

Invisible Neologisms: Category Change

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Abstract

New word formation procedures involving a grammatical category or subcategory change are suffixation, part of prefixation, some borrowings, conversion, lexicalisation, some cases of abbreviation, and syntactic change. Our approach is based on the idea that procedures that do not attach derivational affixes or seemingly borrow from other languages can initially be perceived as less innovative than the rest, and that is why we have named the set of procedures formed by conversion, lexicalisation, abbreviation and syntactic change as *invisible neologisms*.

In keeping with the proposal for the multidimensional classification of neologisms by Cabré (2006, 2009 and 2015), the grouping – under the category change dimension – of a set of neologisms labelled with four different formation procedures allows us to overcome the difficulty of establishing clear boundaries between some of these procedures because, for example, there are some cases of reduction within conversion, and there are some instances of lexicalisation or abbreviation that could be considered cases of conversion.

This work forms part of the research activities connected with the project entitled *Neologismes per a l'actualització del diccionari normatiu* (NADIC, Neologisms for the Purpose of Updating the Standard Dictionary) that, in the period spanning 2015-2017, established a set of criteria to assist the decision-making process in regard to the dictionarisation of neologisms in the Catalan language. Within this context, the aim of this work is twofold: firstly, to analyse the neologisms formed by conversion, lexicalisation, abbreviation and syntactic change that had been filtered by the project's criteria; and secondly, to see if the application of the dictionarisation criteria to the set of neological data documented by the Neology Observatory over the past 20 years enabled good candidates for inclusion in the standard dictionary to come to the surface. We found that the characterisation of the neologisms analysed was a good reflection of the tendencies displayed by these formation procedures in Catalan neology in general.

Thus, the conversion of adjectives into nominal neologisms was confirmed as the most common procedure, followed by the conversion of deverbal nouns into new verbs.

We also found that the functional, category, formal and semantic changes occurring in these neologisms in relation to their lexical base, regardless of the formation procedure they followed, shaped the speakers' perception of newness. In this respect, those neologisms displaying a category change only, without any modification of the inflectional paradigm (e.g., between nouns and adjectives), and therefore potentially being perceived as less innovative, were generated by both conversion and abbreviation. Meanwhile, those neologisms that, in addition to a category change, sought to complete inflectional paradigms (e.g., between verbs and nouns) were associated with procedures of conversion, lexicalisation and syntactic change. Moreover, by incorporating inflectional morphemes and acquiring new semantic features, their degree of innovation was more visible. And, lastly, the least invisible and, therefore, most innovative neologisms were also formed by conversion and abbreviation. These combined a more marked (or less predictable) category change and a formal change – often with orthographical and phonetic consequences – with a semantic change (e.g., from phraseological expressions to a noun or to a grammatical connector).

In the conclusions, we also identified the correlation between this perception of neologisms being more invisible (or less innovative) and more visible (or innovative) through the corresponding lexicographical treatment.

Keywords

neology, category change, syntactic conversion, lexicalisation, dictionarisation

Introduction

In the creation of new words, there are many mechanisms involving a lexical or grammatical category change: all suffixation apart from appreciative suffixation, part of prefixation, some borrowings, some cases of semantic neology and, above all, those mechanisms involving a category change without the attachment of affixes. This work focuses on neologisms in the Catalan language formed by conversion, lexicalisation and syntactic change, as well as a subset of those formed by abbreviation. We have called these *invisible neologisms* because our approach is based on the idea that lexical innovation marked solely by functional and inflectional changes may be perceived by speakers as a minor, less obvious and less ground-breaking novelty. It is clear that they are not entirely invisible to linguists and lexicographers. Rather, such neologisms display certain characteristics that would explain why, for speakers in general, they go more unnoticed.

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the data from the project entitled *Neologismes per a l'actualització del diccionari normatiu* (NADIC, Neologisms for the Purpose of Updating the Standard Dictionary). These data correspond to the dictionariable neologisms formed by mechanisms involving a category change without the attachment of affixes. The hypothesis guiding our analysis is that, within this set of neologisms, we can identify different degrees of visibility/invisibility. In other words, there are some neologisms created by a category change that may be perceived as more or less innovative, a phenomenon that could prove decisive for their lexicographical representation.

We first of all review the word formation mechanisms involving a category change; we then present and analyse the category change neologisms included in the NADIC project; after that, we comment on one of the neology-derived consequences for a category change – lexical doublets; and lastly, we discuss the characteristics that shape the speakers' perceptions of these neologisms being more or less innovative, and we end by offering a few conclusions.

Neology by category change

A lexical or grammatical category change is usually associated with a morphological word creation procedure called¹ *conversion*² or *zero derivation*,³ where no affix is involved in the formation of the derived unit. Instead, there is simply a functional change, which, in Romance languages, is accompanied by inflectional morphemes (*clic* > *clicar*; *clon* > *clonar*; *ficció* > *ficcionar*; *biòpsia* > *biopsiar*; *cohesió* > *cohesionar*; *col·lisió* > *col·lisionar*; *comissari* > *comissariar*; *compost* > *compostar*; *contractura* > *contracturar*; *coreografia* > *coreografiar*; *hormona* > *hormonar*; *líder* > *liderar*; *publicitat* > *publicitar*; *recepció* > *recepcionar*; *represàlia* > *represaliar*; *subsidi* > *subsidiar*; *versió* > *versionar*; *xip* > *xipar*).

