



UNIVERSIDADE DA CORUÑA

Facultade de Filoloxía

GRAO EN INGLÉS: ESTUDOS LINGÜÍSTICOS E LITERARIOS

**Word-formation from the names of
United States presidents**

Student: Santiago Ortega Piñón

Advisor: Isabel Sofía Moskowich-Spiegel Fandiño

MOSKOWICH-
SPIEGEL FANDIÑO
ISABEL SOFIA



2023

Table of contents

Introduction.....	1
1. Theoretical background on word-formation	3
1.1. Definition of word-formation	3
1.2. Morphological constituents	4
1.3. Word-formation mechanisms	5
1.3.1. Derivation	5
1.3.2. Compounding.....	7
1.3.3. Blending.....	8
1.4. Deonomastics.....	9
2. Corpus material and methodology.....	12
2.1. Corpus description	12
2.2. Methodology.....	13
2.2.1. Method of word search.....	13
2.2.2. Method of analysis	14
3. Analysis.....	18
3.1. Adjectival suffixation: <i>-esque</i>	22
3.2. Noun-adjective suffixation: <i>-ian</i> and <i>-ite</i>	26
3.3. Nominal suffixation: <i>-ism</i> and <i>-iana</i>	34
3.3.1. <i>-ism</i>	34
3.3.2. <i>-iana</i>	39
3.4. Other words formed by suffixation.....	40
Conclusions.....	42
Works cited	45
Appendix.....	48
Wordlist.....	48
Words formed by prefixation	55
Words formed by compounding	57
Words formed by blending.....	58

List of tables and figures

Table 1. Deonymy, eponymy and proper nouns	11
Table 2. List of types and tokens.....	48
Figure 1. Representation of the two corpora used as sources (in billions of tokens).....	13
Figure 2. Types distributed according to the mechanism of word-formation.....	18
Figure 3. Tokens distributed according to the mechanism of word-formation.....	19
Figure 4. Tokens excluding the Monroe Doctrine type.....	19
Figure 5. Types formed by each suffix.....	20
Figure 6. Tokens formed by each suffix.....	21
Figure 7. Tokens formed by each suffix excluding the Jeffersonian type.....	21
Figure 8. Distribution of deonyms with -esque.....	23
Figure 9. Deonyms with -esque from a diachronic perspective.....	23
Figure 10. Distribution of deonyms with -ian and -ite	28
Figure 11. Jeffersonian and Jeffersonite from a diachronic perspective	30
Figure 12. Lincolnian and Lincolnite from a diachronic perspective	30
Figure 13. Distribution of deonyms with -ism.....	35
Figure 14. Jacksonianism and Jacksonism from a diachronic perspective.....	36
Figure 15. Jeffersonianism and Jeffersonism from a diachronic perspective.....	37
Figure 16. Wilsonianism and Wilsonism from a diachronic perspective.....	37
Figure 17. Distribution of other deonyms formed by suffixation	41
Figure 18. Types formed by each prefix.....	55
Figure 19. Tokens formed by each prefix.....	55
Figure 20. Distribution of words with anti-	56
Figure 21. Distribution of words with pro-.....	56
Figure 22. Types of the two classes of compounds.....	57
Figure 23. Tokens of the two classes of compounds.....	57
Figure 24. Distribution of compounds with Doctrine	58
Figure 25. Types of each blending component.....	58
Figure 26. Tokens of each blending component	59
Figure 27. Tokens of each blending component without the Obamacare type.....	59
Figure 28. Distribution of blends with -nomics or -nomic	60

Abstract

This paper collects and analyzes the words formed from the names of American presidents, from *Washingtonite* to *Bidenian*. The following objectives are set: to find out which formative elements are the most productive in our field of study, to determine the meaning of the neologisms they form and to identify which presidents' names have served as a morphological base for the creation of a greater number of words, as well as the most frequent ones.

Prior to our study, a theoretical background is set out in which the work is contextualized within word-formation in general and deonomastics in particular, a subdiscipline that examines the formation of words from proper nouns. The method followed is a corpus-based study using two sources: the American English Google Books corpus, which was employed to search for words from the end of the 18th century until 2009, and the NOW corpus, which was utilized to seek words appearing from 2010 onwards. Neologisms have been searched using the wildcard tool by inserting an asterisk before or after the names of each president. Once all the words were collected, they were classified according to the word-formation mechanism involved in their creation.

It is found that most words formed from the names of American presidents are derived by suffixation, so the analysis is concentrated on words formed by each of the most productive suffixes. In our object of study, these are *-esque*, *-ian*, *-ite*, *-ism* and *-iana*. To meet the objectives, the analysis has been divided into two parts. Foremost, a quantitative and diachronic study of the words formed by each of the suffixes is conducted; then, a semantic study is undertaken. The following conclusions have been reached for each suffix. First, the suffix *-esque* forms adjectival derivatives whose most frequent meaning is 'resembling X', and is applied to names of American presidents from the late 19th century to the present. Second, the suffixes *-ian* and *-ite* are studied together, as they both form derivatives that function either as adjectives or as nouns; *-ian* tends to form adjectival derivatives of relational meaning, while

-ite usually forms nouns meaning ‘follower or supporter of’, although both suffixes may adopt the characteristics of the other. They are applied from the earliest presidents to the present day; in particular, *-ian* is the one which derives the types with the highest number of tokens of all suffixes. Third, *-ism* and *-iana* form nominal derivatives. On the one hand, words with *-ism* tend to signify ‘political doctrine of X’, but when attached to *-ian* the semantic modulation is ‘political doctrine inspired by X’. This suffix is also applied since the beginning of the 19th century and is the one that derives the largest number of types of all suffixes. Finally, the suffix *-iana* forms derivatives whose meaning is ‘the collected sayings, wisdom or artifacts connected with X’; it is applied since the first rulers as well. The presidents whose names are most productive in word-formation are Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson, Ronald Reagan and Donald Trump.

Key words: word-formation; proper noun; deonomastics; eponym; American presidents.

Introduction

Word formation from proper nouns is, in the words of Lipka (2011), a “neglected field” in English linguistics. This phenomenon has attracted more attention from scholars of Romance languages and German; in these languages, within the more general field of onomastics (the linguistic discipline that studies proper nouns), a subdiscipline which has come to be known as *deonomastics* has developed. This subdiscipline is concerned with the formation of words (adjectives, verbs or common nouns) from proper nouns. For example, from the proper noun *Shakespeare* the adjective *Shakespearean* has been formed; from *Narcissus*, a common noun has arisen, *narcissism*; from *Blair*, *Blairism*, another common noun; and from *Galvani*, the verb *galvanize*. The divergent nature of words formed from proper nouns, such as the ones above, is linked to the notion of eponymy, which will be discussed throughout the paper.

This paper proposes a deonomastic study of words formed from the names of United States presidents, from George Washington to Joe Biden. A wide range of words including *Washingtonian*, *Trumpflation*, *Reaganomics*, *Lincolnesque*, *hooverize* or *Coolidge effect*, to name only a few, will therefore be examined. The reasons for the selection of this object of study are the following: 1) it is a unitary field of study, since all the characters from whose names the words are derived have in common their status as presidents of the United States; 2) such uniformity results in the influence of analogies in word-formation (involving the use of relatively constant formative elements), which makes it possible to study and draw conclusions about the whole set of words; 3) despite analogies, there is a significant variety in the use of different word-formation mechanisms and formative elements; and 4) it is a broad enough field of study to illustrate that deonomastics can be considered a subfield with distinctive characteristics within word-formation.

The objectives of this work are divided into two groups. On the one hand, this study aims to find out which are the most productive formative elements (for example, *-ism* or *-esque*) as well as the evolution of each of them in the creation of the words under study. We will also investigate which are the names of presidents from which more words and the most frequent ones are obtained. On the other hand, this paper also seeks to determine the meaning or meanings that each formative element contributes to the derivatives. In some cases, the aim will not be to find out the meaning of that formative element in isolation, but in contrast to others.

The method to be taken is that of corpus-based studies. In order to collect the words formed from the names of American presidents, we will use the American English Google Books Corpus and the NOW Corpus. To achieve the objectives, the analysis of each formative element will be divided into two parts: the first one is a quantitative and diachronic study of the data taken from the above-mentioned corpora; the second part is a semantic study, which will be conducted using not only the Google Books and NOW corpora, but also other sources.

Regarding the structure of the paper, it will be divided into three parts. First, a theoretical background is provided, in which general aspects of word-formation as well as deonomastics will be discussed. Second, the corpus used for the word search will be described; in the same section, the method followed to find and analyze the words will be detailed. Third, after classifying the words according to their formative elements, the analysis will be conducted. It will be divided into the two parts already mentioned: the quantitative and diachronic study and the semantic study. Finally, some conclusions will be drawn.

1. Theoretical background on word-formation

This revision presents a general overview about word-formation and deonomastics. It is divided into four sections. First, a general definition of the concept of word-formation is given; second, the main morphological constituents involved in word-formation are outlined; third, the four major mechanisms of word-formation are reviewed; and finally, the issue of deonomastics and, in particular, the problem posed by the concepts of deonymy and eponymy are addressed.

1.1. Definition of word-formation

Basic concepts for the definition of word-formation such as *morphology*, *morpheme*, *lexeme* and others are presented below.

Morphology is “the branch of grammar which studies the structure or forms of words, primarily through the use of the morpheme construct” (Crystal, 2008, p. 314). A morpheme is the “minimal unit of grammatical analysis” (Bauer, 2002, p. 14). The word *player*, for example, is made up of two morphemes: *play-er*. Of these two morphemes, one is a lexeme: *play*. A lexeme is “a theoretical construct that stands for the unitary meaning and shared syntactic properties of a group of word forms” (Andreou, 2019). This means that a lexeme can receive the so-called inflectional morphemes, which “do not create new lexemes” (Plag, 2003, p. 14), but only word forms of the same lexeme, because they share the same syntactic properties, or word class, and stand for the same unitary meaning. For example, the word *play* receives inflectional morphemes such as *-s*, to form the third person, or *-ing*, to form the gerund. *Play*, *plays* and *playing* are different word forms of the same lexeme: PLAY. This process is known as inflection, and serves to add grammatical information such as tense, person, case or number (Bauer, 2002, p. 10), but without altering the lexical meaning of the word.

However, if a morpheme which is not inflectional, but *derivational*, is added to the lexeme *play*, then a new lexeme (a new word) can be formed (Plag, 2003, p. 14). This is the

case of *player* (*play-er*). As opposed to *plays* or *playing*, *player* shares neither word class nor meaning with *play*: it is a noun, not a verb; and it carries a different denotation (‘person who plays’) to *play*. In turn, *player*, as a lexeme, can be added further inflectional morphemes, like in *players*.

In short, word-formation is the branch of morphology that studies the formation of lexemes from other lexemes. It is opposed to inflectional morphology, which studies word forms of the same lexeme.

1.2. Morphological constituents

The internal structure of words is composed of different morphological constituents: the root, the affixes, the base and the stem.

The *root* is the part of the word “which remains after all derivational and inflectional affixes have been removed” (Bauer, 2002, p. 20); it is also the basic meaningful unit of the word. In the word *decolonialization*, the root is *colony*. A root cannot be analyzed further into smaller morphemes and can usually stand alone as an independent word, that is, as a free morpheme¹.

In contrast, bound morphemes are elements “which cannot occur on its own as a separate word” (Crystal, 2008, p. 59); in *decolonialization*, *de-*, *-ize* and *-ation* are bound morphemes. The paradigmatic type of bound morpheme are *affixes*² (Crystal, 2008, p. 15),

¹ However, there are also bound roots, that is, roots which can only occur in combination with other morphemes, like *circul-* in *circulate*, *circulation* or *circular* (Plag, 2003, p. 10).

² There are bound morphemes which are not affixes: bound roots and neoclassical compounds. Neoclassical compounds are combining forms borrowed from Latin or Greek which, like affixes, cannot occur separately, but, unlike them, can combine with other neoclassical compounds to form words. *Bio-* and *-logy*, for example, combine to form the word *biology* (Plag, 2003, p. 74).

which can be of two different classes³: prefixes, which are placed before the base, like *de-*, and suffixes, which occur after the base, like *-ize* and *-ation*.

The term *base* refers to “the part of a word which an affix is attached to” (Plag, 2003, p. 11). The base can receive two types of affixes: derivational and inflectional. A derivational affix (*-ation*) is added to the base *decolonize* in the word *decolonialization*. In general, the term *base* is reserved for these cases.

In turn, an inflectional suffix (*-s*) is attached to the base *decolonialization* in *decolonializations*. For these instances, the term *stem* is more often used than *base*. Bauer (2002, p. 20) defines stems as “the part of the word-form which remains when all inflectional forms are removed”.

1.3. Word-formation mechanisms

In the following, the essential features of four word-formation mechanisms that are particularly relevant to the present work are outlined: suffixation, prefixation, blending and compounding⁴. The words found for this work are all formed by one of these four mechanisms, but they are not the only ones involved in English word-formation⁵. Later, in the section on deonomastics (1.4.), we will explain the particularities of the words that are the object of our study: those formed from proper names.

1.3.1. Derivation

The concept of derivation is problematic. Plag (2003, p. 107) considers that it is contrasted to *compounding* and that non-compounding word-formation mechanisms such as conversion or

³ “While suffixes and prefixes are very common in English, there are also rare cases of affixes that cannot be considered prefixes or suffixes, because they are inserted not at the boundary of another morpheme but right into another morpheme” (Plag, 2003, p. 12). These are infixes, like *bloody* in *abso-bloody-lutely*. In any case, it must be noted that considering infixation as a type of affixation is strange, because they are “potential word-forms and not bound morphemes, unlike most other English affixes” (Bauer, 2002, p. 90).

⁴ Suffixation and prefixation will be dealt with together under the higher category of *derivation*.

⁵ Bauer and Huddleston (2016) distinguish other less frequent ones: manufacture, initialism, clipping, back-formation and conversion.

blending would be forms of “derivation without affixation”. Conversely, Bauer (2002) argues that it is contrasted to *inflection*; this way, the concept of derivation would be closer to that of word-formation; compounding, from this viewpoint, would be a form of derivation. In this paper, we prefer to follow the position of Bauer and Huddleston (2016, p. 1667), who contrast the concept of derivation to that of *affixation*: “Affixation is widely used in both inflectional and lexical morphology: derivation is then the more specific term for the formation by affixation of lexical bases, or derivatives”. In this light, derivation is the formation of words by affixation.

Two types of derivational affixation can be distinguished in English: suffixation and prefixation⁶. These are not only differentiated by the topological distinction of adding an affix to the left or to the right of the base. Three aspects in which these two mechanisms diverge will be discussed here.

The first distinction between suffixation and prefixation is that “in English, (...) prefixation is always derivational while suffixation may be either derivational or inflectional” (Bauer, 2002, p. 18). To take previous examples, in the word *players*, the suffix *-er* is derivational and *-s* is inflectional. By contrast, there are no inflectional prefixes in English.

Second, suffixes change the stress pattern of the base much more frequently than prefixes. Three groups of suffixes are distinguished according to their influence on stress: 1) those by which the derived word retains the stress in the same syllable (*compáct* > *compáctness*); 2) those by which the stress occurs in the affix (*pícture* > *pícturésque*); and 3) those by which the stress occurs in the syllable before the affix (*módern* > *modérnity*) (Bauer, 2002, pp. 112-113). In prefixation, on the other hand, there is rarely a change of the stress of the base, although there are exceptions such as *count* > *discóunt* (noun) or *chánge* > *ínterchánge* (noun) (Bauer, 2002, pp. 123-125).

⁶ Infixation is omitted because of its very low productivity.

Finally, the most crucial difference between suffixation and prefixation is that the former tends to be class-changing (that is, the grammatical category of the base does not usually coincide with that of the derivative) while the latter is usually class-maintaining (Bauer, 2002, p. 31). Examples of each are two derivatives of the noun *theory*: the suffix *-ize* changes the word class into a verb (*theorize*), while the prefix *meta-* maintains it (*metatheory*). However, there are exceptions to these tendencies: many suffixes are class-maintaining (*kingdom* < *king* + *-dom*), and a few prefixes are class-changing (*asleep* < *a-* + *sleep*).

1.3.2. Compounding

Compounding is the mechanism by which compounds are formed. Definitions of compounds tend to resemble that of Quirk et al. (1985, p. 1567): “a compound is a lexical unit consisting of more than one base and functioning both grammatically and semantically as a single word”. The concept of compounding is extraordinarily complex and presents divergences among authors; in the words of Plag (2003, p. 132), “compounding is a field of study where intricate problems abound, numerous issues remain unsolved, and convincing solutions are generally not so easy to find”.

Since this is not the place for a lengthy theoretical discussion on the concept of compounding, we will focus specifically on compounds whose bases include a proper name. In Bauer’s (2002) classification of compounds based on the grammatical category of the words involved in their formation, proper nouns are mentioned only in proper noun + noun compounds. In this group, the proper noun is the modifier, not the head⁷: examples include *Moog synthesizer*, *Mao flu* or *Markov chain*. This particular class of compound nouns with proper nouns falls into the general category of endocentric compounds, those in which the

⁷ “The vast majority of compounds in English are interpreted in such a way that the the left-hand member somehow modifies the right-hand member. [...] We can thus say that such compounds exhibit what is called a modifier-head structure” (Plag, 2003, p. 135).

compound is a hyponym of the grammatical head⁸: for example, a *Moog synthesizer* is a type of synthesizer.

