Deanthroponymic Contaminants as Objects of the Language Game (Based on Material from Spanish-Language Media)[1]

Iurii P. Murzin

Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University)

Abstract. This article is devoted to the study of anthroponymic occasionalisms and contaminants – lexical innovations created on the basis of anthroponyms – used in the Spanish-language media as part of the communicative strategy and creative potential of the language game realized in the course of the dynamic process that is characteristic of modern Spanish socio-political discourse. The objectives of the article are: a) to identify models of this method of word formation, and b) to establish the types of relations that appear between the components of the abovementioned derived words. Anthroponyms selected by random sampling from internet publications were studied, considered as objects of the language game, on the basis of which, as a result of deliberate word making, occasionalisms– contaminated formations that express, in addition to nominative meaning, expressiveness and emotive colouring – are created. The following methods were used in our analysis of the material: component analysis of the word; the word-formation method of studying transformational techniques; contextual analysis, which allows us to identify the communicative parameters of the use of language units and the contextual features of the implementation of their meaning in the text; the descriptive-analytical method to identify the essential characteristics and features of the linguistic facts under consideration against the background of extralinguistic factors; and the classification method and the method of linguistic and stylistic analysis, focused on identifying the specifics of individual word usage due to the communicative and aesthetic tasks of the author of the text. The relevance of this study is due to the attention of linguists to axiological issues, the increasing regularity of the use of language play in the media space in particular, and contamination as one of the means of expression in the Spanish-language media at the present stage, using anthroponyms as an object. Anthroponymic contaminated formations are becoming more common and diverse, and there is a need to systematize their models and study their structure and semantics.

As a result of the examination carried out on a certain array of initial data, semantic-stylistic and axiological functions of contaminants – mainly defamatory, invective – are established in accordance with the pragmatic goals of the author of the text.

The models of creating anthroponymic contaminants by both occasional and conventional means of word formation are identified and systematized.

In modern linguistics, interest in the manifestations of the creative potential of language has increased dramatically. One of the ways to elicit such creative uses of language is through the language-game – a communicative strategy that is actively exploited in political discourse.

In philology, and in stylistics in particular, the term "language-game", which was proposed by Ludwig Wittgenstein in his 1945 work *Philosophical Investigations,* denotes the specific use of language units that is realized by the speaker in a functional sense, that is, correlated with the sphere of communication. It is "a certain type of speech behaviour based on a deliberate (conscious, thought-out) violation of the systematic relations of the language, that is, on the destruction of the speech norm in order to create non-canonical linguistic forms and structures that, as a result of this destruction, acquire an expressive meaning and the ability to evoke in the listener/reader an aesthetic and, on the whole, stylistic effect".

The language-game is always aimed at creating a new meaning in the language (speech) structure, something that the listener/reader did not know previously, and is associated with the activity of the linguistic persona and its ability to use linguistic knowledge creatively. A language-game cannot happen if the addressee does not understand it[2], which means that he or she is an active participant in the game, according to the creator of this hybrid word. Understanding contaminants requires a specific contextual or situational anchor, and text often provides a direct motivation for them[3].

One commonly used technique of the language-game is contamination, also called telescoping. The first is more widely used.

According to the generally accepted definition, contamination is an independent type of language-game that results in innovations of the contaminated structure and semantics[4].

In this article, we adhere to the broad interpretation of contamination as presented by Vladimir Sannikov, who believes all cases of the language-game to be examples of contamination if: 1) both the original words are formally represented in the newly

---

[2] *Iazykovaia igra. Stilisticheskii entsiklopedicheskii slovar' russkogo iazyka* [*Language Game. Stylistic Encyclopedic Dictionary of The Russian Language*]. URL: https://www.rus-stylistics-dict.slovaronline.com/271-Языковая%20игра (accessed 12.06.2019).

[3] Likov A. G. Sovremennaia russkaia leksikologiia. Russkoe okkazionalnoe slovo [Modern Russian Lexicology. The Russian Occasional Word]. URL: http://www.studopedia.net/6_12882_slovoobrazovatelnaya-proizvodnost.html (accessed 31.07.2022).

[4] Il'iasova S. V. 2001. Iazykovaya igra v gazetnom tekste [Language Game in Newspaper Text]. *RELGA*. 23(77). 12.12.2001. URL: http://www.relga.ru/Environ/WebObjects/tgu-www.woa/wa/Main%3Ftextid%3D395%26level1%3Dman%26level2%3Darticles (accessed 24.08.2022).

created word, even if it is by a single letter (or, more precisely, a single phoneme); and 2) the meanings of both original words are intertwined in a complex way in the meaning of the newly created word (Sannikov 2002: 164), while "the interaction of the language units that are in contact, either in an associative or a syntagmatic series" leads "to their semantic or formal change or to the formation of a new (third) language unit"[5].

Contamination thus results in the formation of a compound word, the semantics of which contain the normative meanings of the combined units and their inherent allusive meanings (Nikolina 2011), and a new meaning may appear in the integral semantic structure of the resulting compound word.

Contaminated formations include *newspaperisms* and form an extensive and diverse thematic composition of words: socio-political, official, business, military and sports vocabulary, among others. The only thing that unites these words is their social and evaluative colouring. These are the kinds of words that newspapers typically use, even if sparingly, as they most clearly express their ideas and attitudes, and perform one of the most important functions of this medium – to influence the audience. In terms of style, this kind of vocabulary is journalistic, functional, aimed at forming a specific opinion. This is a feature of the style that has become a favourite tool among journalists for creating an image of a politician or other public person[6]. These techniques are used by journalists to convey their own views, attract attention, demonstrate their linguistic and stylistic skills, and as a way to hackneyed phrases.

According to M. V. Panov, a characteristic feature of contemporary language use is the tendency towards the "personal", which is reflected in the individual's choice of words. This involves actively using the people's proper names as basic foundations, which reflects the close connection of the language with modern reality (Panov 1988: 27).

In the political *anthroponymicon* of the Spanish-language media, a significant group is made up of the names of statesmen, public figures and politicians (both Spanish and foreign) who are easily recognizable and whose actions are in the focus of public attention and thus subject to constant scrutiny. Anthroponyms, which have become a buzzword of our time thanks to the frequency with which they are used, are a key element of the word-formation process and represent one of the most *neogenic* classes of words at the current time. Newly formed language units unambiguously correlate with the real carriers of the corresponding proper names, and the formants added to them in whole or in part – from real or fictitious proper names or common nouns – carry an assessment motivated by certain personality qualities, activities or events related

---

[5] Akhmanova O. S. *Slovar' lingvisticheskikh terminov* [Dictionary of linguistic terms]. 2007. Moscow: KomKniga. P. 206.

[6] Solganik G.I. 2022. Gazetismy [Newspaperisms]. In *Stilisticheskii entsiklopedicheskii slovar' russkogo iazyka* [*Stylistic Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Russian Language*]. URL: https://www.rus-stylistics-dict.slovaronline.com/18-Газетизмы (accessed 23.08.2022). P. 41, 143.

to it, manifestations of support for or disapproval of a person and/or their actions, and so on. Nonce words of this class are used extensively in today's Spanish-language media.