As we can see from the previous examples extracted from the Neology Observatory's database (BOBNEO),⁴ the frequently recorded conversion among neologisms is the one that generates verbal derivatives from nominal bases, even though the opposite procedure, i.e., conversion or zero derivation of nouns from verbal bases, is quite traditional and is amply described in the grammars: *rebutjar* > *rebuig*; *dubtar* > *dubte*; *reptar* > *repte*; *xisclar* > *xiscle*; *marejar* > *mareig*.⁵ In the Neology Observatory's data, there are two unique cases of nouns that we can consider to be derivatives of verbs by conversion: *maltractar* > *maltracte*; *subministrar* > *subministre*.⁶

The formation of verbs from adjectival bases is not very productive. Only a few cases have been documented in BOBNEO, such as *calent*, *-a* > *calentar*,⁷ *centrípet*, *-a* > *centripetar*; *serè*, *-na* > *serenar*.⁸

Despite this commonplace direct correlation between conversion or zero derivation and category change, we know that there are other word formation mechanisms that also involve a category or subcategory change, as we will see in the following paragraphs.

¹ The choice of one of the available denominations in linguistics to designate this phenomenon is not neutral, and it relates to the models followed. In French, for example, *dérivation impropre*, *recatégorisation*, *transfert de classe* or *glissement de catégorie* are used (Jean-François Sablayrolles, 'La terminologie de la néologie: lacunes, flottements et trop-pleins', *Syntaxe et sémantique* 7 (2006), 80).

² Institut d'Estudis Catalans, *Gramàtica de la llengua catalana* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2016), 410.

³ M. Teresa Cabré, 'La derivació', in Joan Solà et al., dir., *Gramàtica del català contemporani* (Barcelona: Empúries, 2002), 734.

⁴ <http://obneo.iula.upf.edu/bobneo/index.php>.

⁵ Cabré, 'La derivació', 734; 766.

⁶ Variants of the suffixed words *maltractament* and *subministrament*, almost certainly due to interference from the equivalent forms in the Spanish language: *maltrato* and *suministro*, respectively.

⁷ Which competes with the lexical form *escalfar*.

⁸ Morphological variant of *asserenar*, the traditional form.

Suffixation is the morphological procedure par excellence for a category change. Lorente and Cantero⁹ have confirmed that suffixation is still one of the most productive procedures in neology in the Catalan language, both written and oral. New adjectives, nouns, verbs, and adverbs continue to be generated from the bases of all categories, such as: *perímetre* > *perimetral* > *perimetralment*; *província* > *provincial* > *provincialitzar*; *virus* > *viral* > *viralitzar*; *conkurs* > *concursal*; *motivar* > *motivació* > *motivacional*; *explosiu* > *explosivitat*; *crònic* > *cronificar*; *zombi* > *zombificar*.

Recategorising suffixation, which Cabré¹⁰ has delimited to a closed set of prefixes with the capacity to systematically generate verbs from nominal or adjectival bases (*a-*, *en-*) and another set of unstressed prefixes that can only change category in certain cases (*des-*, *es-*, *in-*, *re-*), is illustrated in the grammars with examples like: *jorn* > *ajornar*; *negre* > *ennegrir*; *banc* > *desbancar*; *bocí* > *esbocinar*; *fresc* > *refrescar*. It should be said that, in the Neology Observatory's data, the unstressed prefixes that have recategorising capacity to create new words are *a-* and *en-*, especially from nominal bases:¹¹ *botí* > *abotinar*; *flamenc* > *aflamencar*; *càpsula* > *encapsular*; *cartró* > *encartronar*. Some authors like Correia,¹² for example, consider that unstressed prefixes such as *anti-* or *pro-* are recategorising ones too, as we can see from the BOBNEO's data: *arrugues_N* > *antiarrugues_A*; *avalots_N* > *antiavalots_A*; *abocador_N* > *antiabocador_A*; *abús_N* > *antiabús_A*; *allau_N* > *antiallaus_A*; *democràcia_N* > *prodemocràcia_A*; *govern_N* > *progovern_A*; *drets humans_N* > *prodrets humans_A*; *independència_N* > *proindependència_A*.

Let us return to the category change without the attachment of derivational affixes, which, besides syntactic conversion, also includes lexicalisation, understood as the 'fixation of forms of lexemes with a different category to the original one' [Translation from Catalan].¹³ The Neology Observatory's data show that the most frequent type of lexicalisation is the formation of nouns from participles or adjectives: *imputat*, *-ada_A* > *imputat*, *-adan_N*; *indignat*, *-ada_A* > *indignat*, *-adan_N*; *antiavalots_A* > *antiavalots_N*; *abanderat*, *-ada_A* > *abanderat*, *-adan_N*; *afectat*, *-ada_A* > *afectat*, *-adan_N*; *cooperant_A* >

⁹ Mercè Lorente, and Laura Cantero, 'La neologia per sufixació', in Freixa, Judit, Bernal, Elisenda, and M. Teresa Cabré, eds, *La neologia lèxica catalana* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2015), 29.

¹⁰ Cabré, 'La derivació', 763-764.

¹¹ In contrast the prefixes *des-*, *es-*, *in-* and *re-* do not seem to activate any recategorising capacity, if we exclude two cases that are not especially neological: *desangelar* (traditional form, without an entry in the general dictionaries) and *desmanillar* (in the area of the traditional Catalan human towers).

¹² Margarita Correia, and Lúcia San Payo de Lemos, *Inovação lexical em português* (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2005), 31.

¹³ Cabré, 'La derivació', 766.

*cooperant*_N; *remuntat*, *-ada*_A > *remuntada*_N. In every case, it is also a lexical formation by reduction, since the neological nouns derive from the abbreviation of noun phrases formed by a noun and an adjective, as in the following cases, for example: *campionat mundial* > *mundial*; *polícia antiavalots* > *antiavalots*; *esportista abanderat* > *abanderat*.