Compounds formed with combining forms are also relevant to our work. These are bound morphemes which can be attached to both English bases and to other combining forms⁹. Since most of them come from classical languages, they are also called neo-classical compounds: *-graph*, *-gram*, *-logy*, etc. They can be attached to a proper noun, for instance, in *Egyptology*.

1.3.3. Blending

Bauer and Huddleston (2016, p. 1636) define blending as “the formation of a word from a sequence of two bases with reduction of one or both at the boundary between them, as in *brunch* from *breakfast* + *lunch*”. According to Plag (2003), this procedure is only apparently irregular; in fact, blending is subject to certain restrictions, among which prosodic restrictions are the most relevant. The first basic consideration is that the combination of phonic material occurs between the first part of the first base word and the second part of the second base word (Plag, 2003, p. 156). In the word *compander*, the segments *comp-* from *compressor* and *-pander* from *expander* are retained.

However, it is possible to specify more about where the bases are cut. Two factors come into play here: syllable structure¹⁰ and size. As far as syllable structure is concerned, what is fundamental in blends is that the parts of the constituents of the syllables are not truncated; instead, constituents are eliminated in their entirety (Plag, 2003, p. 157). For example, if a blend of the words *goat* + *sheep* is to be formed, it would be unacceptable to truncate the nucleus of

⁸ They are contrasted to exocentric compounds, those in which the compound is not a hyponym of the grammatical head, but of an “unexpressed semantic head” (Bauer, 2002, p. 30). For example, a *redskin* is not a type of skin.

⁹ The difference between affix and a combining form is explained in note 2.

¹⁰ The syllable structure is composed of the following constituents. First, the onset is “the opening segment of a syllable”; and second, the rhyme is the segment that comprises the nucleus, “the central segment of a syllable”, and the coda, “the closing segment of a syllable” (Crystal, 2008, p. 468). In the monosyllabic word *goat* /gout/, /g/ is the onset, and /out/ is the rhyme, which consists of the nucleus, /oʊ/, and the coda, /t/.

the rhyme of *goat* /oʊ/ into /o/: */goi:p/. The actual resulting blend is *geep* /gi:p/, where the onset of the first word (/g/) and the rhyme of the second (/i:p/) are taken. Regarding their size, blends are usually made up of the same number of syllables as the second base word: *boat* + *hotel* (*boatel*), *brunch* (*breakfast* + *lunch*).

1.4. Deonomastics

Deonomastics is the branch of onomastics which studies “words which have been formed on the basis of proper names” (Shokhenmayer, 2014, p. 84); these resulting words are usually common nouns, but they can also be adjectives and verbs. The term *deonomastics* was coined by La Stella (1984) in his work *Dizionario storico di deonomastica*. In the same decade, it entered other European languages, but it has hardly spread to the English language: the English word *deonomastics* only appears 26 times on the Internet, while *Deonomastik*, in German, appears 469 times, and *deonomastica*, in Italian, 1970 times (Shokhenmayer, 2014, pp. 83-84). Likewise, the groundbreaking study by Schweickard (1992), *Deonomastik*, refers only to the Italian, Romanian and Spanish languages.

This relative paucity of deonomastic studies in English is accompanied by a certain vagueness in the terminology used to refer to it. Essentially, there are two competing denominations for words formed from proper nouns: *deonym* and *eponym*. The first of these is extremely rare: in 2014, only 117 tokens were recorded on the Internet (Shokhenmayer, 2014, p. 84); moreover, the word is not listed in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford University Press, 2023)¹¹. The second is much more frequent, but carries a considerable ambiguity. The term *eponym* has been used in at least three senses: “(1) a lexeme derived from a personal name; (2) the name from which such a lexeme is derived; (3) the person whose name is thus used” (Lalić, 2004, p. 64). Taking the word *boycott*¹² to illustrate these meanings, we find: 1) the verb

¹¹ In the rest of this paper, we will refer to the *Oxford English Dictionary* simply as the *OED*.

¹² This example is given by Lalić (2004).

boycott would be an eponym formed from the name *Charles Boycott*; 2) the name *Boycott* would be the eponym from which the verb *boycott* arises; and 3) the person named Charles Boycott would be an eponym. From a linguistic point of view, it seems clear that the main meaning of eponym must be the first one. The problem lies in that if any “lexeme derived from a personal name” is an eponym, then words as disparate as the following are all eponyms: *boycott*, *casanova*, *pasteurize*, *salmonella*, *Benedictine*, *pyrrhic*, *Calvinism*, *daltonism* and *Clintonite*¹³.

From the perspective of this work, it is necessary to delimit this concept of eponymy, as it is too broad, and to clarify its relationship with that of deonymy. Here, following the proposals of Martín Camacho (2021), an eponym will be considered a particular type of deonym. This means that not all words formed from a proper noun are eponyms. On the one hand, in non-eponymic deonyms, the base is a proper noun whose reference is retained in the result: this is the case of *Stalinism* or *Twainian*, which necessarily refer to Stalin and Mark Twain. On the other hand, in eponyms the reference of the proper noun has ceased to be part of the meaning of the resulting word and manifests itself only as an evocation: examples of eponyms would be *morphine*, which does not mean ‘relating to Morpheus, the god of dreams’ but ‘a certain narcotic analgesic’ (*OED*); and *sadism*, which means ‘pleasure derived from causing suffering to others’ and not ‘condition of Marquis de Sade’. In eponyms, the meaning of the word can be understood without the need to know the character from whose name it derives. From these criteria, words like *boycott*, *casanova*, *pasteurize*, *salmonella*, *pyrrhic* and *daltonism* are eponyms, but *Benedictine*, *Calvinism* and *Clintonite* are not. The initial capital

¹³ All these words are taken from Lalić (2004). We say that these words are disparate for two reasons: 1) because some are formed by recategorization of a proper noun into a common noun (*boycott* and *casanova*) and others are formed by suffixation; and 2) for the semantic reasons given in the following paragraph.

letter may indeed serve as a clue as to whether the word still retains the reference to the proper noun from which it derives¹⁴.

Eponyms are not only derived from names of people (or anthroponyms), but also from names of places (or toponyms). Examples of toponymic eponyms are *badminton* and *rugby*, which correspond, respectively, to the names of the places where the game was first played. In this work, only deonyms derived from anthroponyms will be analyzed. All the concepts dealt with so far could be represented as follows:

Table 1. Deonymy, eponymy and proper nouns

Deonyms	From anthroponyms	Non-eponymic: <i>Calvinism</i>
		Eponymic: <i>daltonism</i>
	From toponyms	Non-eponymic: <i>American</i>
		Eponymic: <i>badminton</i>

¹⁴ These non-eponymic adjectival deonyms are sometimes called *proper adjectives* (Merriam-Webster, n. d.).

2. Corpus material and methodology

This section is divided into two subsections. First, the corpus used to search for words is described; and second, the method followed to conduct this study is outlined.

2.1. Corpus description

The word list that has been compiled aims to collect the deonyms formed from the names of all USA presidents, as well as to find the frequency of each of them. In other words, the objective has been to find both *types* and *tokens*¹⁵.

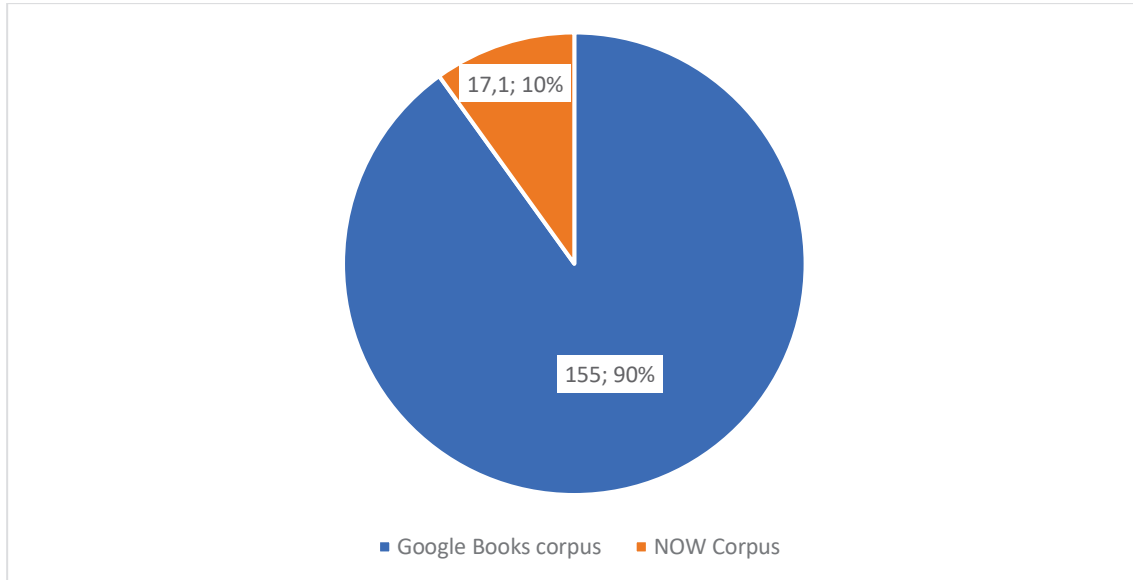
For this purpose, the following sources have been used. The main condition that had to be met was that they should cover the entire period beginning with George Washington, that is, from the last decade of the 18th century to the present day. Consequently, a source that has been considered particularly suitable for this work is the American English subcorpus on the Google Books Corpus (Davies, 2011). This source contains 155 billion tokens and spans from the 16th century to 2009, so it has been used to find all deonyms up to that year, that is to say, up to president George W. Bush. It has the advantage of its immense size, especially appropriate to finding relatively infrequent words, such as those sought in this work.

To cover the period from 2010 onwards, the NOW Corpus was used. It contains “17.1 billion words of data from web-based newspapers and magazines from 2010 to the present time” (Davies, 2016) and has been employed to find the deonyms formed from the names of Barack Obama, Donald Trump and Joe Biden. The advantage of this corpus, in turn, is that it takes texts from journalistic sources, which is undoubtedly the place where most of these deonyms are recorded.

¹⁵ According to the *OED*, a type is ‘a sign representing a category or set of instances, as opposed to the individual tokens by which the category is instantiated’. To put it simply, a type is a distinct word or expression in a language, while a token is an instance or occurrence of a type. Wetzel (2018) exemplifies this distinction with the following lines from a poem by Gertrude Stein: “Rose is a rose is a rose is a rose”. In this sequence, there are 10 tokens or occurrences of words, but only 3 types or distinct words (*rose*, *is* and *a*).

Adding the two corpora used as sources gives a total of 172.1 billion tokens. Shown in a graph, the proportion would be as in Figure 1:

Figure 1. Representation of the two corpora used as sources (in billions of tokens)



2.2. Methodology

This methodology section is divided into two subsections. First, the steps taken to collect the words to be studied are described; subsequently, the method of analysis followed to examine these words is detailed.

2.2.1. Method of word search

In order to extract deonyms from these two sources, the wildcard function in the software was used. For each president, his name followed by an asterisk (*) has been inserted in the search bar. This makes it possible to look for words beginning with the president's name; for example, when searching *Cleveland**, the results are *Clevelandesque*, *Clevelandism* and *Clevelandite*. For words in which the formative element is attached to the left of the base, the asterisk has been inserted at that side. However, not all deonyms are formed by one single word. To find some of the two-word or three-word deonyms, dictionaries such as the *OED* and *Wiktionary* (Wikipedia contributors, 2023) were used; these deonyms were then searched in the corpora.

The main problem encountered during the search for deonyms is homonymy. There are certain words in the corpora whose form coincides with that of a different word. For example, the deonym *Washingtonian* relates not only to George Washington, but also to the city of Washington and to a certain American temperance society founded in 1840 (*OED*). In these cases, it has not been possible to disambiguate homonyms and filter out tokens for two reasons. First, because the Google Books corpus does not allow to read the texts from which the tokens are taken; and second, because even if it were possible to read each concordance, it would not be feasible to disambiguate types like *Jacksonian*, which total 130 175 tokens. Consequently, in these cases tokens have not been collected. For each of these deonyms, a footnote has been added explaining the word with which it shares its form.

On the other hand, there are several deonyms that are homonyms with each other. This is the case of presidents who share their surname, such as Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and George H. W. Bush and George W. Bush. For these cases, we have chosen to attribute the tokens prior to the beginning of the second president's term to the first one. This way, tokens of *Bushian* until 2000 were assigned to the first Bush, and the rest to the second.

Our list of compiled words is presented in the appendix. The types are grouped according to the president whose name served as the morphological base. Within each group, the types are presented in alphabetical order; two-word and three-word types are placed last. Next to each of them, the number of tokens for each type is given.

2.2.2. Method of analysis

In this section, we describe the steps that will be taken in section 3 to analyze the list of words. First of all, this work assumes that the deonyms to be analyzed should be organized according to the elements involved in their formation, and not according to the names that have served as

the base for their formation. This way, words formed from the name of John F. Kennedy (*anti-Kennedy*, *Kennedyesque*, *Kennedyism*, *Kennedyite* and *pro-Kennedy*) will not be examined as a whole, but rather each of them will be studied in its respective group of formative elements; words like *Kennedyite* will be considered as a deonym composed by the suffix *-ite* (together with others like *Washingtonite* or *Clintonite*), and not as a deonym formed from the name of Kennedy. We believe that only by proceeding in this way can conclusions relevant to word-formation be drawn from the deonyms as a whole.

Thus, once all the tokens were collected, they were classified into four major categories, depending on the word-formation mechanism involved: suffixation, prefixation, compounding and blending. Thereafter, the necessary subclassifications were made until the individual element involved in the formation of the words was reached; for example, the suffixes *-esque* or *-ism*.

Finally, the analysis of the collected deonyms (grouped according to their formative elements) is conducted by dividing it into two parts: the first one proposes a quantitative and diachronic study; and the second one, a semantic study.

2.2.2.1. *Quantitative and diachronic study*

For quantitative purposes, both the American Google Books corpus and the NOW corpus have been used. They have been employed to measure the absolute number of tokens for each type searched, and will also be used for relative comparisons, but without explicit diachronic data¹⁶. Additionally, they have served to find the relative productivity of each base (that is, of each president's name). In this sense, the number of words that have been formed from the name of each president will be investigated, as well as the frequency of those words¹⁷.

¹⁶ For instance, it has served to find an absolute number of tokens of the type *Lincolnesque*. This number can, in turn, be compared with other types with the same suffix: *Trumanesque*, *Reaganesque*, etc.

¹⁷ For example, it will be observed that Lincoln's name has been more productive than that of any other president before him.

In addition, for the diachronic study, the American English version of Google Ngram (Google, 2019) will be utilized. Google Ngram is “a search engine that charts word frequencies from a large corpus of books that were printed between 1500 and 2008. The tool generates charts by dividing the number of a word’s yearly appearances by the total number of words in the corpus in that year” (Younes and Reips, 2019). These charts offer a chronological perspective of the data in the Mark Davies corpus (Davies, 2011) that will be exploited here to investigate the changing productivity of both the formative elements¹⁸ and the presidents’ names¹⁹.

2.2.2.2. *Semantic study*

The semantic study seeks to determine the meanings that each formative element contributes to its derivatives. Where relevant, words formed with similar formative elements will be compared to find out what relation they bear. For example, the semantic relations between suffixes such as *-esque*, *-ian* and *-ite* will be investigated. The aim is to determine whether words such as *Lincolnesque*, *Lincolnian* and *Lincolnite*, or *Nixonesque*, *Nixonian* and *Nixonite*, are contrasted, complementary distributed, synonymous, have more than one meaning (some of which diverge and some of which converge), etc.

For this purpose, the following sources have been used. First of all, it is not possible to carry out the semantic study using the Google Books corpus, since this source does not allow to read the concordances for which it provides numerical data. Thus, to cover the period prior to 2010, different sources have been used at some point: for the most frequent deonyms, the Corpus of Historical American English (Davies, 2010) and the Corpus of Contemporary American English (Davies, 2008) have been utilized; for the less common ones, the Chronicling

¹⁸ Research will be conducted to determine the period in which *-esque* began to be attached to the names of presidents, when it has been most productive, etc.

¹⁹ Following the same examples above, it has served to establish a diachronic dimension to the purely quantitative data of the tokens of the type *Lincolnesque*. It is not only relevant how many times the suffix *-esque* has been added to *Lincoln*, but when it has been added (for instance, before, during or after his rule).

America newspapers library (Library of Congress, 2007), the Elephind newspapers library (Veridian, n. d.) or Google Books (Google, 2023) have been employed. For deonyms appearing after 2010, the NOW Corpus was exploited.

In addition, the *OED* and *Wiktionary* have been consulted as support material.

3. Analysis

From our corpus of 172.1 billion tokens (described in section 2.1.), a total of 247 types and 754 722 tokens of words formed from the names of American presidents have been collected. Prior to the quantitative-diachronic and semantic study of the recorded words, a classification of the deonyms is proposed according to the mechanisms of word-formation.

