revived or modified' and are found primarily in religious and political contexts. Due to the reduced contexts in which *neo-* is used, English influence in Spanish is less evident with this prefix than with others included in the present study. Also, many of the political and religious terms such as *neoliberalismo* 'neoliberalism' (1967) and *neorromanticismo* 'neoromanticism'

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[182] This term is referenced in Lorenzo (1999:23-24); the date corresponds to its first appearance in CREA.
[183] *Microondas* in reference to waves and not the oven is recorded earlier in Spanish (since 1946 in CORDE), also as a calque of English *microwave*, which was adopted in English in 1931. The term *microwave oven* was coined in 1972 (OED s.v.).
[184] Morales (2009:466) includes the verb *microfilmar* in her list of Anglicisms with this prefix. Whether it was borrowed directly from *to microfilm* in English or derived internally from the noun *microfilm* is unclear.
[185] This term is referenced in Morales (2009:466); the date corresponds to its first appearance in CREA.

(1977) are shared by most of western Europe, and the mutual influence with these neologisms makes it difficult to trace their origin to a single country or language (Dworkin 2012:12).[186] Others have a clearer source, however, and can be attributed to English influence in recent terms stemming from genres of music and related lifestyles, which prove as well that this prefix has expanded in contexts during recent decades, in both languages. Several of these appear in Spanish with unmodified roots, such as *neopunk* (1983), *neo-pop* (2002) and *neo-country* (2003). However, despite the presence of these loanwords, their overall number is quite low and evidence of significant English influence with *neo-* is certainly less substantial, based on data from the sources consulted in this present study.

3.2.7 English influence with *(p)seudo-* in Spanish

Pseudo- has been present in English since the mid-15th century with the semantic value of 'false' or 'counterfeit' and occurs in over 150 terms registered in the OED. Like *neo-*, however, English influence with *(p)seudo-* is less evident in Spanish. It is perhaps due in part to the fact that use of this prefix in English is more prevalent in academic contexts, particularly medicine, and does not have as significant of a presence in more informal registers. This can be observed in many of the terms listed in the OED, which are highly specialized and not transparent in meaning to the average speaker.[187] While there is evidence that some of these have been borrowed into Spanish, these are quite few in number.[188] Other possibilities include a few terms

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[186] Compare with French *néolibéralisme*, German *neoliberalismus*, Italian *neoliberismo*, etc. Despite the unclear origin of many of these terms, Rodríguez González & Lillo Buades (1997:353) include *neodarvinismo* (< *neo-darwinism*) and *neodarvinista* (< *neo-darwinist*) as Anglicisms, perhaps due to the fact that Charles Darwin himself was British.

[187] For instance, *pseudogeusia* 'a disorder of the sense of taste in which tastes are perceived that are not produced by external stimuli,' and *pseudo-ixiolite* 'a mineral similar to ixiolite but yielding columbite rather than wodginite on heating, now regarded as a form of columbite with a disordered crystal structure' (OED s.v.).

[188] For example, *pseudocrup* (sic), a respiratory reaction, is found in CREA (1995) and is likely an adaptation of the English *pseudocroup*. According to the OED (s.v.) *croup* was first used by the Scottish professor Francis Home in 1765.

used in reference to American popular culture, which often appear in texts dealing with movies and music, as can be seen in the following quotation:

> (…) Tras habernos entretenido durante años con las aventuras de unos desarrapados como "Kung Fu", unos zafios patanes como los chicos de "Bonanza", unos cutres como los protagonistas de "La casa de la pradera", (el colmo de la miseria), o unos **pseudo-hippies** como el chico de "El fugitivo", que no sólo no tenía cocina, sino que ni siquiera tenía casa, los productores americanos se dieron cuenta de que era necesario aposentar de una vez a los héroes de sus series. (CREA. Joaquín Carbonell. 1992. *La televisión: Guía de supervivencia.*)

However, despite these instances, according to the sources consulted here, overall influence with English *pseudo-* has not been significant in the modern Spanish lexicon.[189]

3.2.8 English influence with *super-* in Spanish

English adopted *super-* as a prefix in the 15th century and it has become immensely productive in the language since then. The OED registers over 200 words of numerous registers, from the highly specialized *superethmoidal* and *superosculation*, with the semantic value 'over' or 'excessive,' to the familiar and informal *super-easy* and *superkid*, in which this prefix acts as an intensifier of quantity or quality meaning 'great' or 'very' (OED s.v.).

Despite the fact that *super-* is so widely productive in Spanish as well, English influence with this prefix is still quite evident and numerous examples can be found. Similar to other prefixes like *mega-*, many of the English loanwords with *super-* in Spanish come from 20th century popular culture and technology, as do *supermán* (1958),[190] *superespía* (< *superspy*) (1978), *superhéroe* (1978),[191] *superzoom* (1999) and *supervirus* (2000).[192] While most

[189] Neither Rodríguez González & Lillo Buades (1997), Lorenzo (1999), nor Morales (2009) include any terms with *(p)seudo-* as Anglicisms in Spanish.
[190] *Superhombre* exists in Spanish, but is more commonly used in the general sense (i.e. 'a superman' or 'great guy'), while *supermán* refers specifically to the fictional character of the comic books and subsequent movies.
[191] Dates represent first record in CREA, original source is Alvar-Ezquerra (1994:543-560).

borrowings with *super*- have adopted native calque roots, some have maintained doublet or even triplet forms, such as *superstar* > *superstar*/*superastro*/*superestrella*,.[193] all of which are found in the sources consulted here, as seen in table 3.10.

Table 3.10 Frequency of *superstar*, *superastro* and *superestrella* in CORPES XXI, CREA, EP, EUM, EUV, LN and LR

	Superstar(s)	***Superastro(s)***	***Superestrella(s)***
CORPES XXI	35	19	157
CREA	24	10	81
EP (Spain)	269	3	240
EUM (Mexico)	180	215	836
EUV (Venezuela)	279	398	1,880
LN (Argentina)	344	22	462
LR (Peru)	425	21	289
Total tokens/hits	**1,556 (25.1%)**	**688 (11.1%)**	**3,945 (63.7%)**

However, English > Spanish borrowings with *super*- are not limited to music and technology but encompass a wide range of areas, in which this prefix acts fundamentally as an intensifier with the semantic value of 'great' or 'very (much).' Many of these maintain original English orthography, although some have developed calque forms as well: *superhighway* >

[192] Neither *superzoom* nor *supervirus* appear in CREA, source and dates are Alvar-Ezquerra (2003:1213-1214).
[193] Alvar-Ezquerra (1994:549) records both *superstar* and *superestrella* as Spanish words.

superautopista/supercarretera (1980),[194] *superbike* > *superbike* (1992),[195] *super-welter* (boxing weight-class) > *superwelter* (1993), *super-jumbo* (jet) > *super-jumbo* (1996) and *super-premium* > *super-premium* (1997).[196] As these examples illustrate, English has certainly contributed to increased use of *super-* in modern Spanish.

3.2.9 Conclusion for English influence with neoclassical prefixes

Three general affirmations can be made with respect to the summary of section 3.2:

1] Contact with English since the mid-20th century is at the highest level in the history of Spanish.

2] Many English loanwords, like the Greek > Latin loans in the past, are borrowed with a neoclassical prefix already intact (*megahit*, *superstar*, etc.) and then tend to develop a calque form that maintains the prefixed element (*megahit* > *megaéxito*).

3] Productivity with neoclassical prefixes in Spanish is at the highest level in history (according to type and token frequency observable in the sources available).

Given the representative data, English has undeniably contributed to increased type frequency with transparent neoclassical terms in Spanish, which have not only familiarized speakers even more with these elements, but at times have also affected the semantic values they carry. While some are unclear in regard to language source (i.e. those with *neo-*), others are

[194] Example from Lorenzo (1999:23-24); date represents first appearance in CREA.
[195] Example and date from Rodríguez González & Lillo Buades (1997:489).
[196] *Super-premium* is likely to have referred originally only to the grade of gasoline, but both in English and Spanish can now be used in combination with other items such as alcohol or food products with the semantic value of 'excellent quality.' The orthography for these terms varies in both languages, with English preferring a space or a hyphen (*super premium*/*super-premium*, *super welter/super-welter*, *super jumbo/super-jumbo*), and Spanish using both of these and also frequently putting them together as *superpremium*, *superwelter*, *superjumbo*. It is certain, however, that they were borrowed as unified terms and not as separate units.

undebatably English in origin (*megahit*, *superstar*, etc.) and are a result of direct contact between the two languages during the greater part of the 20th century.

These are important due to the fact that not only is English the source of new lexical items with these prefixes but their consistent presence in this way could also be acting as a catalyst for more Spanish language productivity with native roots. To what extent this is so in the minds of the speakers cannot be concretely measured, yet it is undoubtedly true that Spanish speakers are becoming more and more aquainted with these neoclassical prefixes due to the influx of numerous transparent loanwords resultant from direct contact with the English language. There is little doubt that the elements in question have not only increased in type and token frequency, but also expanded into more registers than ever in the history of Spanish. It logically follows that the excessive use of such prefixes in English, combined with the intimate contact between the two languages, both oral and written, has had some affect on this increase. Nevertheless, it would indeed be too much to say that English is solely responsible for the recent boom in Spanish productivity, since these elements already existed in both languages beforehand and English is not the only language to have had contact with Spanish during the 20th and 21st centuries, yet the data support the idea that it has helped to increase it in a significant way.

