

The *cum*-construction in present-day English

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The present paper provides a corpus-based cognitive analysis of a marginal but productive construction in contemporary English, consisting of the Latin particle *cum* linking nouns/noun phrases (e.g. *pub-cum-hotel*, *mad-scientist-cum-travelling showman*) or prenominal modifiers (e.g. *philosophic-cum-economic tinge*, *feverishly readable post-apocalyptic-cum-vampire chiller*). A systematic investigation of the various morpho-syntactic and semantic patterns of the *cum*-construction is carried out, followed by a study of the cognitive motivations behind its use within the framework of conceptual blending theory. The *cum*-construction is analysed with respect to the broader phenomenon of compounding, in order to observe what function it serves compared to similar and more established formations, in particular coordinate compounds (e.g. *butler-chauffeur*). The position taken here is that specific pragmatic strategies, namely the intention to express humour and/or ironical disapproval, motivate the production of the *cum*-construction, which is the result of a 'forced' mapping process between the mental frames evoked by the named elements. The *cum*-construction is not just an ad-hoc and creative word combination with temporary relevance, but also an established formation in specific discourse contexts, especially sport (e.g. *cross-cum-shot*), and in technical domains (e.g. *silt vanes-cum-curved wing*).

1. Introduction

The aim of the present paper is to provide a corpus-based cognitive analysis of a marginal but productive construction in English, consisting of the Latin particle *cum* linking nouns/noun phrases, e.g. *pub-cum-hotel*, *mad-scientist-cum-travelling showman*, or prenominal modifiers, e.g. *philosophic-cum-economic tinge*, *feverishly readable post-apocalyptic-cum-vampire chiller*. These types of formations have received little attention in the literature so far. There appears to be just one main study on the topic by Stein (2000),¹ which, however, is based exclusively on the principles of word-formation theory and thus provides only a partial picture of the actual behaviour and use of these word combinations. The purpose here is to fill this gap, with attention not just to morphosyntactic issues but also to semantic-

pragmatic aspects. While addressing several questions concerning the *cum*-construction, the following sections should first of all be understood as a response to Stein (2000). A systematic investigation of the phenomena involved in the formation of this construction is then carried out in order to show the cognitive motivations behind its use. Conceptual blending theory (Fauconnier & Turner 2002) appears to be a suitable model to describe the mapping mechanisms underlying the formation of the *cum*-construction.

The decision to label this expression involving the use of *cum* a 'construction' stems from the theoretical assumption adopted here, according to which language users manipulate already existing lexical items to CONSTRUE ad-hoc formations in order to satisfy their specific communicative needs (Croft & Cruse 2004). A construction may generally be defined as a form-meaning pairing used to express a certain generalized concept or scenario (Goldberg 1995, 2006; Croft 2001; Langacker 2005);² in other words, a mental reality. In addition, the notion 'construction' often implies non-compositionality, i.e. there may be meaning aspects of the construction as a whole that do not derive from the sum of the meanings of its constituents (Goldberg 1995: 4). A very wide variety of constructions can be found in English ranging from crystallized, fixed forms to a multitude of looser word combinations characterised by different levels of complexity. This is because speakers conventionalise all sorts of structures, concrete and abstract, regular and idiomatic, in addition to using several creative mixed formations (cf. Naciscione 2010), thus making it problematic for linguists to clearly distinguish between construction types. In particular, the difference between a construction, a phrase or phrasal construction and a compound has often been discussed in the literature, without really reaching a unanimously conclusive picture.³ Constructions are variously (and confusingly) referred to as collocations, lexical bundles, multi-word units and with a number of other possible labels. The long debated and broader issue concerning their definition and classification, however, remains beyond the scope of the present paper and will not be addressed here. Suffice it to say that the various expressions discussed in the following paragraphs are all cases of recurrent meaning-to-form mappings. Hence, the decision to call them 'constructions' and to analyse them from a top-down, cognitive perspective.

Stein (2000), instead, characterises these formations from a strictly morphological perspective. This approach is endorsed in other general studies belonging to the same linguistic tradition (Szymanek 2005: 433, Kavka 2009: 29) in which her paper is mentioned. She views what is hereafter called the *cum*-construction as a compound

and only analyses the role played by the linking element *cum*, which she considers to be a bound morpheme. But, if *cum* triggers the formation of a compound, it should also be established what position it occupies along the endocentricity-exocentricity axis and what function it serves compared to its most similar word combination, i.e. the coordinate compound, for example *butler-chauffeur*, *moral-philosophical* etc. However, these aspects have been understudied so far. Semantic headedness is a particularly important issue to investigate with respect to *cum*-constructions and so are those pragmatic implications that justify their existence alongside more established and common formations. The notion of creativity in compounding has been explored by Benczes (2006), but no single mention of the *cum*-construction is made, despite its undoubtedly creative nature.

The sample of data used for the present analysis consists of 413 occurrences of the *cum*-construction retrieved both in major corpora of English (British National Corpus; ICAME collection: Lancaster/Oslo-Bergen Corpus, Freiburg-LOB Corpus, Australian Corpus of English, Wellington Corpus; BYU corpora: Corpus of Contemporary American English)⁴ and in the 2010 online articles of the British newspaper *The Guardian*.⁵ Some dictionary entries as well as examples found on the web⁶ are also cited in an attempt to provide the most comprehensive overview of the various *cum*-construction types.

2. Data and methodology

What strikes one most when reading Stein (2000) is the fact that her analysis is based on a very limited sample of data, consisting of just 15 occurrences of the *cum*-construction found in the novels of five authors and in the main dictionaries of English. Therefore, several corpora were queried in order to expand the field of observation. However, only 30 occurrences of *cum*-constructions were retrieved in the British National Corpus (BNC), 2 in the Lancaster/Oslo-Bergen Corpus (LOB), 4 in the Freiburg-LOB Corpus (FLOB), 3 in the Australian Corpus of English (ACE) and 4 in the Wellington Corpus (WeC) (see Appendix 1 and 2). Only the Corpus of Contemporary American English yielded more occurrences of *cum*-constructions, i.e. 83 examples (see Appendix 3). These are relatively small amounts, considering that the whole corpora were queried. Hence, the need to collect data from other sources too. Since the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) cites two cases of the *cum*-construction from *Viewpoint* and *The Guardian*, in addition to examples taken from fic-

tion texts, it made sense to take a closer look at magazine and newspaper texts as well.

Newspaper articles have proved to be a goldmine of data on the basis of which we can state with certainty that the *cum*-construction is far from being infrequent in English.⁷ This fact can be easily verified by inputting the word *cum* in the search box of the main newspapers available online. The *Guardian* lists 312 occurrences of *cum* in 2010, the *International Herald Tribune* 581 and *The New Zealand Herald* 70. These are obviously approximate figures, due to the presence of ‘noise’, i.e. unwanted data, that could not automatically be filtered out. All those cases of *cum* appearing in fixed expressions such as *summa cum laude*, for example, could not be excluded from the search. Therefore, it was decided to restrict the focus to one sample of data to be scanned manually. This was done with the *Guardian* articles, which have produced a total of 287 occurrences of the *cum*-construction (see Appendix 4). Place names such as *Chorlton-cum-Hardy*, *Markham-cum-Cumbermound* etc. as well as entire Latin phrases, e.g. *cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum* (with privilege of sole printing), *cum grano salis* (with a grain of salt, i.e. with caution or reserve) and so on, will not be analysed in the present study since they have now become crystallised forms with little relevance for lexical productivity.⁸

2.1. Spelling and function of the *cum*-construction

Contrary to what Stein (2000) claims, *cum* appears both with and without hyphens. In fact, most of the data obtained from corpora shows that *cum* can be a freestanding element:

- (1) field cum river bank (BNC: BJ3, 237)
- (2) personal assistant cum secretary (FLOB)
- (3) comedy cum undercover tale (ACE)
- (4) game of outdoor cricket cum softball latch (WeC)
- (5) a 30-year old New Delhi-based lawyer cum fitness enthusiast (COCA)

In the *Guardian* articles under examination, on the other hand, this trend is reversed and the vast majority of *cum*-constructions presents the insertion of hyphens:

- (6) bedroom-cum-studio (Guardian)
- (7) film-documentary-cum-family-album (Guardian)

The scenario changes in the American magazines and newspapers of COCA, in which there is only one instance of a hyphenated *cum*-construction (8). All the other cases are actually without hyphens, as in (9):

- (8) a 300-acre theme park-cum-zoo (COCA)
- (9) an amphitheater cum architectural ruin (COCA)