The first group is composed of words formed by suffixation (*Trumpite*); these are a total of 127 types and 265 258 tokens. The second group is represented by the words formed by prefixation (*anti-Trump*); they are 48 types and 58 501 tokens. The third group is made up of words formed by compounding (*Trumpology*); these are 48 types and 360 629 tokens. Finally, the fourth group is integrated by words formed by blending (*Trumponomics*): they are 24 types and 70 334 tokens.

These data are presented in the form of two graphs. Figure 2 represents the types, while Figure 3 displays the tokens found.

Figure 2. Types distributed according to the mechanism of word-formation

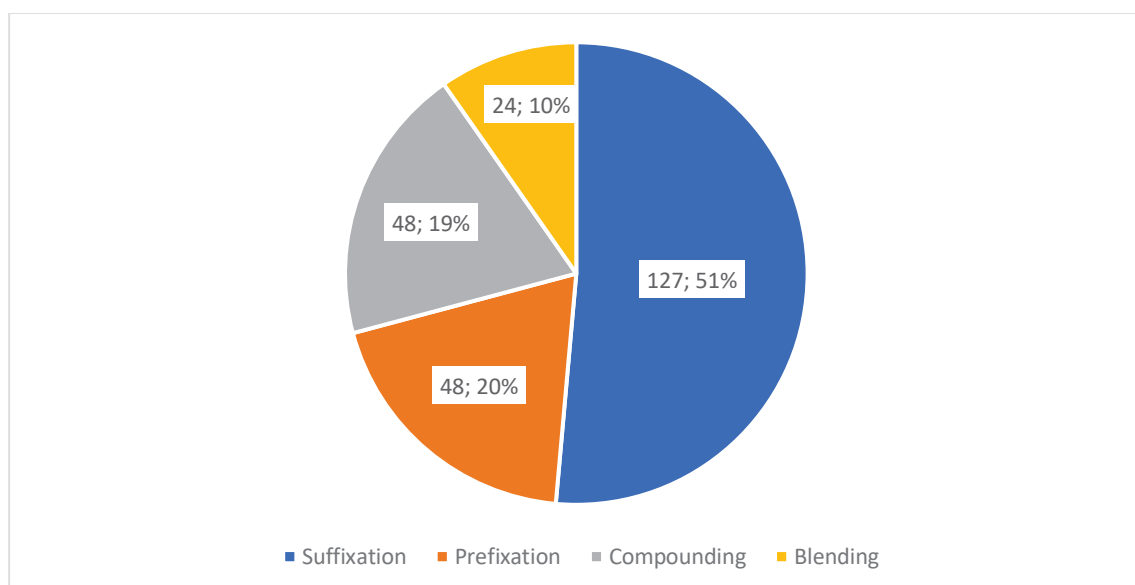
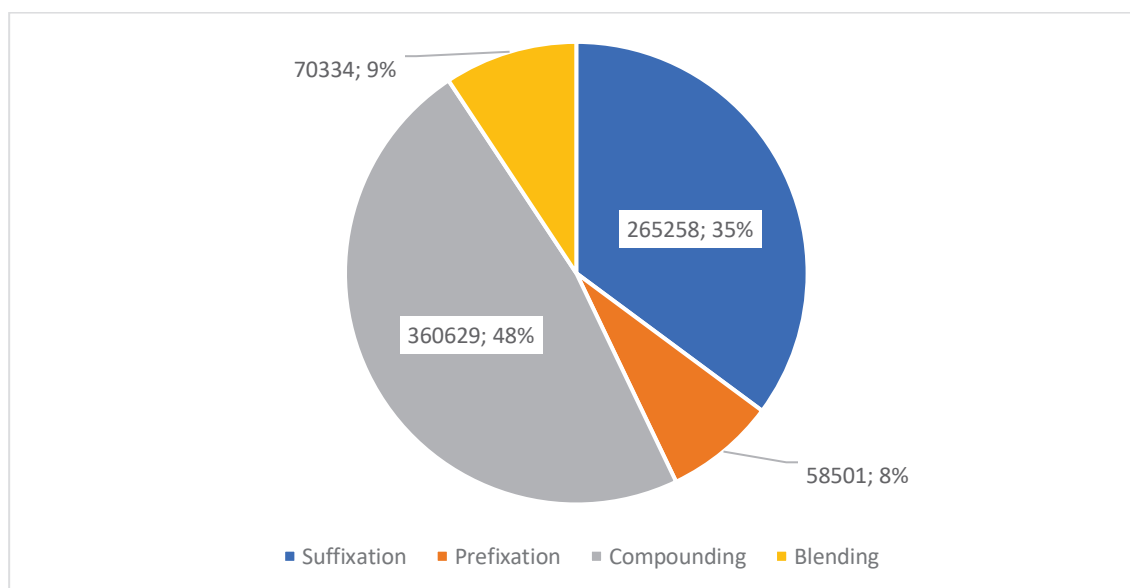


Figure 3. Tokens distributed according to the mechanism of word-formation



It must be noted that the token count (Figure 3) is influenced by the enormous frequency of one of the types, *Monroe Doctrine*, which totals 238 438 tokens, 31.6% of the total number of tokens collected. Thus, if this type is excluded from the token count, the result is as follows:

Figure 4. Tokens excluding the Monroe Doctrine type

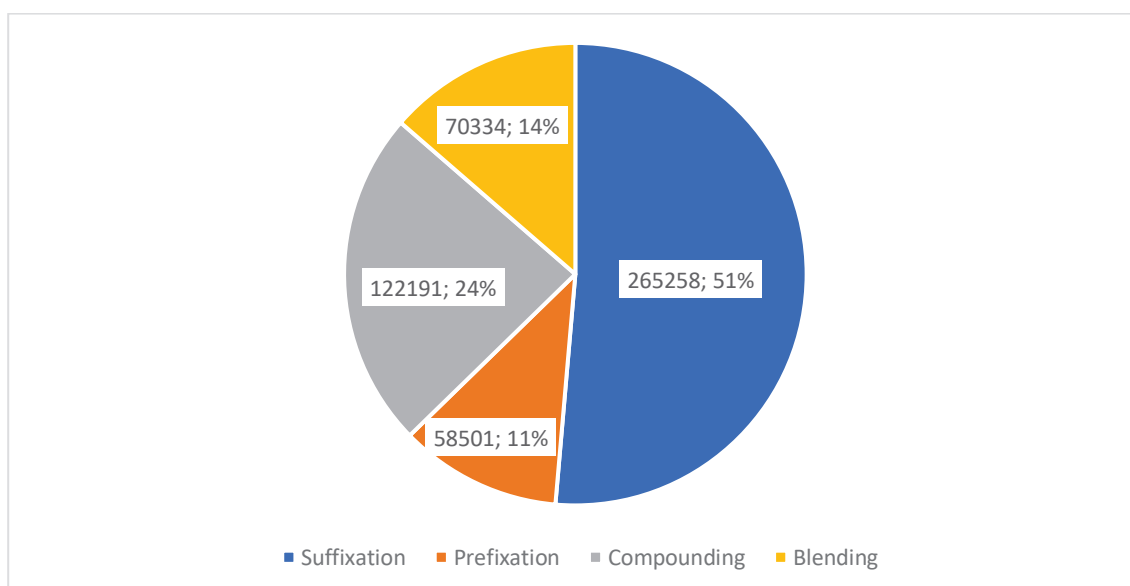


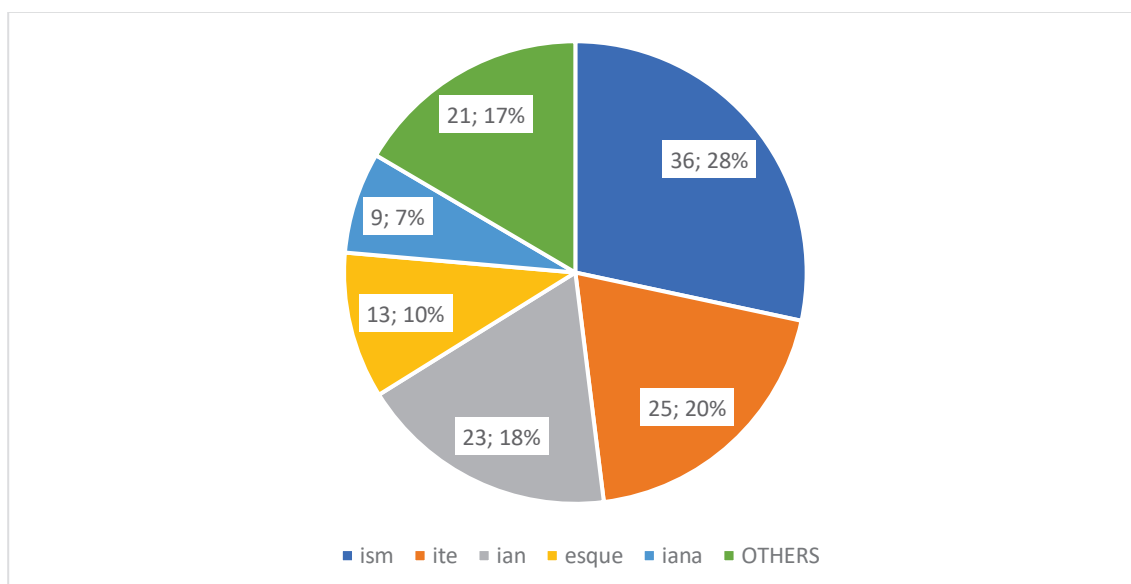
Figure 2 and Figure 4 clearly show that suffixation is the most common word-formation mechanism in our material. Given this preponderance, only the deonyms in our list formed by

suffixation will be analyzed in the body of the paper. The rest, that is, those formed by prefixation, compounding or blending, are represented in the appendix.

The group of words formed by suffixation contains 127 types and 265 258 tokens. A subclassification of the words according to the suffixes that form them is proposed below.

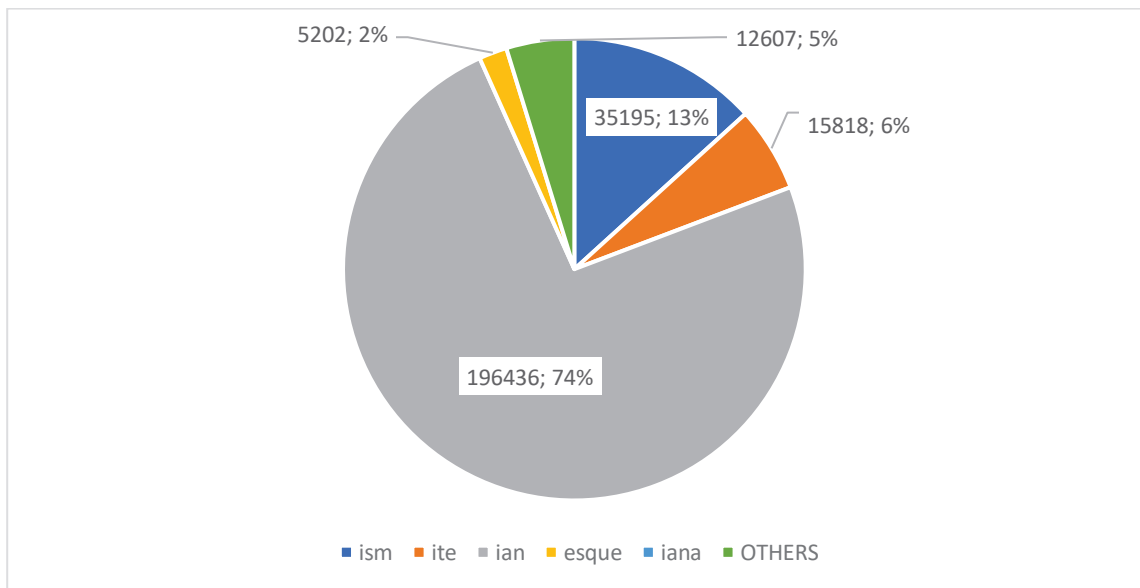
Our wordlist shows that the most productive suffixes in the formation of deonyms from names of American presidents are *-esque*, *-ian*, *-iana*, *-ism* and *-ite*. Figure 5 shows the number of types formed by each of these suffixes.

Figure 5. Types formed by each suffix



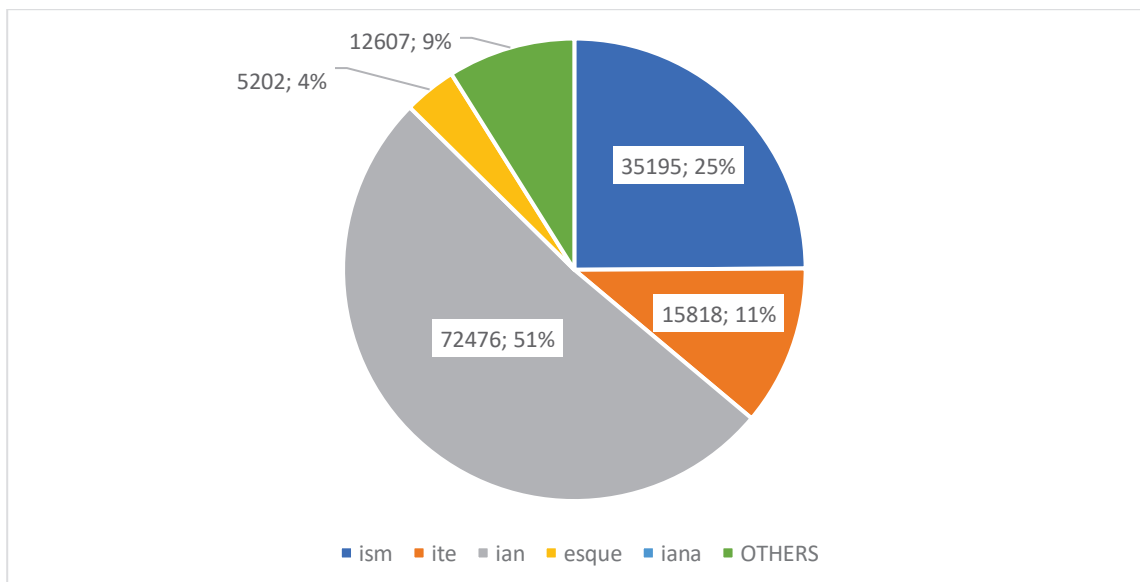
106 of the 127 types formed by suffixation (83.64%) are composed of one of these five suffixes. Conversely, Figure 6 represents the tokens of each of the groups of words containing the same suffix.

Figure 6. Tokens formed by each suffix



Tokens with *-iana* are not collected because almost all types ending with that suffix are homonymous with taxonomic terms for species. In Figure 6, the type that most conditions the graph is *Jeffersonian*, which, with 123 960 tokens, constitutes 46.73% of the total tokens of words formed by suffixation. Thus, Figure 7 is provided excluding tokens of *Jeffersonian*.

Figure 7. Tokens formed by each suffix excluding the Jeffersonian type



The following two conclusions can be drawn from these data: 1) *-ism* is the suffix that forms the highest number of individual words or types from the names of American presidents (36);

and 2) *-ian* is the suffix that forms the words with the greatest number of occurrences or tokens; this is to say that, although *-ian* forms fewer types than *-ism* (23 vs 36), the tokens corresponding to types with *-ian* are the most numerous among all suffixes: 74% of the total tokens of types formed by suffixation, or 51% excluding *Jeffersonian* (see Figures 6 and 7).

Before analyzing each of the five most productive suffixes (*-ism*, *-ite*, *-ian*, *-esque* and *-iana*), they will be grouped according to the grammatical category to which the new formation belongs. At first glance, it would seem that they can be divided into adjectival and nominal, being *-ism* and *-iana* nominal, and *-ite*, *-ian* and *-esque* adjectival. However, there are certain suffixes that “yield items that can be used both as nouns and as (...) adjectives. The formations basically relate to human beings chiefly as members of a group” (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1552). In our corpus, these noun/adjective suffixes are *-ian* and *-ite*. Therefore, the result of the classification is as follows.

- a) adjectival suffixation: *-esque*
- b) noun-adjective suffixation: *-ian* and *-ite*
- c) nominal suffixation: *-ism* and *-iana*
- d) other words formed by suffixation

3.1. Adjectival suffixation: *-esque*

The suffix *-esque* has the particularity of being only productively added to proper nouns, and not to common nouns, in Present-day English (Schlücker and Ackermann, 2017). Plag (2003) offers *picturesque* as an example of *-esque* being added to a common noun, but this cannot be considered a proof of contemporary productivity since the word was formed in the early 18th century (*OED*). In phonetic and semantic terms, it is characterized, on the one hand, by bearing the accent of the derivative (*Dickenésque*) and by its preference for polysyllabic bases; on the

other hand, its meaning can be paraphrased as ‘having the manner or style characteristic of the person in the base’, with possible derogatory connotations (Bauer, 2002, pp. 267-268).

The suffix *-esque* forms 13 types which appear in 5202 tokens. Two graphs are given below. Figure 8 shows the distribution of the collected deonyms. Figure 9 gives a selection of 9 deonyms with *-esque* in a diachronic perspective, from 1875 to 2019.