3.3 Debonding with neoclassical prefixes: affix > free morpheme

In section 3.3 I analyze specific examples of morphological recategorization in modern Spanish, as documented in recent years by the sources consulted. I argue that, due to the dramatic increase in type and token frequency brought about in part from the English influence mentioned above, many neoclassical prefixes have in fact been reanalyzed by language users and have diverted to functions of other word classes, most notably as nouns and adjectives. As was

mentioned in section 1.6, the degrammaticalization process of *affix* > *free morpheme* is here deemed *debonding*, which tends to occur only with transparent and frequent elements (Norde 2009). The most significant results of this are the following: 1] the creation of new terms that mark plural in certain substantival clippings (*el supermercado* > *el súper* > *los súper<u>es</u>*), 2] the syntactic adjustment that results in postposition of the recategorized prefix in certain adjectival constructions (*la macropolítica* > *la política <u>macro</u>*) and 3] the creation of new terms that mark number and gender in adjectival functions (*los macroíndices* '(macro)indexes, (macro)rates' > *los índices macro<u>s</u>*; *las pseudouniversidades* '(pseudo)universities' > *las pseud<u>as</u> universidades*). However, the data show that these innovations have not fully stabilized and the debonding process is ongoing. There continues to be variation in both form and position of these elements, as well as a reticence to use certain opposite-gender forms (**macra*, **mego*, etc.).

Recategorization with neoclassical prefixes represents a very recent phenomenon in the history of the Spanish language. As was mentioned in chapter two, despite the fact that all of the elements included in this study functioned as free morphemes in ancient Greek or Latin, none of them survived as such in Spanish. In other words, none of the Greek or Latin prefixes analyzed here were borrowed as free morphemes, but rather as bound morphemes attached to a Greek or Latin root. These elements in particular existed for centuries in Spanish without syntactic independence and only with a few exceptions have they been used in this capacity before the second half of the 20th century. Yet after enjoying a period of significant productivity as prefixes speakers have begun to use them in ways that have previously not been documented, including separation from the base and the acquisition of new morphosyntactic forms and functions such as plural and gender markings.

With neoclassical prefixes, the two most commonly observed recategorizations in modern Spanish are *prefix > noun* debonding (as clippings) and *prefix > adjective* debonding, both of which result in the prefix being used as a syntactically free morpheme. As will be seen in the following pages, all eight of the neoclassical prefixes included here show some level of debonding, yet the extent differs widely and some examples are clearer than others. Although those like *anti* and *neo* are rather limited, others such as *(p)seudo* and *super* demonstrate a wide range of morphosyntactic innovation. The examples come from inclusive databases and although some sources may register more than others, there is no clear pattern of diatopic distribution and the data suggest the phenomenon of debonding is not limited to one particular region of the Spanish-speaking world. Neither is it unique to Spanish, as equivalent instances have been observed in other European languages. As will be shown in section 3.3.9, the available data suggest that other widespread Romance languages such as French, Italian and Portuguese are currently undergoing corresponding changes as well.

3.3.1 Debonding in Spanish with *anti*

The sources consulted in this study do not reveal extensive debonding with the prefix *anti-* in modern Spanish. However, there are two contexts in which this prefix can appear as a free morpheme, both of which maintain the semantic values of 'against' or 'prevents.' The first is as a clipping of various scientific terms, which begins to be registered in the mid-1990s, and results in the creation of the innovative plural form *antis*:

> El antagonismo entre las parejas es sin embargo recíproco…siendo el electrón tan anti antielectrón, como el antielectrón…**Los <u>antis</u>** forman lo que llamamos la antimateria (…) (CREA. Francisco Claro Huneeus. 1996. *A la sombra del asombro. El mundo visto por la física.* Chile.)

> (…) Nuestra farmacopea está llena de **antis**: antibióticos, antiinflamatorios, antisépticos, antitérmicos, antitusígenos, antidepresivos (...) (CREA. Felipe Lucena Marotta. 2002. *Qué significa estar sano.* Spain.)

The second type of recategorization with *anti* can be seen in its independent adjectival use combined with a copulative verb such as *ser* or with the generic article *lo*:

> No estamos alineados al Gobierno….No somos **anti** ni somos pro. Vamos a tener la racionalidad de acompañar algo cuando tengamos que acompañarlo, pero no vamos a recibir órdenes del Poder Ejecutivo Nacional (…) (LN. Gustavo Ybarra. 3-5-2014. "Guillermo Pereyra: 'Hay sectores que están muy mal, con salarios muy bajos.'")

> Este tríptico histórico escrito por José Falcón…es un aporte fundamental para comprender cada vez más un período de nuestra historia que aún necesita ser más estudiado. Seguimos aún encorsetados en la historia política bajo el peso de la disyuntiva maniquea de lo pro y de **lo anti**. (CORPES XXI. Ignacio Telesca. 2006-10-26. "Historia escrita." *ABC Digital*. Paraguay.)

Despite examples like these, there is greater syntactic restriction with this element than with others included in this study, since there is no example of adjectival postposition to a noun (**libertad anti*, **materia anti*) in the sources consulted. This could be semantically motivated if speakers view *anti-* as a negative element, which tends to occur before the modified word (*no habitual*, *ninguna mujer*, etc.). Yet it also could merely be indication of a less advanced recategorization, since the use of debonded *anti* overall is very limited in the sources consulted here. The data thus suggest that, while some instances such as those above do exist, they are not as widespread as other neoclassical elements at the present time.

3.3.2 Debonding in Spanish with *hiper*

Hiper (or *híper*) has been debonded in modern Spanish in two fundamental ways, the first of which is as a clipped noun of *hipermercado.* In CREA, *hiper* first appeared as such in 1980,

and since then has become an integral part of the Spanish lexicon (particularly in Peninsular varieties, yet not limited to them), so much that it now has its own entry in several authoritative dictionaries, including the DRAE and *Espasa Calpe* (2005). Despite this, evidence suggests that it continues to be in a state of orthographic and morphological transition, since there continues to be fluctuation both in regard to diacritic marks (*hiper* or *híper*) and in regard to plural forms (*los híper* or *los híper*es). *Híperes*, despite greater correspondence to Spanish orthographic and morphological norms, is the least common of these possibilities and is not registered in the many of the soures consulted, including CREA and CORPES XXI. Yet morphologically, there is no reason why this should be so. For instance, the RAE, in its *Nueva gramática de la lengua española* (2009:134, vol.1) states that the plural morpheme of a noun ending in a liquid consonant is *–es*, and gives the examples of *cárcel* 'jail' > *cárceles* and *revólver* 'revolver' > *revólveres*. This would mean that the RAE's preferred plural of *híper* would be *híperes*, not *híper*. Phonologically, then, there is no reason why *híperes* would be unacceptable in modern Spanish. However, recent loanwords of like structure do not show consistency in this trait. Some such as *váter* 'toilet' which also end in a liquid consonant with an accent that falls on the penultimate syllable in the singular, are regularly pluralized according to RAE norms (*váteres*).[197] However, other borrowings such as *míster* (< English *mister*) have been in the language for quite some time yet continue to show orthographic and morphological variation identical to that of *híper*.[198] For instance, *míster* as a personal title in Spanish has been registered in CORDE since at least 1849 and has several hundred occurrences in the corpora

[197] Also spelled *water/wáter* < English *water-closet.* In Spanish, *water* is registered since 1927, *wáter* since 1975 and *váter* since 1982 in CORDE and CREA. While the plural los *váter* is still used, it appears only once in CREA and CORPUS XXI, while the plural form *váteres* appears a total of 37 times. Others with a much longer history in Spanish show no variation in the plural form, such as *ángel* 'angel' > *ángeles* (**los ángel*).
[198] I thank Fernando Tejedo for pointing out this example.

since then.[199] Like *híper*, *míster* shows variation in regard to the use of the diacritic mark (*mister* versus *míster*) as well as with the plural form *los míster*/*los místeres*.[200] Yet as was argued in section 1.5, history gives many examples of partially adapted loanwords with long periods of transition, so such inconsistencies are not entirely unexpected. Whether or not *los místeres* and *los híperes* will become the standardized forms in the future is thus unclear at the present time, but it is certain that they are currently the preferred forms for at least some Spanish speakers.[201]

As the following newspaper citations demonstrate, both plural forms *híper* and *híperes* are found in the sources consulted (with or without diacritic marks, sometimes in the same publication):

> **Los <u>híper</u>** alemanes empiezan a desbloquear la fruta española. (EP. F. J. Pérez & J. Prades. 6-1-2011.)
>
> Por la inflación, **los <u>hiper</u>** [sic] pierden más consumidores…La contracara de esta baja en las ventas que viven **los híper** [sic] son las llamadas tiendas de cercanía (...) (LN. Alfredo Sainz. 9-19-2013.)
>
> Las gasolineras ligadas a **los <u>híperes</u>** no logran romper la unidad de precios. (<u>http://www.lavozdegalicia.es.</u> Christian Casares. 12-16-2006. *La Voz de Galicia.* Spain.)

Of these, the most commonly seen is *los híper*. Despite phonological considerations, what seems more likely is that there simply has not passed enough time for the form *híperes* to standardize, and that, like *váteres*, it will become the default form in the near future. Yet as will

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[199] Antonio Alcalá Galiano writes in his *Memorias* (1849), "en 1804 tuve un maestro de inglés, llamado **<u>mister</u>** Fosh, instruido y hábil…" (CORDE). In CREA alone, *mister* (o *míster*) appears 568 times.

[200] There are also a few examples of *los misters*, modeled after the pluralization of the English *misters*, yet these are uncommon (CORPES XXI registers only 2 such examples).

[201] Given that it is a clipping, however, the fact that the plural form *híperes* requires an additional syllable could play a significant role in its general rejection.

be seen in section 3.7.8 regarding *super*, this process is not a fast one and can last several decades or more.

The second type of debonding with *hiper* (or *híper*) is seen in its use as an intensifying independent adjective, either with a specific referent or with the generic 'lo.' The sources suggest that such uses are more common in colloquial or informal language, but are not limited to them:

> (…) Nunca he podido soportar las penas de amor…Ése ha sido siempre el lado más flaco de mi sensibilidad **híper**…tampoco se le podía exigir a la pobre cosas que escapaban por completo a su visión nada **híper** del mundo (…) (CREA. Alfredo Bryce Echenique. 1995. *La vida exagerada de Martín Romaña.* Spain.)
>
> (…) Y todo el mundo preguntando quién soy, muertos de envidia…estoy parada al lado de Ricky, un poquito corrida para atrás…y las maquilladas como la mía son lo máximo de **lo híper**, y de muy buen humor pido que por favor los fotógrafos no me tiren el flash a la cara que me hace mal (...) (CORPES XXI. Alejandro López. 2001. *La asesina de Lady Di*. Argentina.)[202]

As these examples show, *híper* can appear postposed to the modified noun, which greater illustrates its morphological independence in the mind of the speaker.