According to Ginebra,¹⁴ syntactic change does not generate true lexical neologisms, but rather simple syntactic variants that are perfectly predictable from the rules of the grammar. The Neology Observatory's data support this conception. The vast majority of neological verbs labelled within the syntactic change neologism type are syntactic alternants:¹⁵ reflexive pronominal ones (*boicotejar-se*, *capitalitzar-se*, *rearmar-se*, *reinventar-se*, *registrar-se*, *reivindicar-se*, *sabotejar-se*, *vacunar-se*), reciprocal pronominal ones (*coordinar-se*, *desautoritzar-se uns als altres*, *interrelacionar-se*, *connectar* > *connectar-se*), reflexive passive ones (*anunciar-se*, *convocar-se*, *denominar-se*, *expropiar-se*, *licitar-se*, *projectar-se*, *reconstruir-se*, *reestructurar-se*, *regularitzar-se*, *reorganitzar-se*, *traduir-se*), pronominal inchoative variants of transitive verbs (*difractar-se*, *vertebrar-se*), transitive pronominal variants with benefactive datives (*alleugerir-se*, *anotar-se*, *costejar-se*, *demanar-se*, *marcar-se*) and intransitive pronominal ones of change of place (*centrar-se*, *ubicar-se*, *traslladar-se*). Also documented within syntactic change are other non-pronominal verbal alternants, which are likewise predictable from the grammar, such as the intransitive use (absolute) of transitive verbs (*criminalitzar*, *desusar*, *desgastar*, *incendiar*, *retallar*) and causative transitive variants of pronominal or intransitive verbs (*innivar*, *transvertir*, *revertir*).

The incorporation of loanwords from other languages may also lead to a category change in the host language, compared, that is, to the category of the word in the original language. We have documented such changes among various neologisms that Catalan has borrowed from English, the most frequent one being a change from the original verbal category in English to the nominal category in Catalan, with the subsequent gender markers and, sometimes, the incorporation of the borrowed suffix -

¹⁴ Jordi Ginebra, 'Neologia i gramàtica entre el neologisme lèxic i el neologisme sintàctic', *Caplletra* 59 (2015), 140-141.

¹⁵ Mercè Lorente, 'Endreçant neologismes verbals', in Clua, Esteve, and Maria-Rosa Lloret, eds, *Qüestions de morfologia flexiva i lèxica del català. Volum d'homenatge a Joaquim Viaplana* (Alicante: Institut Interuniversitari de Filologia Valenciana, 2013), 289-290.

ing:¹⁶ *bouncing*_A > *bouncing*_N; *naming*_V > *naming*_N; *carpool*_{N/V} > *carpooling*_N; *cast*_{N/V} > *casting*_N.

Word formation procedures leading to a category change obviously display a full or partial change in meaning too. The types of semantic changes occurring as a result are shared by more than one morphological procedure. Thus, for example, the change from the meaning of an attribute (or characteristic trait) to a new meaning of a change of state event is expressed by conversion (*ficció* > *ficcionar* [fiction > to fictionise]) and suffixation (*zombi* > *zombificar* [zombie > to zombify]), and by recategorising prefixation (*flamenc* > *aflamencar* [flamenco > to flamencoise]). Similarly, the change between a concrete entity and a change of place is shared by conversion (*hormona* > *hormonar* [hormone > to hormonalise]) and recategorising prefixation (*càpsula* > *encapsular* [capsule > to encapsulate]). Semantic loanwords or calques can bring a new referential meaning (*actiu*_A > *actiu*_N [active > assets]), as can other procedures such as recategorising prefixation (*anti**allaus* [anti-avalanche – machine]; *anti**arrugues* [wrinkle reducing – cream]) and lexicalisation by reduction (el *clàssic* [the classic – match]; un *davanter* [a forward – player]; els *teloners* [the warm-up – acts]).

As we have seen, category change and semantic change are phenomena that coexist alongside several other formal word formation mechanisms. Creus and Julià-Muné¹⁷ refer to these as ‘neologismes coprocedimentals’ (coprocedural neologisms). Besides the difficulty of establishing a clear boundary between the mechanisms, the coexistence of different planes has led to a long-needed review of neologism classification criteria, which now favours a multidimensional approach.¹⁸

According to our conception of what a neologism classification system should be, there would be a distinction between the different criteria in such a way that the application of each one would give rise to a specific classification. The integration of all the criteria into a multivariate classification table would give each neologism a general profile in which each criterion has either a marked value (positive [+ presence of a value] or negative [- absence of a value]) or an

¹⁶ Lorente, ‘Endreçant neologismes verbals’, 282.

¹⁷ Imma Creus, and Joan Julià-Muné, ‘Neologismes semàntics / Semantic Change’, in Cabré, M. Teresa, Domènech, Ona, and Rosa Estopà, eds, *Mots nous en català: Una panoràmica geolectal / New words in Catalan: A diatopic view* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2014), 194.

¹⁸ M. Teresa Cabré, ‘La clasificación de neologismos: una tarea compleja’, *Revista Alfa* 50/2 (2006), 229-250.

M. Teresa Cabré, ‘La classificació dels neologismes: una tasca complexa’, in Cabré, M. Teresa, and Rosa Estopà, eds, *Les paraules noves: Criteris per detectar i mesurar els neologismes* (Vic; Barcelona: Eumo; Universitat Pompeu Fabra, 2009), 9-37.

M. Teresa Cabré, ‘Bases para una teoría de los neologismos léxicos: primeras reflexiones’, in Alves, Ieda Maria, and Eliane Simões Pereira, eds, *Neologia das Línguas Romanicas* (São Paulo: CAPES, Humanitas, 2015), 79-107.

unmarked value ([zero, irrelevance of a value to a certain type of neologism]) [Translation from Catalan].¹⁹

Thus, in summary, when a neologism displays a category change, it may fall into three situations of change that are cumulative and not mutually exclusive:

- A category or subcategory change only, or a simple syntactic alternation (functional change). Some examples are: *Concursal* (bankruptcy, as an adjective), *antiavalots* (riot police, as a noun) and the pronominal variant of *vacunar* (to vaccinate).
- Besides a functional change, the neologism displays some formal change, such as the attachment of affixes, truncation, some inflectional change or, in some cases, even a phonetic change. Some examples are *encapsular* and *zombificar*.
- The neologism displays a functional change and entails a semantic change, basically by generating a new meaning or a new word sense (polysemy), as in the cases of the noun *mundial* ('competició esportiva' [sports competition]) and the verb *hormonar* ('prendre o rebre un tractament amb hormones' [take or receive a hormone treatment]).