Figure 8. Distribution of deonyms with *-esque*

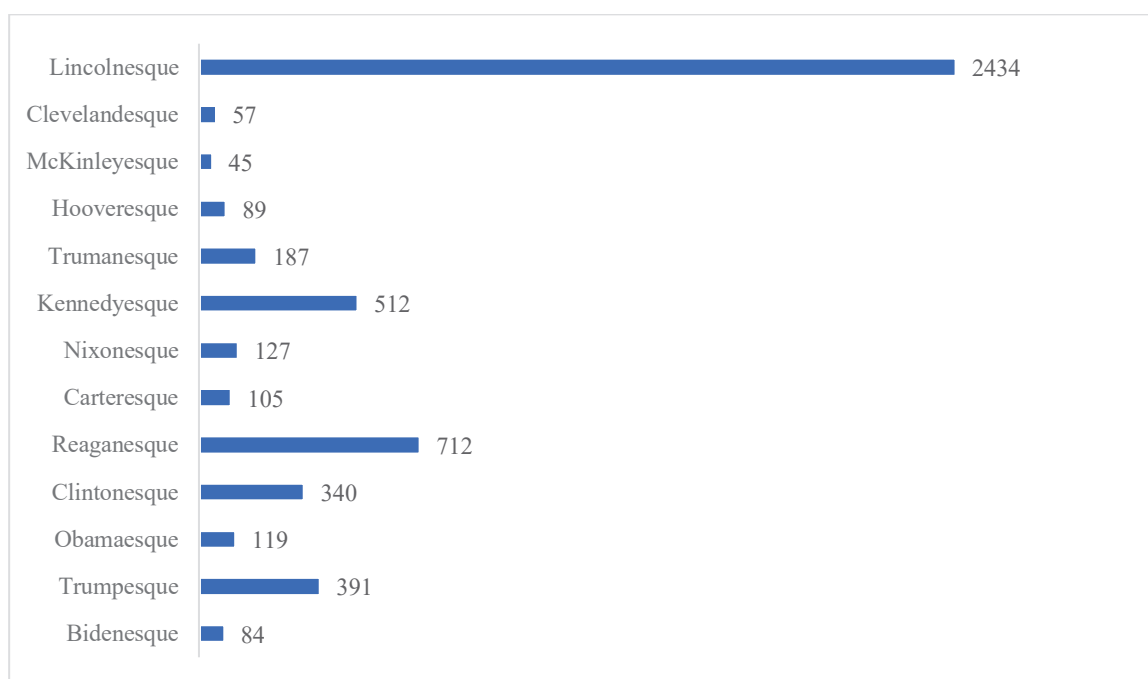
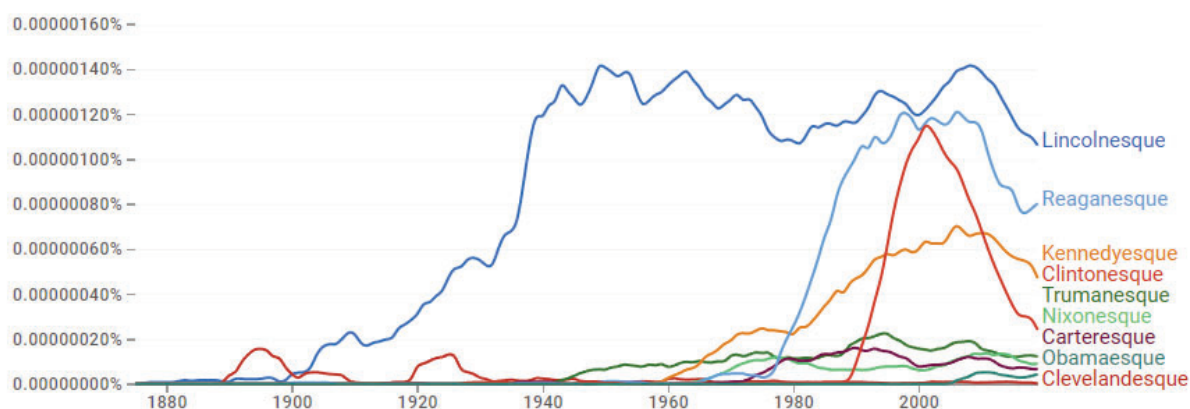


Figure 9. Deonyms with *-esque* from a diachronic perspective



The following conclusions about the productivity of *-esque* can be drawn from the two graphs above. First, the most frequent type is, by far, *Lincolnesque*; its number of tokens exceeds that

of all other presidents added together. However, it is never recorded during the Lincoln's administration (1861-1865). The first president for whom instances of the addition of the suffix *-esque* have been found is Grover Cleveland; these begin to appear, besides, during his time in office. Thereafter, it spreads to other presidents, such as Lincoln himself. However, these deonyms, although they occur in many of the 20th century presidents, have a relatively small number of tokens. It is not until after World War II that the suffix begins to be added in considerable numbers, especially in *Reaganesque*, *Kennedyesque* and *Trumpesque*.

As regards semantics, three different modulations of the meaning of derivatives with *-esque* have been identified.

First, the most frequent meaning is 'resembling the character in the base'; for this, the paradigmatic case is *Lincolnesque*. If we study the collocations of this word, we find 163 with *figure*, 71 with *face* and 69 with *man*. See examples (1) and (2) below:

- (1) He was a **Lincolnesque** figure six feet tall, of swarthy complexion, and with those rough, hewn features which seem to testify to reflectiveness, sincerity, and great endurance (Pixto, J., *The Marietta and Cincinnati Railroad, 1845-1883*, p. 4, Google Books)
- (2) Karr, 62, is a wiry, energetic man with a craggy **Lincolnesque** face, a resemblance emphasized by his **Lincolnesque** beard (*Texas Monthly*, 06/1986, p. 201, Google Books).

Lincolnesque, in these cases, does not refer to Lincoln, but to certain features of Lincoln perceived in another person; these features are mostly physical. Other types of features are expressed in *Trumanesque* or *Kennedyesque*. In their *OED* definitions, there is a semantic note describing the traits of that which is predicated as *Trumanesque* 'resembling Truman or his policies, esp. in being energetic, candid, or single-minded' and *Kennedyesque* 'resembling Kennedy in being youthful, handsome, and charismatic'. In these cases, together with physical traits (*youthful*, *handsome*) other psychological or behavioral traits (*energetic*, *charismatic*, etc.) are mixed in. In short, in this particular meaning of *-esque*, there is a loss of the reference

to the president in favor of a meaning that selects the most characteristic features of the character.

In a second meaning, very close to the first, the derivative with *-esque* refers more directly to the president whose name is taken as a base. This meaning could be paraphrased as ‘characteristic of the character of the base’, as shown in (3).

- (3) Mr. Cleveland feels that he would be a failure did he not maintain that lofty superiority to all the remainder of humanity. (...) This supreme egoism is thoroughly **Clevelandesque**, and has been approached in only one other instance within the past twenty years (*The Indianapolis journal*, 03/16/1886, Chronicling America).

It would not be accurate to interpret that *Clevelandesque*, in contexts like (3), means ‘resembling Cleveland’, but rather ‘characteristic of Cleveland’, since Cleveland himself is being referred to and not someone else.

A third meaning of *-esque*, much less frequent than the first and the second, corresponds to cases in which it takes on the sense of a relational adjective, ‘relative to the character in the base’. See example (4).

- (4) Mrs. Reagan is a member of a startlingly tight-knit social group in which she and her husband function almost exclusively. They party together, dine together, vacation together, and most importantly, they have all shared charter memberships in building the foundation of **Reaganesque** politics (*The Desert Sun*, p. 1, 11/13/1980, California Digital Newspaper Collection).

In example (4), *Reaganesque* politics cannot be interpreted to denote ‘policies that resemble Reagan’, or even ‘characteristic of Reagan’, but rather the ‘politics of Reagan’. Ultimately, in this third meaning *-esque* retains the direct reference to the character of the base.

On another note, although in some cases negative connotations can be perceived, we do not believe that these are inherent to words derived with *-esque*.

3.2. Noun-adjective suffixation: *-ian* and *-ite*

Due to the close relations between *-ian* and *-ite*, these suffixes will be studied together. Quirk et al. (1985, p. 1552) claim that they can take the same bases; taking *Darwin* as the base, *Darwinian* would be “more neutral and would lend itself in consequence to use more readily as a gradable adjective (‘Isn’t that approach rather *Darwinian*?’)” and can refer to Darwin himself: *Darwinian evolution*. On the other hand, *Darwinite* “tends to be disparaging and would be used chiefly by those who are not themselves adherents” and cannot refer to Darwin himself: **Darwinite evolution*. As for Bauer (2002), he holds that *-ian* is the suffix that creates more adjectives from proper names; nonetheless, in our corpus we have found more types with *-ite* than with *-ian*. Unlike Quirk et al. (1985), he recognizes that *-ite* does not always present negative connotations.

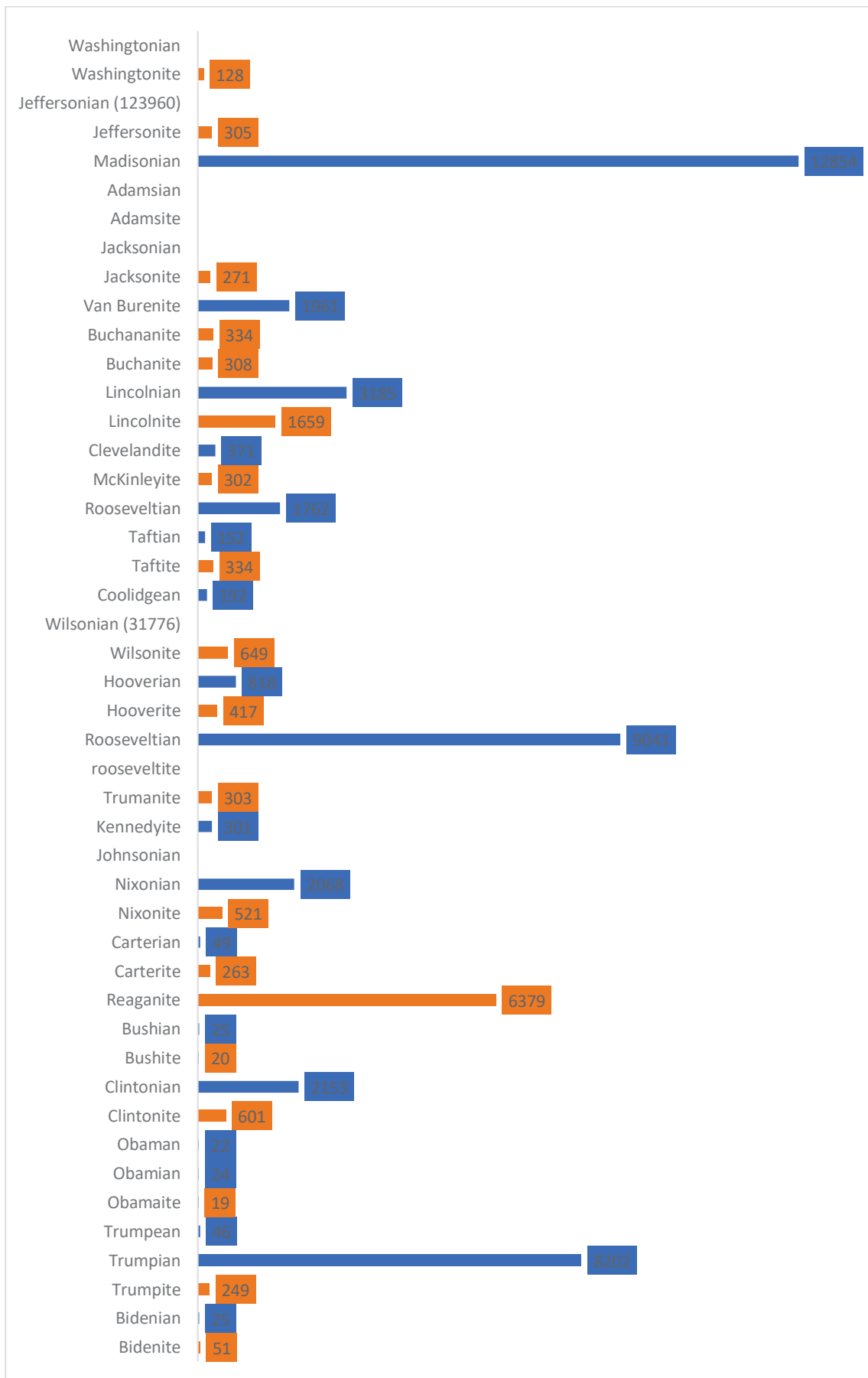
In terms of the particular characteristics of each suffix, the following can be mentioned. On the one hand, *-ian* is, etymologically, a variant of the originally Latin suffix *-an*, which also has *-ean* as an alternative form (*OED*). This is why we include words like *Obaman* or *Trumpean* in this section, along with *Obamian* or *Trumpian*. Like *-esque*, *-ian* has a notable preference for bases that are proper names in Present-day English; the difference is that, in addition to being added to anthroponyms, it is very frequently added to toponyms (Plag, 2003). In this sense, *Washingtonian* is a suitable example, as the suffix *-ian* has been added to both the anthroponym of the president and the toponym of the USA capital city. From a phonetic perspective, taking Bauer’s (2002) classification, it belongs to the class of suffixes that form derivatives whose stress is located on the syllable preceding the suffix: *Wáshington* > *Washingtónian*.

On the other hand, *-ite*, like *-ian*, adheres to both anthroponomic (*Thatcherite*) and toponymic (*Israelite*) bases (Bauer and Huddleston, 2016, p. 1693). Phonetically, however, it differs in that the stress of the derivative falls on the suffix, not on the syllable preceding it: *Nixónian* vs *Nixoníte*.

Our wordlist shows that *-ian* forms 23 types distributed over 196 436 tokens. Deonyms with *-ite*, in turn, total 25 types and 15 818 tokens. This means, on the one hand, that the number of types with *-ite* in our list is greater than the number of types with *-ian*. Nevertheless, tokens with *-ian* are substantially higher than those with *-ite*, although these data are conditioned by the large frequency of *Jeffersonian* (see Figures 6 and 7).

Below, in Figure 10, all the types and tokens of words formed with *-ian* and *-ite* are shown. Words with *-ian* are depicted in blue, while those with *-ite* are colored in orange.

Figure 10. Distribution of deonyms with -ian and -ite



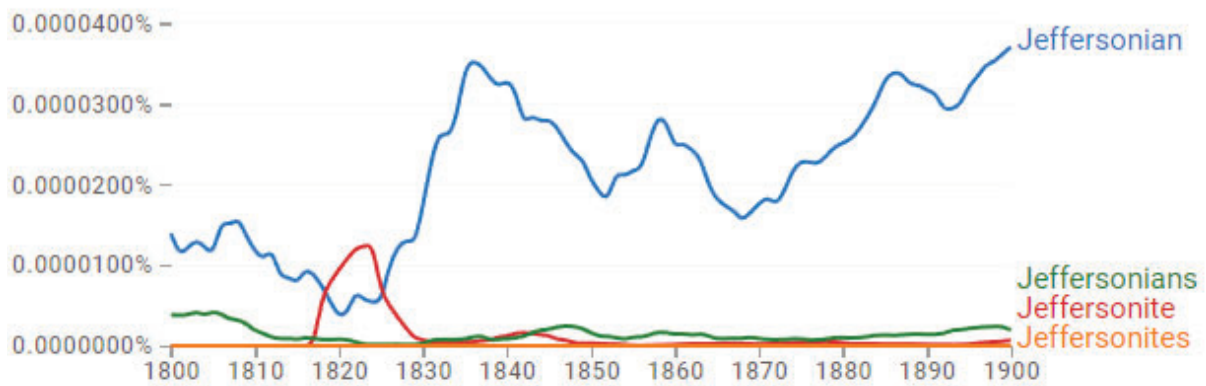
In order not to distort the graph, the proportion of *Jeffersonian* and *Wilsonian* tokens have not been represented, which are, respectively, 123 960 and 31 776. These numbers are considerably higher than the rest.

Some conclusions can be drawn from Figure 10. First, there are seven bases which take *-ite* but not *-ian*: *Van Burenite*; *Buchananite*, *Buchanite*; *Clevelandite*; *McKinleyite*; *Trumanite*; *Kennedyite* and *Reaganite*. On the contrary, there are only four bases which take *-ian* but not *-ite*: *Madisonian*, *Rooseveltian*, *Coolidgean* and *Johnsonian*. From these data, we infer that there is no underlying phonetic rule for the distribution of the suffixes: for example, words that are phonetically equivalent in their last syllable such as *Truman* and *Madison* take opposite suffixes: *Trumanite* and *Madisonian*.

Second, if we compare the number of tokens of deonyms which take the same bases, we find that the number of *-ian* tokens are almost always greater than that of the *-ite* ones. The only exceptions to this rule are *Taftite*, *Carterite* and *Bidenite*, words that are more frequent than their *-ian* counterparts.