3.3.3 Debonding in Spanish with *macro*

During the last two decades, there has been clear and recurrent evidence of debonding with *macro* in modern Spanish. The first is seen in its clipped forms, one of which is of *macroeconomía* 'macroeconomics':[203]

[202] See also a very recent LN (2-27-2014) article titled "Durísima nota sobre la Argentina y el peronismo en *The New York Times*", which contains the following statement: "La inflación, hoy, es alta pero no **hiper**. Salvo eso, lo demás prácticamente no ha cambiado." It is possible, however, that this case represents a clipping of *hiperinflación*.
[203] *Macro* as a clipping of *macroeconomía* is listed in Alvar-Ezquerra (2003:684), but not in the DRAE.

> (…) Lo que más golpea al país es el tropezón económico que nos estamos pegando; **la <u>macro</u>** podrá estar fenomenal, pero la micro da lástima. (CREA. [Author not provided]. 11-14-2000. "Las siete plagas." *El Salvador Hoy.* El Salvador.)

However, in other sources, *macro* also functions as a clipping of *macroinstrucción* 'macroinstruction,'[204] and is listed in the DRAE (s.v.) as such. As is to be expected, examples like the following are documented frequently in computer-related publications:

> Esta especificación es un pequeño truco que indica a Word que realice la suma de todas las celdas 'encima' de la celda en la que introduce la formula…[Es] una etiqueta predefinida, una especie de **<u>macro</u>**, cuyo significado es: desde la fila 1 hasta la fila actual-1. (CREA. [Author not provided]. 5-1-2003. "Ciberpaís: Tengo conectado un salvapantallas en mi ordenador y lo he configurado." *El País*. Spain.)

In addition to its clipped forms, from the 1990s on, CREA and other sources record numerous instances postposed adjectival uses of *macro* with the semantic value of 'large-scale.' However, despite this syntactic expansion, in the majority of occasions there is no morphological adjustment to match the gender or number of the modified noun, which demonstrates its lack of full integration into the grammatical system of modern Spanish (*las condiciones macro* 'conditions (macro)' 1990, *la discusión macro* 'argument (macro) 1994, *las cifras macro* 'numbers (macro)' 1997, *escenario macro* 'stage (macro)' 2001, *los indicadores macro* 'indicators (macro)' 2002). The dominant form in all contexts is the unmarked *macro*, even in very recent examples such as the following:

> El secretario de Hacienda, Néstor Grindetti, dijo a *La Nación* que "toda la **política <u>macro</u>** del gobierno tendió a que la ciudad tenga una industria más limpia, a través del polo tecnológico y del diseño (…)" (LN. Martín Kanenguiser. 5-1-2014. "El perfil productivo de la ciudad, hacia el comercio y los servicios.")

[204] A computer term with the definition of 'secuencia de instrucciones que se realizan automáticamente con una sola orden' (DRAE s.v.).

In addition to this, there are also instances of its adjectival construction with the generic definite article *lo*:

> Estos desafíos en **lo macro**, en lo grande, podremos resolverlos solamente si logramos encontrar modelos funcionales para lo micro, para lo pequeño. (CREA. [Author not provided]. 2004. *La educación superior en América Latina. Globalización, exclusión y pobreza*. Uruguay.)

Although in these contexts *macro* is normally unchanged regardless of the gender and number of the modified noun, there are a few cases in recent years in which it appears both postposed and in the plural form *macros* when matched with a plural noun, either masculine or feminine. These are clear cases of morphological adaptation and demonstrate a more complete adjustment to the adjectival norms of modern Spanish:

> La mayoría de las oficinas comerciales…suelen sumar a los **datos macros**, a los listados de empresas y a los fríos números, una página sobre los usos y costumbres para quedar bien y estar acorde a la idiosincrasia de turno. (CORPES XXI. Deby Béard. 2008. *De etiqueta*. Mexico.)

> Alguna vez, alguien, deberá establecer una suerte de clasificación de los eventos y festivales. No por sus **cifras macros**, sino por sus valores intangibles (…) (CORPES XXI. Carlos Gil Zamora. 2008. *Artez.* "9º Festival Internacional de Teatro Palco & Rua de Belo Horizonte." Spain.)

These non-prefixed constructions in Spanish strongly suggest that *macro* is being reanalyzed by certain speakers and has thus expanded into functions associated with other word classes. Nevertheless, it must be noted that examples with the plural *macros* are still relatively few, and the feminine forms **macra* or **macras* do not appear in the sources consulted. The fact that it is most commonly used in a morphologically neutral form (i.e. unchanged *macro*), and at times in quotations or italics, suggests that the debonding process is ongoing and it has not yet fully adopted its expanded status as a noun or adjective. Until now there certainly has been a

hesitancy to use this word with morphologically altered endings, yet its occasional usage in plural might be evidence that this is in fact the beginning of a change in progress and all four morphological forms will eventually appear.

3.3.4 Debonding in Spanish with *mega*

Debonding with *mega* has been frequent during the last two decades, the most widespread of which has been the clipped form of the noun *megabyte.* First appearing in the mid-1990s, it systematically appears in the singular with a masculine article as *un mega*, and is pluralized as *megas*. Rodríguez González & Lillo Buades (1997:335) include the abbreviation *mega* as an Anglicism, as well as the full *megabyte* from which it stems. However, this is not necessarily the case, since the clipped form in English is not *mega* with plural *megas* but rather *meg* with plural *megs*. Furthermore, other Romance languages show the same clipping as well, such as French *méga* < *mégaoctet* and Portuguese *mega* < *megabyte* (DFL s.v.; DPLP s.v.). Therefore, while the term *megabyte* is no doubt a borrowing from English, the clipping cannot be directly related to it and is better seen as a language-internal adaptation by Spanish speakers or a result of contact with other Romance languages.

Mega(s) is not only more phonologically efficient due to its syllabic reduction, but it also follows much more closely Spanish phonological and orthographic norms than does the original English *megabyte*. These traits have no doubt contributed to its accelerated diffusion.[205] As is to be expected, this clipping has been very frequent during the last decade in contexts dealing with

[205] In the CORPES XXI, the clipped form *megas* appears 241 times, while the full *megabytes* only 76. Due also in part to the contexts in which it is used, the plural forms are much more common than the singular.

computer technology or other modern electronic devices, which have become a vital part of daily vocabulary for the majority of the developed world:[206]

> Un detalle a tener en cuenta es que en el mundo de la informática se habla generalmente de bytes y casi nunca de bits. Por tanto nos referiremos a **Megas** o simplemente Mb para referirnos a los Megabytes. (CORPES XXI. Daniel Rodríguez Calafat. 2004. *Informática avanzada al alcance de todos.* Uruguay.)
>
> Un libro comprimido puede pesar de 3 a 100 **megas**, dependiendo de su volumen o el número de imágenes. (CORPES XXI. [Author not provided]. 6-23-2005. "Los 'e-books' no han cerrado su página." *El País.* Colombia.)

The data consulted show that starting mostly in the mid-1990s, *mega* has been recategorized as a syntactically free adjective, which can be preposed, postposed or appear with the definite article *lo*. In many of these instances, it also appears in quotation marks, which suggests the authors recognize some abnormal characteristic of the usage:

> (…) Ahora todo es espectáculo. La música está en un segundo plano….Basamos el éxito de una ópera en que sea "**mega**." (CREA. [Author not provided]. 6-7-1996. "ABC Cultural: Llegar al corazón." *Inter CD.* Spain.)
>
> El Cuerpo de Ingenieros estima que profundizar los canales generará $9.5 millones adicionales…Isla Grande, con sólo 38 pies de profundidad, no podría manipular **barcos** "**mega**", que necesitan más de 45 pies. (CREA. [Author not provided]. 1-6-1998. "Comienza este año un dragado amplio y profundo en la bahía de San Juan." *El Nuevo Día.* Puerto Rico.)
>
> El paradigma cuantitativo -sostenido todavía por los museos mayores y las políticas culturales adictas a **lo** "**mega**"-, cede en favor del paradigma cualitativo. La imaginación vuelve al poder. (LN. Santiago García Navarro. 9-22-2000. "La imaginación al poder.")

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[206]While the overwhelming majority of instances with *mega* in the CORPES XXI are clipped forms of *megabyte*, at least one instance of *mega* is a clipping of *megavatio*:

> (…) Para la noche proyectaba un suministro de energía de 1,534 **megas**, frente a una demanda de 1,750, para un faltante de 216 megavatios, equivalente a un 12.3%. (CORPES XXI. Yanet Beltré. 6-10-2005. "El Dinero. Sectores que no pagan la luz reciben apagones de 10 horas." http://www.listindiario.com.do. Dominican Republic).

Although still quite infrequent, there are instances of the new morphological plural form *megas* when it modifies a plural noun, as can be seen in the following citations:

> (…) [T]engo la ventaja de practicar con la arquitectura y crear **megas esculturas** que me permiten descubrir los espacios a otra escala. (CREA. [Author not provided]. 6-14-2003. "Vivienda y Decoración: José Antonio de Frutos." *El Mercurio S.A.P.* Chile.)
>
> Marcos Covarrubias Villaseñor, aseguró que el nuevo PRI que encabezará Humberto Moreira estrenará el año con dos "**megas derrotas**", Guerrero y Baja California Sur. (CORPES XXI. Gladys Rodríguez. 1-23-2011. "'Carro completo', en BCS: Madero." *El Universal.* Mexico.)
>
> Tendremos un 2012 bisiesto, y en febrero, las **megas elecciones** de la Mesa de la Unidad Democrática (...) (CORPES XXI. Ana María Hernández G. 1-2-2012. "El Año del Dragón trae abundancia." *El Universal.* Venezuela.)

While these examples represent obvious innovations in modern Spanish, as of yet there are no registered examples of marked gender such as **mego* or **megos* when this element modifies a masculine noun. However, the data suggest that adjectival debonding with *mega* is still a very recent phenomenon, since no instances of the pluralized adjectival *megas* appear before 2003. This element, then, could be representative of the beginnings of a change in progress, and thus the masculine forms could be expected to appear in the near future if the present patterns continue.