Research data

This chapter's object of analysis is the subset formed by the NADIC project's dictionarisable neologisms, which we have called *invisible neologisms*. The reason for doing so is that, of all the procedures leading to a category change, as discussed in the previous section (§ Neology by category change), there are four that go unnoticed because of the lack of attachment of affixal morphemes. We therefore address those neologisms formed by syntactic conversion, lexicalisation, syntactic change and syntagmatic reduction (within abbreviation), which had already been selected by applying the above-mentioned project's dictionarisation criteria.²⁰

The amount of data is small. Specifically, there are 56 neologisms, i.e., 6% of the 927 neologisms selected as being dictionarisable. These 56 neologisms were classified by the formation mechanism into the following four blocks:

¹⁹ Cabré, 'La classificació dels neologismes: una tasca complexa', 35.

²⁰ Cf. Freixa in this book.

- Neologisms by conversion²¹ (35 cases, 62.5% per cent): *afroamericà, afroamericana; animalista; antiavalots; auspiciar; autolesionar-se; autònom, autònoma; baixista; blaugrana; cara a cara; central; col·lisionar; comissariar; epigenètica; extracomunitari -ària; imaginari; incondicional; inflable; intermediar; isme; matinal; mediar; nòrdic; parapública; periquito -a; plenari; prèvia; publicitar; recepcionar; represaliar; retrospectiva; subsidiar; transgènic; tripartit; versionar; zero.*
- Neologisms by lexicalisation (six cases of a category change, 10.7%): *abanderat, -ada; convocant; esclar; imputat imputada; represaliat represaliada; sisplau.*
- Neologisms by syntactic change (four cases, 7.1%): *connectar-se; filial; posicionar-se; punta.*
- Neologisms by abbreviation (11 cases of a category change, 19.6%): *cimentera; dessaladora; dessalinitzador -a; llargueta; mullar-se, mundial; ni-ni; portàtil; primària; primàries; secundària.*

Data analysis

Neologisms by conversion

Regarding the 35 neologisms formed by syntactic conversion and deemed dictionarisable by the NADIC project, we have sorted them by the category of the derived unit in order to perform a more in-depth analysis: verbs (11, 31.4%), nouns (23, 65.7%) and adjectives (one, 2.9%).

All of the verbs formed by syntactic conversion have nominal bases, though three formal patterns can be made out:

- Verbs formed from nominal bases suffixed with *-ció*, which, in turn, have verbal bases: *col·lisionar, recepcionar, versionar*. As already indicated for the Neology Observatory's set of data,²² these verbs formed by derivation clash with pre-existing verbs that have the same general meaning (*col·lidir* [to collide], *rebre*

²¹ It should be noted that the analysis data adhere to the classification that the Neology Observatory applies to its database, despite the fact that, in lexicalisation, some grammars make the distinction between adjectives and nouns in a category change without affixes.

²² Lorente, 'Endreçant neologismes verbals', 288.

[to receive], *versar* [to be about]), but they nevertheless show that, for speakers, the new forms designate new, more specific meanings.²³

- Verbs formed from nominal bases prefixed with stressed affixes, which, in turn, have been documented as neological ones: *autolesionar-se*, *intermediar*.
- Verbs formed from other neoclassical nominal bases: *auspicar*, *comissariar*, *mediar*, *publicitar*, *represaliar*, *subsidiar*.

From the semantic viewpoint, the nominal bases of verbs formed by conversion are varied:²⁴ eventive (*auspici* [auspice], *col·lisió* [collision], *autolesió* [self-injury]), agentive (*comissari* [curator]), resultative (*publicitat* [advertising], *represàlia* [reprisal], *subsidi* [subsidy], *versió* [version]), temporal (*intermedi* [interval/interlude]) and spatial (*medi* [environment/medium], *recepció* [reception]). Verbs derived by syntactic conversion are always agentive,²⁵ and transitive ones predominate.

Regarding the 23 nominal category neologisms derived by conversion, we find that they are created from three different categories of bases:

- Adjectival bases derived from the abbreviation of noun phrases (21 cases, 91.3%): *afroamericà*, *-ana*; *animalista*; *antiavalots*; *autònom*, *-a*; *baixista*; *blaugrana*; *central*; *epigenètica*; *extracomunitari* *-ària*; *imaginari*; *incondicional*; *inflable*; *matinal*; *nòrdic*; *parapública*; *periquito* *-a*; *plenari*; *prèvia*; *retrospectiva*; *transgènic*; *tripartit*.
- One case where the base is a lexicalised suffix: *-isme*. The suffix *-isme* becomes lexicalised as a noun to generically – and sometimes pejoratively – designate the class of derived nouns with this affix, which has the meaning of ‘tendencies, fashions’.
- One case where the base is a phrase with an adverbial function, which is lexicalised as a masculine noun: *cara a cara* (head-to-head) in sentences like *Els candidats faran un cara a cara* (The candidates will do a head-to-head).

²³ ‘As already noted in Lorente (2013:288), “we speakers no longer associate the meanings of *dissecció* (dissection), *ficció* (fiction) and *versió* (version) with the polysemic verbs *disseccar* (to dissect), *ferir* (to feign) and *versar* (to be about),” and the new verbs serve to complete paradigms, to distinguish between specialised uses, to replace syntagmatic expressions and to impose the preferential behaviour of transitive causative verbs of change’ [Translation from Catalan]. Mercè Lorente, ‘Neologia verbal i tendències del canvi lingüístic’, in Pérez-Saldanya, Manuel, and Rafael Roca Ricart, eds, *Del manuscrit a la paraula digital: Estudis de llengua i literatura catalanes / From Manuscript to Digital Word: Studies of Catalan language and literature* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2018), 375.