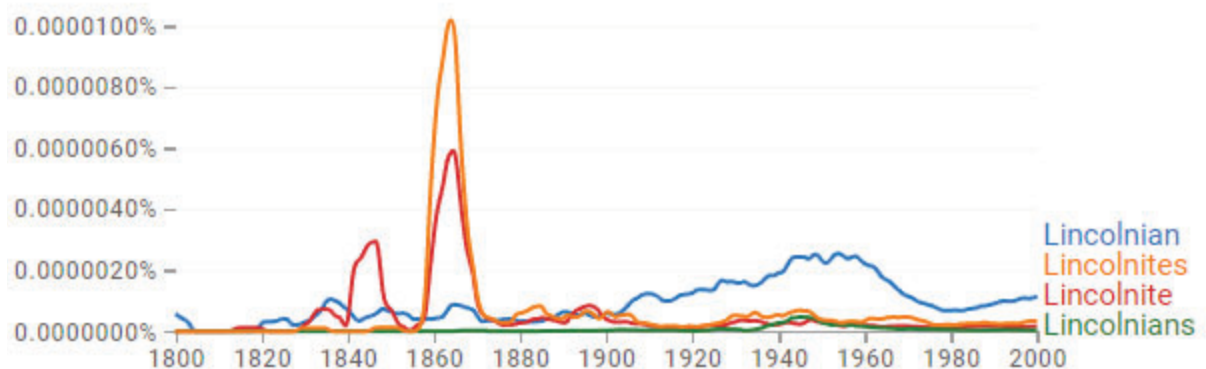
Third, it is very relevant to study the diachronic expansion of these suffixes. For this matter, we will use Ngram graphs and we will take as data the deonyms formed from two presidents who are known to have had influence beyond their death: Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln. We show *Jeffersonian* and *Lincolnian* in comparison with *Jeffersonite* and *Lincolnite* in Figures 11 and 12; we are forced to split the two deonyms into their plurals.

Figure 11. Jeffersonian and Jeffersonite from a diachronic perspective



This first graph (Figure 11) shows that the suffix *-ite* and the suffix *-ian* compete during Jefferson’s life and government; in the 1820s period, *-ite* even surpasses *-ian* in frequency. However, in the long run, the suffix that consolidates is *-ian*, while *-ite* disappears.

Figure 12. Lincolnian and Lincolnite from a diachronic perspective



The same tendency, but in a much more accentuated way, is observed in the case of Lincoln’s deonyms (Figure 12). During the life and government of this politician, *Lincolnite* is the most frequent word by large; however, in the decades after Lincoln’s death, it is *Lincolnian* the one that consolidates.

We believe that we can extrapolate the data from the deonyms of Jefferson and Lincoln to the rest of the presidents. The conclusion that we reach is that *-ite* is a much more ephemeral suffix, limited to the period of the politician’s activity, while *-ian* is the one that is perpetuated

in the years after the president's life. Later, we will offer a semantic hypothesis to explain this fact.

We will now examine the meaning of the derivatives with these suffixes. In order to conduct a comparative semantic study between *-ian* and *-ite*, we will analyze deonyms formed from the same morphological base. We have decided to use the deonyms formed from Trump's name: *Trumpian* and *Trumpite*.

First, the *Trumpian* type presents 8202 tokens. The following meanings of the word have been identified; these meanings are closely related to the grammatical category to which they belong.

On the one hand, all the plural cases (214) can be assigned to the noun category. On the other hand, the number of tokens of the singular cases (8048) need to be disambiguated. For this purpose, the NOW Corpus has been used the following way: we have entered the regular expressions *Trumpian_j*, which searches for adjective tokens, and *Trumpian_n*, which searches for nominal tokens. The result is as follows: of the 8202 tokens, 7901 belong to the adjective class, 96.33%, while 355 are nouns, 3.67%. Thus, the number of adjective tokens is overwhelmingly higher than the number of nominal tokens.

The main meaning of *-ian* as an adjective is the relational sense, 'relative to the character in the base', as in example (5).

- (5) If we find that we wake up tomorrow and Trump is no longer the president, we are going to be recovering and trying to heal from the **Trumpian** years, I suspect for many, many decades (*The Real News*, 10/10/2019, NOW Corpus).

In these cases, the token can simply be paraphrased as 'the years of Trump'. But there are many other cases in which *-ian* takes on a less referential sense and more akin to the main meaning of *-esque*: 'resembling the character in the base', as in (6):

- (6) As played by Streep, Orlean is buffoonishly **Trumpian**: coarse, dumb, and obsessed with getting reelected (*Boston Globe*, 7/12/2021, NOW Corpus).

The other meaning of *-esque*, ‘characteristic of the character in the base’, also occurs in adjectival *-ian*, as in (7):

- (7) Asked what he was most thankful for on this Thanksgiving Day (...), Mr. Trump delivered a singularly **Trumpian** answer. “I made a tremendous difference in our country,” he said, citing himself (*Straits Times*, 18/11/2023, NOW Corpus).

If the three above are the meanings that can be attributed to adjectives with *-ian*, on the other hand, the few nouns with *-ian* present a different denotation. It can be paraphrased as ‘follower of the character in the base’. See (8):

- (8) [Poilievre] was cavorting with the Freedom Convoy in Ottawa – “Truckers, not Trudeau”, “I’m proud of the truckers and I stand with them”. He didn’t mind that many of them were **Trumpians** waving MAGA flags, cursing their own prime minister (*The Star*, 22/03/2019, NOW Corpus).

Second, the semantics of *Trumpite* will be studied, also starting from the NOW Corpus. We will proceed in an equivalent manner as we did with *Trumpian*.

The type *Trumpite* totals 249 tokens, of which the 152 plurals can be considered nouns. Inserting *Trumpite_j* and *Trumpite_n* in the NOW corpus, we obtain that 57 tokens are adjectives and 40 are nouns. In total, then, 192 tokens, 77%, are nouns, while 57 tokens, 23%, are adjectives. This preference for the noun word class is the first data that differs from the *-ian* words, which are mainly adjectives. Since in most cases words with *-ite* are nouns, this suffix has the primary meaning of ‘supporter or follower’, as illustrated in (9) below:

- (9) Throughout America, right-wing **Trumpites** and left-wing resisters are treating midterm races like calamitous fronts in a civil war that must be won at all costs (*The Atlantic*, 20/02/2009, NOW Corpus).

This sense is still retained in some cases, such as (10), when *-ite* deonyms behave as adjectives:

- (10) As I mentioned earlier, perhaps the most striking thing about this transcript is not the criminal conduct. (...) It is that he still believes he can remain President and that enough threats or gifts can make that a reality. This is a private call, not playing to the **Trumpite** masses to build a post-presidential grievance movement (*Api*, 01/11/2021, NOW Corpus).

This extract may be paraphrased as the ‘masses who follow Trump’. However, in other cases, as in (11), it adopts a purely relational sense:

- (11) You've manoeuvred liberals so that, instead of voicing aspirations for change, they've identified themselves with a hated business-as-usual. The **Trumpite** slogan “Make America Great Again” offers the perfect real-world example. (*The Guardian*, 16/12/2019, NOW Corpus).

In (11), *Trumpite* is used merely in a genitive sense: ‘Trump’s slogan’.

In sum, taking Trump’s last name as a base, *-ian* and *-ite* are found to be very close suffixes; while the former tends to form adjectives with mainly relational meanings, the latter usually forms nouns meaning ‘follower or supporter of’. However, both suffixes occasionally adopt the grammatical category and the meaning of the other.

These findings about the semantics of these suffixes may explain why *-ite* tends to appear more often during the politician’s rule, while *-ian* appears after his death. Since *-ite* derivatives more frequently denote supporters of the president, it is natural that these words appear during his administration, given that his supporters follow the politician preferentially during his period of activity. Adjectival derivatives with *-ian*, on the other hand, merely refer to the president or some of his characteristics, so they can appear at any point in time.

3.3. Nominal suffixation: *-ism* and *-iana*

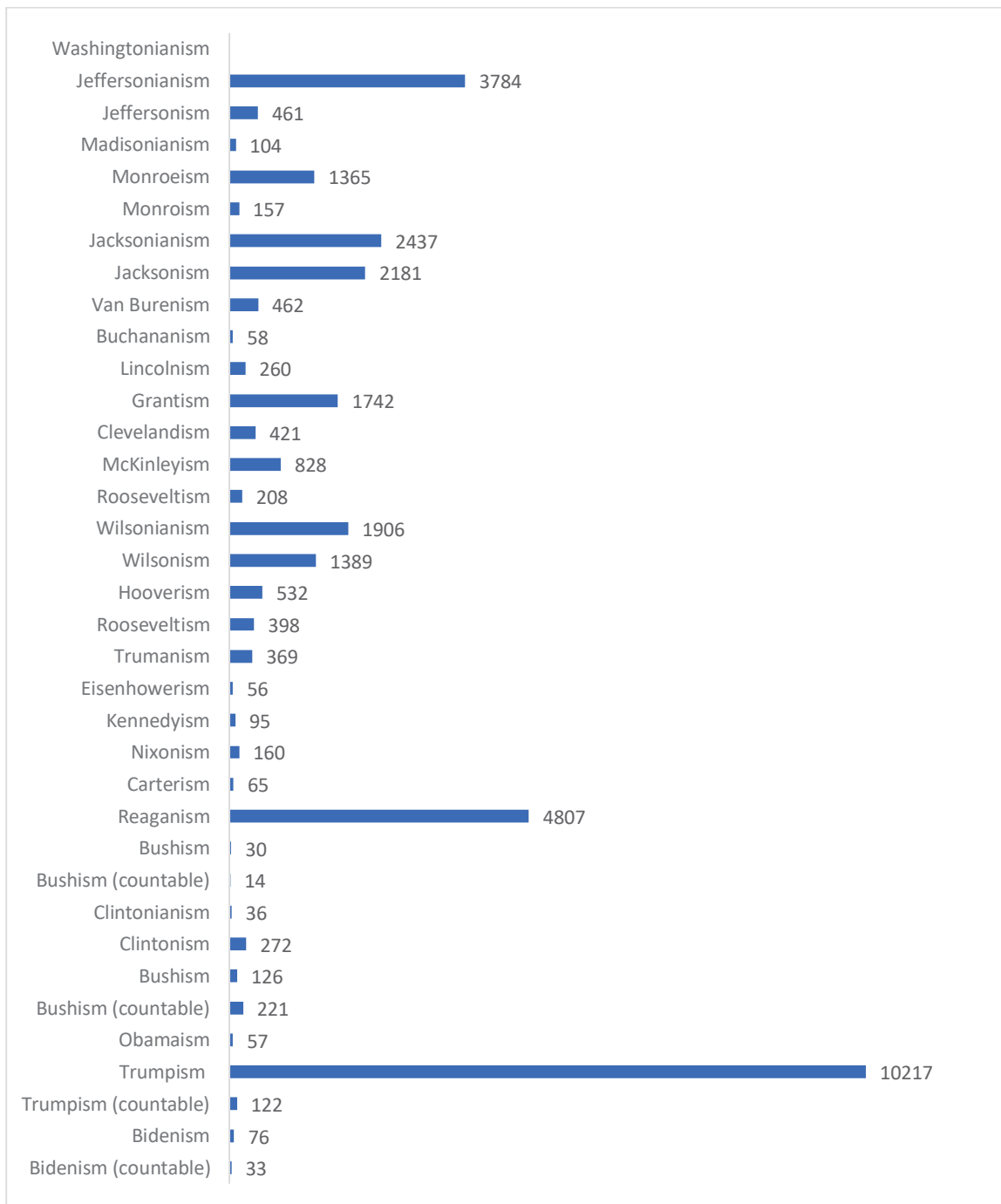
Both the suffix *-ism* and the suffix *-iana* form words whose grammatical category is always nominal. However, unlike *-ian* and *-ite*, these suffixes do not form semantically related words, so they will be studied separately.

3.3.1. *-ism*

There are three different semantic groups of words derived with the suffix *-ism*, the most relevant for this work being the meaning that denotes “a broad range of philosophical, religious, or *political* beliefs” (Bauer and Huddleston, 2016, p. 1702). These authors also argue that there is a strong connection between words in *-ism* and words in *-ist* (*capitalism, capitalist, federalism, federalist*, etc.). Such correspondence, however, does not occur in our material; in fact, only two words with *-ist* have been collected: *Reaganist* and *Trumpist*. Words derived from proper nouns have their own distinct suffixes for the function that *-ist* plays in derivatives from common nouns: *-ian* and *-ite*. On another note, Bauer and Huddleston (2016) claim that there may be a derogatory tone in words with *-ism*. In terms of the phonetic characteristics of *-ism* derivatives, Bauer (2002, p. 120) points out that “the stress on a derivative ending in the suffix *-ism* is on the same syllable as in the unaffixed base”, like in *Réagan* and *Réaganism*.

Derivatives with *-ism* in our list total 36 types and 35 195 tokens. This makes *-ism* the suffix that creates most types from anthroponyms of American presidents; however, in terms of tokens, *-ian* derivatives are much more numerous (see Figures 5, 6 and 7).

Figure 13. Distribution of deonyms with -ism



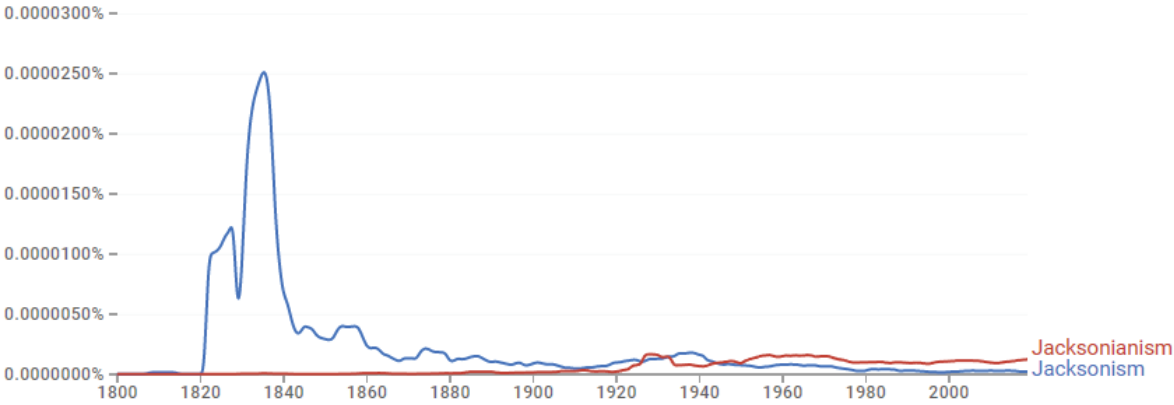
In purely quantitative terms, what is most noticeable is that the presidents whose deonyms with *-ism* have the highest number of occurrences are those of the 19th century. In the 20th century, suffixation of *-ism* still occurs, but the tokens are much less numerous, possibly because the 20th century presidents have not been as transcendental as the 19th century ones. The

exceptions to this rule are *Reaganism* and *Trumpism*, which may demonstrate that these are the most influential presidents in recent American history.

However, beyond the numeric data, what interests us most is the correspondence between *-ism* and the adjectival deonyms formed from the same bases. This link has been found to be remarkably close: there are only two bases that form words with *-ism* but not adjectives: *Monroeism* and *Eisenhowerism*, but not **Monroeian* or **Eisenhowerian*. Similarly, only two bases form adjectives but not *-ism* deonyms: *Taftite*, *Taftian* and *Johnsonian*, but not **Taftism* or **Johnsonism*. We believe that these mismatches are only exceptions; the words that do not occur are probably not created due to their phonetic strangeness.

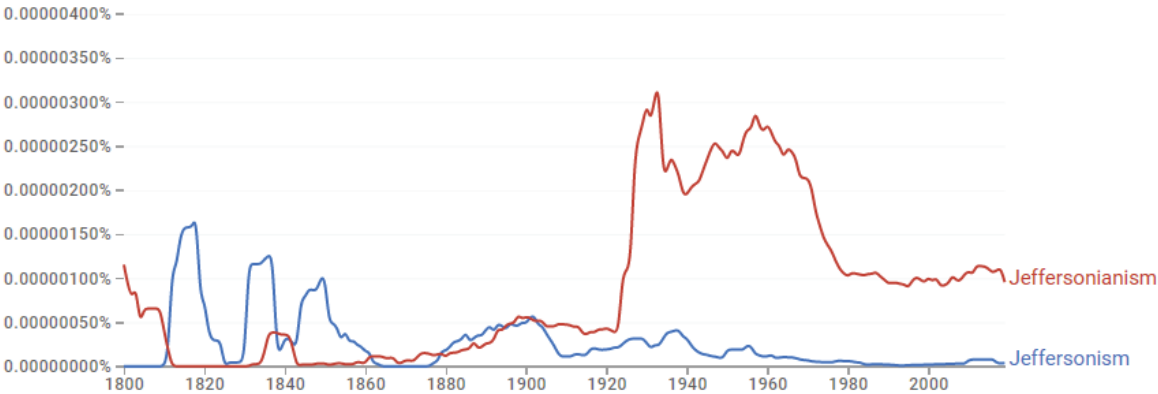
Also, the link between *-ism* and adjectival deonyms is reinforced if we consider the morphology of words like *Jeffersonianism*, *Jacksonianism* or *Wilsonianism*. These are words that are not created directly from the anthroponym, but from another deonym: *Jeffersonian*, *Jacksonian* and *Wilsonian*, respectively. From the names of the same presidents, however, *Jeffersonism*, *Jacksonism* and *Wilsonism* are also created. It is interesting to see how the pairs of deonyms formed with *-ism* from the name of the same president compete. In Figure 13, *Jacksonianism* and *Jacksonism* are compared.

