Leseprobe

Christoph Haase / Anne Schröder (eds.)

Analogy, Copy, and Representation.

Interdisciplinary Perspectives

AISTHESIS VERLAG

Bielefeld 2018
Illustration on the Front Cover:
Victor Moussa: St Paul’s cathedral seen from a narrow alley enclosed by glass buildings and reflecting in the shiny surface at morning dawn.
(Copyright: Fotolia by Adobe)
# Table of Contents

**Preface**
Christoph Haase & Anne Schröder .................................................................................. 7

**Analogy in Diachrony: The Development of the Suffix ‘-manship’**
Marion Schulte .................................................................................................................. 11

**Emergent Generalisation in an Analogy-based Model of Word Formation: Two Case Studies**
Sabine Arndt-Lappe ......................................................................................................... 23

**From Analogues to New Words and Constructs through Paronymy, Local Analogy and Schemata**
Silvia Cacchiani .................................................................................................................. 37

**A Cognitive Grammar Approach to Leadership Rhetoric: Schemata and Categories in ‘I Have a Dream’**
Wei-lun Lu ............................................................................................................................ 47

**Academic Discourse and the ‘Two Cultures’: A Look at the Metaphorical Use of Perception**
Christoph Haase .................................................................................................................. 57

**Genre Migration as Analogical Extension: Genre Ancestry of the Personal Weblog**
Peter Schildhauer ................................................................................................................ 71

**The Virtues of Near-Analogy in Language and Communication**
Alexander Brock & Jana Pflaeging .................................................................................... 87

**Citation Practices between Commodity Culture and Cultural Critique: Reselling the Mainstream and Promoting Resistance through the Music of El Vez, the Mexican Elvis**
Wilfried Raussert ................................................................................................................. 101

**Analogy in Adaptation Studies**
Lucia Krämer ..................................................................................................................... 113

**The Figure of Cain in the Wakefield ‘Mactacio Abel’: Allegory and the Medieval Mystery Play**
Marcus Hartner .................................................................................................................... 123

**Comparison, Analogy, and Knowledge in Literature: Some Basic Considerations and the Case of Early Modern English Texts**
Ralf Schneider ..................................................................................................................... 139
Preface

CHRISTOPH HAASE & ANNE SCHRÖDER

This volume explores issues in analogy, analogy making, analogy interpreting, and analogy use at the confluence of disciplines such as linguistics, cultural studies, literary studies, and their intersectional disciplines. Having grown out of the analogy conference held at Bielefeld in November 2013, it intends to represent samples of the state of the art in interdisciplinary analogy research. Analogy making and analogy processing are, of course, essential human cognitive faculties that enable to communicate inner states, abstractness, first and second-order intentionality for interactants in communication situations. We believe that a dialogue between the aforementioned fields can illuminate different and relevant aspects of the phenomenon of analogy and thus create a mutual benefit between and across the different domains. This volume further represents a genuinely interdisciplinary endeavour that adds to and transcends research goals in the cognitive sciences such as the nature of causation, the emergence of structure (in language, culture, and literature) and the evolution of structure-building aspects in language acquisition.

Moreover, we assume that linguistics can serve as connective tissue between the rather diverse approaches in the ‘harder’ cognitive sciences and the ‘softer’ (in the sense of soft sciences) humanities. Linguistics as one of the cognitive sciences also encompasses fields of endeavour that are decoupled from cognitive motivations and as such assumes a mediator position between the two. In the study of language we can identify structure-building and structure-representing processes that are informative for other disciplines. Structure-building is carried out in a large number of morphological processes (reflected in the contributions by Schulte, Arndt-Lappe and Cacchiani, all this volume). An important element for structure-representation is the processing and analysis of metaphor (as for example in the papers by Lu and Haase, this volume) as in the cognitive sciences, metaphor processing is seen as a structure-building and representing process (Wolff & Gentner 2011), and in cognitive linguistics it is a possibly foundational semantic unit and for literary scholars a stylistic choice. Branching out from this multifaceted understanding of analogy, this volume tries to achieve a transdisciplinary definition of analogy and to give an impetus for continued discussion by including analogical aspects from the cultural studies (Raussert and Krämer, this volume) and literary studies (Hartner and Schneider, this volume).