With respect to the semantic and stylistic dimension of nonce words (also known as occasionalisms), A. G. Lykov points out that, "occasionalisms are context-dependent, tied to it in a specific use of speech, which determines its functional disposability – a property expressed in the fact that an occasional word is created by the speaker to be used in speech a single time. The 'absolute freshness' of an occasional word conveys the uniqueness of the situation, its ultimate belonging to a single moment, something that the canonical word as a unit of language is powerless to express to such an extent"[7].

Analysis of the Material

Telescoping reached its peak in the twentieth-twenty-first centuries thanks to a combination of a number of stimulating factors, including the globalization of practically all areas of life, and language was no exception. During this period, we see the spread of borrowings (including international vocabulary) and certain foreign grammatical constructions, the growth of calques, and further convergence – that is, the interpenetration of languages (Leichik 2008: 150). Many occasionalisms that appear in once country easily penetrate into other linguistic cultures. Borrowing is a natural consequence of the establishment of economic, political and cultural ties with other peoples, when the words denoting them come with the associated realities and concepts[8].

The Spanish-language media actively uses lexemes that contain the suffixes *-gate* and *-exit*, taken from English. These two formants, internationalisms, represent the word-formation model "proper name + common noun" (PN + CN), according to which new occasional contaminants are created in the Spanish-language socio-political discourse, forming derivational series.

Each of the *-gate* and *-exit* formants represent the corresponding cognitive scenario, that is, an abstract mental model representing the speaker's interpretation of a given extralinguistic situation as a typical dynamic process consisting of a sequence of episodes and involving a set of participants with different functions, strategies, goals, consequences and side effects[9].

The actualization of this function through the lexeme *-gate* in the urbanonym Watergate is associated with an event that took place at the Democratic National Committee headquarters in the Watergate Office Building, where, on the eve of the 1972

[7] Likov A. G. Sovremennaia russkaia leksikologiia. Russkoe okkazionalnoe slovo [Modern Russian Lexicology. The Russian Occasional Word]. URL: http://www.studopedia.net/6_12882_slovoobrazovatelnaya-proizvodnost.html (accessed 31.07.2022).

[8] Rozental D. E., Telenkova M. A. *Slovar'-spravochnik lingvisticheskikh terminov* [*Reference Book of Linguistic Terms*]. URL: http://www.rus-yaz.niv.ru/doc/linguistic-terms/fc/slovar-200.htm#zag-505 (accessed 7.09.2021).

[9] Kubriakova E. S. 1996. *Kratkii slovar' kognitivnykh terminov* [*A Concise Dictionary of Cognitive Terms*]. Moscow. P. 181.

presidential election, listening devices that had been illegally installed by supporters of the re-election of Republican President Richard Nixon were discovered. This marked the beginning of the so-called "Watergate scandal" in the United States, which culminated two years later with the resignation of the re-elected President, who had taken part in the cover-up of the wiretapping incident[10].

This lexeme, being part of the name of the place in which the event took place, has, as a result of a metonymic transfer **locus → event** and a rethinking of its semantics due to the change in the features underlying the name of the object (Leichik: 37), changed its functionality (Nikolina 1996: 315) and acquired the meaning of "public scandal". Thus, a falsely motivated language unit has acquired the properties of a word-formation element in the composition of the composites used in Spanish to name a number of public scandals, by analogy with Watergate, the people involved in which are, as a rule, politicians, government officials, relatives of high-ranking officials, representatives of the business community, and people within the orbit of these figures who are involved in corrupt schemes, financial fraud or illegal actions, or actions that are generally considered immoral or unethical[11].

A number of famous scandals are named after the women with whom certain individuals –leaders of states – were in reprehensible relationships.

Monicagate refers to the Clinton–Lewinsky scandal, the biggest sex scandal in U.S. history[12].

Noemigate is the scandal surrounding the 72-year-old Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, who was dubbed *viejo calavera* ("old skull") by the Italian press due to his relationship with the 18-year-old Noemi Letizia[13].

Circumstances of a different kind served as the basis for the name of the 1991 *Yomagate* scandal – the woman in this case was Amalia Beatriz Yoma, sister-in-law of then President of Argentina, Carlos Menem, and holder of a government post, who was embroiled in a drug trafficking operation[14].

Delcygate refers to the political scandal that erupted in Spain in January 2020 in connection with an informal meeting that took place at Madrid–Barajas Airport between Spanish government minister José Luis Ábalos, a member of the Spanish So-

---

[10] Gate. *Wikipedia*. URL: https://www.es.wikipedia.org/wiki/-gate (accessed 21.96.2020).

[11] Similar scandals are known in Spanish-speaking countries: ***Petrogate*** (a 2008 oil scandal in Peru); ***Pemexgate*** (the illegal use of funds from the Mexican state oil company Pemex's trade union to finance an election campaign in 2001); ***Milicogate*** (a corruption case involving high-ranking army officials in Chile in 2013; *milico* means "military" in the colloquial Spanish of Chile); ***Valijagate, maletagate, maletinazo, escándalo del maletín*** – the "suitcase scandal" (an attempt to smuggle undeclared funds into Argentina from Venezuela to finance the 2007 presidential campaign; the name comes from the nouns *valija* and *maletín*, meaning "suitcase" or "case"). Chto takoe "Uotergeitskii skandal"? [What is the "Watergate scandal"?]. 26.09.2019. URL: https://www.zen.yandex.ru/media/id/5d78c51343fdc000c3a7c0e8/chto-takoe-uotergeitskii-skandal-5d8b5f23118d7f00b2726121?utm_source=serp (accessed 21.06.2020).

[12] Batalla C. 2018. Bill Clinton: a 20 años de su confesión en el 'Monicagate'. *El Comercio*. 17.08.2018. URL: https://www.elcomercio.pe/archivo-elcomercio/archivo/bill-clinton-20-anos-confesion-monicagate-noticia-547108 (accessed 28.01.2022).

[13] Mora M. 2009. Anatomía de Berluscolandia. URL: https://www.webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:wFTW95r3cRcJ:https://elpais.com/diario/2009/06/07/domingo/1244346753_850215.html+&cd=1&hl=ru&ct=clnk&gl=ru&client=opera (accessed July 17, 2019).

[14] Yomagate. URL: https://www.es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yomagate (accessed 27.06.2020).

cialist Workers' Party, and Vice President of Venezuela Delcy Rodríguez (hence the name), who, like other senior Venezuelan officials, was banned from entering the European Union[15].

The term ***Clintongate***, which refers to the 2016 scandal involving U.S. presidential candidate Hillary Clinton, can be used to expose a political and legal context of a misdeed, while at the same time calling back to the person originally implicated: *"Un 'Clintongate' a la germana: ¿decidirá un escándalo judicial al próximo canciller alemán? Los socialdemócratas acusan a los conservadores de instrumentalizar la Justicia en un caso similar al de los 'e-mails' de Hillary Clinton en 2016"*[16] *("A German-style 'Clintongate': Will a legal scandal decide the next German chancellor? The Social Democrats have accused the conservatives of using the justice system in the same way that the Hillary Clinton's 'emails' were used in 2016").*

In this case, the name of the scandal is seen as a complex sign, expressed by the precedent name ***Clinton***, which is associated with a precedent situation – a scandal that received a great deal of coverage in the press. The name of the scandal that erupted around one politician is "duplicated," and its connotations and differential features are projected onto a similar situation taking place in the present in relation to a different politician in another country, which serves as a basis for transferring the name. At the same time, the motivation for this transfer is revealed in the context.