Figure 14. Jacksonianism and Jacksonism from a diachronic perspective



As can be seen, *Jacksonism* is the only deonym used while the politician is active, but in the long term *Jacksonianism* begins to become more popular and eventually surpasses *Jacksonism* in frequency. A similar phenomenon occurs between *Jeffersonism* and *Jeffersonianism* (Figure 14).

Figure 15. Jeffersonianism and Jeffersonism from a diachronic perspective



The phenomenon is much more pronounced with Jefferson’s deonyms: if *Jeffersonism* is predominant during the politician’s lifetime, *Jeffersonianism* is immensely more common in the 20th and 21st centuries, with a spectacular growth in the 1920s. We offer a final example of this effect in Figure 15.

Figure 16. Wilsonianism and Wilsonism from a diachronic perspective



Likewise, *Wilsonianism* grows only decades after the politician’s death, while *Wilsonism* is more common during his presidency. These three examples show that there is a tendency to use

the suffix *-ism* directly on the president's name during his period of activity, but in the long term the pattern is to suffix on the deonym formed with *-ian*. We will offer a semantic explanation for this fact next.

The usual meaning of derivatives with *-ism* is undoubtedly 'political doctrine of the character on which it is based'. This is the denotation we observe, for example, in *Wilsonism*. See example (12).

- (12) Harding (...) might easily lead us into war with Mexico or sponsor a high tariff measure. To the average voter, however, these possibilities are of no consequence beside his desire to get rid of **Wilsonism**. To do this he imagines the most effective way is to vote for Harding. (...) By electing Harding the country will get rid of Wilson next March (*The Nation*, 10/27/1920, COHA).

In this case, it is clear that *Wilsonism* is referring directly to Wilson's himself political doctrine. However, in cases in which the word is *Wilsonianism*, not *Wilsonism* (which are more recent, as seen above) the word takes on a slightly different semantic modulation, as in (13).

- (13) Had it not been for the tough decisions Nixon, Eord, and Kissinger made, the United States might not have withstood the damage caused by Carter's bouts of moralistic ineptitude; nor would Ronald Reagan have had the luxury of his successfully executed **Wilsonianism** (*MAG*, 05/2013, COCA).

As can be seen, it would not be accurate to paraphrase *Wilsonianism* as 'Wilson's political doctrine', but rather as 'political doctrine or policies inspired by Wilson'. It may be inferred that words ending in *-ianism* do not directly denote the president's political ideas at the base, but a later, retrospective interpretation of them. This hypothesis is reinforced if we consider the word-formation process, since *Wilsonianism* is created on *Wilsonian*, a word that, as seen above, denotes, in specific meanings, 'resembling Wilson' or 'characteristic of Wilson'.

Still, in *Wilsonianism*, the semantics are somewhat vague; the word has not acquired a very definite lexical meaning. However, there are other deonyms with *-ism* (or *-ianism*) in which a concrete denotation is much more precisely expressed. The case of greater specialization of meaning is that of *Monroeism*, which does not so much denote ‘Monroe’s political doctrine’ as ‘the policy or principles of regarding any attempt by a European power to gain control of territory on the continent of America (...) as an unfriendly act’²⁰ (*OED*).

Finally, there are some words with *-ism* which adopt a countable dimension. This is the case in *Bushism* or *Bidenism* in (14) and (15).

(14) Bush was well-known for his verbal gaffes and unconventional used of language even while president. Known as **Bushisms**, they included saying, “They underestimated me”, and “In my line of work you got to keep repeating things over and over and over again for the truth to sink in, to kind of catapult the propaganda” (*Buzz*, 22/05/2019, NOW Corpus).

(15) Shouting at times, receiving standing ovations, and delivering plenty of classic **Bidenisms**, the president spoke about the economy to a convention of the AFL-CIO federation of labor unions (*ABC News*, 14/06/2022, NOW Corpus).

As these examples make clear, these countable words mean something like ‘idiom or mode of expression considered characteristic of the character in the base’ (*OED*), with negative or at least humorous connotations.

3.3.2. *-iana*

This suffix is much less frequent and semantically simpler than all those analyzed above, so it will be given proportionally less space. Even so, it has been assigned a specific section because it is applied relatively systematically to many presidents. Because of homonymy issues (the suffix forms many types which also designate taxonomic terms for species), it has not been possible to collect data on the tokens of the 9 types suffixed with *-iana*. The list is as follows:

²⁰ This meaning is synonymous with *Monroe Doctrine*.

Washingtoniana, *Jeffersoniana*, *Jacksoniana*, *Lincolniana*, *Rooseveltiana*, *Wilsoniana*, *Rooseveltiana*²¹, *Clintoniana* and *Trumpiana*. Bauer and Huddleston (2016, pp. 1692-1693) state that the meaning of this suffix is “the collected sayings, wisdom or artifacts connected with the character in the base”. The following example (16) can be given:

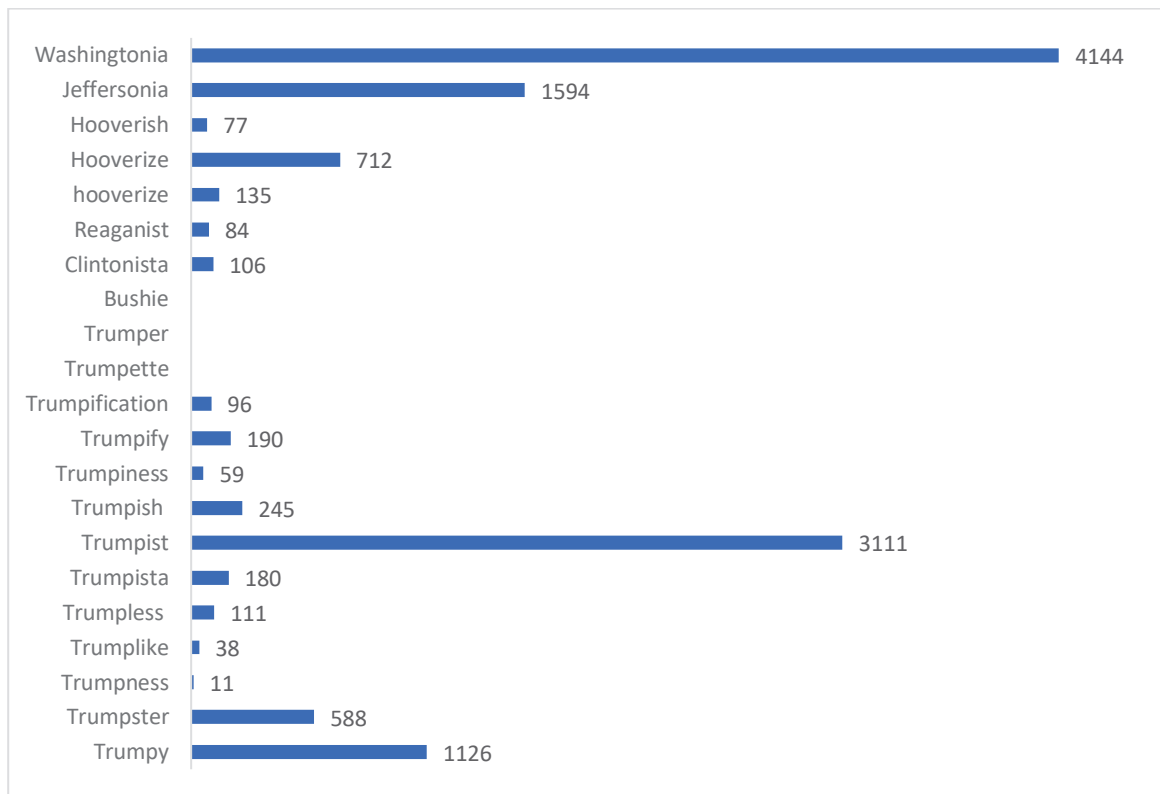
(16)The dailies and the weeklies from Boston to the Golden Gate all have somewhat to say about the men. In many a magazine, character studies receive the place and space the subjects merit. **Washingtoniana** and **Lincolniana** are exploited afresh every year, to satisfy the public eagerness for a new story of the two best loved Americans (Powell, L., *Washington and Lincoln: A Comparative Study*, 1901, COHA).

3.4. Other words formed by suffixation

The remaining words formed by suffixation are a varied collection of 21 types and 12 607 tokens.

²¹ Two *Rooseveltiana* types are included. One refers to the first Roosevelt, while the other refers to the second.

Figure 17. Distribution of other deonyms formed by suffixation



It would not make sense to study these words one by one, but the following aspects can be highlighted. The first two words, *Washingtonia* and *Jeffersonia*, quite frequent and formed with the suffix *-ia*, designate a certain type of flower (*OED*). *Hooverize* is the only verb in our list; its meaning is unique in that the reference to the president is lost: ‘to be sparing or economical, esp. in the use of food’ (*OED*). With this meaning, there is no doubt that *Hooverize* is an eponym, since Hoover remains as a mere evocation, not as part of the senses of the word. This is demonstrated by the fact that the word loses the initial capital letter occasionally: *hooverize*. From *Clintonista* it is noteworthy that it is formed with a suffix from Spanish, not English: *-ista* (also in *Trumpista*); this is probably evidence that it is a borrowing. Finally, the very abundant suffixation of Trump’s name highlights the impact that the character has had.

Conclusions

The analysis of the words formed from the names of American presidents has allowed us to reach the following conclusions.

It has been observed that the most productive word-formation mechanism in our object of study is suffixation, both in types and tokens; consequently, we have concentrated our analysis on suffixed words. Even so, a significant number of words formed by prefixation, compounding and blending have also been recorded.

Furthermore, it has been found that the most productive suffixes in the formation of derivatives from the names of American presidents are *-esque*, *-ian*, *-ite*, *-ism* and *-iana*. A quantitative-diachronic and semantic study of the words formed with each of these suffixes has been conducted.

The suffix *-esque* is less productive than other suffixes; it begins to be applied at the end of the 19th century (*Clevelandesque*) and is consolidated from the second half of the 20th century, when it starts to be applied to almost all presidents (*Kennedyesque*, *Nixonesque*, *Bidenesque*, etc.). The types with the highest number of tokens are *Lincolnesque* and *Reaganesque*. As regards its semantics, the suffix *-esque* forms derivatives of an adjectival grammatical category with three meanings: the most common one is ‘resembling X’, but ‘characteristic of X’ and relational meanings have also been recorded.

The suffixes *-ian* and *-ite* are studied together, since they both form derivatives with similar meanings that function either as nouns or as adjectives. They are applied very regularly from the first presidents (*Washingtonite*, *Madisonian*); the types with the largest number of tokens are *Jeffersonian* and *Wilsonian* (for *-ian*) and *Reaganite* and *Lincolnite* (for *-ite*). Overall, *-ite* forms more types than *-ian*, but *-ian* types present more tokens; in fact, *-ite* is the second suffix in our wordlist that creates the greatest number of types, while *-ian* is the one

with the highest number of tokens. Their semantics are very interrelated. On the whole, *-ian* tends to form adjectives with relational meaning (also recorded in *-esque* derivatives), while *-ite* usually derives nouns meaning ‘follower or supporter of’; nonetheless, both suffixes can adopt the grammatical category and meaning of the other. These findings on the semantics of derivatives with each of the suffixes is linked to the divergent diachronic distribution of coinages formed from the same bases. In general, derivatives with *-ite* (*Lincolnite* ‘supporter of Lincoln’) proliferate during the presidents’ years of activity, since it is necessarily during that period that their supporters follow them, whereas formations with *-ian* (*Lincolnian* ‘relative to Lincoln’) are more frequent after their presidency, as they are adjectives that merely refer to the politician (*Lincolnian views*).

The suffixes *-ism* and *-iana* both form derivatives which always function as nouns, but, unlike *-ian* and *-ite*, they are not semantically related. On the one hand, the suffix *-ism* is the element that creates more types from the names of American presidents. As a general rule, this suffix creates types with more tokens in the 19th century than in the 20th and 21st century: *Jeffersonianism* or *Jacksonism* are more frequent than *Nixonism* or *Clintonism*, for example. Nonetheless, the derivatives with the highest number of tokens are from the 20th and 21st centuries: *Trumpism* and *Reaganism*. Its most usual meaning is ‘political doctrine of X’, although when attached to words ending in *-ian* (*Jeffersonianism* or *Wilsonianism*) it tends to signify ‘political doctrine inspired by X’. On the other hand, the suffix *-iana* creates the lowest number of types of all productive suffixes and its meaning is monosemic: ‘the collected sayings, wisdom or artifacts connected with X’.

In addition, 21 types have been found that are formed with suffixes other than those listed above. In this regard, the most relevant aspect is the vast variety of different words formed from Trump’s name.

In sum, word-formation from the names of American presidents occurs mainly by suffixation; the most productive suffixes are *-esque*, *-ian*, *-ite*, *-ism* and *-iana*, each with its own distinct meaning, although the first three partially overlap. The presidents whose names are more productive are Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln (from the 19th century), Woodrow Wilson and Ronald Reagan (from the 20th century) and Donald Trump (from the 21st century); this fact may serve as a linguistic proof that they are some of the most influential presidents in American history.

Works cited

- Andreou, M. (2019). Lexemes. <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199772810/obo-9780199772810-0232.xml>.
- Bauer, L. (2002). *English Word-formation*. Cambridge University Press. (Original work published 1983).
- Bauer, L. and Huddleston, R. (2016). Lexical word-formation. In R. Huddleston and Geoffrey K. Pullum (Eds.), *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* (pp. 1621-1723). Cambridge University Press.
- Crystal, D. (2008). *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. Blackwell Publishing.
- Davies, M. (2008). *The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)*. <https://www.english-corpora.org/coca/>.
- Davies, M. (2010). *The Corpus of Historical American English (COHA)*. <https://www.english-corpora.org/coha/>.
- Davies, M. (2011). *Google Books Corpus*. <https://www.english-corpora.org/googlebooks/>.
- Davies, M. (2016). *Corpus of News on the Web (NOW)*. <https://www.english-corpora.org/now/>.
- Davies, M. (n. d.). Comparing the Google Books datasets (especially British and American English). https://www.english-corpora.org/googlebooks/american_british.asp.
- Google (2019). *Google Books Ngram Viewer*. <https://books.google.com/ngrams/>.
- Google (2023). *Google Books*. <https://books.google.es/>.
- Lalić, G. (2004). Eponyms in English. *Romanian Journal of English Studies*, 1, 64-69.
- Lalić, G., Silaški, N. and Đurović, T. (2022). Meanings of -nomics in English: From Nixonomics to coronanomics. *English Today*, 1-8.

- La Stella, E. (1984). *Dizionario storico di deonomastica*. Biblioteca dell' «Archivum Romanicum».
- Library of Congress (2007). *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*.
<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/>.
- Lipka, L. (2011). Word-formation and (proper) names: a neglected field. *Words: Structure, Meaning, Function*, 187-204.
- Martín Camacho, J. C. M. (2021). El nombre propio en la creación de palabra. En torno a la eponimia. *Archivum*, 71, 245-277.
- Merriam-Webster (n. d.). *Merriam-Webster dictionary*. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/>.
- Oxford University Press (2023). *Oxford English Dictionary*. <https://www.oed.com/>.
- Plag, I. (2003). *Word-formation in English*. Cambridge University Press.
- Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G. and Svartvik, J. (1985). *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. Longman.
- Schlücker, B. and Ackermann, T. (2017). The morphosyntax of proper names: An overview. *Folia Linguistica*, 51(2), 309-339. <https://10.1515/flin-2017-0011>.
- Shokhenmayer, E. (2014). Terminological discrepancy of modified proper names between English, French, German and Russian. In J. Tort i Donada and M. Montagut i Montagut (Eds.), *Names in Daily Life. Proceedings of the XXIV ICOS International Congress of Onomastic Sciences* (pp. 81-91).
- Schweickard, W. (1992). *Deonomastik*. Niemeyer.

Younes, N. and Reips, U. D. (2019). Guideline for improving the reliability of Google Ngram studies: Evidence from religious terms. *PloS one*, 14(3).
<https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0213554>.

Veridian (n. d.). *Elephind*. <https://www.elephind.com/>.

Wetzel, L. (2018). Types and Tokens. In E. N. Zalta (Ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2018 Edition).
<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2018/entries/types-tokens/>.

Wikipedia contributors (2023). *Wiktionary, the free dictionary*. <https://en.wiktionary.org/>.

Appendix

Wordlist

Table 2. List of types and tokens

President	Type	Tokens
George Washington	<i>Washingtonia</i>	4144
	<i>Washingtonian</i> ²²	
	<i>Washingtoniana</i> ²³	
	<i>Washingtonianism</i> ²⁴	
	<i>Washingtonite</i>	128
	<i>Washington lily</i>	257
	<i>Washington pie</i>	923
Thomas Jefferson	<i>anti-Jefferson</i>	45
	<i>Jeffersonia</i>	1594
	<i>Jeffersonian</i>	123 960
	<i>Jeffersoniana</i>	
	<i>Jeffersonianism</i>	3784
	<i>Jeffersonism</i>	461
	<i>Jeffersonite</i>	305
James Madison	<i>Jeffersonian democracy</i>	12 553
	<i>Madisonian</i>	12 854
James Monroe	<i>Madisonianism</i>	104
	<i>Monroeism</i>	1365
	<i>Monroism</i>	157
John Quincy Adams	<i>Monroe Doctrine</i>	238 438
	<i>Adamsian</i> ²⁵	
Andrew Jackson	<i>Adamsite</i> ²⁶	
	<i>anti-Jackson</i>	519
	<i>Jacksonian</i> ²⁷	
	<i>Jacksoniana</i>	
	<i>Jacksonianism</i>	2437
	<i>Jacksonism</i>	2181

²² Also ‘a member of an American temperance society founded in 1840’, ‘relating to this society’, ‘an inhabitant of Washington, D.C. or of the state of Washington’ or ‘relating to these places’ (*OED*).