3.3.5 Debonding in Spanish with *micro*

The most significant aspect of debondng with *micro* is that it is the only element here to constitute a clipping of several different and unrelated nouns: *microbús* 'microbus,' *micrófono* 'microphone,' *microondas* 'microwave' and *microprocesador* 'microprocessor.' These terms for the most part are calque forms from English, yet it is unclear whether English has played a

significant role in the creation of the clipped forms.[207] Of the above mentioned forms, the most recurrent in the sources included here is *micro* < *microbús*, being especially common in the Southern Cone region:

> (…) El municipio tiene una lista de aproximadamente 256 vehículos, entre buses de gran dimensión, minibuses y **micros** que prestan estos servicios (…) (CREA. 2-1-2003. "Sólo en los horarios de entrada y salida de clases y previa autorización." *La Prensa.* Bolivia.)

Others such as *micro* < *micrófono*, *micro* < *microondas* and *micro* < *microprocesador* are infrequent in the sources included here, yet valid examples can be found:

> Ahora bien, eso de que el poder político intervenga las comunicaciones de la jerarquía eclesiástica tendría un cierto caché renacentista si no fuera ilegal. Colocar **micros** secretos en los confesionarios…sería peor (…) (CREA. [Author not provided]. 4-15-2004.. "La NSA es más grande y secreta que la CIA." *Caretas.* Perú.)

> (…) El microondas se ha convertido en uno de los electrodomésticos más útiles y prácticos de nuestras cocinas…puedes utilizar el **micro** para ablandar rápidamente chocolate, mantequilla, miel, un helado demasiado frío, etc. (http://us.hola.com/cocina/escuela. 8-16-2011. "Cocina con microondas: ¡sácale el máximo partido!")

> Esos primeros microprocesadores eran poco potentes (4 bits)…la densidad y velocidad de los chips aumentaba sin cesar, dando lugar a "**micros**" más y más potentes (...) (CREA. [Author not provided]. 1-25-2000. "Tercer Milenio." *El Heraldo de Aragón.* Spain.)

Adjectival debonding with *micro* has also been observed, both with an overt noun and with the article *lo:*

> Las nuevas tecnologías están impactando fuertemente la cultura…es la misma búsqueda de las identidades culturales en la que lo local y **lo micro**, cobran nuevas fuerzas.

[207] The only one that is clearly not from English is (*micro* < *micrófono*), since *microphone* is clipped as *mike* in English, not *micro*. The origin of others is less clear, however, since *micro* has been used as a clipping in English for *microcomputer* since 1971 and for *microwave* since 1973 (OED s.v.).

(CORPES XXI. José G. Vargas Hernández. 2007. *La culturocracia organizacional en México*. Mexico.)

As is the case for other elements included here, *micro* is often postposed yet morphologically unchanged, even when modifying a plural or feminine noun:

Araúz consideró que los 2.5 millones de balboas que incluye el Fondo para garantizar los préstamos a los **empresarios micro** y pequeños, sólo generarán cerca de 9 a 10 millones (…) (CORPES XXI. [Author not provided]. 5-29-2001. "30 millones del transporte público podría manejar la AMPYME." *El Siglo*. Panama.)

(…) El 39% de los empleados en las empresas grandes son jóvenes con edades entre 15 y 24 años…26%, 31% y 33% en las **empresas** medianas, pequeñas y **micro**, respectivamente. (CORPES XXI. Aida Argüello de Morera & Ricardo Contreras Perla. 2002. *Se buscan jóvenes: juventud y mercado de trabajo*. El Salvador.)

However, despite being inconsistently used, on occasion new morphological plural forms have been documented when paired with a plural noun:

La intención de este proyecto es buscar la competitividad de las **micros** y pequeñas **empresas** del sector madera-muebles. (CREA. [Author not provided]. 1-7-2002. "Calidad productiva en madera y mueble, un reto permanente." *La Prensa.* Nicaragua.)

As is true for adjectival debonding with the majority of prefixes analyzed here, there are also no examples of the creation of new morphological forms with *micro* to mark feminine gender, even when paired with feminine nouns (**micra*, **micras*).[208] The unchanged *micro* is still dominant in all morphosyntactic contexts. Despite this, the occasional postposition and the presence of the innovative plural *macros* suggest that some speakers have indeed begun to

[208] Not to be confused with the noun *micra* 'micron,' which has been used as an alternative to *micrómetro* since 1906 to mean '1 millionth of a meter' (CORDE; DRAE s.v.).

reanalyze this element as an independent adjective, though the lack of consistency and absence of gender markings show that the process is still incomplete.

3.3.6 Debonding in Spanish with *neo*

The data suggest that *neo* has been debonded in Spanish first as a clipping of certain political terms, the earliest of which was *neoliberal* 'neoliberal.' Although infrequent in CORDE, some examples of clippings with this prefix can be observed since well over a century ago, and in the writings of highly influential authors such as Pérez Galdós:

> Con las azarosas noticias de España estuvo Santiago en aquellos días muy avispado; engrandecía los sucesos, los comentaba con regocijo ardiente si se trataba de liberales, con sarcasmo y malicia si se referían a moderados o a los **aborrecidos <u>neos</u>** (...) (CORDE. Benito Pérez Galdos. 1907. *La de los tristes destinos.* Spain.)

In more recent years, *neo* has been documented as a general clipping for numerous political o academic terms that contain it, and at times is found with an innovative plural form:

> (…) Las mayores corrientes políticas suman a partir de [hace 200 años], en rigor, cinco, dejando aquí debidamente aparte **los <u>neos</u>** que le brotaron a una u otra sucesivamente (...) (LN. Carlos Strasser. 3-15-2005. "Los tres requisitos de la democracia.")

> Schenone era un hombre amable, cordial y no practicaba ninguna clase de demagogia con sus alumnos…nos llevó a preferir las corrientes más modernas y a rechazar **los <u>neos</u>** (neogótico, neoclásico, neocolonial) (LN. Hugo Beccacece. 6-14-2014. "Adiós al maestro.")

The second type of debonding with *neo* is that of an independent adjective, either preposed, postposed or with the article *lo*. Although sporadic, the innovative plural form *neos* has been documented, yet the feminine **nea* and **neas* have not:[209]

> (…) "Este negocio no es muy católico", "estas naranjas no son muy católicas", expresiones de los **neos franceses**, antes de la primera guerra. (CREA. Félix de Azúa. 1991. *Diario de un hombre humillado*. Spain.)
>
> (…) No cabe duda que los **fascistas**, retros o **neos**, siempre tiran al monte. Entiendo que su discurso político siempre es dictatorial (…) (CREA. [Author not provided]. 4-28-1995. *La Vanguardia.* Spain.)
>
> (…) Fidel Velázquez...ha sabido pasar del socialismo pragmático a la izquierda atinada al nacionalismo revolucionario al **liberalismo** más o menos **neo** (…) (CREA. [Author not provided]. 1996. *APRO: Agencia de Información Proceso*. Mexico D.F.)
>
> En la ciudad predominaba el eclecticismo historicista. Es decir, una combinación de estilos arquitectónicos de otras épocas. Por otra parte, estaba de moda **lo "neo"** (neobarroco, neorrenacentismo y otros). (LN. Paula Halperín. 5-24-2009. "Un siglo.")

Overall, however, despite such examples, the data suggest that debonding with *neo-* is much less widespread than other neoclassical prefixes. This is not doubt influenced greatly by the overall limited use of the prefix in the general language, as was shown in section 3.1.6.

3.3.7 Debonding in Spanish with *(p)seudo*

As far as recategorization is concerned, *(p)seudo* is unique for at least three reasons. First, it is the only element included here that does not appear as a clipping of any sort in the

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[209] CORDE has two instances of *nea*, both from the late 19th century. No other example appears in the sources consulted in this present study. However, the two that are documented appear to be genuine examples of debonding, found in the writings of the celebrated authors Emilia Pardo Bazán and Benito Pérez Galdós:

> -Pues yo digo otro tanto..., mas que te enfades, mujer. ¡Vaya unos dioses y unas imágenes que vais a llevar en procesión! Eso parece cosa de idólatras. Alumbrar solamente a las cosas de la Iglesia, el veático, las octavas...
> - Calla, que eres más **nea** que los neos. (CORDE. Emilia Pardo Bazán. 1883. *La Tribuna*. Spain.)
> La tal doña Guillermina, con toda su opinión de santa y su carita de Pascua, se le atravesaba. Ya estaba seguro de que le volvería tarumba con sus tiologías por que aquella señora debía de ser muy **nea**, y él, la verdad, no sabía tratar con neos. (CORDE. Benito Pérez Galdós. 1885. *Fortunata y Jacinta*. Spain.)

analyzed data. Second, it is the only neoclassical prefix to have clearly developed debonded adjectival forms in the plural before 1980 (*(p)seudos*). In fact, there is some evidence to suggest that plural forms with this element were in use as early as the late 18th century. Tokens before 1900 are not numerous (only two in the sources consulted) but do appear to be genuine examples of speaker innovation, as seen in the following citations:

> (…) Se halló muerto de un balazo un religioso sacerdote apóstata de una comunidad bien edificante...tendrán sumo celo, y el mismo tendrán sus tenientes y demás jueces, de limpiar sus provincias de ciertos **seudos religiosos** que…son el contagio de la mayor parte de las provincias…son naturales ladinos y maliciosos (…) (CORDE. Alonso Carrió. c1775. *El Lazarillo de ciegos caminantes*. Spain.)
>
> Mientras el Emperador de Rusia muestra constancia casi tenaz en sus ideas y en sus propósitos, el Emperador de Alemania muestra en unas y otros volubilidad casi mariposeante. Yerra en la cuestión y opuesta manera, la grave y trascendente frase. Así apercibiéronse sus **seudos representantes** a un verdadero combate (…) (CE. Emilio Castelar. 1866. *Crónica Internacional*. Spain.)