The moral, ethical and criminal component of the scandal is revealed in the context of the ***Sánchezgate*** neologism in a publication about the hacking of the Prime Minister of Spain's phone: *"Los dos 'qui prodest' del **Sánchezgate**: El presidente del Gobierno y la ministra de Defensa fueron víctimas del afamado programa de espionaje Pegasus"*[17] *("The two who benefit from **Sánchezgate**: The President and the Minister of Defence, victims of the infamous Pegasus espionage programme").*

The Social Democratic Party's candidate for the post of Chancellor of Germany in the 2021 federal election Olaf Scholz was accused of financial fraud for his dealings during his time as Mayor of Hamburg. Searches were carried out in the financial bodies of the city administration. This led to the appearance of the contaminated unit ***Scholzgate***[18] in the German press, and it was soon picked up by the Spanish media.

Obviously, scandals named after people can come in all shapes and sizes – they can be political sex scandals, moral (ethical) scandals, criminal scandals, purely political scandals, and so on.

---

[15] Muñoz R. Ábalos: el escudero que pierde su doble poder. URL: https://www.webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:-BOo3dCjOV6MJ:https://elpais.com/espana/2021-07-10/abalos-el-ministro-quemado-por-el-delcygate-y-la-victoria-de-ayuso.html+&cd=4&hl=ru&ct=clnk&gl=ru&client=opera (accessed 28.01.2022).

[16] Risco I. 2021. Un 'Clintongate' a la germana: ¿decidirá un escándalo judicial al próximo canciller alemán? *El Confidencial.* 20.09.2021. URL: https://www.elconfidencial.com/mundo/2021-09-20/clinton-gate-alemana-decidira-escandalo-judicial-proximo-canciller_3291459 (accessed 17.08.2022).

[17] Los dos 'qui prodest' del Sánchezgate. 2022. *El Espanol.* 3.05.2022. URL: https://www.elespanol.com/opinion/editoriales/20220503/qui-prodestsanchezgate/669573038_14.html (accessed 17.07.2022).

[18] Risco I. 2021. Un 'Clintongate' a la germana: ¿decidirá un escándalo judicial al próximo canciller alemán? *El Confidencial.*

A thinly veiled semantic affinity with the derivational element **-gate** can be noted in the lexeme **virus** in the wording **Corinna-virus:** *"A los titulares del coronavirus se han unido los del '***Corinna-virus***', quedando más difuminados que si estuviéramos en otra situación de normalidad. Todo se queda cerca de la corona y las cabezas coronadas, en cualquier caso"*[19] *("In addition to headlines about the coronavirus, we are seeing headlines that contain the word '***Corinna-virus***', which would not be particularly significant under normal circumstances. One way or another, all this concerns the institution of the monarchy and crowned heads").*

The language-game here is based on a deliberate speech error – a malapropism that plays on the similarity in pronunciation of the word *corona* (the name of the virus and the pandemic it caused) and the name *Corinna* Larsen, an entrepreneur and close friend of King Juan Carlos I of Spain, who was apparently directly involved in a corruption scandal that involved the former King, who was accused of tax evasion and money laundering.

In its direct (dictionary) meaning, the lexeme **gate** does not carry any stylistic colouring, and it only acquires a pejorative connotation as a corresponding word-forming component. Conversely, the lexeme **virus** (from the Latin meaning "poison") in its modern use denotes an agent capable of causing an infectious disease, hence the negative connotation of the contaminant. The name of a pathogenic, a harmful virus than can infect people, is thus used to give a negative characterization of the individual and the scandal in which he is embroiled.

Semantic affinity with the formants **-gate** and **-virus** in the meaning of "scandal" is also found in the element **-Plag** (a "fragment" of the lexeme **plagio** – plagiarism, that is, the use of the legally protected results of someone else's creative work without permission) as part of the nonce word **SánchezPlag**, used to discredit socialist Prime Minister of Spain Pedro Sánchez in connection with reports of his unfair use of another person's intellectual property in violation of moral, ethical and legal norms: *"***SánchezPlag***, el 52% de la tesis del presidente está plagiado o tiene errores"*[20] *("***SánchezPlag:*** 52% of the Dissertation Written by the Prime Minister is Plagiarized and Contains Errors").*

Another formant – **-exit** appeared in 2012 in connection with the contaminant **Grexit**, a combination of the English words *Greece* and *exit* to denote the hypothetical exit of Greece from the European Union. Then, in the run-up to the referendum on the United Kingdom's status in the European Union in 2016, the British press introduced the neologism **Brexit**, formed by analogy with **Grexit**, but this time with the words *Britain* and *exit*. It refers to the process of the United Kingdom leaving the European Union and the events associated with it[21].

[19] Clavero Á. 2020. Entre coronavirus y 'Corinna-virus'. *La Comarca.* 24.03.2020. URL: https://www.lacomarca.net/opinion/entre-coronavirus-corinna-virus (accessed 6.08.2020).
[20] Sanz S. 2019. SánchezPlag, el test final de los internautas: el 52% de la tesis del presidente está plagiado o tiene errores. *OK Diario.* 31.01.2019. URL: https://www.okdiario.com/espana/sanchezplag-prueba-final-52-tesis-del-presidente-esta-plagiado-o-tiene-errores-3643490 (accessed 31.01.2022).
[21] Breksit [Brexit]. URL: http://www.wikipedia.org (accessed 18.03.2019).

This formant has also found an application in the meaning of a person "leaving" a place or institution. For example, in early 2020, a story appeared in the Spanish press claiming that Prince Harry and his wife Meghan Markle, who felt somewhat out of place in the prissy British establishment, were planning on leaving their royal posts. The resulting crisis was dubbed *Megxit* (*Meg*han + *exit*)[22].

Another neologism that appeared was the contaminant *Borxit*, used to refer to a party held on Downing Street at the height of the coronavirus pandemic [*and thus in breach of lockdown rules*] hosted by Prime Minister Boris Johnson, which led to calls for his resignation: "*Desde que echaron a Trump, éste* [Boris Johnson] *debería haber caído también,* ***Borxit is Borxit***"[23] ("*After Trump was driven out, he* [Boris Johnson] *had to fall,* ***Borxit is Borxit***").

Word-formation applications of the language-game also include the lexeme *ego*, in the meaning of *exceso de autoestima*[24] (excessively high self-esteem). It was used in the formation of the contaminant *Egosánchez*, from *ego, egoísta* + *Sánchez*, in connection with Pedro Sánchez's unwillingness to form a coalition with the People's Party, Podemos and the Citizens Party: "*Egosánchez no pacta con Iglesias, ni con Casado, ni con Rivera*"[25] ("*Egosánchez refuses pacts with Iglesias, Casado and Rivera*").