Spelling is very inconsistent in the use of *cum*-constructions and in some cases there even appears only one hyphen, connecting *cum* with either the right or left constituent(s) of the construction:

- (10) her cunning psycho-porno “too hot for MTV” pastiche-cum polemic (Guardian)
- (11) northern courtyard cum-garden (Guardian)

Due to the fact that the Latin *cum* is pronounced as ‘come’ in English, i.e. [kʌm], it is possible to find cases in which the spelling of the construction seems to be undergoing variation, as the following examples retrieved on the web demonstrate:

- (12) Your role is to remain largely objective – use the quotes etc. of others to introduce strong opinions or personal observations; you’re the umpire-come-lawyer in these instances. (web)⁹
- (13) Singer-come-actor Joe Jonas says he wants a role in a Bond film (web).¹⁰

This spelling change might be motivated by the need to express the idea of a transformation affecting the A element of the construction, which is viewed as acquiring the properties of the B element. It sounds as if *come* were the abbreviation of the past participle form *become*, thus making it possible to paraphrase sentence (13) above, for instance, as ‘Joe Jonas, who is originally a singer, but has now become an actor too, wants a role in a Bond film’.¹¹ This use of *come*, however, is still not officially acknowledged.

Let us now consider the meaning of the element *cum* as defined in dictionaries. Some say that it is a Latin preposition “frequently used as a combining word to indicate a dual nature or function” (OED), “used between two nouns to show that something has two purposes” (*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*), while others view it as a conjunction meaning “along with being” and a synonym of “and” (*Merriam-Webster Dictionary*) or define it rather generically as a “combining form used to join two nouns, showing that the person or

thing does two things or has two purposes” (*Cambridge Dictionary of American English*). Furthermore, according to the OED the element *cum* is used frequently, whereas for the *Online Etymology Dictionary*¹² it is only “occasionally used [...] as a combining word to indicate a dual nature or function”. The scenario portrayed is quite contradictory and, as it often happens, dictionaries can only be considered as a point of departure in the analysis of lexicon. For instance, the possibility of linking more than two nouns or noun phrases, as in (14) and (15), is not contemplated¹³ nor are adjectival combinations occurring before nouns¹⁴, e.g. (16) and (17):

- (14) organic farm-cum-restaurant-cum-guesthouse (Guardian)
- (15) Some would argue that the Weinberger/Powell doctrine of certain victory cum superior power cum national interests cum U.S. public support was quickly abandoned because of Wilson and Clinton’s common idealism. (COCA)
- (16) administrative-cum-judicial-cum-executive-cum-financial officer (web)¹⁵
- (17) the “moralist” or “ethical” cum “progressive” political belt of American culture. (COCA)

The fact that complex *cum*-constructions are possibly less frequent than shorter, two-base formations does not mean that they do not exist. They actually provide useful examples of the high combining power of *cum*¹⁶. It will be demonstrated in section 3 below that *cum*-constructions can be assigned specific ‘meaning templates’.

As far as the morphological status of *cum* is concerned, Stein (2000: 281-282) maintains what follows:

For our purpose, the linguistic characterisation of *-cum-* in modern English, we shall assume that *-cum-* is a bound lexical morpheme which has a distinct form and meaning of its own. Since its use is restricted to linking two nouns or adjectives and since it cannot occur in this function on its own, typographically reflected in the two hyphens, *-cum-* cannot be interpreted as a free coordinating conjunction. From a formal and grammatical point of view it can be clearly distinguished from prefixes and suffixes. The latter typically have a word-class determination in English: an English speaker knows that *-dom*, for instance, derives nouns, *-less* adjectives, and *-ize* verbs. The element *-cum-* has no part-of-speech determination. [...] *-cum-* has a selectional feature which is bi-directional: the two bases which it links belong to the same word class. The examples provided suggest a predominant pattern *n-cum-n*, *adj-cum-adj* seems to be less common.

If *cum* were a bound lexical morpheme it would not appear as a freestanding element, as examples (1)-(5) and (9) above show instead. The second objection to Stein's claim has to do with the fact that *cum* can indeed be considered as a free coordinating conjunction, with a meaning and function of its own. Although at the formal level it can be easily replaced by another conjunction, say *and*, its substitution may produce a stylistic change and also affect the general semantic content of the construction. What is implied in (18), for instance, is arranged marriage based on love, while (19) stresses the dichotomy between love marriage and arranged marriage.¹⁷

(18) love *cum* arranged marriages

(19) love and arranged marriages

In other words, *cum* appears to make it possible to blend the pre-modifiers together (*love cum arranged*) and thus blur the boundaries between the two antithetic conceptions of love marriage and arranged marriage. This possibility remains unavailable with the use of the conjunction *and*, which instead reinforces the difference.

There is no doubt that *cum* is neither a prefix nor a suffix. It is precisely for this reason that it has part-of-speech determination. In addition to its function as a conjunction, in some contexts the element *cum* works as a preposition. This clearly emerges by looking at one of its first attestations, as documented in the OED (20), as well as at other contemporary uses (21):

(20) He greatly preferred coffee *cum* chicory to coffee pure and simply (OED)

(21) Japanese dinner buffet *cum* ice cream mania (Guardian)

The function of *cum* as a preposition becomes more evident in the case of two bases belonging to the same word class, but not necessarily referring only to concrete or abstract nouns/actions. A combination of 'concreteness' and 'abstractness' is possible:

(22) an intriguing strategy-*cum*-Illuminati logo printed inside (Guardian)

(23) the latest "best job in the world" *cum* marketing wheeze (Guardian)

Stein's intuition concerning the predominant structure of the *cum*-construction, i.e. noun + *cum* + noun, has been confirmed through the analysis of more empirical data, but different patterns embedded under this construction type can be identified.

2.2. Morphosyntactic and semantic patterns

It does not suffice to say that in addition to instances of the pattern ‘place’ + *cum* + ‘place’ and ‘person/group of people’ + *cum* + ‘person/group of people’ there are just two other patterns, i.e. ‘concrete object’ + *cum* + ‘concrete object’ and ‘abstract noun/action’ + *cum* + ‘abstract noun/action’. The data shows that the following combinations are also possible:

- (24) The Wapping Project Bankside, the commercial gallery offshoot of the Docklands arts centre-cum-dining experience, has staged some top-notch exhibitions this year. (Guardian)
- (25) As America gears up for its midterm elections, Carolyn Lyons gets an insight into the lives and politics of two of its past leaders at their presidential libraries – personal museums-cum-ego-trips built by every US president since Roosevelt. (Guardian)

The expression *dining experience* in (24) designates an abstract concept and so does *ego trips* in (25), which is used metaphorically to refer to someone’s intention to boost or draw attention to his or her own image. What we have in these two examples is thus a ‘concrete entity’ + *cum* + ‘abstract concept’ pattern, while (22) above shows the opposite scenario, with an abstract noun first followed by a concrete one.

The vast majority of nouns linked by *cum* are singular (26), with just a few cases of constructions in which they are both plural (27) or a combination of a plural noun first and then a singular one (28):

- (26) defender cum winger (BNC: K4C, 1410); office-cum-bedroom (LOB)
- (27) professionals cum gardeners (BNC: HTC, 70); discrete territories cum enduring territorial groups (COCA)
- (28) stables cum car park (BNC: B3J, 512); [...] [T]hailand, only ever seen in the international imagination as the world’s greatest beaches-cum-sex-tourism destination (web).¹⁸

When the right-hand base is morphologically marked for the plural, e.g. (29), (30) and (31), some ambiguity arises in terms of semantic headedness:

- (29) You might have to start by mentioning the normal nightmare of air travel – crowded airport-cum-shopping malls, being squeezed into seats to be charged small fortunes for stale sandwiches. (Guardian)
- (30) The dual island nation may officially separate soon, but visitors can still enjoy a menu of plantation-cum-boutique hotels, palm tree-lined beaches and adventurous hikes (web).¹⁹

- (31) So I made the resolution to start a publishing company (very small one) and to open a chain of bookstore-cum-coffee shops that would almost exclusively sell my merchandise (web).²⁰

This is because it is not immediately clear whether the element *cum* has the meaning and function of a preposition or that of a conjunction. For example, (29) could be understood as (1) ‘a crowded airport with shopping malls inside’ where ‘airport’ is the head and ‘shopping malls’ its tail, or as (2) an endocentric unit with ‘malls’ as the head, ‘crowded’ and ‘airport-cum-shopping’ as the first and second adjectival pre-modifiers, respectively. Likewise, the *cum*-construction in (30) and (31) may be interpreted as either left- or right-headed. The latter scenario, however, seems to be the most likely, because otherwise one would expect to find the A-constituent in the constructions (i.e. *airport*, *plantation* and *bookstore*) to be marked for the plural too. But treating these word combinations as left-headed would simply make them ungrammatical. The *cum*-constructions in the three examples above are in fact obtained through the fusion of two NPs resulting in the ellipsis of the head noun of the first NP in order to avoid repetition, so that the head of the second NP becomes the “profile determinant” (Langacker 1991), i.e. *airport* malls + shopping malls = *airport-cum-shopping malls*, *plantation* hotels + boutique hotels = *plantation-cum-boutique hotels*, *bookstore* shops²¹ + coffee shops = *bookstore-cum-coffee shops*.