In the first half of the 20th century more examples begin to appear, as both of the following citations illustrate:

> Seis meses fueron de brava lucha…Aquella hermandad de muchachos que parecía cosa frívola y epidérmica a los ojos fenicios, se irguió prepotente…Este hecho blasonó a Trujillo por sobre todos los **pseudos blasones** que suele ostentar. (CORDE. César Vallejo. 1922. *Trilce.* Perú.)
>
> Voy a publicar esa obra…Hay editores visibles y editores invisibles, pero a todos los descubren unos **seudos escritores** y traductores que huelen el dinero editorial donde lo haya (…) (CORDE. Ramón Gómez de la Serna. 1948. *Automoribundia*. Argentina.)

The plural forms have continued in recent years and are frequently documented in the sources consulted, all with the primary semantic value of ‘false’ or ‘counterfeit’ that has historically been expressed with this element. *Seudos directivos* ‘(pseudo) executives’ (CREA 1997), *seudos periodistas* ‘(pseudo) journalists’ (LN 2002), *seudos servidores públicos* ‘(pseudo)

public service employees' (EUM 2006), *pseudos sindicatos* '(pseudo) unions' (EUM 2008) and *pseudos luchadores* '(pseudo) fighters' (EUV 2012) are just a few representative examples.

The third reason that *(p)seudo* is unique is that it is the only element to have clearly developed opposite gender forms which are normally seen in Spanish adjectives (*(p)seudo* > *(p)seuda, (p)seudas*), thus demonstrating a complete morphological paradigm. As has been shown, this is not the case for other converted adjectives, regardless of their ending (*macro* > **macra, *macras; mega* > **mego, *megos; micro* > **micra, *micras*). While other features may have a role in this, a major reason no doubt is the fact that *(p)seudo* has had a significantly longer history of productivity and debonding in the Spanish language. As was previously seen in section 2.7.2, *(p)seudo-* is the only element included here to show substantial productivity as a prefix with native roots before the end of the 19th century (*seudopredicadores* '(pseudo)preachers' 1758, *seudo-coches* '(pseudo)carriages' 1845 CORDE). Longer time in the language, then, combined with greater frequency than other neoclassical prefixes, is likely to be a major factor if debonding is indeed a slow and gradual process. Appearing less foreign due to greater familiarity and being found in a wider range of contexts and registers, it is more likely, then, that speakers will more readily create and diffuse innovative morphological forms.

As with the other examples of adjectival debonding of neoclassical prefixes, the first innovative form is the plural, in this case *(p)seudos*. The feminine forms *(p)seuda* and *(p)seudas* are quite recently formed in comparison and much fewer in number, since the earliest examples appear no earlier than the year 1999. However, there are several examples from various sources within the last decade:

> Tras **la <u>pseuda</u> calma** que generó el principio de acuerdo entre el Gobierno y el campo…el dólar se mostró hoy estable (…) (LN. [Author not provided]. 3-4-2009. "El dólar se mantuvo a $ 3,63 y el Merval escaló con fuerza: rebotó más de 6%.")
>
> No por tener más alumnos y más **<u>pseudas</u> universidades** vamos a mejorar…es la calidad de efectivos, el nivel de preparación lo que determina su capacidad (…) (EUV. Humberto Jaimes Quero. 3-26-2011. "Fábrica de desempleados." Opinión de María Aguirre.)[210]

Interestingly, however, despite these innovative morphological forms, *(p)seudo* and its variants systematically appear preposed to the modified noun, in contrast with others such as *macro* and *micro* which are also found postposed. In fact, the sources consulted have not produced a single example of postposition with *(p)seudo* (**universidades pseudas*, etc.). A possible explanation could be found in semantic restraints. Demonte (1999:182-199) and Butt & Benjamin (2004:60-68) have stated generally that although the vast majority of adjectives in modern Spanish can be found preposed or postposed to the modified noun, there are a few cases in which position significantly effects semantic interpretation and thus either impedes or severely limits the possible syntax with those elements. These authors have mentioned at least three such cases:

1] *Adjectives that are obligatorily postposed*. These tend to be restrictive in the sense that they refer to a subset of a larger group, such as *el pan integral* 'whole grain bread' (as as subclass of bread in general; **el integral pan*) or *la teoría cuántica* 'quantum theory' (as one of many subclasses of theories; **la cuántica teoría*). Other "relational" adjectives ("adjetivos de relación") that are always postposed are those that refer to nationalities: *el batallón español* 'Spanish batallion' (**el español batallón*).

[210] Examples of innovative feminine forms are particularly numerous in South-American newspapers: *seuda izquierda* (LR 2013), *seudas mentalidades* (EUV 2009), *pseudas nuevas técnicas* (LN 2011), *seudas organizaciones* (LR 2011), *la pseuda uniformidad* (LN 1999), and *seudas versiones* (LR 2012). Yet the data does not suggest that this is a regional phenomenon, since equivalent examples appear in several other areas as well.

2] *Adjectives which are obligatorily preposed*. Certain intentional adjectives ("intensionales") which can only be preposed, such as *presunto* 'presumed, supposed' in *una presunta llamada oficial* 'supposed official call' (**una llamada oficial presunta*) and the synonymous *supuesto* in *un supuesto ladrón* 'a supposed thief' (**un ladrón supuesto*).

3] *Adjectives which differ in semantic values depending on syntactic position*. Included in this group are certain common qualifying adjectives ("adjetivos calificativos"), such as *buen(o)*, *medio* and *pobre*:

Un buen hombre 'a likeable man'
Un hombre bueno 'a (morally) good man'

Un medio hermano 'a half brother'
Un espanol medio 'an average Spaniard'

Una pobre mujer 'a pitiable woman'
Una mujer pobre 'an (economically) poor woman'

In both the second and third classes there are important parallels that relate directly to the preposed *(p)seudo*. In respect to the second class, adjectives like *presunto* and the partially synonymous *supuesto* share some semantic qualites with *(p)seudo* in the sense that they refer to something 'not totally genuine,' since something presumed or supposed has yet to be proven authentic. Despite the presence of a few exceptions, the data (summarized in the following chart) confirm that these two adjectives are indeed syntactically preposed in the vast majority of cases, at least with the frequent nouns *criminal* 'criminal,' *líder* 'leader' and *padre* 'father.'

Table 3.11 Syntactic position of *presunto* and *supuesto* when paired with *criminal*, *líder* and *padre* in CORDE, CREA and CORPES XXI

	CORDE	**CREA**	**C. XXI**	**Total tokens**
presunto(s) criminal(es)	5	50	30	**85**

supuesto(s) criminal(es)	3	14	10	**27**
criminal(es) presunto(s)	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
criminal(es) supuesto(s)	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
presunto(s) líder(es)	0	11	32	**43**
supuesto(s) líder(es)	0	9	23	**32**
líder(es) presunto(s)	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
líder(es) supuesto(s)	**0**	**0**	**1**[211]	**1**
presunto(s) padre(s)	9	12	9	**30**
supuesto(s) padre(s)	7	13	21	**41**
padre(s) presunto(s)	**2**[212]	**0**	**0**	**2**
padre(s) supuesto(s)	**0**	**0**	**1**[213]	**1**
Total tokens with preposed adjective				**258 (98%)**
Total tokens with postposed adjective				**4 (2%)**

[211] The citation of postposed *supuesto* is as follows (name of author not provided in source):

> El jefe de la oficina política de Hamás, Jaled Meshal, habría contactado…con Mumtaz Durmush, **líder <u>supuesto</u>** del Ejército del Islam, para pedir la liberación del reportero gráfico. (CORPES XXI. [Author not provided]. 1-7-2007. "Liberado el fotógrafo de AFP Jaime Razuri, secuestrado en Gaza el 2 de enero." *El Mundo*. Spain.)

[212] The only two examples of postposed *presunto* in the RAE corpora are found in CORDE, in the writings of Pardo Bazán and Pérez Galdós.:

> Por algo habíale sido indiferente siempre el recuerdo del **padre <u>presunto</u>**, cuyo nombre tantos años llevó. (CORDE. Emilia Pardo Bazán. 1905. *La Quimera.* Spain.)
>
> En la estación de Hellín saqué un momento la cabeza por la ventanilla, y vi pasar a un hombre de soberbia talla y formas escultóricas. ¿Era el arrogante forjador de voluntades, **padre <u>presunto</u>** de las mil hijas de Floriana…? (CORDE. Benito Pérez Galdós. 1911. *De Cartago a Sagunto*. Spain.)

Interestingly, these are precisely the same authors to use the only documented examples of *nea* and *neos*, as mentioned above. The pursuit of literary creativity likely plays a major role in these writings.

[213] The citation of postposed *supuesto* is as follows:

> Tenía el prestigio de haber ocupado con gran éxito un territorio difícil…su **padre <u>supuesto</u>**, Toubib al-Jasharat había extendido ahí con majestuosidad (…) (CORPES XXI. Alberto Ruy Sánchez. 2008. *La mano del fuego. Un Kama Sutra involuntario.* Spain.)

Within the third class, the adjective *medio* shows similar syntactic constraints since it is dominantly preposed when expressing the semantic values 'half' or 'middle.' There is thus a significant correlation between the dominantly preposed *presunto/supuesto/medio* and *(p)seudo* due to the semantic values that these terms share, since they can all represent something 'not totally genuine.'[214] If speakers are associating *(p)seudo* with these adjectives, then the semantic restraints are relevant and could explain its rigid preposition.

However, this explanation is not without difficulty, since other adjectives, including the partial synonym *falso* (see DRAE s.v.), are found both preposed and postposed. CREA and CORPES XXI reveal numerous examples of both syntactic positions, such as *falso orgullo*, *falso concepto*, *discurso falso* and *dato falso*. At times there are even examples of *falso* preposed and postposed with the same root: *falso amor/amor falso* 'false love,' *falso techo/techo falso* 'false roof' and *falso testimonio/testimonio falso* 'false testimony.' It is possible, then, that rigid syntax with recategorized *(p)seudo* cannot be fully explained by semantic restraints related with adjectives like *presunto*, *supuesto* and *medio*. It likely depends on how speakers are interpreting neologisms with *(p)seudo*, either as 'sort of' or 'false.' If the former, then association with *supuesto*, *presunto* and *medio* is highly significant given the strict preposition of these adjectives. However, if speakers view *(p)seudo* primarily as carrying the semantic value of 'false,' then the rigid syntax is less explicable in light of the correlation with *falso*. Perhaps it is more accurate to attribute this case to multiple factors, including the ongoing nature of the debonding process. Since *(p)seudo* still commonly functions as a prefix in many neologisms, speakers are accustomed to using it before the root. Whether due to this reason or not, the sources certainly demonstrate that speakers are still most comfortable preposing this element.