Analogy is commonly defined as a similarity in the sense of a relation between different domains or systems of domains. Analogy making supports the gaining of insight if a phenomenon A corresponds to a phenomenon B in one aspect and this correspondence can be extended to other phenomena as well (the structure-mapping hypothesis, Gentner 2001). But it is the interplay between the cognitive and the structural interpretation of analogy that creates a need for more interdisciplinary research. The terminological trifecta of Analogy – Copy – Representation (the conference title) anchor the discussion and will all reappear in this volume’s contributions. If
analogy making is a pivotal mechanism in cognitive science, we need to differentiate between two processes: 1. a variation of shape recognition that goes beyond mere gestalt perception, and 2. the sequence of re-modelling, transformation, and enhancement (cf. Changeux & Connes 1995). In cognitive psychology, analogy making helps with inferencing and modelling of unknown situations which shows the basic demands of successful analogies: A necessity of structural coherence in the mapping of a base/source onto a target. Structural properties that exist in a 1:1 relationship in base/source and target enable the mapping. In other words, a situation or problem is understood within the confines of components of a different (but analogous) situation or problem.

Analogy is a central term in anthropology for structure-building processes. These culture-defining processes are based in an imitation of nature and in recognizing oppositions. The mapping of these oppositions is what Lévi-Strauss calls analogue transfer (Lévi-Strauss 1967). This transfer generates all relevant cultural categories, extended into topological space and ethno-methodological ontologies.

In linguistics, analogy making is the basis for conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson 1980) and its subsequent developments (conceptual blending, cf. Fauconnier & Turner 2002). It is thus formative for the cognitive-linguistic paradigm. It is also the core of semantic categorisation in vertical systems (basic-level categories, cf. Evans & Green 2006) and radial systems (e.g. Wierzbicka 2006).

In the humanities and the arts, analogy making is a reflected principle for literary and musical forms like the leitmotif, the repetition, the projection.

Fauconnier (1997: 20) aptly summarizes the pervasiveness of analogy making in cognitive interaction:

> Analogical mapping is so commonplace that we take it for granted. But it is one of the great mysteries of cognition. Given the richness of the domains and their complexity, how are the right schemas consistently extracted, elaborated, and applied to further mappings? And what are these schemas and generic frames that structure our conceptual systems so pervasively?

Gentner (2001) suggests the following procedures in analogy making:

1. the mapping process by which people understand one situation in terms of another.
2. projecting inferences; and
3. evaluation of the analogy and its inferences.

In 1., a structurally consistent alignment takes place between two situations. The inferences are projected from one to the other. A familiar situation serves as a model for a number of candidate inferences which are constrained by parameters such as world knowledge, natural laws or causality.

The linguistic perspective on analogy is represented in a majority of papers in this volume. In this first set of contributions, the discussion involves a look at morphological criteria in the papers by Schulte, Arndt-Lappe and Cacchiani. The first of these, Schulte, sheds light on a number of analogy-driven suffixation processes while Arndt-Lappe applies an analogy-based approach to word formation and morphological
productivity at a more general level. Finally, Cacchiani looks at the role paronymy has in the formation of non-words. Lu’s contribution is dedicated to a cognitive-grammar view on the rhetorical moves present in a public speech. The paper by Haase investigates different figurative devices in genres of academic writing under consideration of analogies inherent in the use of verbs of perception for abstract scientific insight. The topic of genre is also developed by Schildhauer in his analysis of similarities (i.e. genre ancestries) of weblogs to more traditional text types. Finally, the linguistics section interfaces with more cultural-studies oriented approaches in Brock and Pflaeging’s examination of near-analogies on the example of humour and language-image texts. The cultural lens is employed by Raussert, who identifies citation practices and cultural critique in the unique character of El Vez, the Mexican Elvis. Bridging into the literary section, Krämer offers arguments for the analogical character of adaptation in which a medium change or transfer takes place – for example from a literary source into a film adaptation. For the literary section, Hartner’s paper offers a comprehensive overview of analogy making in literary studies before he takes this to the test in an analysis of the Cain-figure in medieval mystery plays. The volume closes with Schneider’s examination on inner-textual and trans-textual comparisons and analogies in literature exemplified by various texts from the Early Modern English period, which impressively demonstrates how analogy making and analysing interacts with contemporary cultures of knowledge.