2.3. Headedness

In the light of the above analysis, the claim that *cum*-constructions are left-headed (Stein 2000: 283) is necessarily limited:

[...] the relation between the A-element and the B-element in the –cum– combinations is one where B is subordinated to A, a *butler-cum-chauffeur* is a butler who also performs chauffeur duties rather than a chauffeur with butler functions, and a *pub-cum-hotel* is a pub which has also accommodation rather than a hotel which is also a pub. The B-element is subsidiary, has an additional, extra function or role with respect to the A-element.

Cum-constructions can only be left-headed if the B-element agrees in number with the A-element, as in *butler-cum-chauffeur* or *pub-cum-hotel*, since, as Stein herself puts it, “the grammatical and semantic determinatum of *cum*-compounds is the A-element” (Stein 2000: 284). So how can we justify the correctness of *cum*-constructions

in (29), (30) and (31) above? What the coiner of (29) most probably has in mind, for example, is a so-called *airport mall* or *airmall*, i.e. an airport which has become a place with lots of shops inside. The interesting thing is that *airport mall* and *airmall* (which exist as formulaic units) already presuppose their being *shopping malls* (while the opposite is not necessarily true, i.e. a *shopping mall* is not only to be found inside an airport). There should be no need then to make a distinction between *airport mall* or *airmall* and *airport-cum-shopping mall*. The insertion of the element *cum*, however, adds another component of meaning and performs a specific linguistic function, as will be discussed in the next paragraphs. What is obvious in (29), (30) and (31) is the progression of focus from *airport* to *shopping mall*, from *plantation hotel* to *boutique hotel* and from *bookstore* to *coffee shop*, so that the places in question are no longer just an airport, a plantation hotel and a bookstore, respectively. They clearly started out like that, but they have now become something else. We should then rephrase Stein's formulation and say that in these cases the X_1 -element in the *cum*-construction designates entities that can be transformed into the entities designated by the X_n -elements. There are a number of examples in the *Guardian* sample confirming this trend:

- (32) The Southampton station block, he writes, clearly hasn't been cleaned in a very long time... Adjacent is a small bombsite-cum-park, benches, rats and bristling vegetation. (*Guardian*)
- (33) The landscape stays stunningly harsh all the way across to the Apache Indian homelands of southern Arizona, where the mining camp-cum-artists' community of Bisbee adds another take on this classic American melange. (*Guardian*)
- (34) [...] the global economic collapse has left the G8 unable to fully control the fallout and it's now being forced to expand the club to 20. [...] the antithesis to the global political and economic order proposed by the G8 cum G20. (*Guardian*)

What was originally a bombsite in (32) has now been turned into a park. Similarly, Bisbee in (33) is no longer a mining camp, but an artists' community and the G20 in (34) consists of more member countries than the former G8. We cannot argue, *à la* Stein, that what is indicated by a *bombsite-cum-park* is mainly a bombsite which is also used as a park, neither that Bisbee is mostly a mining camp or that the G8 is also a G20. The opposite is rather the case: we are looking at a park which used to be a bombsite, a community located on the site of a former mining camp and an expanded group now consisting of 20 country representatives.

Left-headedness cannot be entirely discarded, though, as there are *cum*-constructions which may indeed retain this feature:

(35) bedroom cum study (Stein 2000: 280)

(36) organic farm-cum-restaurant-cum-guesthouse (Guardian)

But in a number of cases it is quite problematic to establish how much of what is described by the first element in the *cum*-construction actually prevails over the following one(s). To what extent is the town in question in (37), for instance, still a market town as opposed to a resort town?

(37) market-cum-resort town (Stein 2000: 278)

These types of *cum*-constructions, in which there is an ellipsis of the semantic head, entail some opacity. It is not possible to understand exactly whether the location referred to in (37) is a market town, a resort town or a market town with a resort. The expression could perhaps also mean a market town with a resort feel.

Establishing the level of semantic prominence of the adjectives/adjective phrases linked by *cum* does not appear as an easy task, either. This once again impinges on the reliability of the left-headedness principle for certain *cum*-constructions. If the focus is possibly still on *philosophic* in (38), the longer the slot occupied by the modifiers (39), the less salient the first element remains:

(38) a philosophic-cum-economic tinge (OED)

(39) administrative-cum-judicial-cum-executive-cum-financial officer (Guardian)

We might even hypothesise that the modifier closest to the semantic head attains more prominence than the ones preceding it, for the simple reason that it remains more impressed in the hearer's mind than the first word in the list.²²

3. *Cum-construction templates*

The information about the meaning and function of *cum* contained in dictionaries is contradictory and does not provide a complete picture of its behaviour in the formation of constructions, which must be analysed more carefully with regard to their degree of variability.

It is also necessary to be aware of the frequency of the different types of the *cum*-construction in order to see which pattern is more productive than others.

Table 1 summarises the templates that could be identified through the analysis of 413 occurrences of *cum*-constructions retrieved in the corpora of English mentioned in section 1, in addition to the examples found in the sample of online articles from the *Guardian* and the ones cited in dictionaries and in Stein (2000). The left column illustrates the semantic features of the templates while the right column contains examples of each specific construction type.

Table 1. *Cum*-construction semantic templates²³

	CONSTRUCTIONAL TEMPLATES	EXAMPLES
1.	(AdjP) N ₁ serves as/is used as/is also (AdjP) N ₂	<i>ladder-cum-mast, bedroom-cum-studio, bar-cum-brothel, terraced house-cum-studio, makeshift operating-theatre-cum-vivisectional-research-unit</i>
1.a	(AdjP) N ₁ serves as/is used as/is also (AdjP) N _n	<i>organic farm-cum-restaurant-cum-guesthouse, investigation-cum-gossip-cum-rumour</i>
2.	(AdjP) N ₁ performs (AdjP) N ₂ 's duties/functions	<i>producer-cum-director, maid-cum-child minder, web designer-cum-wood pellet distributor</i>
2.a	(AdjP) N ₁ performs (AdjP) N _n 's duties/functions	<i>poet-cum-priest-cum-doctor, Irish defender-cum-midfielder-cum-substitute, fugitive-cum-actor-cum-jeggings purveyor</i>
3.	AdjP _n assign _n roles to/ describe _n features/types of N ₁	<i>philosophic-cum-economic tinge, easy motor-bike-cum-side-car trips, internet-cum-telephone bank, administrative-cum-judicial-cum-executive-cum-financial officer, love cum arranged marriage, Cameron-cum-Clegg austerity obsession, market-cum-resort town, airport-cum-shopping malls, orange-cum-tangerine jersey</i>
3.a	AdjP _n assigns _n roles to/ describes _n features/types of both N ₁ and N ₂	<i>tabloid celebrity darling-cum-victim, alternative enthusiasms-cum-ways of life, government-sponsored intensive therapy-cum-support, Obama candidacy cum movement</i>
4.	(AdjP) N ₁ is characterised by/is with/has (AdjP) N ₂	<i>coffee cum chicory, Japanese dinner buffet cum ice cream mania, intriguing strategy-cum-Illuminati logo, latest "best job in the world" cum marketing wheeze, reading-cum-book signing, babysitter-cum-cricket fixture, Docklands arts centre-cum-dining experience, surreal soap-cum-murder-mystery</i>
5.	(AdjP) N ₁ causes/ produces/results in/has become (AdjP) N ₂	<i>G8-cum-G20, mining camp-cum-artists' community of Bisbee, small bombsite-cum-park, Italian-British summit-cum-talking shop, fixture-cum-irritant</i>

3.1. Template type 1: '(AdjP) N₁ serves as/is used as/is also (AdjP) N₂/N_n'

This template is one of the two most frequent types of all. 117 out of 287 occurrences of the *cum*-construction retrieved in the *Guardian* articles, 8 out of 30 in the BNC, 40 out of 83 in COCA and 5 out of 12 in the ICAME corpora show this pattern. N₁ and N₂ typically designate concrete, non-human singular entities with just a few cases in which they refer to abstract (40) or plural (41) concepts:

- (40) mimesis-cum-worship (*Guardian*); club life cum ceremonial local politics (COCA)
- (41) rehearsals-cum-shows (*Guardian*); war monuments cum mass graves (COCA)

The function and meaning of the element *cum* here is that of a conjunction and it is often replaceable by 'and' or by a correlative phrase such as 'both ... and' or 'as well as'. A *ladder-cum-mast* and a *bar-cum-brothel* are then to be interpreted as something that is 'both a ladder and a mast' and as a place used as 'a bar as well as a brothel', respectively.