The leader of the Podemos Party, Pablo Iglesias was eager to secure a position in the new government for himself. Iglesias is a rather polarizing figure among Spanish politicians and the Spanish people. This is expressed in the following statement about him, which contains and evaluation of his character using a telescoping formulation: "[Pablo Iglesias] *es comunista: o manda o es que ha muerto. Pero* ***Pablenin*** *es malo, no tonto, así que ha copiado de Vox la apelación a los votantes como índice de su propia dignidad*"[26] ("[Pablo Iglesias] *is a communist: it's lead or die for him. However,* ***Pablenin*** *is cunning, not stupid, so he has adopted from Vox [party] the habit of appealing to voters as a measure of his worth*").

What we see here is the contaminant name *Pablenin*, a portmanteau of *Pablo* + *Lenin*. In this case, the second element (the precedent name) serves as a definition of the person designated by the first element. This creates the image of a communist politician, something that the author of the article finds repugnant.

This PN + PN model is a common feature of the language used by the Spanish press to denote political tandems, formed from parts of the names of the current leaders of countries in which a) one component is defined by the other component, or b) both

[22] Galaz M. 2020. Meghan Markle regresa a Canadá mientras el príncipe se enfrenta a la crisis. *El Pais.* 10.01.2020. URL: https://www.elpais.com/elpais/2020/01/10/gente/1578645819_584012.html (accessed 16.06.2020).

[23] Fresneda C. 2022. Boris Johnson se tambalea cercado por el 'Partygate' con voces de dimisión de su propio Partido. *El Mundo.* 13.01.2022. URL: https://www.elmundo.es/internacional/2022/01/12/61df1a0721efa00d5e8b45ad.html (accessed 29.01.2022).

[24] Ego. URL: https://www.dle.rae.es/ego?m=form (accessed 23.08.2022).

[25] Jiménez L. F. 2019. Tanto ego, tanto desastre. *El Mundo.* 17.07.2019. URL: https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2019/07/17/5d2e0fc1fdddff6bb18b45f0.html (accessed 17.07.2019).

[26] Ibid.

components play the same, nominative role, and the corresponding characteristic is given to them in context. Examples include the *Merkozy* (*Merk*el + Sar*kozy*) telescopic formation, created when journalists noticed the attempts by these leaders to recreate the Franco-German partnership, which was seen as an attempt by these EU powers to dominate the organization, and references to it were often accompanied by the word "dictate": "*Durante varias décadas, la UE funcionó al paso del dictado franco-alemán*"[27] ("The EU has operated under the dictates of France and Germany for decades").

The similar desire of Angela Merkel and François Hollande did not escape the eyes of the Spanish press either, which came up with the occasionalism *Merkolland* (*Merk*el + *Hollande*). However, these steps were welcomed, as the context in the following statement proves: "… *el optimismo que genera el acercamiento entre Merkel y Hollande* (*Merkolland*)[28]" ("… the optimism generated by the rapprochement between Merkel and Hollande").

The joint efforts of the German and French leaders to strengthen the European Union were similarly applauded in another case: "*La sociedad* ***Mercron*** [*Mer*kel + Ma*cron*] *tiene mejores oportunidades de generar buena voluntad en Europa que las que jamás tuvo la sociedad Merkozy* […] *Tanto Merkel como Macron necesitan que la sociedad* ***Mercron*** *funcione para poder crear una Europa más fuerte*[29]" ("***Mercron*** *has greater opportunities to build goodwill in Europe than* ***Merkozy*** *ever had* […] *Both Merkel and Macron need* ***Mercron*** *to work for a stronger Europe*").

The *Merkoron* (*Merk*el + Came*ron*) tandem was assessed less positively: "*Merkoron ha impuesto su Ley: la canciller de Alemania, Angela Merkel, y el primer ministro del Reino Unido, David Cameron, están OK sobre el futuro presupuestario de Europa: austeridad, recorte del gasto público, intentos de saneamiento de las deudas soberanas y los déficits de Estado*[30]" ("***Merkoron*** imposes its own laws: German Chancellor Angela Merkel and British Prime Minister David Cameron agree on the future of Europe's budget: austerity, government spending cuts, bail outs to try and tackle the sovereign debt crisis and cover budget deficits").

The negative assessment here is expressed through the word combination "imposes its own laws", as well as through the explanation of the essence of these "laws".

27 Ramírez P.J. Mejor 'Billary' en mano que 'Obambi' volando. URL: https://www.reggio.wordpress.com/2008/02/10/mejor-billary-enmano-que-obambi-volando-de-pedro-j-ramirez-en-el-mundo/ (accessed 30.06.2019).

28 Compass Group. Agárrense de las manos. URL: https://www.webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:k7EJIQn9aAEJ:https://www.eleconomista.com.mx/opinion/Agarrense-de-las-manos-20120522-0009.html&cd=20&hl=ru&ct=clnk&gl=ru&client=opera (accessed 17.08.2022).

29 Leonard M. 2017. Expectativas de la alianza 'Mercron'. *El Pais*. 18.08.2017. https://www.elpais.com/elpais/2017/07/24/opinion/1500888000_155700.html (accessed 24.06.2020).

30 Quiñonero J.P. 2013. España, subvencionada por Europa, siempre. 9.02.2013. URL: https://www.unatemporadaenelinfierno.net/2013/02/09/merkoron-dicta-su-ley-a-europa-hollande-aliado-con-rajoy-espana-subvencionada (accessed 12.06.2019).

At the same time, this nonce word is structurally different was the previous one – the "empty" affix "o", which has no meaning of its own, is embedded between the two components[31]. However, the affix makes is graphically and phonetically different from the one we looked at before.

In the following example, the name of the political tandem **Busharraf** (**Bush** + Mus**harraf**) would appear to be used in a neutral sense, since it does not include an assessment of any kind, but rather performs a nominative function. However, the words that come before it express a very definite assessment: "*El golpista aliado de EE. UU. al que llaman* '**Bush-arraf**'. *Pervez Musharraf era un aliado clave de Bush en su combate contra Al Qaida desde el 11-S… Era un valioso peón de Washington…*"[32] ("*A Putschist ally of the United States named* **Busharraf**. *Pervez Musharraf was a key ally of Bush in the fight against al-Qaeda after 9/11 […] He was a valuable pawn of Washington […]*").

Unlike the previous name, the occasionalism **Macroneón** (**Macron** + Napol**eón**) is expressive: "*El derrotado Macron o* **Macroneón**, *que imita al genocida corso en la técnica de publicitar campañas ruinosas como la de Egipto como grandes victorias de la civilización occidental, pretende borrar su derrota tras quedar como tercera fuerza en el Parlamento*[33]" ("*The defeated Macron, or* **Macroneón**, *imitating the genocidal Corsican who had touted his numerous failed campaigns, such as the one to Egypt, as great victories for Western civilization, seeks to bounce back after his party became the third largest in Parliament*").

In this context, the author's reference to Napoleon's unsuccessful Egyptian campaign serves as a basis on which the **Macroneón** contaminant is built, and characterizes the politician as a loser.