With this collection of articles, we truly believe to have contributed to a transdisciplinary understanding of analogy, analogy making, analogy interpreting and analogy use, and we sincerely hope that readers will enjoy this volume as much as we enjoyed reading, re-reading, editing, re-editing, corresponding and discussing with the authors and our much appreciated helping hands (Daniela Kauschke, Petra Peschke, Saeb Sadek, Teresa Turnbull) in the process of its making. May this book inspire many to continue thinking differently about (and with) analogies.

August 2017

Works Cited

C. Haase & A. Schröder


Analogy in Diachrony: The Development of the Suffix -manship

MARION SCHULTE (BIELEFELD)

1. Introduction

It has been argued that our ability for analogical reasoning lies at the heart of human cognition (Gentner & Gentner 1983; Blevins & Blevins 2009). This cognitive concept also plays an important role in the study of language, especially with regard to language change (Hock 2003). It has, however, been somewhat side-lined in linguistics during the 20th century. In Generative Grammar, for example, analogy is mainly used as a wastebasket concept for idiosyncratic formations. Generative approaches are interested in rules and regularities, whereas idiosyncratic formations or uses are not their major concern. Analogy is perceived as creative, irregular, and, crucially, unpredictable. Recent studies in the area of morphology have, however, shown that analogical modelling can be used to predict the variation of linguistic phenomena accurately (e.g. Arndt-Lappe 2014). These results call the generative dismissal of analogy into question.

This article will illustrate the advantages of an analogical approach to word formation by using the diachronic development of the suffix -manship as an example. It will be shown that the gradual changes that have led to a new word formation pattern using the suffix -manship rather than -ship are compatible with an analogical account, but difficult to reconcile with a rule-based approach.

The following section gives a short overview of the concept of analogy in word formation. This is followed by a discussion of -ship and -manship suffixation.

2. Analogy in Word Formation

In the area of word formation, the concept of analogy has been mainly used to explain how some forms of a language come to resemble other, similar forms. This is, for example, the case in analogical levelling, where analogy reduces the number of irregularities. A well-known example is the levelling of irregular English plurals such as cow-kine to cow-cows. The opposite, analogical extension, is also attested: Weak verbs are sometimes inflected like strong verbs in dialects or during language acquisition, which can lead to tense inflections like dive-dove instead of dive-dived. Both of these processes, analogical levelling and analogical extension, are based on the concept of proportional analogy. In a proportional analogy, the relation of two forms, usually called \(a\) and \(b\), is equivalent to the relation of two other forms, \(c\) and \(d\), and this is often represented in formulas such as \(a : b = c : d\). In the case of the regularisation of the plural forms mentioned above, a singular and regular plural form would be filled in for \(a\) and \(b\), the singular form cow would be substituted for \(c\), and the new, regular plural cows would represent \(d: dog : dogs = cow : cows\). Analogical extension works in the same way: drive : drove = dive : d, which leads to the formation of a new past tense form dove. With Arndt-Lappe (2015: 824) we will call the morphologically simple form \(a\) the ‘base of the
analogue’, and the morphologically complex form $b$ the ‘analogue’, while $c$ is the ‘base of the new word’ and $d$ is the ‘new word’.

A central issue for the concept of analogy is similarity, because a proportional analogy can only be established when forms are perceived as similar. This is one of the fundamental problems for an analogical theory of word formation as it is not clear what exactly constitutes this similarity and how similar items have to be to one another. Is it phonological, syntactic, morphological, or semantic similarity that is important or may it be a mixture of some (or all) of these? Arndt-Lappe (2015: 825) thus states that similarity is “a key challenge for any morphological theory that is based on analogies. The reason is that the basis for the computation of similarity is not part of the equation”.