There are varying degrees of complexity characterising template type 1, ranging from simple units consisting of two unmodified bases (42) to more elaborate combinations of elements (43-44) linked by *cum*. Not just two or more one-word lexical items and compound nouns can be embedded under the *cum*-construction, but also coordinate structures (45):

- (42) bedroom-cum-studio (*Guardian*)
- (43) makeshift operating-theatre-cum-vivisectional-research-unit (*Guardian*)
- (44) propaganda medium cum travel service cum organizing tool; Some would argue that the Weinberger/Powell doctrine of certain victory cum superior power cum national interests cum U.S. public support was quickly abandoned because of Wilson and Clinton's common idealism (COCA)
- (45) shopping village cum restaurant-theater (COCA)

Some *cum*-constructions appear more than once in the data under investigation, as if to suggest the recurrent need for new lexemes synthetically entailing co-occurring concepts. This is the case of (46) and (47), but more examples of this phenomenon can be found with *cum*-constructions of template type 2, in some specific vocabulary domains:

- (46) bar-cum-brothel (Guardian)
- (47) hotel-cum-brothel (Guardian)

Although it is ideally possible to have several bases linked by *cum*, it is by far more common to find just one right and one left constituent in the construction. Only three occurrences of longer combinations, as in example (44), could be retrieved in the sample of data analysed.

3.2. *Template type 2: '(AdjP) N₁ performs (AdjP) N₂/N_n's duties / functions'*

This template type is also very frequent. It is actually the most frequent in the BNC sample (11 out of 30 occurrences of *cum*-constructions) and the second most represented in COCA (24 out of 83 occurrences) and in the *Guardian* (84 out of 287 occurrences). As for the ICAME corpora, it appears 4 out of 13 times.

Cum-constructions of this type typically designate singular human entities that have more than one role – as part of their job, for instance (48) – but the two or more functions performed by the same individual may be quite different from each other (49-50):

- (48) defender cum winger (BNC: K4C, 1410)
- (49) bookseller cum hairdresser (BNC: FSV, 791)
- (50) salesperson cum barista cum waitress (COCA)

14 out of 84 occurrences of the *cum*-construction in the *Guardian* refer specifically to the game of football and to field players. The lexical area of sport seems to lend itself particularly well to the creation of ad-hoc formations describing the many roles played by the members of a team. If we use the web as a corpus we can easily retrieve a number of *cum*-constructions in articles about rugby (51), volleyball (52), basketball (53), baseball (54) and so on.

- (51) fullback-cum-wing (web)²⁴
- (52) blocker cum attacker (web)²⁵
- (53) shooting guard cum point guard (web)²⁶
- (54) hitter-cum-first baseman (web)²⁷

There are only a few cases of this template type in which *cum* links plural nouns (55) or more than two bases (56):

- (55) critics-cum-thinkers (Guardian)
- (56) Irish defender-cum-midfielder-cum-substitute (Guardian)

3.3. *Template type 3: 'AdjP_n assign _nroles to/describe _nfeatures / types of N₁ / N₁ and N₂'*

The nouns/NPs appearing under this template type are mostly abstract entities. Compared to the other two *cum*-construction types illustrated above, this one is relatively infrequent, with just 4 occurrences out of 30 in the BNC, 9 out of 83 in COCA, 1 in the Australian Corpus of English, 1 in the Wellington Corpus and none in the other corpora of the ICAME collection. Once again, the *Guardian* produced more results, which, however, only amount to 40 out of 287 total occurrences of *cum*-constructions.

The most significant feature of template type 3 is the ellipsis of the noun/NP after the first adjectives/AdjPs (57-58), since its use may either affect the interpretation of the construction (57b)²⁸ and/or be perceived as redundant (58b). The nature of these hyponym constructions typically leads to a blended interpretation of their pre-modifiers, which may also have opposite meanings (59):

- (57) class-based *cum* financial boundaries (*Guardian*)
- (58) administrative-*cum*-judicial-*cum*-executive-*cum*-financial officer (*Guardian*)
- (57b) class-based boundaries *cum* financial boundaries (fabricated example)
- (58b) administrative officer-*cum*-judicial officer-*cum*-executive officer-*cum*-financial officer (fabricated example)
- (59) dream-*cum*-nightmare palace (*Guardian*)

The palace in question in (59) is no longer just a dream palace but also one associated with something negative and/or scary. This condition further limits the validity of the left-headedness principle supported by Stein (2000), because establishing the prominence of the leftmost constituent within this construction is problematic. Reference is more often made to coexisting states and conditions whose significance is essentially the same (60) or to a 'blended concept' incorporating two or more components (61):

- (60) computer-*cum*-front-parlour-television-set revolution (*Guardian*)
- (61) Belgrave-*cum*-Pimlico life (OED)

How could one maintain that the revolution mentioned in (60) regards primarily the computer more than the television set or that life in (61) is mostly that of Belgrave?

While the majority of template type 3 constructions have a number of modifiers in an attributive position (62), often resulting in extremely condensed expressions of longer and varied concepts (63), there are a few instances in which the *cum*-phrase appears in a post-modifying slot (64-65), thus bringing the elements together less economically:

- (62) internet-cum telephone-bank (Guardian)
- (63) collective wartime-rationing-cum-recession-austerity survival instinct (Guardian)
- (64) school of chat-cum-chat-up (Guardian)
- (65) game of lawn-bowls-cum-shove-ha'penny-on-ice (Guardian)

In template type 3 constructions the meaning and function of the element *cum* remains that of a conjunction, including those cases in which there is not an ellipsis of the semantic head but of one of its pre-modifiers (66-67):

- (66) Obama candidacy cum movement in 2008 (Guardian)
- (67) Methodist Christianization cum civilization (COCA)

This last scenario might resemble the one described above for template type 1. However, we are not exactly looking at something that has a dual or multiple nature here, but rather at distinct concepts with a common feature.

3.4. Template type 4: '(AdjP) N_1 is characterised by/is with/has (AdjP) N_2 '

The element *cum* in these types of constructions has a meaning and function comparable to that of the preposition 'with'. This template type is rare, with just 8 occurrences in COCA and 6 in the *Guardian* articles. No occurrences of this construction were found in the BNC or in the ICAME corpora, except for one case in the Wellington Corpus (68). The OED, however, cites it as the first actual use of *cum*, i.e. in an English instead of in a Latin phrase, dating back to 1871 (69):

- (68) game of outdoor cricket cum softball latch (WeC)
- (69) coffee cum chicory (OED)

On the basis of the significantly lower frequency of constructions in which *cum* works as a preposition, we might hypothesise

that the Latin element initially retained this function in English, but later underwent semantic bleaching and started to be used primarily as a conjunction.²⁹ Template type 4 constructions are left-headed, since N_1 indicates the main semantic/conceptual domain, to which N_2 is attached as a kind of appendage. N_2 specifies the features of what is indicated by N_1 . *Cum* may link concrete/abstract nouns with other concrete/abstract nouns belonging to different semantic/conceptual domains. While coffee and chicory in (69) are both used to make drinks, for instance, N_1 and N_2 in (70), (71) and (72) do not have much in common:

- (70) Docklands arts centre-cum-dining experience (Guardian)
- (71) babysitter cum cricket fixture (Guardian)
- (72) joshing give-and-take cum photo-op (COCA)

It is actually quite peculiar to find such word combinations. But it is precisely this ‘oddity’ that requires/justifies the insertion of the element *cum*, whose function is not simply that of a preposition. It has some special ‘unifying power’, while also producing specific stylistic effects as well as adding implicit components of meaning to the whole expression.