[214] *Medio* with the definition 'half' is only classified as an adjective or adverb in the DRAE, not as a prefix.

3.3.8 Debonding in Spanish with *super*

In recent decades, *super* has been shown to be extremely versatile from a morphosyntactic standpoint. Several classes of recategorization have been documented in the sources consulted, more than any of the eight elements included in this present study. The first class is represented by the clipping *súper* < *supermercado*. Although *supermercado* is affirmed to be an Anglicism in the DRAE (s.v.) (< *supermarket*), the clipped form does not appear to be so, since the equivalent is not used this way in English.[215] The borrowing *supermercado* first appears in 1967 in CORDE, and the clipped form *super* (without diacritic mark) followed shortly after in 1972, in the writings of the celebrated scholar Zamora Vicente:

> Oye, dime, ¿cómo lo pasas? ¿Qué comes? ¿Has acabado ya lo que te dejé en la nevera? No compres cosas en el mercadillo, vete siempre al **super**. ¡Ay, hijo, qué pesado te pones! (CORDE. Alonso Zamora Vicente. 1972. *A traque barraque*. Spain.)

Since then it has become the standard term across the Spanish-speaking world to refer to a relatively large store that sells a wide variety of food and hygiene items, among other products. Its very recurrent use in the modern lexicon as a clipped form is evident in the fact that it also can take a diminutive or intensifying prefix as *minisuper* or *megasuper*.[216] It thus appears that the term *supermercado* and its clipping have become lexicalized and the intensifying nature of the prefix *super*- has been reduced, with the result being that the original meaning of 'large, big' is evidently lost in such contexts, otherwise terms like *minisuper* would be nonsense.

---

[215] In other Romance languages this clipping is also present, such as French *supermarché* > *super* and Portuguese *supermercado* > *súper* (DFL s.v.; DPLP s.v.). Language contact with these neighboring languages may therefore play a role in the use of the clipped form in Spanish.

[216] For example:

> (…) Los ladrones tomaron 200 pesos de la caja registradora del **minisuper** y escaparon en un automóvil (…) (LN. [Author not provided]. 8-1-2001. "Los Polvorines: matan a un suboficial con su arma.")
>
> (…) Los actores mexicanos fueron el ingrediente principal del menú humorístico que sus admiradores ticos degustaron el domingo en el **Megasúper** del Parque de la Paz. (EUM. [Author not provided]. 3-23-2004. "Hacen dupla cómica Chaparro y Adrián en Costa Rica.")

As is the case with its counterpart *hipermercado*, *supermercado* shows fluctuation in its plural clipped forms. Recent examples can be found of *los súperes* but also at times it remains morphologically unchanged as *los súper*, which demonstrates that even after existing in the language for over forty years, its plural form has yet to become standardized.

> (…) Después estaba toda esa gente civil…dejando que la mugre rompiera las vidrieras, que la chusma asaltara y saqueara las tiendas, los establecimientos, **los súper**, permitiendo que atacaran a la vista la propiedad privada. (CORPES XXI. J.J. Armas Marcelo. 2003. *La Orden del Tigre*. Spain.)
>
> Entre los requisitos que exige Wal-Mart para acceder a su línea de **súperes** figura el código de barra (…) (CORPES XXI. Wendy Álvarez Hidalgo. 2-17-2008. "Capacitan a productores. Sobre cómo elevar la calidad de sus productos y el etiquetado." Nicaragua.)

Although perhaps less frequently used, *súper* can also be used as a clipping of *super-premium*, in reference to the grade of gasoline. As such, it is an example of one of the few adjectival clippings that are present in the modern Spanish language, and is found frequently as *la gasolina súper:*

> (…) El sector fue afectado por un derrame de combustible que ocasionó estragos entre los vecinos…se regaron alrededor de 1.000 galones de **gasolina súper**, que estaban almacenados en la tubería de la terminal (…) (CORPES XXI. [Author not provided]. 10-12-2004. "Los vecinos del sector de El Beaterio se organizan." *El Comercio.* Ecuador.)

In addition to these two clipped forms, *súper* has at least three converted uses as well. The first is as an independent adjective, which can appear postposed, with the article *lo*, and even at times separated by a copula:

> (…) La música, de los años 80, está **super**. (CORPES XXI. Mariana De Icaza. 2-7-2007. "Un puente muy lluvioso." *El Universal*. Mexico.)
>
> El Perú es **súper** y solo Moody's se da cuenta… (LR. Alejandra Alayza Moncloa. 7-10-2014. "Un país 'súper' (pero para todos)."")

In these contexts, *súper* acts merely as an intensifier of the default adjectival phrase *muy bueno* 'very good,' and can be interpreted as equivalent to the English 'great' or 'excellent.' Interestingly, there is little evident semantic difference between *súper* in these contexts and *súper bueno* '(super) good,' which is also documented, since they both act as intensifiers of *muy bueno*:

> El aporte de Natalio Faingold, que produjo el disco "La suerte", de Javiera Parra, y un álbum solista de Beto Cuevas, fue **súper bueno**. (CORPES XXI. [Author not provided]. 9-7-2006. "Maldito chilombiano." *La Nación.* Chile.)

The only concrete difference between the two examples would be that *súper* alone functions adjectivally and *súper* with *bueno* functions adverbially, yet the semantic interpretation of the phrase in both cases is 'great' or 'excellent.' *Súper*, then, can be said to have even greater morphosyntactic and semantic elasticity than the default *muy* which it often substitutes, since *muy* cannot function adjectivally in the same contexts as the former: *la música, de los años 80, está *muy*.

Súper is also used adverbially in other syntactic contexts, including in combination with adjectival phrases and as an independent modifier to a verb:

> (…) [Hay] políticas que son "**super** en pro de los pobres." (CREA. [Author not provided]. 7-20-2000. "Hallazgos Sobre el Combate a la Pobreza." *Excélsior*. Mexico.)

> (…) [Hay] dos terrazas y chimenea en la sala, la cocina es italiana y los tapetes son de un diseñador español **súper** de moda. (CORPES XXI. Francisco Varela. 2010. *Ésta es mi piel*. Mexico.)

> (…) Eso era delicioso, la pasábamos **super**. Hasta que Hernando terminó con mi amiga, yo no sé por qué (…) (CORPES XXI. Andrés López & Juan Camilo Ferrand. 2010. *Las muñecas de los narcos*. Spain.)

As is the case with the previous examples, *súper* acts as intensifier to *muy* in these prepositional phrases: *muy en pro de* > *súper en pro de* '(very/super) in favor of,' *muy de moda* > *súper de moda* '(very/super) in style,' etc. Among the eight neoclassical prefixes included in this present study, *súper* thus represents the only example of a *prefix* > *adverb* recategorization.

The final class of debonding observed with *súper* in modern Spanish is that of an interjection or exclamation, and as is to be expected, the data suggest that it typically occurs in informal speech:

> -Ve Maruja…¿Te va bien en la venta de chance?
> -¡**Súper**!...Al que no me compra lo ficho y le paso la lista a Elmer.
> -Vea pues, yo no sabía que los paracos están en el negocio del chance.
> -Y son muy organizaos: al que les coge un chance le pagan el premio y por ahí derecho lo vacunan. (CORPES XXI. Carlos Mario Gallego. 2007. *La era Uribe contada por las dos lengüilargas de Colombia*. Argentina.)

The sources consulted here suggest that this type of debonding is also unique to *súper*, and there is no indication that it is possible with any other element analyzed in this study, even those that function as intensifiers (**¡mega!* **¡micro!*). Although the reason for this is not entirely certain, language contact no doubt plays a role in this, since *super* is likewise the only neoclassical intensifier used as an exclamation in English, a language which has been shown in section 3.2.8 to have given multiple loanwords with this element to Spanish in recent decades.

3.3.9 Debonding with neoclassical prefixes in other Romance Languages

As was mentioned above, recategorization with neoclassical prefixes is not confined to any particular geographic region nor is it unique to Spanish. Many phenomena have parallels in other Romance languages and even other language families. While a detailed analysis of recategorization in Romance is beyond the scope of this present study, some general

characteristics are worth pointing out. For instance, in French, Italian and Portuguese, there is evidence of both *prefix > noun* and *prefix > adjective* debonding. For example, similar clippings to those seen in Spanish also appear, particularly in widespread terms such as French *hypermarché > hyper*, *supermarché > super* and Portuguese *hipermercado > híper*, *supermercado > súper* (DFL s.v.; DPLP s.v.). Some of these have developed plural forms parallel to the Spanish *híperes* and *súperes*, such as the French *les hypers*, which is found in certain onlines sources such as the recent *Le Figaro* newspaper article titled "caddie mise sur les hypers pour se relancer" (www.lefigaro.fr.10-28-2014).

With adjectival debonding, postposition with certain neoclassical elements such as *macro* has also been documented in recent years. As is the case with Spanish, some pluralization has begun to appear in these languages, yet the majority of forms are morphologically unmarked, even when paired with feminine or plural nouns:[217]

FRENCH:

Mais l'aspect cocasse, de cette affaire, c'est que ces **fonds "macros,"** ainsi dénommés car ils parient sur une grande tendance économico-géopolitique (…) (*Le Monde*. Claire Gainois. 3-10-2010. "Sous le feu des critiques, les fonds spéculatifs n'ont pas profité de la crise grecque.")

PORTUGUESE:

Ainda, temos segmentos que se ressentem da crise econômica, mas não é propriamente o caso...as **questões macro**, de inflação, e relativas à competição explicam por si só a adoção das medidas. (*Jornal do Brasil*. Daniel Lima. 11-28-2009. "Controle da inflação é prerrequisito para ambiente de negócio.")