It is impossible to say which similarity exactly motivates a particular analogy. We do not know whether it was the phonetic similarity between drive and dive that motivated the formation of dove, or whether a completely different pair than drive-drove, or even a set of words, motivated the analogical formation of dove. This uncertainty makes analogies seem local, irregular, and unpredictable. Due to the prominence of Generative Grammar in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, linguists have been very interested in rules and regularities – concepts that are traditionally not associated with analogy. This has led to the sidelined of analogy, at least until recently. However, a number of studies now show that analogy plays a major role in morphology, both in inflection and in word formation.

Krott (2009) discusses a number of studies that use analogical approaches and are more accurate at modelling real life data than rule-based approaches. Many of these concern the type of infixes selected in Dutch compounds, but they also deal with compound interpretation and acquisition. Extrapolating from this evidence, Krott concludes that “[i]t is likely that analogy is not restricted to noun-noun compounds, but that it plays an important role for other areas of morphology as well. It is therefore not at all unlikely that analogy underlies regularities that appear to be governed by rules” (2009: 136). A similar conclusion is reached by Arndt-Lappe (this volume), who discusses evidence from compound stress assignment and affix rivalry. Her work, like Krott’s, is based on analogical modelling algorithms like AM (Analogical Modeling) (Skousen 2002), and she shows that analogy can be predicted with a high degree of accuracy with such algorithms. This has profound consequences on the supposed distinction between rules and analogies, as rule-like effects emerge as patterns from the lexical distribution in an analogical model. They do not have independent status (Arndt-Lappe, this volume). Such points have been made before (Becker 1990), but usually on theoretical grounds. Empirical work as carried out by Krott and colleagues, or Arndt-Lappe, proves that rules are not only unnecessary to account for the data, but inferior in modelling it.

This fits in well with growing evidence for a gradual nature of morphology. It has been found that phenomena that are important in morphology, for example productivity or decomposability, should be considered graded rather than categorical. This means that there is no qualitative difference between unproductive and productive processes, for example, but that there is a cline from more productive to less productive (Plag 1999; McClelland & Bybee 2007; Schröder 2011). Similarly, morphologically complex words show different degrees of decomposability (Hay 2003; Ali & Ingleby
Analogy in Diachrony

Hay and Baayen thus conclude that the currently available evidence suggests that morphological structure in general is “inherently graded” (2005: 346). A gradual nature of morphology would be in line with analogical approaches, but difficult to account for under rule-based systems. Analyses that are mainly interested in regularities try to formalise the majority cases in abstract rules; compare, for example, the word formation rule for deadjectival un- prefixation below (Plag 2003: 35):

Word formation rule un1
Phonology: /ʌn/X
Base: X = adjective
Semantics: ‘not X’
Restriction: - derivatives with simplex bases must be interpretable as contraries
- some further unclear restrictions on possible base words

Such rules are data-based and account for the majority of cases, but there are nearly always exceptions. As long as these are not systematic, however, they do not necessitate an adaptation of the rule itself. Under such an approach, derivatives either behave in a rule-like manner or are considered idiosyncratic, irregular outliers. These outliers are often said to have been formed by analogy, which is traditionally seen as a “local mechanism, usually involving some degree of unpredictability” (Plag 2003: 38), and are generally not considered further. This binary categorisation of derivatives into regular on the one hand and irregular on the other does not reflect the gradual nature of morphology at all. It is also difficult to integrate change in word formation processes into such an approach. Analogical approaches do not have such difficulties. They do not distinguish categorically between regular and irregular processes, but assume that processes that seem irregular are based on a small number of possible analogies, while regular processes are based on a large number. This naturally allows for gradual distinctions from highly unusual (irregular) analogies to very common (regular) ones. Change in word formation patterns can also be explained as analogies that are made infrequently at the start and become perhaps more widespread over time.