3.5. *Template type 5: ‘(AdjP) N_1 causes/produces/results in/has become (AdjP) N_2 ’*

The main feature of this template type is its right-headedness. It is N_2 which shifts into the foreground as the most salient element in the construction. While in (73) the focus remains on N_1 (template type 1), since what is being referred to here is still a bedroom, even if it is also used as a studio, the same cannot be said about (74), in which N_1 has been transformed into N_2 :

- (73) bedroom-cum-studio (Guardian)
- (74) The landscape stays stunningly harsh all the way across to the Apache Indian homelands of southern Arizona, where the mining camp-cum-artists’ community of Bisbee adds another take on this classic American melange. (Guardian)

We could paraphrase (74) as ‘what used to be a mining camp is now an artists’ community’. The same applies to all the other examples of template type 5 listed in Table 1, e.g. a *bombsite-cum-park* (example (32) above, reproduced here as (75)) is no longer a bombsite but a park instead, a *summit-cum-talking shop* (76) has become a

rather unproductive, informal meeting and so on. We may view this type of *cum*-construction as resultative in that *cum* signals a transition of prominence from N_1 to N_2 :

- (75) The Southampton station block, he writes, “clearly hasn’t been cleaned in a very long time... Adjacent is a small bombsite-cum-park, benches, rats and bristling vegetation. (Guardian)
- (76) With the pope’s visit just a memory, the live issue remains: who will replace Francis Campbell as the British ambassador to the Holy See? Will it be, as many have suggested, Lord Patten? “I don’t see it happening,” said his wife Lavender this week. And so we cast the net a little wider. And while doing so we notice the vigorous, opinionated figure that is Denis MacShane MP lobbying Lord Patten at the weekend to support him as a possible successor to Campbell. The pressing of flesh occurred at the annual Pontignano Conference, the Italian-British summit-cum-talking shop. (Guardian)

Similarly, a *fixture-cum-irritant* (77) is mostly something that now irritates and causes annoyance:

- (77) In 1978, David Allan Coe had apparently completed one of the most spectacular rags-to-riches journeys in music history: in and out of correctional facilities since his pre-teens, he lived in a customised hearse he parked outside the Ryman Auditorium in Nashville, becoming a fixture-cum-irritant in the city until the title track of his eighth album, *Take This Job and Shove It*, became a chart-topper for Johnny Paycheck. (Guardian)

The process we are looking at is one in which N_1 triggers N_2 . Therefore, N_2 is not a type of N_1 . This clearly contradicts Stein’s claim about the left-headedness of all *cum*-constructions (Stein 2000).

4. Levels of ‘compoundhood’ and conceptual blending

Let us now turn our attention to the differences between *cum*-constructions and similar combinations. In particular, what purposes do *cum*-constructions serve compared to more ‘standard’ compounds, such as the coordinate types like *butler-chauffeur*?

Coordinate compounds, also called *dvandva* compounds,³⁰ are double-headed (Scalise & Bisetto 2009), symmetric and typically based on a relation of similarity, with the two hyphenated lexemes belonging to the same semantic field, e.g. flavours, colours, relationships, jobs, etc. This condition produces a ‘between’ reading without

reference to the individual elements of the compound as separate entities, as in *a bitter-sweet taste*, *a blue-green algae*, *doctor-patient relationship* and so on. In other words, it is not possible to taste bitterness and sweetness separately, to perceive the algae as only blue or green, or to conceive of a relationship as being made up of only one person. Instead, in the case of *cum*-constructions, when the relation holding between the elements is also based on similarity, the resulting expression tends to have an ‘additive’ rather than a copulative reading, e.g. *poet-cum-priest-cum-doctor*, and they are not symmetric. This could explain why the construction may have more than two constituting elements, which is a less probable scenario, albeit still possible, without the use of *cum*, e.g. *poet-priest-doctor*, *butler-chauffeur-chef-waiter*³¹ etc. *Cum*-constructions are then more likely to allow the integration of several concepts, but they are less entrenched,³² i.e. the lexemes forming them have not often been previously connected, although there are cases which appear with significant frequency, as will be discussed below. The more we use unconventional structures, the more familiar and acceptable they become, because “[...] every use of a structure has a positive impact on its degree of entrenchment, whereas extended periods of disuse have a negative impact. With repeated use, a novel structure becomes progressively entrenched, to the point of becoming a unit” (Langacker 1987: 59).

Compounds can be seen as ranging from standard, highly entrenched word combinations to “capricious coinages” showing “rampant idiosyncrasy” (Jackendoff 2009: 109-110). Alongside well-established structures, easily interpretable outside their context of occurrence, e.g. *taxi driver*, *skinhead*, *mother-in-law*, there are extremely contextual uses retaining a great deal of opacity in terms of reference. Although compounds like *bike girl* and *cherry jeans*, for instance, consist of structurally basic word combinations, they are not biunique in terms of indexicality,³³ and therefore complex if not disambiguated. They have little chance of achieving permanence, as they are the product of “context-dependent online conceptualisation” (Ungerer & Schmid 2006: 271). On the other hand, *cum*-constructions seem to occupy a more stable position, since they are regulated by specific recurrent patterns, as described in section 3. The basic constructional schema ‘X-cum-Y’ is after all entrenched for some speakers, thus generating a number of different micro-constructions with varying recurrence rates. Due to their creativity, however, these constructions are less controllable than coordinate compounds.

Given the difficulty in systematically distinguishing compounds from phrasal constructions at the structural level, it could be useful

to provide a taxonomy in terms of meaning relations among words. While in Construction Morphology (Booij 2010a, 2010b) complex lexical items are analysed primarily at the paradigmatic level, by relying on abstract schemas which express generalisations about forms and associated functions (e.g. the suffix *-ness* derives de-adjectival abstract nouns in English, as in *lonely* > *loneliness*), the meaning relations holding between words at the extended phrasal level have not been given due attention. Therefore, a hierarchical taxonomy of complex lexical items based on ‘meaning schemas’ is called for. An initial general classification is thus provided here. Four distinct levels of analysis, namely the semantic, pragmatic, illocutionary and the discourse level may be identified.

Level 1 (semantic level) can be viewed as the core representation, regulated by hyponymy and producing primitive endocentric compounds of the type *[XY] is a type of Y*, e.g. *law clinic*, or left-headed compounds characterised by the pattern *[XY] is a type of X*, e.g. *mother-in-waiting*. Coordinate compounds also belong to this low level of representation since they consist of a mere combination of lexemes forming a larger, but still semantically compositional unit, e.g. *secretary-treasurer*, *butler-chauffeur* etc. The meaning of compounds at level 1 can be obtained through the sum of the meanings of their constituting parts and on the basis of how these parts are combined. However, while the syntactic order of the elements in both right-headed and left-headed compounds is relevant for their acceptability (**clinic law*, **in-waiting-mother*), this is not necessarily the case for coordinate compounds, e.g. *secretary-treasurer*, *treasurer-secretary*, although changing the order of the elements may affect the overall meaning of the expression.

Level 2 (pragmatic level) may be represented by metonymy- and metaphor-based exocentric compounds of the type *[XY] is Z*, e.g. *pickpocket*, *ladyfinger* etc., which extend the meaning representation of their constituting elements. In other words, the overall meaning of the compound cannot be inferred from the literal meaning of the words embedded under it, but is instead conventionally derived. The compound *pickpocket*, for instance, can be interpreted by means of a metonymic operation, whereby the act of picking someone’s pocket stands for the person who performs such act with the intention of stealing. There is a part-whole relation holding between concepts here, leading to a process of meaning expansion obtained from using part of a domain to provide access to the whole domain. Because metonymy is a pragmatic strategy,³⁴ these compounds occupy a less ‘core’ meaning layer and are more complex, even if still regulated by

conventionalised, i.e. low-level, implications. The same is true for compounds like *ladyfinger* that can be interpreted through a metaphoric operation,³⁵ making it possible to compare this type of biscuit to a lady's long and thin and dainty fingers. This is again a rather complex process, requiring increased cognitive effort for the interpretation of the compound.