Frise-se que não não se haverá aqui, por exemplo, analisar erros de arbitragem, os quais são ínsitos ao ser humano...por uma questão de coerência, **macros equívocos** humanos serão ignorados. (*Jornal do Brasil*. Gustavo Serra. 10-18-2010. "O legítimo Palmarès do Campeonato Carioca de futebol.")

[217] The PAISA corpus, as well as other electronic sources (www.ilgiornale.it, www.lagazzetta.it, www.reppublica.it) register no plural example of Italian *macri*.

Elements like *(p)seudo* which show significant morphological innovation in Spanish also have shown comparable activity in these three neighboring Romance languages. Several plural cases and a few uses of feminine gender have been documented recently:

FRENCH:

Nous avons été incapables de te protéger du fanatisme du football et des **pseudos supporteurs** alors que tu étais notre hôte (…) (*Le Monde*. Olivier Hanquier. 1-22-2015. "Après la mort d'un footballeur, l'Algérie s'émeut de la violence dans ses stade.")

(…) Des « délinquants » embrigadés par de **pseudos imams** qui prêchent avec le Coran dans une main et le portefeuille dans l'autre. (*Le Monde*. Elise Barthet. 9-30-2014. "Devant la Grande Mosquée de Paris: 'Nous sommes tous Hervé Gourdel.'")

ITALIAN (from the Corpus PAISA):

(...) Poi tutti questi **pseudi giornalisti** parlano del passato dei piloti per far-ci prendere (...) (Date and author not provided)

(...) Quindi amici sforna i **pseudi vincitori** di sanremo (...) (4-10-2010, author not provided.)

(...) Noi sono mesi che cerchiamo di discutere con questa **pseuda allenza** vincente ma solo qualche giorno per spirito proprio uno di quel gruppo ha deciso di chiamar (...) (Date and author not provided)

PORTUGUESE:

(...) São incompetentes e despejam, anualmente, no esgoto da sociedade brasileira rios e rios de **pseudos profissionais**. É lamentável (...) (*Jornal do Brasil*. Annaclara Velasco. 7-11-2011. "'O exame da OAB é inconstitucional,' diz o presidente da OABB.")

(...) Isola-nos das verdadeiras relações humanas, em uma ciber-realida de que é, na verdade, uma **pseuda representação** do mundo real. (*Jornal do Brasil*. [Author not provided]. 2-14-2011. "Cada vez mais ameaçados pela tecnologia.")

However, like Spanish, these examples represent a minority of uses with these elements and the forms continue to be in a stage of morphological transition. While innovative forms do

exist, the older unmarked forms (*macro*, *(p)seudo*, etc.) continue to be used in the majority of cases, which suggests the debonding process is ongoing in other languages as well. Therefore, while such data demonstrate that many of these prefixes have begun to be generally recategorized as nouns and adjectives, the phenomenon is relatively recent across the board.

However, despite the similarities, there are some examples of incongruency in Romance and at times certain phenomena are observed in one system but not in another. Such is the case for *anti*, which has been shown in a recent study by Heyna (2009) to have widespread debonding in contemporary French, even so much as to be used in noun phrases with determiners (*anti-les outres; anti-un-club*). However, equivalent structures in Spanish do not occur in the sources consulted.

3.3.10 Conclusion for debonding with neoclassical prefixes

The following chart can give an overall summary of the debonding observed with these eight neoclassical prefixes.

Table 3.12 Summary of *prefix > noun* and *prefix > adjective* debonding with neoclassical prefixes in Spanish[218]

	PREFIX > ADJECTIVE				**PREFIX > NOUN**
	MORPHOLOGY		**SYNTAX**		**(Clipping)**
	Plural	**Gender**	**Postposition**	**With article *lo***	
ANTI	NO **antis* (adj.)	N/A	NO **libertad anti*	YES (infrequent)	YES (as reference to multiple terms)

[218] All claims are limited to the data in the sources consulted.

HIPER	NO **híperes* (adj.)	N/A	YES *visión híper*	YES	YES < *hipermercado*
MACRO	YES *índices macros*	NO ***** *macra*	YES *índices macro*	YES	YES < *macroeconomía* < *macroinstrucción*
MEGA	YES *megas esculturas*	NO **mego*	YES *barcos mega*	YES	YES < *megabyte*
MICRO	YES *micros empresas*	NO **micra* (adj.)	YES *empresarios micro*	YES	YES < *microondas* < *micrófono* < *microbus* < *microprocesador*
NEO[219]	YES *neos franceses*	NO **nea*	YES *liberalismo neo*	YES	YES (as reference to multiple terms)
(P)SEUDO	YES *seudos religiosos*	YES *(p)seuda universidad*	NO **universidad pseuda*	YES	NO
SUPER	NO **súperes* (adj.)	N/A	YES *gasolina súper*	YES	YES < *supermercado*

The following conclusions can be made concerning this phenomenon in modern Spanish:

1] Fuzzy category status has contributed to reanalysis, which is evident in innovative morphosyntax, such as new syntactic positions and pluralization.

2] The debonding process is ongoing and is manifest by incomplete paradigms (*macro*, *macros*, **macra*, **macras*) and possibly by rigid syntax with some elements (*pseudas universidades*, **universidades pseudas*).

[219] Not included are the two exceptions found in CORDE from the 19th century which show plural and feminine forms *neos* and *nea*.

3] Divergence has occurred. These prefixes have expanded to functions of other word classes, most commonly to nouns and adjectives, yet prefixal use does not appear to be falling away.

Although their category membership is indeed fuzzy, morphological and semantic transparency undoubtedly play a major role in the recategorization of these prefixes in modern Spanish. Speakers from a variety of countries can and do recognize the independent characteristics of these elements and their expansion into other morphosyntactic areas is evidence of that. Embedded or opaque items simply could not produce such results, as was argued by Doyle (2002) and others mentioned in section 1.6. It is also important to recognize the morphologically peripheral aspect of prefixes set forth by Martín García (1998), which undoubtedly contributes to the likelihood of recategorization, since the division between root and affix is not only more obvious but more easily breached as well.

The data confirm that the first new morphological forms that have appeared in modern Spanish are plural with no marking of gender.[220] In other words, *mega*, ending in –a which typically marks the feminine, first developed *megas* instead of **mego*. Likewise, *macro* has first developed *macros* instead of **macra*. As speakers become more and more familiar with the *prefix > adjective* debonded forms, these are likely to become more fully adapted to Spanish morphology, possibly producing constructions like *la macra idea*, *el mego debate*, etc. The fact that this has already happened with *(p)seudo* proves that it indisputably is possible to occur with others of like use and structure, given the necessary time and exposure. Language evolution, however, is of course unpredictable. The history of Spanish gives clear evidence of other similar

[220] That is not to say that a prefix has true grammatical gender, but since the majority end in either –o or –a, they seemingly have gender when separated from the based.

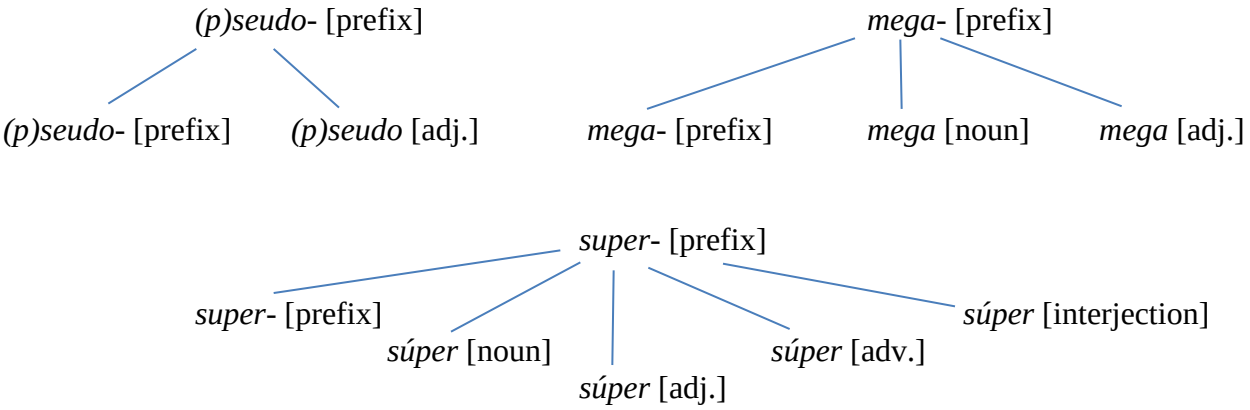
elements that still have not developed opposite-gender forms despite long period of extensive use in the language, such as the previously mentioned *alerta*, which continues to be used systematically as both a masculine and feminine adjective.

While the phenomenon itself has been amply documented in recent decades, certain characteristics of recategorization remain a mystery. For instance, while semantic restraints can play a significant role, there is no conclusive reason why some prefixes tend to be found postposed whereas others are only preposed. It would be logical for there to be a correlation between the development of new morphological forms and syntactic freedom. In other words, it would seem natural for an element that has masculine and feminine, singular and plural forms to be viewed as more incorporated into the language, with the result being that it is also found both preposed and postposed, since this is true for the vast majority of adjectives in the Spanish language. However, the data show that this is simply not the case. *Macro* is found postponed frequently, yet never with feminine forms (*las cifras macro*, **las cifras macras*), whereas *(p)seudo-* has developed new feminine forms yet only is found in the preposed position (*las pseudas universidades*, **las universidades pseudas*). Semantic restrictions in regard to *(p)seudo* and *presunto/supuesto/medio* perhaps play a role in the rigid preposition of the former, but evidence from partial synonyms like *falso* puts this in question.

Overall, such data suggest that there is still a general vagueness as to the classification of these elements and how exactly to use them. Their fuzzy nature is manifest not only in variant syntactic position and morphological forms, but also in word spacing, spellings and other orthographic representations such as the use of hyphens or quotation marks. Despite the explosion of use since the second half of the 20th century, these elements have clearly not become fully adapted in modern Spanish varieties and continue to represent changes in progress

that should be expected to stabilize at some point in the future. Yet this comes as no surprise, as was seen in section 1.6, for degrammaticalization is a gradual process and variant forms commonly coexist for quite some time.

