The interplay between frame semantics and construction morphology in modeling the meaning of compounds. The case of eventive personal name compounds in German

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One of the most intriguing questions in theories of compound semantics is which factors influence the relationship between the compound constituents. In this regard, the role of nonlinguistic factors poses a challenge for theories that assume a limited set of relations between the compound constituents (cf. e.g., Ortner et al. 1991). The present paper aims to model the influence of extralinguistic factors on German compounds using a rather underresearched type of determinative compounds, namely eventive personal name compounds (cf. Wildgen 1981, Belosevic 2022) as a testbed phenomenon. The constituents of this compound type are related on the basis of the extralinguistic event in which the name bearer participated:

1) Impfstoff-Bestellung: „Der Verdacht, dass Deutschland ein Unternehmen bevorzugt haben könnte" Die Daten hierfür sind leider schon wieder von *Berater-Ursula*'s Handy gelöscht worden. (Twitter)

   'Vaccine ordering: "the suspicion that Germany might have preferred one company" Unfortunately, relevant data have again been deleted from *Advisor-Ursula*'s cell phone.'

In *Berater-Ursula*, *Ursula* refers to the former German defence minister Ursula von der Leyen involved in a scandal about hiring expensive political advisors. The compound bears a non-compositional meaning that can be described as a negative evaluation of the name bearer. Since the relation between the modifier and the name cannot be retrieved without extralinguistic knowledge, the question arises of how to model the semantics of this compound type and how the non-compositional evaluative meaning comes about.

The paper argues that the existing approaches to the compound meaning (cf. Olsen 2019 for an overview) cannot account for the semantics of eventive personal name compounds. Given that frame semantics „allows for modeling the interaction of linguistic and world knowledge in a uniform model" (Löbner 2021: 17, cf. also Ziem 2014: 13), the frame-semantic approach (Filmore 1982) based on German FrameNet[1] is combined with the understanding of eventive personal name compounds as morphological constructions (Booij 2010) to account for the evaluative meaning of this compound type. The approach will be illustrated on some 532 types extracted manually from the German Reference Corpus[2], the Digital Dictionary of the German Language[3] and Twitter on the basis of name lists. The data has been manually coded in *Maxqda*[4] for relevant semantic frames and frame elements according to German FrameNet. The name constituent always evokes the frame PEOPLE whereas the modifier instantiates the frame element DESCRIPTOR metonymically related to the extralinguistic event in which the name bearer participated. The contrast between the event and the social role of the name bearer is systematically related to the form of eventive personal name compounds on the basis of the following schema: $[<a>_{EV} [b]_{name}]_{Nj} \leftrightarrow$ [evaluating name]j. The schema is similar to the schema for evaluative compounds with evaluative prefixoids (cf. Battefeld et al. 2018).

On the theoretical level, the paper shows how FrameNet and construction morphology can be combined to systematically extract different types of extralinguistic knowledge (contextual, encyclopedic, discursive) about name bearers and to account for the predictability of semantic relations between the constituents of eventive personal name compounds.

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[1] https://gsw.phil.hhu.de/framenet/
[2] https://cosmas2.ids-mannheim.de/cosmas2-web/
[3] https://www.dwds.de/
[4] https://www.maxqda.com/de/

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