Cum-constructions take meaning representation further and could thus belong to level 3 (illocutionary level). This is because they appear to be associated with higher-level pragmatic effects, usually humour and/or ironical disapproval. Not only do *cum*-constructions produce a conceptual combination of two or more mental spaces that get integrated into a new blended space containing information projected from its input spaces, *à la* Fauconnier and Turner (2002), but they may also cause a surprised reaction in the hearer or reader due to some kind of contrast existing between the elements linked by *cum*:

(78) a poet cum plumber (web)³⁶

(79) a mild-mannered Jewish baker-cum-boxing manager (web)³⁷

A poet and a plumber are usually thought of as different people, so the notion of a poet who does plumbing work sounds a little paradoxical. Hence, the implicit irony. Similarly, being a baker, especially a mild-mannered one, contrasts with working as a boxing manager. The use of simple coordinate compounds would not produce the same effects and would probably be considered as odd or even incorrect in that the conceptual contrast between the referents in the construction is too sharp:

(78b) ?a poet-plumber (fabricated example)

(79b) *a mild-mannered Jewish baker-boxing manager (fabricated example)

It is precisely the element *cum* which allows the integration between two or several concepts that are not subsidiary one to another and which have not been previously connected. This combination is made possible by *cum* acting as a constraint 'cueing' for a high-level interpretation imposed by the language user.

Finally, level 4 (discourse level) may include those ad hoc expressions which retain a high degree of opacity due to their acting as prompts for anaphoric reference in discourse. Compounds like *bike girl* or *cherry jeans* are non-interpretable out of context since they may refer back to a number of different scenarios, e.g. the girl on the

bike, the girl who just parked her bike or the girl who had an accident while riding her bike and jeans of a cherry-like colour or with stains of cherry juice or the ones used for cherry picking, etc.

Conceptual blending theory (Coulson 2001; Sweetser 1999; Fauconnier & Turner 1998, 2002) illustrates the way speakers and hearers perform cognitive operations resulting in the merging of mental spaces that may eventually find a reflection at the level of formal choices. Therefore, it is “the way forward in accounting for the semantics of creative compounds” (Benczes 2006: 58) in general and a suitable theoretical framework for the description of *cum*-constructions as well, since complex word formations are undoubtedly the final products of tangled processes originating in our minds. There are, however, some differences in the type of compression mechanisms at stake in compounding. As far as noun-noun formations are concerned, Fauconnier and Turner (2002: 256-7) show that the so-called “named elements” in a compound, e.g. *land* and *yacht* in *land yacht* (a large and luxurious car metaphorically conceived as a yacht travelling on land) are based on a relation of disanalogy that is eventually overcome in the integration of the two domains. In other words, *land* and *yacht* belong to different frames which then become unified thanks to an analogical mapping between them, whereby *land* comes to function as ‘water’. In the conceptual blend *land* and *yacht* become counterparts. This is exactly what happens both with entrenched word combinations (level 1 and 2) and non-lexicalised, contextual uses (level 4). The two elements *law* and *clinic*, for instance, are not related, nor are *mother* and the concept of ‘waiting’, but they may be blended together to produce *law clinic* and *mother-in-waiting*, respectively. The same applies to *pickpocket* and *ladyfinger*, which also result from the compression of different frames, although their meaning is not just compositional, but due to metonymic and metaphorical processes. The unrelatedness between the input spaces evoked by the named elements is even clearer in the case of *bike girl* and *cherry jeans*. Hence, the multiplicity of potential meanings attributable to these compounds, which are created in order to serve only momentary communicative needs.

On the other hand, although coordinate compounds are typically appositional, e.g. *actor-director*, they require a relation of contiguity between the frames evoked by the named elements, i.e. the ‘actor frame’ is connected to the ‘director frame’, since they are closely correlated within the ‘film-making frame’. Similarly, ‘blue-green’ in *blue-green algae* brings together two concepts which not only refer to colours, but also to neighbours in the spectrum, so that an overlap is

possible. The blended space, while retaining features of both inputs, takes on a new status. This fusion becomes possible due to actual or conceptual vicinity. This would explain why *poet-plumber*, for example, is an unlikely word combination and **mild-mannered Jewish baker-boxing manager* is perceived as incorrect, even if in both cases the named elements refer to professions. The contrast between the frames is too extreme and the elements cannot be simply coordinated. In other words, what they separately refer to cannot be conceived as a single whole. But we can force the integration between contrasting mental frames through the insertion of *cum* and thus obtain *poet-cum-plumber* and *mild-mannered Jewish baker-cum-boxing manager*, which due to their peculiarity may come across as somewhat humorous. This is because the lexical items in the two constructions evoke apparently incompatible scenarios. A poet, for instance, is usually considered as an introspective, sensitive and refined person, who is by nature more prone to observing and thinking than doing, whereas a plumber is stereotypically not a very educated or sophisticated person, who gets his hands dirty every day. Hence, the ironic clash between the two mental pictures, which require the use of the binding element *cum* in order to be conceptualised together. Similarly, the nominal pre-modifiers *mild-mannered* and *boxing* contrast with each other and need to be forcibly linked. Somebody who is mild-mannered and meek is indeed very unlikely to have a career in boxing. In short, *cum* works as a 'passepartout' element capable of bridging the distance between supposedly unrelated, distant or even opposing concepts.

5. Creativity and lexicalisation

Novel compounds and phrasal constructions are typically built 'on the fly' and can display a high level of idiosyncrasy as well as structural and cognitive complexity. Very creative cases can be represented by metaphor-based expressions, e.g. *a floor of a birdcage taste*, and/or long-winded structures, e.g. *a get-some-popcorn-and-a-soda-and-go-to-the-movie kind of movie*, which are obviously far from attaining a permanent lexical status. In most cases, these constructions are just momentary attempts at storing complex expressions in the mental lexicon as single items, presenting them almost as stereotypes.

This cognitive process also guides the formation of *cum*-constructions, which, however, cannot be entirely dismissed as lexically unstable and non-predictable structures. The various construction

types illustrated in Table 1 above actually appear to be the result of an analogy process, based on the abstract schema represented by the ‘X-cum-Y’ pattern. The latter, which expresses a formal generalisation of *cum*-constructions, works as a starting point for coining new ones. While the preposition/conjunction slot in them is lexically fixed as *cum*, the X and Y positions are occupied by variables, thus giving rise to a hierarchy of instantiations of the constructional schema (Jackendoff 2008), whose meaning is not retrievable without having access to the meaning of the model schema. In other words, the creation of new lexical units requires the existence and knowledge of abstract patterns on the basis of which the lexicon of a language can be further developed.

The ‘X-cum-Y’ schema appears to be well entrenched and to generate some fixed uses, which online dictionaries and databases are now starting to include along more standard lexical entries. The Double-Tongued Dictionary³⁸ lists *love-cum-arranged marriage* under the entry for ‘marriage’ and gives the following definition: “matrimony between a mutually acceptable and consenting couple that has been facilitated by the couple’s parents”. BabLa³⁹ translates the German compound noun ‘Wohnküche’ as *kitchen-cum-living room*. *Cum*-constructions also appear in better-known online resources, such as the EU inter-institutional terminology database (IATE),⁴⁰ which includes several entries in domain-specific English. Here are some examples:

- (80) *masonry-cum-earth dam*
- (81) *aqueduct-cum-drop*
- (82) *bridge-cum-fall*
- (83) *pipe-cum-semi-module outlet*
- (84) *silt vanes-cum-curved wing*
- (85) *combined relieving weir-cum-sediment ejector*

It is interesting to observe how these *cum*-constructions are rendered in another language,⁴¹ since translation is a powerful heuristic tool in the investigation of meaning components and nuances:

- (80b) *diga di muratura e terra*
- (81b) *tomba a sifone sull'alveo naturale con salto*
- (82b) *ponte in corrispondenza di un salto*
- (83b) *presa semimodulare in pressione*
- (84b) *combinazione di diaframmi di deviazione e di diaframmi curvi di guida della corrente carica di sedimenti in corrispondenza di un'opera di presa*
- (85b) *sfioratore accoppiato ad evacuatore di materiale sedimentato*

(80b) and (81b) confirm that the element *cum* functions both as a conjunction and preposition; (82b) also translates a prepositional use of *cum* but takes on a spatial reading in Italian. Quite surprisingly, in (83b) the translation is less literal and *cum* is not rendered at all, while in (84b) and (85b) it is transformed into a noun phrase and a past participle construction, respectively, both highlighting its prepositional function.