²³ Almost all words ending in *-iana* are homonymous with taxonomic terms for species.

²⁴ Homonymy with the temperance society.

²⁵ Homonym with ‘of or relating to Douglas Adams (1952–2001), English writer, humourist, and dramatist’ (*Wiktionary*).

²⁶ Homonym with ‘an organic arsenic compound’ and ‘a greenish-black mica found in Vermont’ (*OED*).

²⁷ Homonym with ‘designating a type of epilepsy and its characteristic seizures’ (*OED*).

	<i>Jacksonite</i>	271
	<i>pro-Jackson</i>	73
	<i>Jacksonian democracy</i>	21 787
Martin Van Buren	<i>Van Burenism</i>	462
	<i>Van Burenite</i>	1961
James Buchanan	<i>Buchananism</i>	58
	<i>Buchananite</i>	334
	<i>Buchanite</i>	308
Abraham Lincoln	<i>anti-Lincoln</i>	234
	<i>Lincolnesque</i>	2434
	<i>Lincolnian</i>	3185
	<i>Lincolniana</i>	
	<i>Lincolnism</i>	260
	<i>Lincolnite</i>	1659
	<i>pro-Lincoln</i>	71
Ulysses S. Grant	<i>anti-Grant</i>	151
	<i>Grantism</i>	1742
Grover Cleveland	<i>Clevelandesque</i>	57
	<i>Clevelandism</i>	421
	<i>Clevelandite</i>	371
William McKinley	<i>McKinleyesque</i>	45
	<i>McKinleyism</i>	828
	<i>McKinleyite</i>	302
Theodore Roosevelt ²⁸	<i>anti-Roosevelt</i>	26
	<i>Rooseveltian</i>	1762
	<i>Rooseveltiana</i>	
	<i>Rooseveltism</i>	208
	<i>Roosevelt Corollary</i>	7836
William Howard Taft	<i>Roosevelt elk</i>	1055
	<i>Taftian</i>	152
Woodrow Wilson	<i>Taftite</i>	334
	<i>anti-Wilson</i>	153
	<i>Wilsonian</i>	31 776
	<i>Wilsoniana</i>	
	<i>Wilsonianism</i>	1906
	<i>Wilsonism</i>	1389
	<i>Wilsonite</i>	649

²⁸ Taken from 1900 to 1930.

	<i>pro-Wilson</i>	41
Calvin Coolidge	<i>Coolidgean</i>	192
	<i>Coolidge effect</i>	863
Herbert Hoover	<i>anti-Hoover</i>	53
	<i>Hoovercrat</i>	424
	<i>Hooveresque</i>	89
	<i>Hooverian</i>	818
	<i>Hooverish</i>	77
	<i>Hooverism</i>	532
	<i>Hooverite</i>	417
	<i>Hooverize</i>	712
	<i>hooverize</i>	135
	<i>Hooverville</i>	5142
Franklin D. Roosevelt ²⁹	<i>anti-Roosevelt</i>	445
	<i>Rooseveltian</i>	9041
	<i>Rooseveltiana</i>	
	<i>Rooseveltism</i>	398
	<i>rooseveltite</i> ³⁰	
	<i>pre-Roosevelt</i>	49
	<i>pro-Roosevelt</i>	177
Harry S. Truman	<i>anti-Truman</i>	61
	<i>Trumanesque</i>	187
	<i>Trumanism</i>	369
	<i>Trumanite</i>	303
	<i>Truman Doctrine</i>	29 215
Dwight D. Eisenhower	<i>Eisenhowerism</i>	56
	<i>pro-Eisenhower</i>	101
	<i>Eisenhower jacket</i>	1147
	<i>Eisenhower Doctrine</i>	7772
John F. Kennedy	<i>anti-Kennedy</i>	109
	<i>Kennedyesque</i>	512
	<i>Kennedyism</i>	95
	<i>Kennedyite</i>	301
	<i>pro-Kennedy</i>	84
	<i>Kennedy Doctrine</i>	298
	<i>anti-Johnson</i>	

²⁹ Taken from 1930 onwards.

³⁰ No tokens have been found, but the *OED* registers this word as ‘a rare mineral found as a white or grey crust in veinlets of cassiterite in Bolivia, Germany, and elsewhere’.

Lyndon B. Johnson ³¹	<i>Johnsonian</i> ³²	
	<i>pro-Johnson</i>	
	<i>Johnson Doctrine</i>	669
Richard Nixon	<i>anti-Nixon</i>	157
	<i>Nixonesque</i>	127
	<i>Nixonian</i>	2068
	<i>Nixonism</i>	160
	<i>Nixonite</i>	521
	<i>Nixonomics</i>	354
	<i>pro-Nixon</i>	45
	<i>Nixon Doctrine</i>	8030
Jimmy Carter	<i>Carteresque</i>	105
	<i>Carterian</i>	49
	<i>Carterite</i>	263
	<i>Carterism</i>	65
	<i>Carter Doctrine</i>	2415
Ronald Reagan	<i>anti-Reagan</i>	53
	<i>Reaganaut</i>	512
	<i>Reaganesque</i>	712
	<i>Reaganite</i>	6379
	<i>Reaganism</i>	4807
	<i>Reaganist</i>	84
	<i>Reaganomic</i>	283
	<i>Reaganomics</i>	11 096
	<i>post-Reagan</i>	87
	<i>pre-Reagan</i>	52
	<i>pro-Reagan</i>	51
	<i>Reagan Democrat</i>	1451
	<i>Reagan Doctrine</i>	4050
<i>Reagan Revolution</i>	5921	
George H. W. Bush ³³	<i>anti-Bush</i>	8
	<i>Bushman</i>	25
	<i>Bushism</i>	30
	<i>Bushism (countable)</i> ³⁴	14
	<i>Bushite</i>	20
Bill Clinton	<i>anti-Clinton</i>	80

³¹ *Johnson* is too frequent a surname to register tokens.

³² Homonym with 'relative to, or an admirer of, Samuel Johnson' (*OED*).

³³ Taken from 1980 to 2000.

³⁴ For countable nouns formed with *-ism*, the tokens of the plural form of the word (*Bushisms*) have been taken.

	<i>Clintonesque</i>	340
	<i>Clintonian</i>	2153
	<i>Clintoniana</i>	
	<i>Clintonianism</i>	36
	<i>Clintonism</i>	272
	<i>Clintonista</i>	106
	<i>Clintonite</i>	601
	<i>Clintonomics</i>	274
	<i>Clinton Doctrine</i>	344
George W. Bush ³⁵	<i>anti-Bush</i>	61
	<i>Bushian</i>	82
	<i>Bushie</i> ³⁶	
	<i>Bushism</i>	126
	<i>Bushism</i> (countable)	221
	<i>Bushite</i>	72
	<i>Bush Doctrine</i>	3522
Barack Obama	<i>anti-Obama</i>	531
	<i>Obamabot</i>	19
	<i>Obamacare</i>	54 981
	<i>Obamaesque</i>	119
	<i>Obamagate</i>	461
	<i>Obamaism</i>	57
	<i>Obamaite</i>	19
	<i>Obaman</i>	22
	<i>Obamamania</i>	31
	<i>Obamanation</i>	33
	<i>Obamanomics</i>	66
	<i>Obamaworld</i>	28
	<i>Obamian</i>	24
	<i>post-Obama</i>	192
	<i>pre-Obama</i>	94
	<i>pro-Obama</i>	138
<i>Obama phone</i>	144	
Donald Trump	<i>anti-Trump</i>	18 804
	<i>anti-Trumpism</i>	98
	<i>anti-anti-Trump</i>	65
	<i>anti-anti-Trumpism</i>	19

³⁵ Taken from 2000 onwards.

³⁶ Homonym with 'person who lives in the bush' (*OED*) and others.

	<i>de-Trumpification</i>	27
	<i>ex-Trump</i>	1345
	<i>pre-Trump</i>	1091
	<i>non-Trump</i>	478
	<i>post-Trump</i>	3156
	<i>pro-Trump</i>	27 880
	<i>Retrumplican</i>	28
	<i>Trumpanzee</i>	38
	<i>Trumpcare</i>	1132
	<i>Trumpean</i>	46
	<i>Trumpenomics</i>	26
	<i>Trumper</i> ³⁷	
	<i>Trumpesque</i>	391
	<i>Trumpette</i> ³⁸	
	<i>Trumpflation</i>	153
	<i>Trumpgate</i>	9
	<i>Trumpphobia</i>	12
	<i>Trumpian</i>	8202
	<i>Trumpiana</i>	
	<i>Trumpification</i>	96
	<i>Trumpify</i>	190
	<i>Trumpiness</i>	59
	<i>Trumpish</i>	245
	<i>Trumpism</i>	10 217
	<i>Trumpism (countable)</i>	122
	<i>Trumpist</i>	3111
	<i>Trumpista</i>	180
	<i>Trumpistan</i>	61
	<i>Trumpite</i>	249
	<i>Trumpland</i>	757
	<i>Trumplandia</i>	179
	<i>Trumplless</i>	111
	<i>Trumplican</i>	93
	<i>Trumplike</i>	38
	<i>Trumpmania</i>	45
	<i>Trumpness</i>	11
	<i>Trumpocalypse</i>	117

³⁷ Homonym with the surname.

³⁸ Homonym with a brand name.

	<i>Trumpocene</i>	11
	<i>Trumpocracy</i>	93
	<i>Trumpocrat</i>	13
	<i>Trumpologist</i>	14
	<i>Trumpology</i>	17
	<i>Trumpomania</i>	13
	<i>Trumponomics</i>	531
	<i>Trumpophobia</i>	15
	<i>Trumpspeak</i>	127
	<i>Trumpster</i>	588
	<i>Trumptard</i>	38
	<i>Trumptastic</i>	15
	<i>Trumpublican</i>	69
	<i>Trumpworld</i>	1676
	<i>Trumpy</i>	1126
	<i>Trump bump</i>	501
	<i>Trump country</i>	994
	<i>Trump derangement syndrome</i>	718
Joe Biden	<i>anti-Biden</i>	750
	<i>ex-Biden</i>	17
	<i>Bidencare</i>	77
	<i>Bidenesque</i>	84
	<i>Bidenflation</i>	149
	<i>Bidenian</i>	25
	<i>Bidenism</i>	76
	<i>Bidenism (countable)</i>	33
	<i>Bidenite</i>	51
	<i>Bidenland</i>	17
	<i>Bidenomics</i>	251
	<i>Bidenworld</i>	83
	<i>non-Biden</i>	34
	<i>post-Biden</i>	43
	<i>pre-Biden</i>	32
<i>pro-Biden</i>	721	
	<i>Biden bucks</i>	53