²⁴ Lorente, ‘Neologia verbal i tendències del canvi lingüístic’, 373-375.

²⁵ The argument performing the subject function is an agent.

Both the base adjectives and the derived nouns include forms with two endings (*afroamericà, -ana; autònom, -a; extracomunitari, -ària; periquito -a*) and invariable forms referring to people (*animalista, antiavalots, baixista, blaugrana, central, incondicional*). In contrast, nouns derived from adjectival bases that designate non-personal entities (specific or abstract) are lexicalised with a specific gender (feminine in the case of *epigenètica, matinal, parapública, prèvia* and *retrospectiva*, and masculine in the cases of *imaginari, inflable, nòrdic, plenari, transgènic* and *tripartit*).

The only case of an adjective derived by conversion from a nominal base, *zero*, with the meaning of ‘none at all’, combines with a highly restrictive series of nouns: *implicació zero, valor zero, dèficit zero, cost zero, quilòmetre zero, gravetat zero*.

Neologisms by lexicalisation

Four of the six neologisms formed by lexicalisation with a category change, which we had selected as being dictionarisable in the NADIC project, correspond to the following patterns:

- Past participles used initially as adjectives and later as nouns, with two gender endings : *abanderat, -ada; imputat, -ada; represaliat, -ada*.
- A present participle also initially used as an adjective and later as a noun, in this case invariable: *convocant*.

We note that there are no significant changes in meaning between the adjectival uses and the nominal uses, except in the case of *abanderat, -ada*, which has two documented behaviours: the first restricts the meaning in such a way that it refers only to athletes leading country delegations in international competitions, and the second governs a noun complement referring to a political or social cause, something that provides the figurative sense of ‘champion, militant or spokesperson’, as we can see in the following contexts:

- (1) El seguici anirà encapçalat pels *abanderats* que enguany seran els germans Francesc, Manel, Pere i Maria Moreno Germes (The procession will be led by the flagbearers, who this year will be the siblings Francesc, Manel, Pere and Maria Moreno Germes). [*Viure a Sant Boi*, 01/02/2001].
- (2) El ciclista era el símbol de la democràcia cristiana, mentre que el seu etern i gran rival, Fausto Coppi, havia estat pres com l'*abanderat* del partit comunista (The cyclist was a symbol of Christian democracy, whereas his eternal and great rival, Fausto Coppi, had been taken as the champion of the Communist Party). [*El Periódico de Catalunya*, 06/07/2005].

Meanwhile, the other two neologisms selected by the NADIC project, *esclar* and *sisplau*, are examples of the lexicalisation of phraseological expressions that become discourse markers, something that usually leads to a phonetic reduction, with orthographical and, consequently, lexicographical repercussions. Table 1 compares the lexicographical articles of homonymous expressions with the contexts of the lexicalised forms.

Table 1. Lexicalisation of expressions as discourse markers

Entries in the standard dictionary of the Catalan language (DIEC2) ²⁶	Forms documented in BOBNEO
6 3 [LC] <i>és clar</i> Expressió amb què hom dona per certa, assegurada, la cosa que es diu.	<i>esclar loc</i> , FSINT Va pagar Fernández, <i>esclar</i> . <i>Avui</i> , 17/01/2001
3 [LC] <i>si us plau</i> Expressió de cortesia per a demanar alguna cosa. <i>Escolteu-me, si us plau! Si us plau, Pere, deixa'm el teu llibre.</i>	<i>sisplau loc</i> , FVAR Un funeral estrictament íntim, <i>sisplau</i> . <i>Avui</i> , 24/01/1997

The dictionarisability of these new neological uses is supported by the explanation included in the new standard grammar of the Catalan language, which defends setting these with an interjective function:

The expression *és clar* [of course/clearly] may constitute the verb phrase of a copulative sentence or be an interjection expressing that a statement is found to be absolutely obvious (with the pronunciation *esklá*) [Translation from Catalan].²⁷ The repeated use of some of these formulas means that, in certain cases, they display some degree of setting, as happens with *si se'm permet* [if you will allow me] or *si no els fa res* [if they don't mind], and above all with the formula that functions as an interjection *si us plau* [please] [Translation from Catalan].²⁸

Neologisms by syntactic change

On the NADIC project's list of dictionarisable neologisms, there are only four forms that have been generated by syntactic change: two pronominal verb variants, one adjective and one noun displaying a subcategory change.

In the case of the two verbs displaying new pronominal alternants with a change in meaning (*connectar-se*; *posicionar-se*), it is worth noting how the application of the NADIC project's dictionarisation filters allowed them to surface. Despite being labelled as having been formed by syntactic change, the lexicographical filters displayed a clear semantic change. Table 2 shows that the contexts within which these neologisms appear

²⁶ Institut d'Estudis Catalans, *Diccionari de la llengua catalana* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2007).

²⁷ Institut d'Estudis Catalans, *Gramàtica de la llengua catalana*, 862.

²⁸ Institut d'Estudis Catalans, *Gramàtica de la llengua catalana*, 1148.

denote meanings not contained in the respective lexicographical articles. It is important to remember that Ginebra²⁹ considers that pronominal verb variants that are predictable from the rules of the grammar cannot be deemed lexical neologisms unless they have the corresponding semantic changes, which is the case in these instances. The analysis of a broader set of neologisms formed by syntactic change enables us to see that, despite being a minority group, syntactic variants with a significant semantic change are regularly created.³⁰