In order to grasp the significance of the following contaminated formulations, we need to understand the political situation in Catalonia on the eve of the 2019 mayoral elections in Barcelona, in which the Catalonia native Manuel Valls, a former Prime Minister of France who sat in the French National Assembly, topped the list of the Citizens Party in Spain. As a member of the Barcelona City Council, Valls voted for Ada Colau, his rival in the elections, to be re-elected as mayor, which led to his break with the Citizens Party[34].

In connection with this, an article appeared in the Spanish press that criticized the desire of the French politician to enter Catalan politics, its author suggesting that French President Emmanuel Macron was behind this, through the use of the **Macroneón** nonce word we have mentioned. A new "character" appeared in the story to complete a new occasionalism – **Microrrivera** (**Micro-** + **Rivera**) – Albert Rivera being

---

[31] Affiks [Affix]. URL: https://www.bigenc.ru/linguistics/text/1842071 (accessed 10.08.2022).

[32] Clemente E. 2008. El golpista aliado de EE. UU. al que llaman 'Bush-arraf.' La Vos de Galicia. 19.08.2008. URL: https://www.lavozdegalicia.es/noticia/internacional/2008/08/19/golpista-aliado-ee-uu-llaman-bush-arraf/0003_7071276.htm (accessed 17.07.2019).

[33] Jiménez L. F. 2019. Macroneón y Microrrivera. *Libertad Digital*. 16.06.2019. URL: https://www.libertaddigital.com/opinion/federico-jimenez-losantos/macroneon-y-microrrivera-88127/ (accessed 23.08.2022).

[34] Manuel Valls Galfetti. URL: https://www.es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manuel_Valls_Galfetti (accessed 29.08.2021).

the leader of the Citizens Party, the third largest political force in Spain, at the time: "*El genocida corso tuvo a dos reyes polichinelas, Fernando VII y Carlos IV, para humillar a España, pero los patriotas españoles acabaron humillándolo a él en el campo de batalla. Pero **Macroneón** no tiene el primer ejército del mundo, así que su muñeco no es rey de España y las Indias. Debe conformarse con el tercer partido de España, al que extravía un dirigente, que, ayuno de toda dignidad nacional e intelectual, nulificado en su cuna política barcelonesa por el maquereau político Valls y tras la jibarización de su partido, cabe llamar **Microrrivera***[35]" ("*The genocidal Corsican used two puppet kings – Ferdinand VII and Charles IV – to humiliate Spain. But the Spanish patriots ended up humiliating him on the battlefield. However, **Macroneón** does not have the strongest in the world, so his puppet is not the King of Spain. Instead, he has to settle for the third-largest party in Spain, which is being led along a dubious path by its leader – a man completely devoid of national and intellectual dignity who has been discredited in his political homeland by the political whoremonger Valls and should, along with his decimated party, be called **Microrrivera***").

Here, the language-game is built on the meaning of the prefixes ***micro*** and ***macro***, which are typically used to designate size – that is, to indicate the scale of an object or phenomenon. The logical and semantic opposition ***micro-*/*macro-*** serves as the basis for the "nickname" given to Albert Rivera, the chairman of the party that fell out of favour with voters and won just ten seats in the election to the Spanish parliament in November 2019, compared to 47 just six months earlier, and whom the author of the article calls a muñeco ("puppet").

The contaminant ***Macroneón*** contains an allusion to Napoleon: the ***-eon*** part of his name is the definer and points to the ambitions to power of the person whose name, represented by the first part of the word, is the thing being defined. It thus follows from the context that the person referred to as ***Macroneón*** is not great in any sense of that word, even though the semantic component ***Macro-*** does give it some pseudo-significance.

The author of an article entitled "***Trumpistán***" (***Trump*** + ***-i-stán***, modern Farsi for "country") sees Trump supporters as a kind of country: "… *Estados Unidos rurales, ignorantes hasta los tuétanos... .No puede ser que la misoginia, la homofobia, transfobia, el fanatismo religioso y el atraso intelectual sigan imperando en buena parte de los Estados de la Unión. La mitad de ese país considera a Trump su ídolo porque ese es su modelo por seguir: el dinero por encima de la educación, mi bienestar por encima del bien común y mi religión por encima de las libertades de género y reproductivas de todos los habitants*"[36] ("… [inhabitants of] *backwater rural areas in the United States, ignorant to*

[35] Jiménez L. F. 2019. Macroneón y Microrrivera. *Libertad Digital*. 16.06.2019. URL: https://www.libertaddigital.com/opinion/federico-jimenez-losantos/macroneon-y-microrrivera-88127/ (accessed 23.08.2022).
[36] García de la Torre M.A. 2020. Trumpistan. *El Tiempo*. 4.11.2020. URL: https://www.eltiempo.com/opinion/columnistas/maria-a-garcia-de-la-torre/columna-de-maria-garcia-de-la-torre-sobre-las-elecciones-en-ee-uu-547138 (accessed 5.11.2020).

the core […] Misogyny, homophobia, transphobia, religious fanaticism and intellectual backwardness cannot be allowed to reign in so many states. Trump is an idol for half of the country, an inspiration: 'money before education,' 'my wellbeing over the common good,' and 'my religion over gender and the reproductive freedom of Americans'").

The citizens of the "country" of **Trumpistán** are described in a negative light from various points of view. And this, like the name itself, thanks to the second component of this occasionalism, evokes associations with certain countries today where such values are professed. This in itself shows the essence of the situation, which has arisen in a real country.

The expected failure and disastrous consequences of Trump's policy are expressed using the contaminant **trumpírricas** (**trumpyrric**) a compound adjective invented by the author by adding the name Trump to the adjective **pírrico**, which is derived from the name of the ancient ruler **Pyrrhus**, meaning "an achievement that entailed disaster; a victory that came at the cost of too many lives; a success that led to failure; an acquisition that turned into a loss"[37]: "*Trump, a quien sus defensores consideran el triunfo de la derecha gringa, podría ser lo peor que le hubiera podido pasar a ese movimiento. Quizá valga ensamblar un nuevo adjetivo para advertir a quienes quieran imitarlo: ojo con las victorias '**trumpírricas**'*"[38] ("*Trump, in whom his defenders see the triumph of the right in the United States, is perhaps the worst thing that could happen to this movement. Perhaps we should coin a new adjective to warn those who are inspired to act the way he does: beware of '**trumpyrric**' victories*").

Thus, a pejorative modifier is added to the politician's name in order to discredit him, to form a negative attitude towards him and his actions in the reader. The second word is used as a connotative, containing a pejorative assessment.