The following discussion of -ship and -manship suffixation in English will illustrate how an analogical approach to word formation can account for the gradual changes that characterise the development of the new suffix -manship. An analogical perspective can thus not only be useful to account for synchronic patterns, but also for diachronic changes in morphology.

3. The Suffix -ship

The suffix -ship in Present Day English (PDE) forms nouns on the basis of nouns and adjectives. Since 1900, 30 new derivatives of -ship have entered the Oxford English Dictionary online (OED). Examples are donorship ‘the state or condition of being a donor’, ombudsmanship ‘the office or position of ombudsman’, and roadmanship ‘skill in the use of roads’. All neologisms in PDE can be interpreted as denominal, although a few may be based on adjectives as well. The majority of nominal bases denote persons,
as can be seen in the examples above. This structural aspect of -ship suffixation in the 20th and 21st centuries is quite different from -ship suffixation in Middle English (ME), where derivatives were mostly deadjectival or denominal, although we can already observe an increase in nominal, and especially person-noun bases in the 15th century.

While this word-formation process has thus not changed substantially with regard to its structural properties, its semantics have been subject to considerable change, as is shown in Schulte (2017). This is evident when derivatives are classified into different reading groups such as, for example, ACTION or COLLECTIVE. These reading groups have mnemonic labels and can be understood as groups of derivatives with similar semantics. The semantic paraphrases for derivatives attested in the OED are used for this classification. The formation market leadership, for example, is assigned a POSITION reading, because the OED paraphrases this word as ‘the position of a market leader’ (OED), and the derivative donorship is classified as CONDITION, because it is paraphrased as ‘the state or condition of being a donor’ (OED). For more information on the semantic classification process, see Schulte (2015).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reading</th>
<th>Type frequency ME</th>
<th>Type frequency PDE</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONDITION</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>donorship, fanship, recruitship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSITION</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>commonership, magnateship, millionarieship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GENERAL ABSTRACT</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>bondship, plantsmanship, sadbuship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTION</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>batsmanship, cocksmanship, cowardship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLLECTIVE</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>dealershi p, fellowship, followership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCATION</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>graveship, knightship, marquisship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERSON</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>ladyship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RIGHT</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>heirship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMOUNT</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>workmanship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHARGE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>abbotship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SKILL</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>horse-mastership, gamesmanship, plantsmanship</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Readings of ME and PDE -ship derivatives

The ME word formation pattern gives rise to 10 different readings, while only 6 different readings are attested in PDE neologisms, as can be seen in Table 1. In both periods, CONDITION is the most frequent reading, followed by POSITION. ME -ship derivatives also often refer to abstract concepts or actions, while the remaining readings are quite infrequent. In PDE, the ACTION reading of -ship formations is more

---

2 Some derivatives have more than one reading. Each of these is counted separately, so that the accumulated type frequencies can be higher than the overall type frequency in each period.
frequent than GENERAL ABSTRACT, and it is closely followed by a new reading, namely SKILL. For the present purpose, -ship derivatives with a SKILL reading are the most interesting, as this is also the predominant reading of -manship derivatives. Example formations are horse-mastership ‘skill in managing horses’ (OED), and plantsmanship ‘skill or expertise in planting’ (OED). These derivatives often have an additional ACTION reading, which refers to the activity itself, rather than focusing on the skill someone shows in performing it. This small group of derivatives is quite uniform in its structural aspects: Apart from horse-mastership, all of the derivatives are based on nouns ending in the element -man, e.g. gamesmanship or roadmanship. The structure of derivatives referring to actions, the reading that repeatedly co-occurs with SKILL, is very similar. Most of these formations are also built on nouns ending in -man, like one-upmanship ‘the art or practice of gaining the advantage’ (OED), or cocksmanship ‘aggressively competitive behaviour’ (OED). This structure is, in fact, closely linked with a SKILL and ACTION reading, as 8 of these 9 derivatives exhibit at least one of these two readings. Derivatives of -ship with other interpretations, for example CONDITION and POSITION, on the other hand, are based on morphologically simplex nouns like sib ‘a kinship group among Anglo-Saxon and other Germanic peoples’ (OED), recruit, or pariah, compounds like penpal, or derivatives of -er, like dealer. The morphological structure of PDE -ship neologisms thus seems to be closely linked to their semantics. This is not the case in ME, as only two derivatives, workmanship and aldermanship, contain a base ending in -man. Workmanship is classified as ACTION, AMOUNT, GENERAL ABSTRACT, CONDITION, and aldermanship as POSITION. Since ME, the number of derivatives that are based on a noun ending in -man has thus increased, and these derivatives usually refer to one or both of the readings SKILL or ACTION, which are either new or, relative to the overall number of neologisms, more frequent readings.