Table 2. New meanings of pronominal verb variants

DIEC2 articles	Contexts illustrating the new meanings
<p><i>connectar</i> 1 v. tr. [LC] [FS] Establir un lligam estret (entre coses de la mateixa natura). 2 v. tr. [EE] [EL] Establir contacte elèctric (entre dos conductors), un lligam mecànic (entre dues màquines, parts d'un mecanisme, etc.).</p>	<p>[...] visitant qualsevol punt d'atenció RACC <i>connectant-se</i> a la web www.racc.es ([...] visiting any RACC customer care point by connecting to the website www.racc.es). (<i>Real Automòbil Club de Catalunya</i>, 01/01/2006)</p> <p>El tipus d'equipament des d'on serà possible <i>connectar-se</i> a internet sense cable serà molt divers (The type of equipment from which it will be possible to connect to the Internet will be very diverse). (<i>El Periódico de Catalunya</i>, 22/06/2008)</p>
<p><i>posicionar</i> v. tr. [EI] [IMI] Posar manualment o mecànicament (una peça, una eina, etc.) en la posició adequada per a la funció que fa o ha de fer.</p>	<p>...una resolució sobre l'euro, en què Séguin <i>va posicionar-se</i> en contra de la postura defensada per Chirac (... a resolution on the Euro, in which Séguin positioned himself against the stance defended by Chirac). (<i>Avui</i>, 26/04/1998)</p> <p>...trenta anys d'experiència l'han portat a qüestionar l'art com a sistema alternatiu de coneixement, i a <i>posicionar-se</i> sobre la fina línia que separa ficció i realitat amb distància i ironia (... 30 years of experience led him/her to question art as an alternative knowledge system, and to position him/herself on the fine line between fiction and reality with distance and irony). (<i>Tinet</i>, 02/11/2009)</p>

The other two neologisms generated by syntactic change that made it through the NADIC project's filters are the nouns *punta* and *filial*, the new uses of which provide us with a subcategory change in relation to gender.

Table 3. New meanings of pronominal verb variants

DIEC2 articles	Contexts illustrating the new meanings
<p><i>punta</i> 1 f. [LC] Extrem agut d'una cosa. <i>La punta d'un ganivet, d'un punyal, d'una espasa. La punta d'una agulla. Les puntes d'un compàs. Acabat en</i></p>	<p>Tant aquesta temporada com la passada, el València juga amb un home lliure, dos marcadors, dos laterals molt ofensius, tres homes al centre del Camp, un mitja punta i un <i>punta</i> (Both this season</p>

²⁹ Ginebra, 'Neologia i gramàtica entre el neologisme lèxic i el neologisme sintàctic', 140-141.

³⁰ Lorente, 'Neologia verbal i tendències del canvi lingüístic', 368.

<p><i>punta. Fer punta al llapis.</i> 1 2 f. [LC] <i>per ext. La punta d'un campanar, d'una piràmide, d'una muntanya. La punta del peu, d'un dit, del nas. Una punta de cigar.</i></p>	<p>and last, Valencia has played with a sweeper, two man-markers, two very offensive wingers, three centre midfielders, one centre-forward and one forward). (<i>Diari de Barcelona</i>, 23/11/1991)</p> <p>Amb un teixit defensiu molt ben col·locat i amb la velocitat dels seus <i>puntes</i> intenta guanyar els partits (With a very well placed defensive formation, and the speed of its forwards, it tries to win matches). (<i>RAC1</i>, 23/09/2007)</p>
<p><i>filial</i> 1 adj. [LC] De fill, pertanyent al fill. <i>Amor filial. Obediència filial.</i> 2 f. [ECT] Empresa o societat amb personalitat jurídica pròpia, però que és controlada per una societat mare que en posseeix la major part del capital. <i>Les filials d'una casa de comerç.</i></p>	<p>Un jugador que està al <i>filial</i> sempre aspira a poder arribar al primer equip (A player on the reserve team always aspires to being able to play in the first team). (<i>COM Radio</i>, 24/03/2006)</p> <p>Rijkaard s'ha vist obligat a cridar tres nois del <i>filial</i> (Rijkaard was forced to call in three lads from the reserve team). (<i>Catalunya Ràdio</i>, 08/02/2008)</p>

As we can see in Table 3, the change of gender in these cases also involves a change of meaning, of referent, and we can therefore say that both are lexical neologisms: *el punta* (reduction of *jugador punta* [forward player]) and *el filial* (reduction of *equip filial* [reserve team]). We note that these two neologisms could also have been labelled as having been formed by abbreviation (syntagmatic reduction), but the subcategory change is actually the most significant feature for the semantic change.

Neologisms by abbreviation with a category change

On the NADIC project's list of 32 cases of neologisms formed by abbreviation, 11 display a category change or a syntactic behaviour change. The models that these 11 neologisms by abbreviation follow are:

- Nine modifying adjectives of noun phrases, which become nouns by syntagmatic reduction: *cimentera*, *dessaladora*, *dessalinitzador*, *-a*, *llargueta*, *mundial*, *portàtil*, *primària*, *primàries*, *secundària*. In this case, the nucleus of the original syntagma, which we can also find documented in texts, determines the gender of the form derived by abbreviation: *empresa cimentera* (f. [cement firm]), *instal·lació* or *central dessaladora* (f. [desalination plant or facility]), *ametlla llargueta* (f. [Largueta almond]), *escola primària* (f. [primary school]), *escola secundària* (f. [secondary school]), *campionat mundial* (m. [world championship]), *telèfon portàtil* (m. [mobile phone]). In terms of number, the

same thing occurs when the original syntagma habitually appears in the plural form: *eleccions primàries* (*f. pl.* [primary elections / primaries]).