On the basis of this data, we can hypothesise some initial stages of lexicalisation for English *cum*-constructions in specific domains, especially in highly technical languages. It has also been observed in the previous paragraphs that the use of *cum* is frequent and quite common in journalistic English, in particular in the field of team sports (see 3.2 above). In these areas, its insertion does not seem to produce the same pragmatic effects associated with irony and/or humour, as in the examples discussed above. Furthermore, the shorter the *cum*-construction, the higher its frequency and the possibility for it to undergo lexicalisation. This could perhaps be the case of *cross-cum-shot*, of which 14 occurrences were found in the *Guardian* sample analysed (see Appendix 3). It is a frequent expression in football and many examples can be retrieved in newspaper reports:

(86) *Sherdian's cross-cum shot with 14 minutes remaining won it for the hosts* (web)⁴²

Therefore, it is possible to claim that some *cum*-constructions have already attained some degree of lexical fixedness (Brinton & Traugott 2005). In addition to *cross-cum-shot*, there is another well-represented *cum*-construction in journalistic commentaries on sport of which many instances can also be found on the web, although the *Guardian* articles under investigation present just one case. Here, we are looking at the way batsmen hit the ball in cricket:

(87) *Davies gets on strike and hits a drive cum cut uppishly through point with his bat halfway between 90 and 180 degrees.*

In conclusion, the present article has attempted to demonstrate that the *cum*-construction is the result of a 'forced' cognitive operation aimed at blending together concepts that do not always cohere into new and creative units, which are beginning to obtain recognition. The use of the element *cum* makes it possible to integrate ideas that need to be connected, not just in our conceptual systems, but also at the formal level. Eventually, a "new way of saying something that

does not fit the standard syntax” (Lamb 1998: 205) may lead, through repeated use, to the formation of established lexical items. The family of *cum*-constructions described above is varied and comprises a number of different patterns that may well need to be expanded, though. Other template types might be identified through the analysis of a larger sample of data. For instance, an occurrence retrieved in the *Guardian* does not exactly match the patterns listed in Table 1:

(88) *a bird's foot-cum-tree root* (*Guardian*)

It seems as if there were a relation of resemblance between N_1 and N_2 , so that the bird's foot in question reminds one of a tree root and/or vice versa. This use, in addition to examples (64) and (65) above, showing instances of *cum* in post-modifying phrases, needs to be investigated more carefully.

6. *Final remarks and open questions*

The analysis of the data suggests that template type 1 and 2, due to their high frequency of occurrence, represent the prototypical patterns, with the other constructional schemas playing a more ancillary role. The conjunction function of *cum* prevails over its use as a preposition, which emerges only sporadically. The original nucleus of meaning of the Latin preposition seems to have worked as a sort of ‘anchor’ for further semantic extensions that are now predominant in English. The diachronic development of the *cum*-construction, however, was not the focus of our study, but historical-linguistic research in the future should investigate the different stages of productivity of the various template types, starting from the very first attestations.

The issue of whether *cum*-constructions can be treated as compounds remains unsolved. This is because defining and classifying compounds as well as clearly distinguishing them from phrases/phrasal constructions is not a straightforward task: “compounding is a field of study where intricate problems abound, numerous issues remain unresolved, and convincing solutions are generally not so easy to find” (Plag 2003: 132). Future research should then try to provide a finer-grained description of compound and phrasal constructions that does justice to their broad range of variability due to the coming into existence of novel patterns. If a distinction between compounds and phrases proves problematic, since the syntax-lexicon borderline is often fuzzy, we could then provide a taxonomy based on a cline of

more compound-like and less compound-like complexes. This obviously implies having a number of foolproof criteria to rely on for defining compounds as opposed to phrases. And this is exactly where the problem lies. Therefore, the present study has tried to provide an alternative four-level classification of lexical items based on their capability of expressing conventionalised meanings, regulated by well-established semantic relations, and more ‘peripheral’, implicit senses characterised by pragmatic components. Such analysis could be a possible way out of the traditional debate concerning the line of demarcation between compounds and phrases, thus shifting the focus of attention from morphosyntactic and semantic issues to more cognitively oriented discussions of why speakers perform specific operations, eventually resulting in the emergence of new word forms.

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Notes

¹ More recently the use of *cum* in English has been discussed by Renner (2008; forthcoming), but still within the framework of word formation theory.

² See Hoffman & Trousdale, forthcoming, for updated discussions on the notion ‘construction’.

³ For an in-depth discussion on this topic see Lieber & Štekauer 2009 and references therein.

⁴ No occurrences could be found in the two corpora of American English (Brown Corpus, Freiburg-Brown Corpus) of the ICAME collection.

⁵ <<http://www.guardian.co.uk>>

⁶ All the websites were last accessed in November 2012.

⁷ Interestingly, 40 out of the 85 occurrences of the *cum*-construction retrieved in the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) also come from magazines and newspapers. This result seems to suggest that although the construction appears in fiction as well as in academic prose, which are generally quite “linear” if compared to journalistic writing, it tends to prevail in more informal, “chatty” texts, although this tendency is not confirmed by data obtained from the other corpora, which only provided limited empirical evidence of the *cum*-construction. What is, instead, obvious is that the *cum*-construction is by far more likely to appear in written than in spoken English.

⁸ The *cum*-construction started to be productive in English between the 1870s and the first half of the 1900s. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the first attestations come from Anthony Trollope’s *The Eustace Diamonds* (1871) – “[...] Belgravia-cum-Pimlico life [...]” – and Julian C. Young’s *A Memoir of Charles*

Mayne Young (1871) – “He greatly preferred coffee cum chicory to coffee pure and simply”. In 1917, it appears in Rudyard Kipling’s *Diversity of Creatures* (1917), where the element *cum* is italicised as if to highlight its foreign origin: “Our ‘Mobiquities’ were Friday evening accounts of easy motor-bike-cum-side-car trips round London, illustrated (we could never get that machine to work properly) by smudgy maps”. In Osbert Lancaster’s *Homes Sweet Homes* (1939), instead, the particle is fully integrated into the English language and used in normal font: “The fervent mediaevalism [...] developed a philosophic-cum-economic tinge”.

⁹ <<http://skygecko-nat.blogspot.it/2010/10/cabinet-of-dr-caligari-1920-review.html>>

¹⁰ <<http://www.bond23.net/020100104/singer-come-actor-joe-jonas-says-he-wants-a-role-in-a-bond-film>>

¹¹ The need to find a way of economically linking two or more unrelated items for the same purpose is also evident in the use of the word *turned*, e.g. *the 51-year-old soldier-turned-socialist head of state* (COCA).

¹² <<http://www.etymonline.com>>

¹³ The only exception is *poet-cum-priest-cum-doctor* in the *New shorter Oxford English dictionary on historical principles* (1993) also quoted in Stein (2000).

¹⁴ Only the OED provides one example: *philosophic-cum-economic tinge*.

¹⁵ http://www.valleyswat.net/literature/papers/Administrative_System_of_Swat.pdf

¹⁶ Most dictionary entries should therefore be rephrased to include this possibility and mention that *cum* is used between both two or more nouns/noun phrases and two or more adjectives/adjective phrases in attributive position to show that something or someone has multiple purposes and not just a dual nature.

¹⁷ The following passage taken from Heidi R.M. Pauwels, *The Goddess as Role Model: Sita and Radha in Scripture and on scene*, Oxford University Press, 2008, (p. 114) makes this difference clear: «Newspaper articles on Indian marriage in the United States talk about love-cum-arranged marriage, also known as ‘assisted’ marriage, seeking to ‘combine’ the best of both types [...]. In India, too, interviews reveal that for upper-class women, a combination of the two is the ideal (Puri 1999: 183–43, addressing the false dichotomy of love and arranged marriage)».

¹⁸ <<http://3quarksdaily.blogspot.com/3quarksdaily/2008/02/god-and-girls-i.html>>

¹⁹ <<http://www2.canada.com/topics/travel/guides/lp.html?destination=saint-kitts-and-nevis>>

²⁰ <<http://michaelhyatt.com/10-tips-for-developing-eye-popping-packaging.html>>

²¹ Although the expression *bookstore shop* cannot be found in corpora, it does appear in a number of online sources, e.g. <<http://bookstore.uark.edu/garland/pr.php>>, <<http://studyabroad.blogs.bucknell.edu/2009/12/09/medina-life>>, <<http://suburbanwildlifegarden.blogspot.it/2009/09/galveston-recovering-and-ready-for.html>>, etc.

²² We would probably have to distinguish here between speaker’s intentions and hearer’s interpretative processes but this aspect will not be considered in the present study.

²³ ‘N₁’, ‘N₂’ and ‘N_n’ indicate, respectively, the first, second and following nouns/NPs appearing in the *cum*-construction. Similarly, ‘AdjP_n’, ‘_nroles’ and ‘_nfeatures’ refer to a certain number of adjectival phrases, roles and features/types of nouns/NPs, respectively.