Words formed by prefixation

Figure 18. Types formed by each prefix

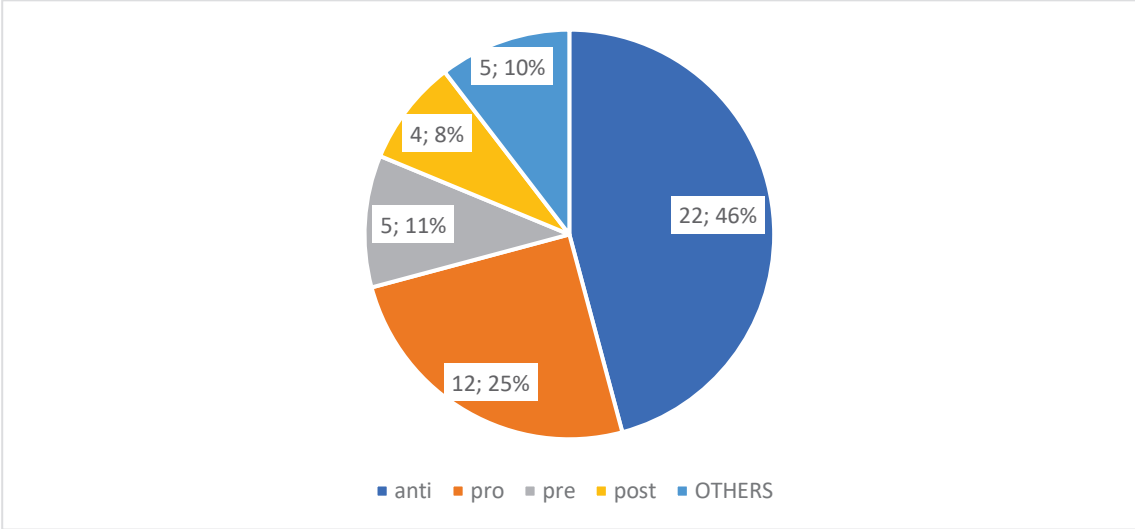


Figure 19. Tokens formed by each prefix

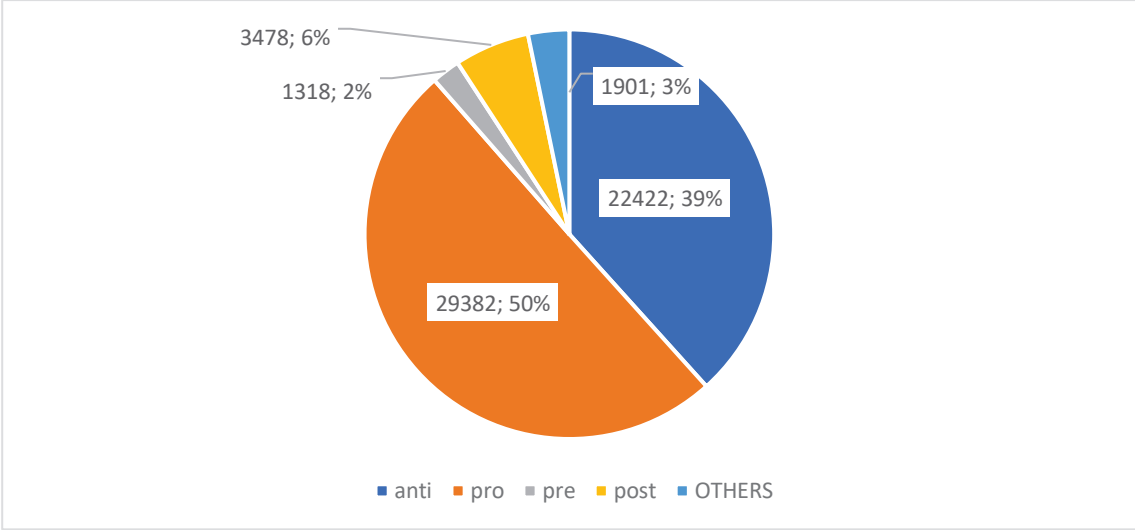


Figure 20. Distribution of words with anti-

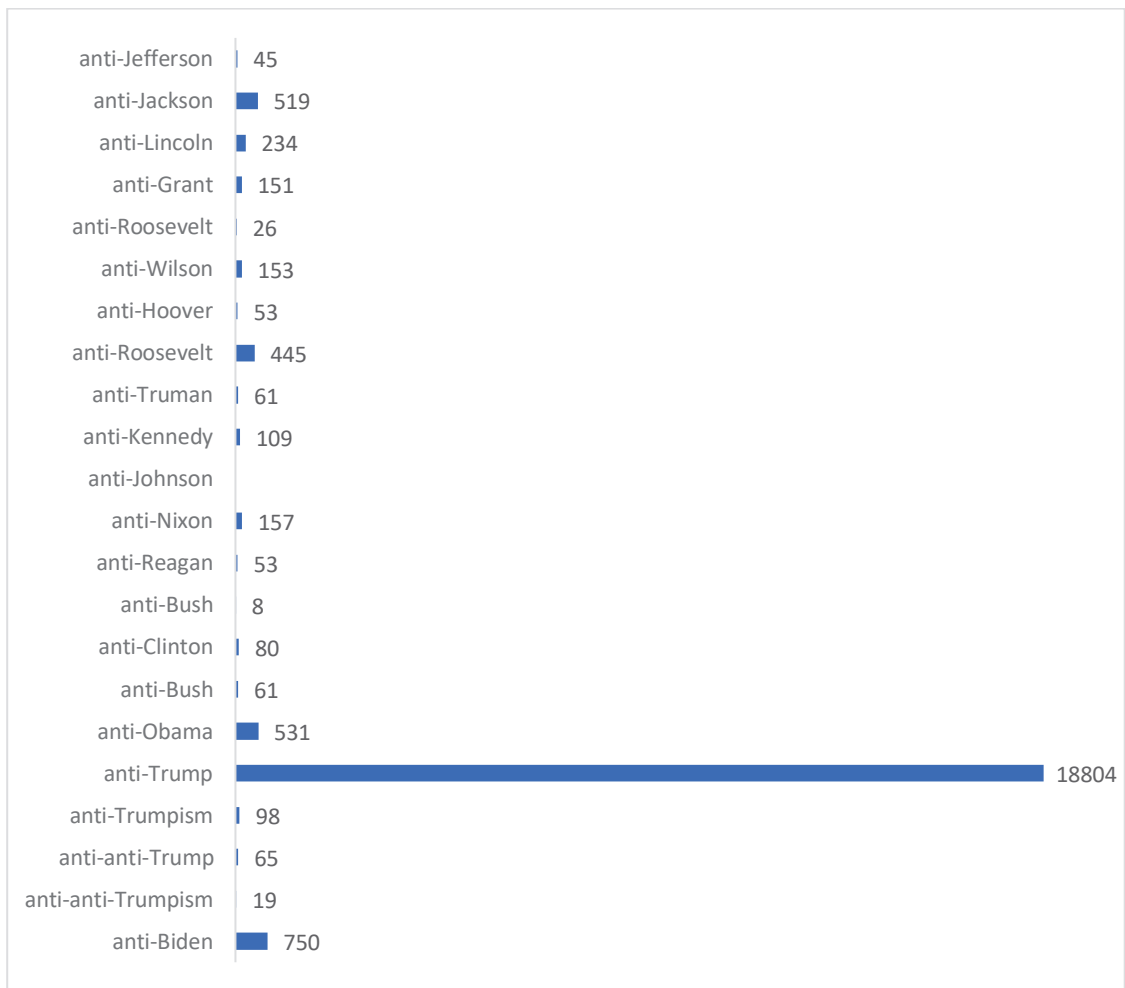
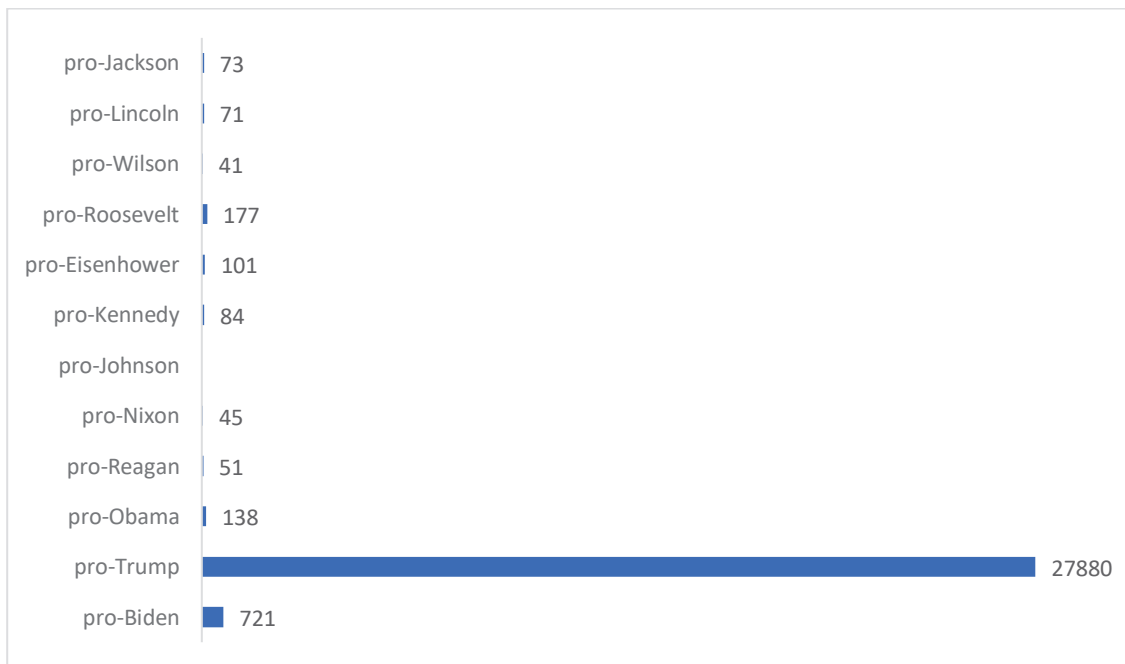


Figure 21. Distribution of words with pro-



Words formed by compounding

Figure 22. Types of the two classes of compounds³⁹

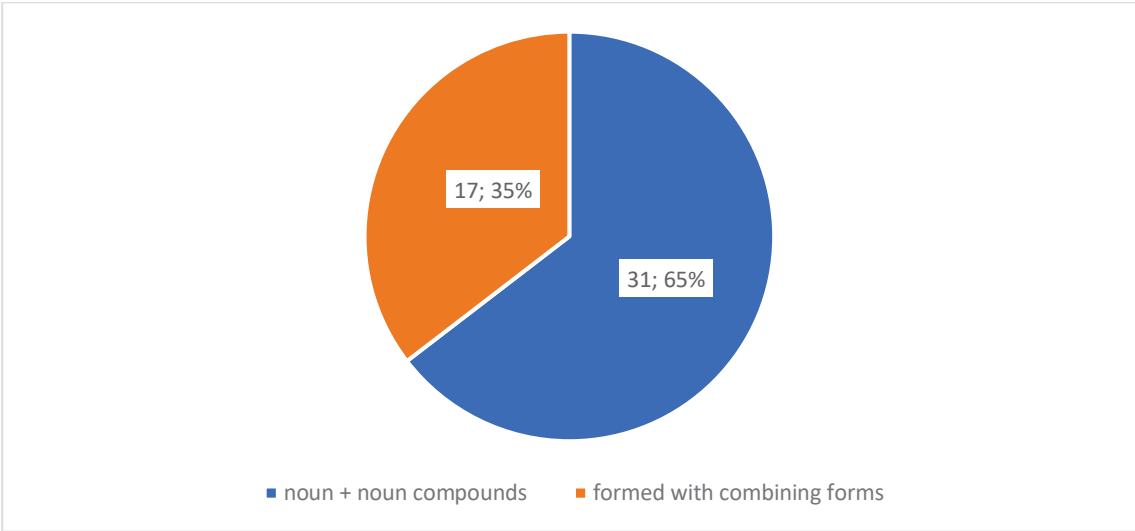
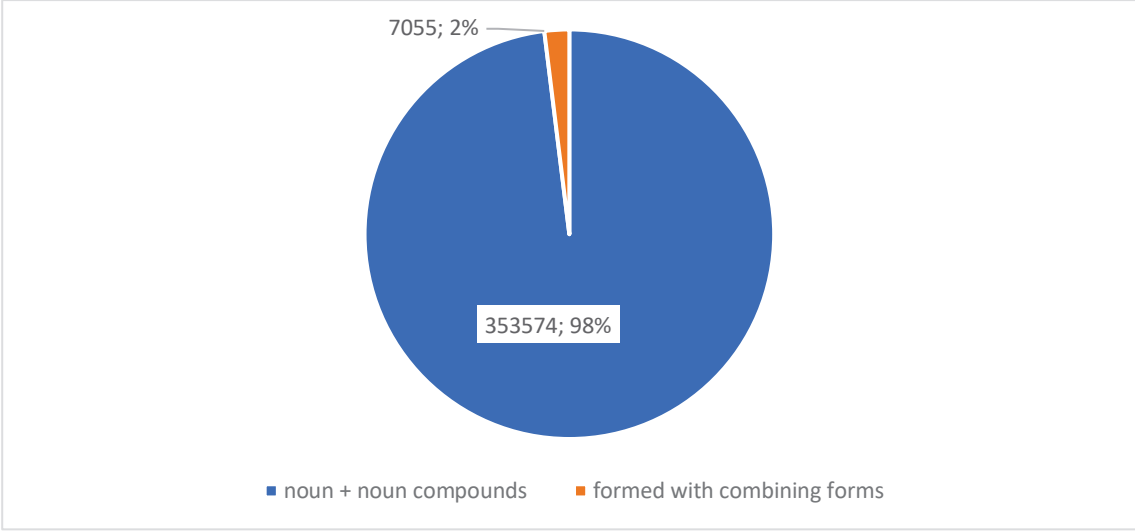
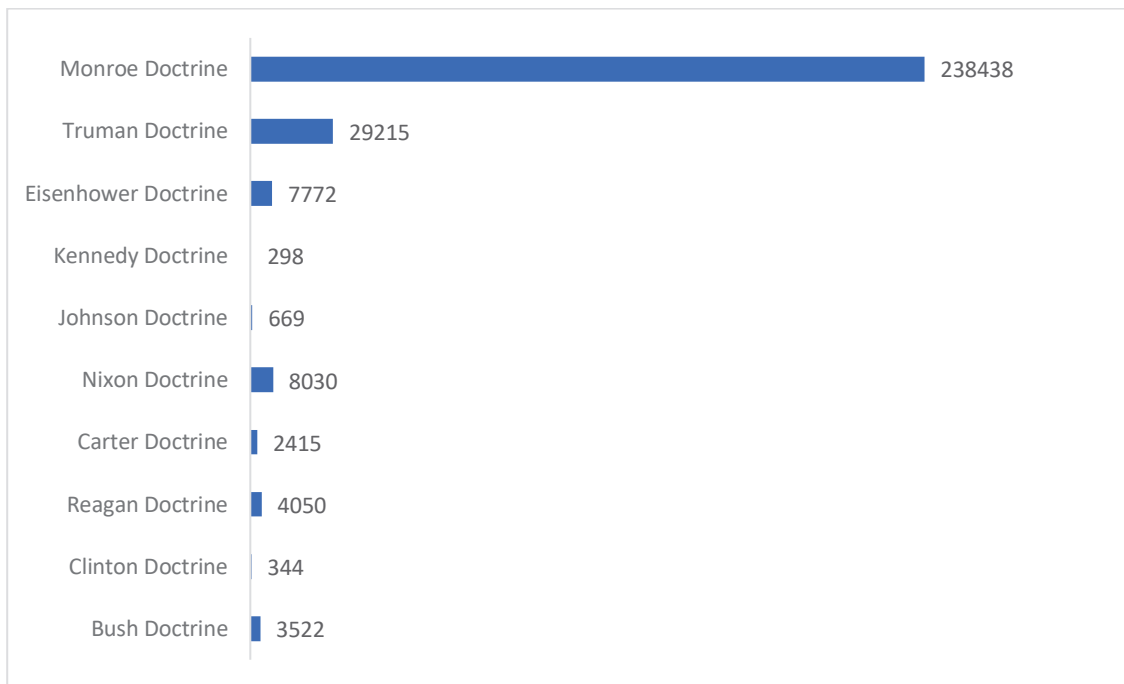


Figure 23. Tokens of the two classes of compounds



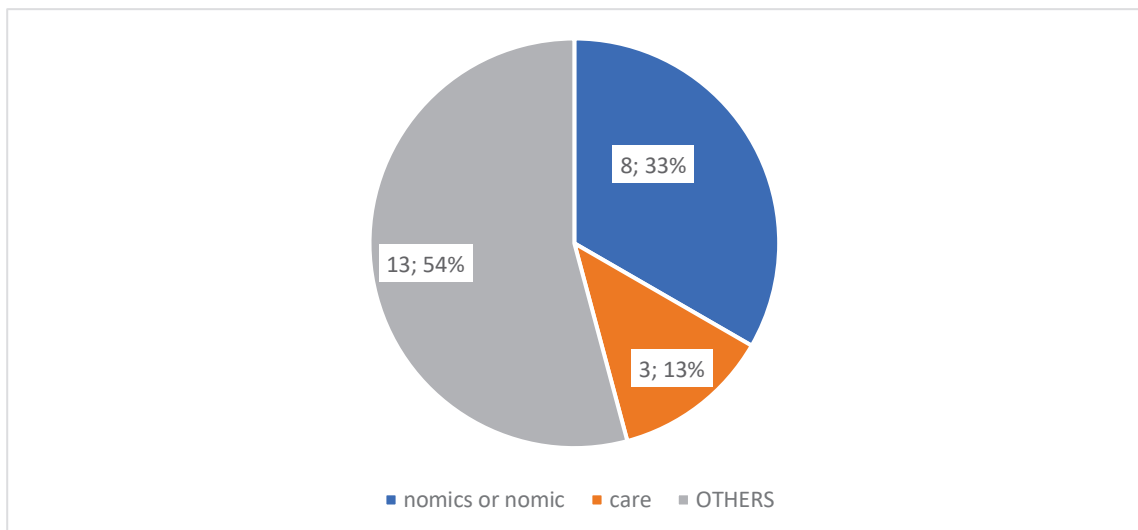
³⁹ Noun + noun compounds are, for the most part, lexical units consisting of two words represented by a space between them: *Washington pie*, *Lincoln rocker* or *Eisenhower jacket*. Compounds of the second class are formed by the combination of a lexeme with combining forms, usually from a classical language: *Reaganaut* (Reagan + *-naut*) or *Trumpology* (Trump + *-ology*).

Figure 24. Distribution of compounds with Doctrine⁴⁰



Words formed by blending

Figure 25. Types of each blending component



⁴⁰ They all refer to a 'principle or set of principles on foreign policy proposed by the president at the base'.

Figure 26. Tokens of each blending component

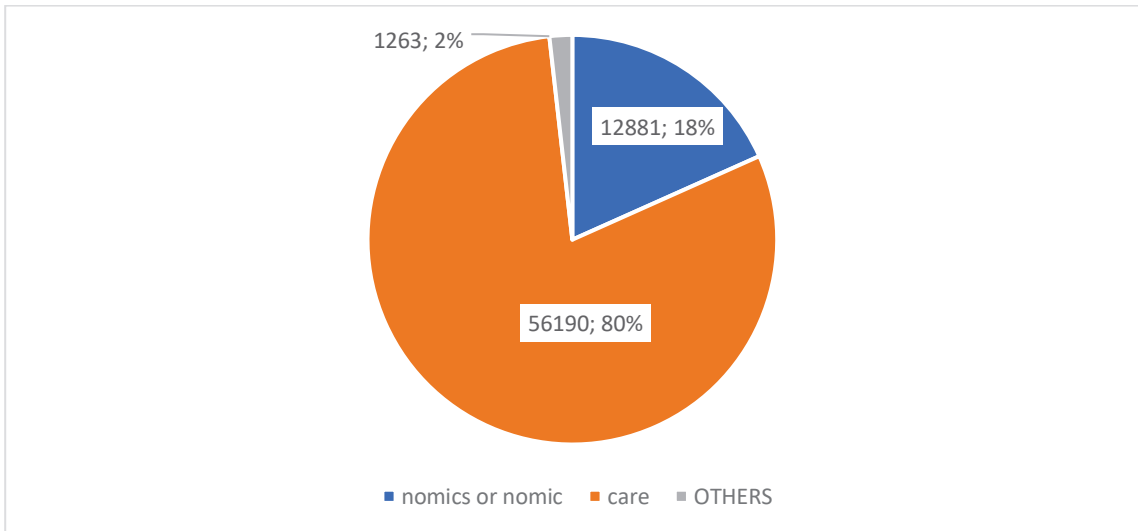


Figure 27. Tokens of each blending component without the Obamacare type

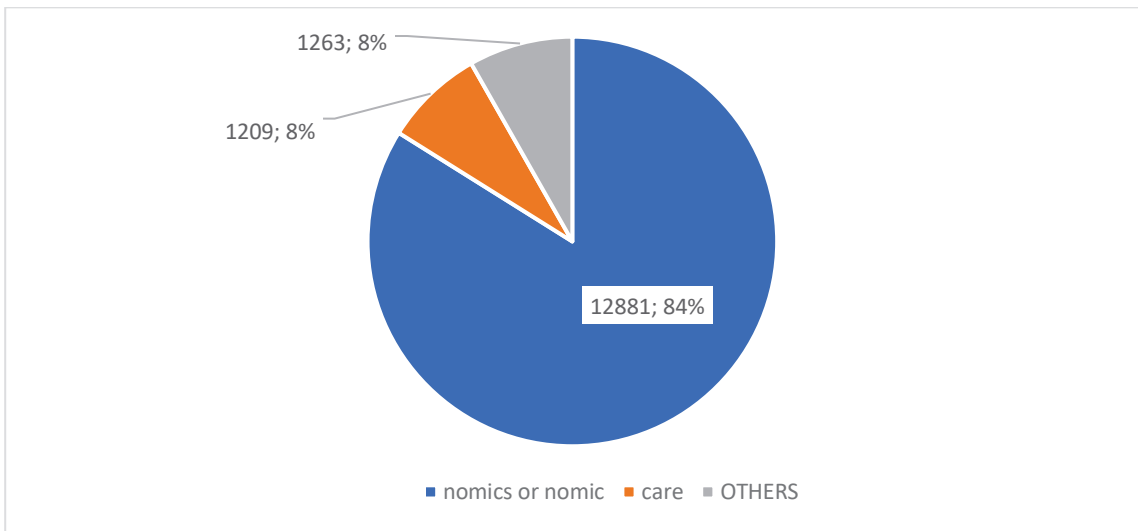


Figure 28. Distribution of blends with -nomics or -nomic⁴¹



⁴¹ Blends with *-nomics* mean ‘a politician’s economic policy’ or ‘the course of economic policy modelled upon a politician’s economic ideas’ (Lalić et al., 2022, p. 4).