- There is just a single case of a new intransitive pronominal verb, *mullar-se*, which was generated by the euphemistic reduction of the idiom “mullar-se el cul”, meaning ‘to get involved (in something)’ or ‘to take responsibility for (something or someone)’.
- The final example of a neologism generated by abbreviation is the unique case of the form *ni-ni*, which comes from the reduction of the expression “ni treballa, ni estudia” (neither works nor studies), with its consequent lexicalisation as a noun. This reduced form coexists alongside the syntagma *generació ni-ni*, but the independent use of *ni-ni* refers to a young individual belonging to that generation (un *ni-ni*). Even though occurrences of it are predominantly in the masculine form, cases of it in the feminine form have begun to be documented (una *ni-ni*). The reduction would therefore need to be labelled as *m. f.*

Lexical doublets

Taking into account the data analysed, we can see that one of the consequences of category change neology is the generation of lexical doublets, such as *col·lisionar / col·lidir*, *primàries / eleccions primàries* and *publicitar / anunciar*, among others. Lexical doublets are a common phenomenon in languages. We have naturalised the phenomenon with the coexistence of solutions from the vernacular lexicon and Latin borrowings, which can be found in a variety of discourse types:³¹ general area or common language, and specialised area or scientific or technical discourse, with examples like *escoltar/auscultar* (to listen/to auscultate); *dret/directe* (straight/direct); *cadira/càtedra* (chair [to sit on]/chair [the post of professor]). However, the coexistence of lexical doublets may also respond to expressive or referential needs, to semantic expansions, to field of speciality changes, etc.

In some cases of invisible neologisms, like the ones we have analysed here, we could ask ourselves whether the creation of new words leads to the establishment of unnecessary lexical doublets. If the language already has verbs such as *convulsar* (to convulse/throw into confusion), *decebre* (to disappoint/let down) and *proveir* (to

³¹ Sanda Reinheimer-Rîpeanu, *Les emprunts latins dans les langues romanes* (Bucharest: Editura Universităţii din Bucureşti, 2004).

supply/provide/fill), does it make sense to create neologisms such as *convulsionar*, *decepcionar* and *aprovisionar*? Beyond the creation of new words, which may be due to very diverse reasons, we need to review this issue when we filter neologisms for the purpose of incorporating them into dictionaries. This is particularly important in the case of standard dictionaries.

If, for example, we focus on the verbal neologisms created by syntactic conversion included in BOBNEO, we find that:

- There is some formal distance between the deverbal nouns, which are used as the bases for the creation of verbal neologisms by conversion, and the traditional verb forms in the cases of *col·lisió* / *col·lidir*, *dissecció* / *dissecar*, *ficció* / *fangir*, *versió* / *versar*.
- The usage of some traditional verbs seems to have reduced their respective meanings to specific senses. Take, for example, the verb *dissecar*, which traditionally had two senses. According to the entry in the *Diccionari català-valencià-balear* (DCBV, Catalan-Valencian-Balearic Dictionary),³² these were ‘dividir i separar les parts d’un cos’ (to divide and separate body parts) and ‘preparar el cos d’un animal mort per a conservar-lo’ (to prepare a dead animal’s body in order to preserve it). But now, only the second one has been kept, as recorded in the standard dictionary of the Catalan language (DIEC2).³³ This semantic change can be observed in other traditional verbs such as *versar* and *fangir*.
- It therefore seems that speakers no longer associate the meanings of *col·lisió*, *dissecció*, *ficció*, *versió* with the verbs *col·lidir*, *dissecar*, *fangir*, *versar*, which justifies the expressive need to create the neologisms *col·lisionar*, *versionar*, *disseccionar* and *ficcionar*.
- There are new verbs like *explosionar* and *tensionar* whose usage is clearly specialised (police and psychology, respectively, for these examples), with highly restricted meanings compared to the verbs *explotar* and *tensar*, whose usage is common. Such specialisation would be the first motivation behind

³² Antoni M. Alcover, and Francesc de B. Moll, *Diccionari català-valencià-balear* (Palma: Editorial Moll, 1968).

³³ Institut d’Estudis Catalans, *Diccionari de la llengua catalana*. (Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis Catalans, 2007).

neological creation. Likewise, there is a grammatical issue that would reinforce the restricted use of neological forms. We note that *explosionar* and *tensionar* (cf. 2 and 3) can function as causative verbs of change, in the respective senses of ‘fer explotar’ (to blow [something or someone] up) and ‘causar tensió’ (to put strain/pressure on) compared to the non-causative behaviour of *explotar* or the agentive nature of *tensor*.

(3) La Guàrdia Civil *explosiona* 15 obusos de la guerra civil a les Camposines (The Civil Guard blew up 15 shells from the Civil War in Les Camposines). (*El Periódico de Catalunya*, 10/10/2009)

(4) Riazor *tensiona* el Barça (Riazor is putting pressure on Barça) (*Avui*, 05/12/2009)

- Meanwhile, there are nouns ending in *-ció* that do not have their own associated verbs, such as *infusió* [infusion] and *tracció* [traction]. The need to complete paradigms would also explain the neologisms *infusionar* and *traccionar*.

If we focus on the set of neologisms selected by the NADIC project, we can confirm that only five verbs (8.9%) form a lexical doublet with traditional lexical units already included in the dictionary with the same meaning: the neologisms *autolesionar-se* [to injure oneself], *col·lisionar* [to collide], *intermediar* [to intermediate], *mediar* [to mediate] and *repcionar* [to receive] with respect to *lesionar*, *col·lidir*, *mitjançar* and *rebre*. We can also say that lexical doublets coexist in the 30 neologisms (54%) formed by syntagmatic reduction, regardless of whether they have been labelled as syntactic conversion or abbreviation phenomena. They are doublets (or triplets in some cases) consisting of the original syntagmatic forms and the abbreviated neological forms, as in the following examples: *llargueta* / *ametlla llargueta* (Largueta / Largueta almond); *tripartit* / *govern tripartit* (tripartite / tripartite government); *subsidiar* / *concedir un subsidi* (to subsidise / to award a subsidy); *comissariar* / *fer de comissari (de)* (to curate / to act as a curator [of]); *autònom* / *treballador autònom* / *empresari autònom* (self-employed / self-employed worker / self-employed businessperson).

In contrast, the rest of the NADIC project’s neologisms do not generate any lexical doublets because they introduce new forms with a specific meaning (*versionar* [to do a cover version of], *imaginari* [imaginary], *epigenètica* [epigenetics], *cara a cara* [head-to-head] and *ni-ni* [someone who neither works nor studies]) or new word senses for pre-existing words, such as those discussed previously (*punta*, *filial*, *mullar-se* and *connectar-se*).