The phrase "**era Trumputin**" (**Trump** + **Putin**) describes the atmosphere in U.S.–Russia relations that developed during Donald Trump's term in office as President of the United States: "*¿Puede la era Trumputin convertir a la UE en una potencia militar? Europa impulsa iniciativas de integración en Defensa. Por un lado, la súbita frialdad con los Estados Unidos de Trump. La sensación de que Europa ya no puede contar con la protección de Washington como ha sucedido en los últimos 70 años. Por el otro, la creciente asertividad rusa y, como derivada, un panorama de desmorone de los acuerdos de control de armas que puede cambiar radicalmente la situación estratégica de Europa*"[39] ("*Will the EU become a military power in the **Trumputin era**? Europe is moving ahead with its defence integration initiative. On the one hand, there has been a sudden cooling of relations with the United States under Trump. One gets the impression that Europe cannot count on the protection of Washington the way it has been doing for seventy years.*

---

[37] Pirrova pobeda [Pyrrhic Victory]. URL: http://www.chtooznachaet.ru/znachenie-frazeologizma-pirrova-pobeda.html (accessed 30.01.2022).
[38] Ways T. 2020. Una victoria trumpírrica. *El Tiempo*. 21.10.2020. URL: https://www.eltiempo.com/opinion/columnistas/thierry-ways/una-victoria-trumpirrica-columna-de-thierry-ways-544563 (accessed 22.10.2020).
[39] Rizzi A. 2019. ¿Puede la era Trumputin convertir a la UE en una potencia militar? *El Pais*. 23.02.2019. URL: https://www.elpais.com/internacional/2019/02/22/actualidad/1550844250_142644.html (accessed 23.08.2022).

On the other hand, we are seeing Russia becoming increasingly assertive, and the resulting destruction of arms control treaties could change the strategic environment in Europe radically").

In the contaminant **Trumputin**, both components are semantically equivalent in relation to each other and perform the same function – as a metonymic designation of the countries (the United States and Russia) through the names of their respective presidents. Meanwhile, the contaminant itself acts as a modifier of the noun **era** and describes the difficult situation in Europe, which is expressed explicitly: the lack of protection from the United States; the negative impact of Russia's actions; the radical change in Europe's position; and the expectation of a deterioration of the strategic situation on the continent.

The broad impact of the Black Lives Matter movement in the United States and the speeches of those who felt the 2020 elections in Belarus had been rigged was reason enough for some to draw an analogy between these two events, expressed in the contaminant **Trumpkashenko**, which served as the title of an article that argued the following: "*El '#blacklivesmatter' y las calles de Minsk nos vuelven a enseñar el extraordinario potencial democrático del ruido de los silenciados*"[40] ("*The Black Lives Matter movement and the streets of Minsk once again demonstrate the extraordinary democratic potential of those whose voices are not heard*").

In this neologism, both formants perform the same nominative function, and the relationship between them is one of comparison and juxtaposition: the occasionalism serves as a metonymic designation of countries where, according to the author, similar processes are taking place, and where the blame is placed squarely on the shoulders of the leaders of these countries and their actions.

The contamination also involves such customary word-formation elements as *-**filo*** and *-**ífobo*** which, by virtue of their very semantics, express attitudes towards a given person: **Casadófilos** to refer to supporters of the leader of the People's Party Pablo Casado and his sympathizers, and **Sanchífobos** to refer to opponents of the Prime Minister of Spain, Pedro Sánchez[41].

Hilary Clinton's nomination as the Democratic Party's candidate in the 2016 presidential elections in the United States also led to the creation of new words: critics viewed her nomination as a manifestation of tireless ambition, nepotism in politics, careerism, and the desire to finally realize the "dynastic" dream of the Clintons – the joint "storming of the White House" they had planned years before, with each serving two presidential terms. The telescopic formation **Billary** appeared in the press as a playful name for the couple, accompanied by a negative assessment of the two

---

[40] Martínez-Bascuñán M. 2020. Trumpkashenko. *El Pais*. 30.08.2020. URL: https://www.elpais.com/opinion/2020-08-29/trumpkashenko.html?event_log=oklogin&o=cerrado&prod=REGCRART (accessed 30.08.2020).
[41] Rodríguez Teruel J. 2021. La nueva normalidad de Pedro Sánchez y Pablo Casado. *El Pais*. 08.09.2021. URL: https://elpais.com/opinion/2021-09-08/la-nueva-normalidad-de-pedro-sanchez-y-pablo-casado.html (accessed 10.11.2023).

in the comments: "…*una especie de monstruo hermafrodita bautizado como **Billary** cuya avidez de poder termina siendo el compendio de todos los males imaginables*[42]" ("… *a kind of hermaphroditic monster called **Billary**, whose lust for power eventually became the manifestation of every conceivable evil*").

When used to describe a person, the English adjective ***billary*** is a derogative semantic and stylistic term that conveys a negative connotation, as it refers to bile. In the structure of this nonce word, the associative and figurative component acts as the basis for emotional evaluation and stylistic marking, linking the denotative and connotative content of the language unit[43].

The election of the ultra-right politician Jair Bolsonaro as President of Brazil and his authoritarian style of government led to the creation of an entire family of occasionalisms in the Spanish press, formed on the same basis using the following models:

a) the first part of the surname + the formant ***-gate***: "***Bolsogate***, *el escándalo de corrupción que involucraría a Bolsonaro y su familia*[44]" ("Bolsogate – *The Corruption Scandal in which Bolsonaro and His Family May Be Involved*");

b) the first part of the surname + a significant word, the meaning of which is "duplicated" in the context: ***Bolsocreyentes***[45] ("people who believe in Bolsonaro"); ***bolsojuniors***, referring to Jair Bolsonaro's sons who, while not being members of the executive branch, frequently offer their takes on political events at the government level; ***bolsogurú***, referring to the late ultra-conservative figure Olavo de Carvalho, who, from his home in the United States, criticized the presence of military personnel in Bolsonaro's administration, opposed the U.S. military presence in Brazil and the country's proposed scenario for resolving the crisis in Venezuela (by force), and warned that trade relations with Arab countries and China would worsen if Brazil continued to follow the United States' lead in the political sphere; ***bolsocanciller***, referring to Minister of Foreign Affairs Ernesto Araújo and indicating the ideological direction in which Bolsonaro's government was leading the country; ***bolsomonarquía*** ("bolsomonarchy"); and ***bolsopolémica*** ("bolsopolemics")[46].

A derivational series is thus formed that performs a line function and organizes an entire fragment of the text of the article (Nikolina 1996: 310).

Additionally, contaminants can take the plural form where appropriate. Examples of this are the well-known anglicism *bolso**juniors*** and the nonce word ***voxonaros***, coined as a way of describing political opponents and made up of the name of the

[42] Ramírez P.J. 2008. Mejor 'Billary' en mano que 'Obambi' volando. *Revista de Prensa*. 10.02.2008. URL: https://www.almendron.com/tribuna/mejor-billary-en-mano-que-obambi-volando/ (accessed 02.11.2023).

[43] Modalnost' [Modality]. URL: https://www.bigenc.ru/linguistics/text/2221549 (accessed 3.01.2022).

[44] 'Bolsogate', el escándalo de corrupción que involucraría a Bolsonaro y su familia. 2018. *El Desconcierto*. 29.12.2018. URL: https://www.eldesconcierto.cl/2018/12/29/bolsogate-el-escandalo-de-corrupcion-que-involucraria-a-bolsonaro-y-su-familia/ (accessed 24.08.2022).

[45] Brum E. 2019. Brasil, (des)gobernado por Twitter. *El Pais*. 6.03.2019. URL: https://www.elpais.com/elpais/2019/03/05/opinion/1551794221_555348.html (accessed 27.01.2022).

[46] Brum E. 2019. Cien días bajo el dominio de los perversos. 11.04.2019. URL: https://www.elpais.com/internacional/2019/04/11/america/1554996308_017043.html (accessed 4.08.2022).