The data also suggest that instances can be found in numerous regions of the Spanish-speaking world and do not appear to be diatopically conditioned. Whether or not these innovations represent systematic and widespread change remains to be seen, since these recent recategorized examples are still quite infrequent compared to their prefixed counterparts. That is to say that at the present time there is no sign of prefixal use falling away in modern Spanish, since prefixal productivity with these elements is still the most commonly observed in the sources consulted. At this point in time neoclassical prefixes have not ceased to be prefixes but rather spread in use to other word categories. Depending on the element in question, they now can function as several word classes, including nouns, adjectives and adverbs. Divergence is thus clearly seen in the data, some of which results in only two separate forms, as in the case of *(p)seudo*, others in three or more, with the greatest divergence being observed with *super*:



The fact that similar phenomenon (clippings with *hiper-* and *super-*, adjectival forms for *macro-* and *(p)seudo-*, etc.) have also occurred in other European languages proves that

innovation with these neoclassical elements is certainly not confined to modern Spanish. Recategorization with this language parallels others of like structure such as French, Italian and Portuguese. The data presented here are thus representative of a fairly widespread phenomenon, and present the linguist with many opportunities for future comparative studies.

4. GENERAL CONCLUSION

Taking up again the research questions posited in section 0.2, the following general conclusions can be made:

1] What has been the historical development of these modern prefixes? How does history explain the usages observable today?

Overall, this thesis has sought to show that there is a fairly regular pattern that can be observed in regard to the diachronic adoption and diffusion of the eight neoclassical prefixes included in this project, namely *anti-*, *hiper-*, *macro-*, *mega-*, *micro-*, *neo-*, *(p)seudo-*, *super-*.

The Greek elements, although free morphemes, were frequently found in word-initial position in compounds: μακρός 'long', μακρόβιος 'long-lived.' Latin then adopted and transliterated many of these compounds that contained these Greek elements. Thus what are now the above mentioned Greek neoclassical prefixes entered Latin as bound morphemes in word-initial position and were confined only to those particular terms: *macronosia* 'long illness' (< μακρονοσία), *pseudothyrum* 'false/secret door' (< ψευδόθυρον).

In the writings of the medieval and early modern periods, a few of these transliterated borrowings survived and became fairly widespread (*anticristo*, *hyperbole*), yet overall these prefixes were not significantly productive during the majority of the documented history of the Spanish language. In more recent centuries (mostly starting in the late 19th and early 20th) the type frequency of neologisms with these elements began to increase significantly in the corpora and spread to less specialized contexts: *mega-idiota*, *pseudopadre*.

2] **Under what conditions can elements that historically are found only in specialized and scientific registers infiltrate informal everyday language? Which aspects change and which stay the same? Can any diatopic variation be perceived in the data?**

With respect to this general productivity in the language, the most significant change in the last century or so is not necessarily the mere rise in type and token frequency but rather their infiltration into informal registers. As has been shown in chapter two, none of these prefixes are new to the 20th century, but have previously been confined only to formal and specialized contexts, thus being severely limited in productivity. Yet the presence of terms such as *hiperfamoso* '(hyper)famous,' *megabién* '(mega)well' and *superfácil* '(super)easy' prove that they are now found even in very casual and familiar discourse. They are not new to the language but are new to informal registers. Currently, people throughout the Spanish-speaking world can and do habitually employ them in a wide range of settings. Neoclassical prefixes have thus come to form part of the majority's speech, instead of being relegated only to that of the select and educated few.

The analyzed data strongly suggest that these eight neoclassical elements have been firmly established in the modern Spanish lexicon due primarily to their semantic and morphological transparency, combined with direct contact with other European languages of which English is foremost. Over time this combination of factors contributed to greater type and token frequency in native Spanish constructions. At times their diffusion has resulted in semantic innovation, as is the case with *anti-* in neologisms that carry the value 'prevents' or 'protects (against)' (*anti-arrugas*, *anti-gas*), the intensifying uses of *mega-*, *macro-* and *super-* to mean 'really' or 'very' (*megadeprimente*, *superliberal*), and in *(p)seudo-* when expressing the value 'sort of' (*pseudoinstalarse*), among others mentioned in section 3.1.

The data also show that there is an obvious range of productivity among the eight neoclassical prefixes analyzed here. That is to say that those such as *neo-* are simply less productive than others like *anti-*, *mega-* and *super-*. Although there could be numerous factors affecting this, one of the principal causes is likely to be the semantic limitations that items such as *neo-* have (section 3.1.7). As Martín Camacho (1994:312) argues, there are both morphological and semantic limitations on productivity. Logically, then, it should come as no surprise if those elements with more specific semantic values will be less productive than those with wider, more inclusive values (Moyna 2011:87).

With the exception of a few cases such as with prefixed *macro-* and *mega-* (section 3.1.5.2), the data do not suggest significant diatopic variation, since the phenomena analyzed in this study appear in numerous regions. However, further studies with a greater emphasis on sociolinguistic factors would need to take place in order to confirm this claim.

3] When there is an influx of loanwords with transparent morphemes equivalent to those already in the language (like the eight prefixes listed above), to what extent do these affect native speakers' perception and use of these morphemes?

English contact during the majority of the 20th century significantly increased both type and token frequency with neoclassical prefixes in Spanish, and many new calque forms were created: *macroeconomía* (< *macroeconomy*), *megaéxito* (< *megahit*), *superestrella* (< *superstar*). Concerning language contact, in section 3.2 it was argued that Spanish language productivity with neoclassical prefixes has likely increased due to the influx of multiple loanwords with cognate prefixes, almost exclusively from English. The data suggest that the sheer number of English borrowings is increasing, and these are being regularly used in Spanish language

discourse. Although some Anglicisms no doubt play only a minor role in the overall lexicon, others such as *mega(byte)* and *superstar* have become very widespread and influential, appearing literally thousands of times in the corpora. How much this affects further productivity is difficult to measure concretely, yet it is certain that Spanish speakers are becoming more and more acquainted with these elements due to the influx of numerous transparent loanwords resultant from direct contact with English. It is also probable that certain semantic drift has occurred through English influence, the most notable of which is with *anti-*, which now is commonly used in Spanish to express the value 'protects or prevents' (*antifreeze* > *anticongelante*).

4] Why do speakers reanalyze certain morphemes and what kind of new morphosyntactic functions and/or semantic changes are produced?

As was argued in sections 1.6 and 3.3, reanalysis is primarily due to transparency yet with fuzzy category status. That is to say that, although speakers readily recognize these elements as separate morphemes and understand their definition, the word class to which they belong is not salient. Word class expansion into adjectival uses is in part a result of such reanalysis, combined with the lexical weight which they possess, and the fact that they carry modifying functions similar to most adjectives when combined with a substantival root. Speaker creativity and an ever present desire to embellish language also likely plays a role as well, especially in informal registers and among younger speakers.

Sections 1.6 and 3.3 have detailed the fact that recategorization is primarily a morphosyntactic phenomenon. After a period of widespread use as prefixes, these elements have recently begun to expand into functions of other word classes, particularly in the form of debonded nouns and adjectives: *el hipermercado* > *el híper*, *pseudouniversidad* > *pseuda*

universidad but also as adverbs and at times interjections. From the morphosyntactic standpoint, they can thus be said to have gone full circle since their use in classical Greek, having started as free elements, having become bound and then become free again. The semantic changes are minimal in most cases of recategorization. The innovative semantic values that have come about with elements like *anti-*, *macro-* and *(p)seudo-* have done so as prefixes and not directly as a result of the recategorization process.

5] If recategorization is a slow and gradual process, which modifications can be expected to occur early on and which tend to occur at a later period? Are there changes not yet seen that could be expected in the future if the current trends continue?

In section 3.3, it was argued that the most salient aspect of recategorization is the production of new morphological forms, in the pluralization of adjectives and nouns (*macro* > *macros*, *súper* > *súperes*) as well as gender creation in adjectives (*pseudo* > *pseuda*). Although opposite gender forms in current Spanish appear to be limited to *(p)seudo-*, this element suggests that it is possible if not probable that converted adjectival forms of other neoclassical prefixes could increase and become more fully adapted to Spanish morphology. The first step of developing plural forms has already been taken by most of these recategorized prefixes, thus it would not surprise to observe phrases like *las ideas neas* or *las tiendas macras* in the future, if the present patterns of morphological expansion continue. Due to the fact that similar features are observed in other Romance languages as well, recategorization with neoclassical prefixes appears to be a fairly widespread phenomenon at the present time.

In conclusion, it can be said that all the analyzed examples in this study are significant due to the fact that neologisms represent variation and change in one of its most salient forms,

and they present the linguist with an exciting and seemingly endless amount of data. However, phenomena such as contact-induced change and recategorization also demonstrate that language evolution is often irregular and inconsistent:

> Language change is unpredictable…even the most 'natural' structural changes –common changes that occur frequently in diverse language all over the world– often do not happen. This truism holds in the subfield of contact-induced change too. So although we can draw some useful generalizations about tendencies in this area, we cannot confidently predict that any particular changes will occur in a particular language in a particular contact situation. (Thomason 2001:77-78)

Yet all neologisms, regardless of their source or the context in which they appear, show the capacity of a language to adapt itself to an ever fluctuating reality. They confirm that language is in fact a living phenomenon, able to absorb new needs and preferences while shedding older ones that with time have grown ineffective or undesired. They also clearly demonstrate how speakers constantly seek to express themselves with variety (yet within the bounds of precise communication), since often a seemingly unnecessary element adds a degree of semantic distinction previously non-existent, and thus enriches the system as a whole. Studies in this area advance our understanding of morphological and lexical productivity in modern languages, specifically in regard to the role that word relations play (morphological and semantic analogy, calque formations, synonymy and antonymy) as well as the variation and change that can occur with widely diffused and transparent morphemes (semantic innovation, recategorization).

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