Invisibility and neologicity

We gave this work the title *invisible neologisms* because we felt that new words formed by syntactic conversion, lexicalisation and syntactic change, and abbreviations with a category change might go more unnoticed as lexical novelties than neologisms created by morphological procedures such as suffixation, prefixation and compounding. However, after analysing the data, it is not possible to assert that all category change neologisms filtered by the NADIC project, i.e., dictionarisable ones, have the same degree of invisibility.

In a similar vein to the work by Freixa,³⁴ we hypothesise that there is gradation in the speakers' potential perception of newness in relation to neologisms in general, and to those characterised by a category change in particular, which we anticipate to be at the following levels:

- There are neologisms with a category change, the formation of which is grammatically favoured, is reinforced by universal principles such as the linguistic economy one, and does not involve any semantic or formal change. These are purely functional and, therefore, are not very evident.
- Meanwhile, there are other neologisms with a category change that seek to complete lexical paradigms. In these cases, there is a formal change (a new form with inflectional markers) and an associated semantic change, even though it may be considered minor.
- Lastly, there are neologisms with a category change and a semantic change that are not very predictable from the selection of bases. These category change procedures are the least frequent and, therefore, are more creative. We can anticipate that they will be perceived as more neological, i.e., they will be minimally invisible, if at all.

If we were to apply this gradation of neologicity to the NADIC's data in order to assess their dictionarisability, we would obtain the following results:

- Level 1 would include cases of syntagmatic abbreviation (e.g., *mundial*, *portàtil*) and some syntactic conversions of adjectives into nouns (e.g., *afroamericà*, *-ana*, *autònom*, *-a*, *antiavalots*) that do not involve a change in meaning from the

³⁴ Judit Freixa, 'Paraules amb rareses', *Terminàlia* 1 (2010), 7-16.

Judit Freixa, 'La neologia en societat: verba sequuntur', *Caplletra* 59 (2015), 185-195.

one already appearing in reference dictionaries. Rather, they are there to secure an adequate formal and grammatical representation.

- Level 2, the most numerous one, would bring together all of the neologisms, from any of the four procedures analysed, that constitute new forms associated with partially new meanings, or new word senses for forms already contained in the dictionaries. Regarding neologisms created by syntactic conversion, the adjective *zero*, the nouns *baixista*, *central*, *cimentera*, *imaginari*, *inflable*, *matinal* and *punta*, and the verbs *versionar*, *col·lisionar* and *autolesionar-se* would form part of this second level, for example. Lexicalisations of verb participles can also be included in this level because, from a lexicographical viewpoint, they provide specific meanings that are generally more restrictive than the meanings of the verbs from which they are derived (*abanderat*, *-ada*, *imputat*, *-ada*). The four lexical neologisms generated by syntactic change – *connectar-se*, *posicionar-se*, *punta* and *filial* – would also be in this second level because they provide new word senses.
- Level 3 would include the neologisms that combine a category change with a formal novelty and the incorporation of a new meaning into the language's vocabulary; these innovations are not very predictable, if at all. They are unique cases that, in the NADIC's data, would correspond to the noun *isme* (conversion of an affixal base), *cara a cara* (conversion of a phraseological base), and *nini*³⁵ (abbreviation of an expression). The new interjections *esclar* and *sisplau*, the products of the procedure whereby sentence structures are gradually lexicalised, are good examples of this third level of little invisibility because they combine a formal change (phonetic, orthographical and morphological) with a functional change that makes them become discourse markers and even sentence connectors within other contexts (*esclar que sí*), and especially because it is a change that is well known to language professionals, who, moreover, demand that it be recognised by the standardisation authorities.

³⁵ I would like to note that, while the Neology Observatory's data show that the most frequently documented form of *ni-ni* includes the hyphen, here we have chosen to transcribe the fully lexicalised form *nini* without a hyphen.

Conclusions: The dictionarisation of the “least visible” neologisms

The NADIC project’s neologisms analysed here are a representative sample of the major tendencies displayed by category change neologisms – the least visible ones – documented by the Neology Observatory in recent years. The most common resource is conversion, where noun category neologisms created from adjectives predominate, and verbs derived from a nominal base come second, as is the case in the set analysed.

In addition, and based on the data analysed, we consider that the exclusion and inclusion criteria used in the NADIC project were well defined and that they adequately filtered the category change neologisms because they excluded grammatically predictable syntactic changes. Thus, almost all of the neologisms analysed here show that the category change is associated with a semantic change and, in some cases, with a formal change too.

In this work, we hypothesised that, within the word formation procedures involving a category or subcategory change, the mechanisms of syntactic conversion, lexicalisation, abbreviation and syntactic change would be those that the speakers perceive as being less neological, and that is why we called them “invisible neologisms”.

Indeed, the analysis of neologisms filtered by the NADIC project as being dictionarisable, which were classified into the four mentioned formation procedures, showed us that some were more invisible than others. To explain that, we proposed three levels of perception of newness, characterised by functional, formal and semantic criteria in such a way that, at one extreme, we would have the most invisible neologisms, which would only involve a category change (no formal or semantic change) and, at the opposite extreme, the most obvious (least invisible) category change neologisms, which would combine functional, formal and semantic changes.

This distinction at three levels of perception of newness may have consequences for the lexicographical treatment of dictionarisable neologisms. Level 1 neologisms, the most predictable ones, would mostly affect grammatical labelling and cross-referencing to other existing entries. Level 2 neologisms, which correspond to a category change and semantic novelty, would entail modifying grammatical labelling and adding new word senses to the existing entries in most cases. And finally, level 3 neologisms, the most complex and least predictable ones combining category, formal and semantic changes, would require the insertion of new lexicographical articles.

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