Both the morphological structure of the SKILL and ACTION derivatives, and those readings themselves have a close connection to derivatives of -manship, as the following section will make clear.

4. The Suffix -manship

The suffix -manship is quite new – according to the OED, its first derivatives occur in the 19th century. This suffix developed out of -ship derivatives that are based on compounds ending in -man, and is thus a result of reanalysis. As we have seen above, such formations usually denote a skill, and this reading is also the most prevalent interpretation of -manship derivatives. An OED search reveals 55 formations that can be interpreted as derivatives of -manship, as a base for that suffix is attested independently. Examples are horsemanship ‘skill or expertness in riding’ (OED), statesmanship ‘the work or art of a statesman; skilful management of public affairs’ (OED), or punmanship ‘skill in punning’ (OED). The earliest of these is workmanship ‘the performance or execution of work or a piece of work’ (OED) (a1393), the most recent nichemanship ‘the strategy of identifying and exploiting a market niche; skill in this field’ (OED) (1982).

These 55 formations cannot be treated uniformly as -manship derivatives, however. As -manship has developed due to a reanalysis of -ship derivatives, it is sometimes difficult
to determine which suffix is present in a given form: *roadmanship*, for example, can be analysed as *road* + *-manship* or *roadman* + *-ship*. One indicator for the derivation could be the semantic paraphrase: The OED describes *roadmanship* as ‘skill in the use of roads, esp. as a motorist; driving regarded as an art or accomplishment’ (OED). This paraphrase does not interpret *roadmanship* as the skill of a roadman, which would be parallel to the paraphrase of *statesmanship*, for example, and would indicate a person as the base of a *-ship* derivative. Instead, it only makes reference to the word *road*, which suggests that this is the base of a *-manship* derivative. Although semantic paraphrases can be used as an indicator, the only safe sign of a formation being a *-manship* rather than a *-ship* derivative is the non-existence of a base form ending in *-man*. So while many of the 55 formations found in the OED may well be derivatives of *-manship*, only 14 of them clearly contain that suffix. Table 2 contains the type frequencies and examples for both types of formations separately.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reading</th>
<th>Type frequency ambivalent <em>-(man)ship</em></th>
<th>Type frequency clear <em>-manship</em></th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SKILL</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>bikemanship, cragmanship, ropemanship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTION</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>greenswardsmanship, namesmanship, nichemanship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSITION</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>ealdormanship, chairmanship, ombudsmanship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GENERAL ABSTRACT</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>churchmanship, draughtsmanship penmanship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONDITION</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>bondmanship, kinsmanship, upmanship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMOUNT</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>workmanship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLLECTIVE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>statesmanship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJECT</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>workmanship</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Readings of ambivalent *-(man)ship* and clear *-manship* formations

The ambivalent formations have a larger range of readings, although this may simply be due to their overall larger number. Both groups refer to skills and actions most frequently, although the clear *-manship* derivatives are largely limited to these two readings, while the ambivalent formations also often have POSITION, GENERAL ABSTRACT, or CONDITION readings. The ambivalent formations are thus more similar to the 20th century *-ship* neologisms than the clear *-manship* derivatives (see section 3), which suggests that the word formation pattern is in flux from unambivalent *-ship* suffixation to unambivalent *-manship* suffixation. These ambivalent formations occupy the middle ground between *-ship* and *-manship* formation, both in terms of their structure and in terms of their semantics.