Spanish party ***VOX*** and a part of the anthroponym (the surname of the person whose derogative characterization is given in the text): "'***Voxsonaros***': *el presidente español Pedro Sánchez comparó a la oposición de derecha con Jair Bolsonaro, conocido por sus opiniones racistas, misóginas y homófobas*"[47] ("'***Voxsonaros***': *Spanish Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez compares right-wing opposition to Jair Bolsonaro, who is known for his racist, misogynistic and homophobic remarks*").

In the contaminant ***voxsonaros***, the name of the party is definitive, to which the features of the person indicated by the final part of the surname are attributed.

In this context, the formant ***-sonaros*** (from the surname Bolsonaro) used in the plural retains the obvious connection with its denotation, and it is this connection that gives us an example of a "folded" metaphor (Gudkov 2020: 73) – *(Bol)**sonaros*** = politicians who are similar to Bolsonaro.

The modified part of the anthroponym is also represented the contaminant Pfizerico: "[Al periodista Fede**rico** Jiménez] *Losantos lo han bautizado como 'Federico vacunas' o '**Pfizerico***', *en alusión a la multinacional que patentó uno de los primeros antídotos contra el virus*[48]" ("[The journalist Federico Jiménez] *Losantos received the nicknames 'Frederico the Waxer' and '**Pfizerico**' after the name of the multinational corporation that registered one of the first coronavirus vaccines*").

The reason behind the nickname was the journalist's enthusiasm about the benefits of vaccination and is made up of the name of the company (which also bears the name of one of its founders) and the last part of the name of the person in question as the modifier. At the same time, the homonymic initial part of the final element is superimposed onto the last syllable of the first name: Pfiz**er** + Fed**erico**.

Cases of cross-contamination can also be found in socio-political discourse. This involves combining two conjunctions that are semantically similar – that is, they belong to the same phraseosemantic group and are created using the same or similar syntactic models[49].

These are combinations consisting of the name and surname of a person. Cross-contamination occurs according to the letter scheme **AB** + **CD** = **AD**. Combining the names and surnames of real people who have identical or similar political views serves to create a kind of "talking" complex image of active politicians.

---

[47] Guirado J. 2019. Sánchez equipara a PP, C's y VOX con Bolsonaro: 'Los voxsonaros son tres derechas que buscan la involución'. *OK Diario*. 12.01.2019. URL: https://www.okdiario.com/espana/sanchez-equipara-pp-cs-vox-bolsonaro-voxsonaros-son-tres-derechas-que-buscan-involucion-356892 (accessed 4.08.2022).

[48] Moraga C. 2021. La extrema derecha y sus medios afines chocan por las vacunas: 'los Bebelejías' contra 'Pfizerico'. *El Diario*. 29.09.2021. URL: https://www.eldiario.es/politica/extrema-derecha-medios-afines-chocan-vacunas-bebelejias-pfizerico_1_8342745.html (accessed 23.08.2022).

[49] Tret'iakova I. I. 2011. Okkazionalnaia frazeologiia (strukturno-semanticheskii y kommunikativno-pragmaticheskii aspect [Occasional phraseology (structural-semantic and communicative-pragmatic aspects)]. Ph.D. dissertation abstract diss. Yaroslavl. URL: https://www.cheloveknauka.com/okkazionalnaya-frazeologiya-1#:~:text=Объединению%20подвергаются%20две%20ФЕ%2C%20образованные,относящиеся%20к%20одной%20фразеосемантической%20группе (accessed 18.07.2022).

For example, an article entitled "El ocaso conservador" ("The Fall of Conservativism")[50] draws an analogy between the United Kingdom and Catalonia based on the desire of certain politicians to leave the European Union (in the case of the United Kingdom) or become an independent country (in the case of Catalonia), and the current state of conservatism following their actions, resorting to cross-contamination to playfully name and describe the common position of representatives of the British and Catalonian establishment.

Specifically, the article is about former British Prime Minister Boris Johnson, an ardent Brexiteer, and former president of the Government of Catalonia Artur Mas, who actively pushed for Catalonian independence. The author of the article uses cross-contamination (in this case rearranging their names) to create occasionalisms with a negative tinge: "***Boris Mas** – o **Artur Johnson** –, uno en su región, el otro en su nación, han dinamitado el conservadurismo. El apocado y anodino parvenu catalán y el enérgico prócer cosmopolita han diluido su formación en el populismo rampante y dominante*" ("***Boris Mas**, or **Artur Johnson** – one in his region, the other in his country – shook the position of the conservatives. A pathetic and insignificant Johnny-come-lately and a prominent, energetic and sophisticated man, have dissolved their ideology in the creeping populism that now dominates*").

The same technique is used to create a collective image of other political players – First Secretary of the Socialists' Party of Catalonia, government minister and opponent of Catalonian independence Miquel Iceta, on the one hand, and the leader of the Labour Party in the Unitied Kingdom Jeremy Corbyn, who called for the United Kingdom to remain the European Union, on the other: "*El camaleónico **Miquel Corbyn** – o **Jeremy Iceta** –, acomodaticio superviviente del establishment que cree un poco en cada cosa. Artur Johnson se crece porque Jeremy Iceta nunca se lanzará del todo a pararle los pies*" ("*The opportunist Miquel Corbin, or Jeremy Iceta, the unsinkable establishment survivor who believes in everything just a little bit. Artur Johnson is growing in power because Jeremy Iceta will never do anything to stop him*").

In the same vein, the author of the article draws a parallel between the left-wing political and social activist and current Mayor of Barcelona Ada Colau, and Brexit Party leader Nigel Farage, a fierce critic of European integration within the European Union and the Eurozone: "***Nigel Colau** – o **Ada Farage** –, agitadores que pescan en las aguas que revuelven*" ("***Nigel Colau**, or **Ada Farage**, troublemakers who catch fish in water that they have muddied themselves*"). The author sees these figures as bearers of the political strategy of national populism condemned in the West, describing it as follows: "*El nacionalpopulismo es una sola cosa, un único monstruo de dos cabezas y la gran amenaza de Europa*" ("*National populism is a united front, a two-headed monster that poses a great danger to Europe*").

[50] Redondo J. 2019. El ocaso conservador. *El Mundo*. 08.09.2019. URL: https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2019/09/08/5d73e459fdddff238c8b4589.html (accessed 15.07.2022).

The nonce words we have analysed thus correspond to the appropriate communicative operation: a) they perform a nominative function (i.e. they contain the name of a person or party); or b) they additionally carry expressiveness and emotionality, allowing the author to express his or her thoughts more accurately and succinctly and convey their attitude to the reader, who can evaluate the topic under discussion, with these words aimed at manipulating the recipient in order to create a specific attitude in him or her.

Occasionalisms serve to express an individual author's ideas and drop out of active use once the event under discussion is no longer interesting to the general public. They may also be forgotten when the style of behaviour changes, or when the figure with whom occasionalisms are associated retires from political life.

Meanwhile, certain formants may remain in the word-building arsenal for a long time. Examples of this include *-gate*, and later *-(e)xit:* the former is used as a descriptive and evaluative element in the composition of contaminants, typically referring to any official who has been involved in a public scandal, or a person who was directly involved in such a scandal.

Research Findings

This study has allowed us to establish a number of structural models of two- and three-component contaminants by connecting their parts:

1. Two full PNs with a common sound element: *Trumputin*.

2. A full PN + a full anthroponymic adjective with a common sound element: *Trumpírrico*.

3. The first part of a PN + the full part of a second PN with a common sound element: *Pablenin*.

4. The first part of a PN + an "empty" affix + the final part of a second PN: *Merkoron*.

5. A full PN + the final part of a second PN without a common sound element: Pfizerico, voxonaros.

6. A full PN + the final part of a second PN with a common sound element: *Busharraf, Billary*.

7. A full PN + the first part of a CN without a common sound element: *Sánchez-Plag*.

8. The first part of a PN + a full CN without a common sound element: *bolsopolémica*.

9. A full PN + the final part of a second PN without a common sound element: *Trumpkashenko*.

10. The first part of a PN + the final part of a second PN with a common sound element: *Merkozy*.

11. The first part of a PN + the final part of a second PN without a common sound element: *Merkolland*.

12. A full PN + the formant *-gate: Scholzgate*.

13. The first part of a PN + the formant -(e)xit without a common sound element: *Megxit, Borxit*.

The first or final part of each initial anthroponym can be represented by any of its fragments in order to create the required combination. For example, different parts of the proper name Bolsonaro served to form the contaminants *bolsocanciller* and *voxsonaros*.

The process of contamination word formation involves, in addition to antrhoponyms, meaning-bearing lexical units of Spanish (*bolsocanciller*) or English (*bolsojuniors*), anthroponymic adjectives (*Trumpírrico*), and the usual derivational means: the element -istan to indicate location (*Trumpistán*), the affix *ego-* (*Egosánchez*), the affixes micro- and macro-(*Microrrivera, Macroneón*), which form antonymic pairs, and the suffixes -filo and -ífobo (*Casadófilos, Sanchífobos*), which are attached to the name of a politician (the full name or a truncated form of it) and express cognitive and value significance,

In the right context, a precedent situation can be invoked to produce the name of a public scandal that also includes the name of the person involved, as in the case of *Clintongate*.

In the structure of contaminants, there are theme-rheme relationships between the basic (defined) element and the defining element, which carries new, evaluative information that describes the basic element from a certain point of view.

The relative positions of the "defined" and "defining" elements can be different. That is, any of the formants of a nonce word can appear in the first or second position, although it is strictly fixed in each case: *Scholzgate, trampírrico, SánchezPlag, Pablenin*; or in the preposition: *Microrrivera, Egosánchez, Bolsogurú*

A precedent name can act as a defining element: *Pablenin, Macroneón*.

When there is no "defined" / "defining" relationship between the two parts of contaminants of the *Merkozy* type, their assessment is expressed in the context. For example, in one article, the author uses the *Busharraf* contaminant to describe the allied relations between the United States and Pakistan, painting them in a negative light with the words "putschist" and "pawn".

Some formants of contaminated formations acquire the property of ordinary word-building means and are fixed in the language in this capacity. Of those we have looked at, *-gate* is the most commonly used. Occasionalisms that contain such elements are characterized by reproducibility in modern speech and form the *Watergate* family of words. The lexeme *gate* has entered the Spanish language as a formant with a new meaning ("public scandal"), while the lexeme *exit*, as a formant, incorporates the basic dictionary meaning of "to exit / to leave".

An assessment can be based on historical data associated with a person whose name is used to describe a modern politician through a contaminant, for example, *Macroneón*.

It can be expressed through the actualization of the internal form of the nonce word (***Billary***), embedded in its semantic structure, or explicated in its cognitive-verbal environment, contextually.

Assessments can be positive or negative. The body of data we have analysed is primarily made up of negative assessments, in some cases expressed clearly through lexical means (***Trumpírrico***, the word-formative means of <u>***Microrrivera***</u>), or contextually. Only rarely are positive assessments unambiguously explicated in the context, specifically in relation to the word ***Merkoron***.

The play on words in the form of the ***Billary*** occasionalism or as a ***micro-***/***macro-***opposition to describe modern politicians, brings, in addition to a subjective evaluation, a touch of infotainment journalism. In this model, the PN acts as a defining word, helps to reconstruct the cognitive scenario and the reference situation, and, in combination with the background knowledge of the recipient, serves as an allusion to the names of other participants.

Conclusions

In the Spanish-language socio-political discourse contamination is a common and productive way of forming nonce words based on anthroponyms. The entire corpus of neologisms of this kind can be seen as a type of macrosystem in the modern Spanish vocabulary, where families of words can be distinguished.

In the context of political confrontation, the evaluative attitude towards the opponent is evident. The abundance of contaminants based on anthroponyms emphasizes the anthropocentric nature of this occasional word formation.

The deanthroponymic contaminants of the "cascade" we have looked at perform a nominative function first and foremost, denoting a phenomenon, event, person or group, as well as a descriptive function that expresses one or more of their properties or qualities.

Contamination allows us to create vivid, multidimensional and capacious images built through the method of "comparison", which involves comparing or likening certain individuals to one another, or their qualities according to a common (typically negative) attribute and expressing certain semantic relationships between the components of the new word.

About the Author:

Iurii Murzin – Ph.D., Associate Professor of the Department of Spanish at MGIMO. Moscow, Russia. His research interests include cognitive linguistics, semantics, lexicology, phraseology, and media discourse research.
E-mail: yu.p.murzin@inno.mgimo.ru.

Conflicts of interest.
The author declares no conflicts of interest.

References:

Gudkov D. B. 2020. *Pretsedentnoe imia y problemy pretsedentnosti* [***Precedent Name and Precedent Problems***]. Moscow: LENAND. (In Russian).

Leichik V. M. 2008. *Liudi i slova: Kak rozhdaiutsia i zhivut slova v russkom iazyke* [***People and Words: How Words are Born and Live in the Russian Language***]. Moscow: Knizhnyi dom LIBRO-KOM. (In Russian).

Nikolina N. A. 1996. Skorneniye' v sovremennoi rechi. In *Iazyk kak tvorchestvo* [*sbornik nauchnykh trudov: K 70-letiiu V.P. Grigorieva*] [Skornenie' in Modern Speech. In *Language as Creativity:* [Collection of Research Papers]: In Honour of the 70th Anniversary of V. P. Grigoriev.]. Moscow: IRIa. P. 309–318. (In Russian).

Nikolina N. A. 2011. Kontaminatsiia kak sposob kompressivnogo slovoobrazovaniia [Contamination as a Way of Compressive Word Formation]. *Russkii iazyk v shkole.* 4. P. 41–45. (In Russian).

Panov M. V. 1988. *Iz nabliudenii nad stilem segodniashnei periodiki* [*From Observations on the Style of Today's Periodicals*]. Moscow. (In Russian).

Sannikov V. Z. 2002. *Russkii yazyk v zerkale iazykovoi igry* [*Russian Language in the Mirror of the Language Game*]. Second revised and expamded edition. Moscow: Yazyki slavianskoi kultury. (In Russian).