²⁴ <<http://www.lionsrugby.com/news/11641.php>>

²⁵ <http://www.fivb.org/EN/Volleyball/Competitions/WorldLeague/2004/Star_Profiles/gaspar.asp>

²⁶ <<http://eclctic24.wordpress.com/2008/11/05/nba-the-blockbuster-iverson-billups-trade>>

²⁷ <<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wpdyn/content/article/2007/10/28/AR2007102801803.html>>

²⁸ In (57b) reference is made to two different types of boundaries which are perceived as unrelated.

²⁹ In Latin, *cum* was also used as a conjunction, but with subordinating functions, namely temporal, causal and concessive (see Gildersleeve B.L. 1867, for an in-depth description). As such, it was etymologically related to the pronoun *quom* and had the meaning of ‘when’/‘whenever’/‘at the time when’/‘while’, ‘since’/‘because’ and ‘although’. The semantics of *cum* in English, however, does not seem to have retained any of these meaning components. The English language appears to have extended the projections of *cum* as a preposition and started to use it as an alternative to the conjunction ‘and’ or the correlative phrases ‘as well as’ and ‘both ... and’.

³⁰ The term ‘dvandva’ is taken from Sanskrit in which these compound types are common.

³¹ <<http://porcupinesquill.ca/bookinfo3.php?index=246>>. *Cum*-constructions, however, appear to have an additional pragmatic function that cannot be served by coordinate constructions.

³² The cognitive concept of entrenchment (Harris 1998; Jackendoff 1995, 2009; Langacker 1987, 1991; Schmid 2007) refers to speakers’ reliance on ‘pre-packaged’, ready-made language units. This notion makes it possible to view lexical items as ranging along a continuum going from highly ‘entrenched’ expressions to ad hoc formations constructed ‘on the fly’ and showing discrepancies with conventional uses.

³³ This is because their meaning depends on our knowledge of a specific situation. There are a number of possible integration networks that change from compound to compound and that cannot be constructed without relying on contextual cues. Cf. Fauconnier & Turner (2002), Lieber & Štekauer (2009) and Scalise & Vogel (2010).

³⁴ Cf. Panther & Radden, 1999.

³⁵ Cf. Lakoff & Johnson, 1980.

³⁶ <<http://smokesignalsmag.com/7/?p=218>>

³⁷ <<http://www.empireonline.com/reviews/reviewcomplete.asp?fid=5174>>

³⁸ The Double-Tongued Dictionary (<<http://www.doubletongued.org>>) is an online lexicon of fringe English, focusing on slang, jargon and new words.

³⁹ BabLa (<<http://bab.la>>) is a multilingual online dictionary and translator.

⁴⁰ IATE-InterActive Terminology for Europe (<<http://iate.europa.eu>>).

⁴¹ Only some Italian translations are provided here, but more examples also from other languages can easily be obtained by selecting English as the source language and one of the other 23 target languages available on IATE.

⁴² <http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport2/hi/football/eng_conf/9465795.stm>

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Appendix 1. Cum-constructions in the BNC

Written books and periodicals (1975-1993)

W_fict

- A0U He worked at the local riding stable cum farm.
- B3J He looked across the field cum river bank in the general direction of civilisation [...].
- B3J [...] alleyway on her left which led into the stables cum car park at the rear of [...].
- B3J [...] always open five barred gateway into the yard cum lawn frontage of the Blue Boar.
- B3J 'Yeah,' replied Billy, 'the Great Wall of China must be something like this. 'The style cum ladder was a beautiful piece of woodwork'.
- F9X Bosch 's Garden of Delights meets Picasso's Guernica in a pointillism cum blood-splatter style.
- CE5 Some sort of singer cum comedienne, the caretaker thought.
- HNU [...] a night-club cum insurance building where a party of Armenians [...].

W_misc

- AMD There is a dining room cum bar which also serves a la carte meals.
- EBH The 'Seminar cum Festival of Popular Theatre Activists and Grassroots Media Users for Social Awareness' brought together people from the villages and cities of the Bihar region.
- FSV Bookseller cum hairdresser Mr Grey's business is not [...].
- HP4 I've made Andrew's room my den cum office and Wendy's room has become [...].
- HTC [...] possibly with the professionals cum gardeners watching from a distance [...].

W_biography

- B11 [...] my days as newspaperman cum radio programme director were numbered.
- CDX I came to write my career of journalism cum radio [...].
- GT8 A pilot, co-pilot, engineer cum navigator and stewardess.
- B11 [...] his dual role as West India lobbyist and revenue farmer cum government creditor remains an open question.

W_religion

- B19 A new one was promised as a Christmas-cum-birthday present.
- B19 That room [...] has given way to an omnidimensional cross cum globe [...].

W_newsp_other_report

The cum-construction in present-day English

BM4 Prockter is excellent as the downtrodden cook-cum-coachman [...].

W_polit_law_edu

CAK [...] communism cum socialism might have been saved.

W_pop_lore

CK4 Despite the similar names, Swedish dentist cum chart star DR ALBAN is no relation to Blur [...]

W_instructional

EFH The village consists of about 200 or so houses, a pub, a Post Office cum general shop and a small but lovely medieval church.

W_newsp_other_arts

K43 [...] has a large cafe cum exhibition space and a poetry room.

W_newsp_other_social

K4C Crystal Palace's defender cum winger was released from World Cup duty.

K5J [...] the former coach cum professional of the Scotland XI has had an excellent season.

K5J [...] there was a good chance that Weird would be picked in a No6 jersey as a blindside flanker cum utility forward.

Spoken context-governed, S_interview_oral_history, 1985-1993

GYM It's a pub isn't it? Yeah, it's a pub cum hotel, it's a hotel thing.

Spoken demographic, S_conv

KBD [...] this is just a cleaner's, cleaner's cum store room, you know, the usual Mm. Crap.

Spoken context-governed, S_speech_unscripted

KNC [...] through the next door is what can be a kitchen cum living room [...].

Daniele Franceschi

Appendix 2. Cum-constructions in the LOB Corpus, Freiburg-LOB Corpus, ACE and Wellington Corpus

Lancaster/Oslo-Bergen Corpus

We drove in a comfortable, American-style taxi to the Europe hotel and there, in an office-cum-bedroom (nothing could have been more suitably arranged for my purpose) we sat far into the early hours discussing what I wanted to see and who I wanted to meet in Leningrad.

A beacon seen on the shore becomes transfigured into an ominous signal-cum-lookout post.

Freiburg-LOB Corpus

Tony Cragg's broken china tigers in cage-like metal containers, for example, or Julian Opie's identical Minimalist wall-pieces-cum-ventilators.

[...] we stayed in a hotel-cum-brothel where loud quarrels about payment disturbed [...].

[...] the small desk in my bedroom-cum-study!

[...] she answered an advertisement in *The Times* for a personal assistant cum secretary to William Drummond, an art dealer with premises in Covent Garden.

Australian Corpus of English

[...] Bergerac is assigned as the official guide-cum-bodyguard to a visiting British MP.

It is expanding in its applications including heat reflective applications and heat cum corrosion resistance.

[...] is a comedy cum undercover tale about an innocent musician [...].

Wellington Corpus

[...] he did spend happy productive hours in a picturesque cowshed-cum-workshop [...].

The cheerful countenance and enthusiasm are still there as is the drawling Tasmanian-cum-Victorian accent.

We nursed 'em through it and even loved 'em when Bob decided to be a born-again hippie cum-looney and chirp on about cutesy caterpillars and cats.

Wellington Corpus (Spoken)

[...] I learn that you're developing a new game of outdoor cricket cum softball latch.

Appendix 3. Cum-constructions in the Corpus of Contemporary American English

Academic

[...] a PhD thesis cum book on parliamentary estates in 15th-century Prussia [...]; [...] the dominant plantation trade unions cum political parties [...]; [...] the “moralist” or “ethical” cum “progressive” political belt of American culture identified by political scientist Daniel Elazar; [...] the Pliny cum Oviedo frame story [...]; [...] soccer player cum musician Paul Kamba; [...] Lonergan’s analysis of the individual’s intentionality cum responsibility is [...]; Some would argue that the Weinberger/Powell doctrine of certain victory cum superior power cum national interests cum U.S. public support was quickly abandoned because of Wilson and Clinton’s common idealism; [...] Charles Taylor, former warlord cum president in Liberia; The perimeters of this freedom might be prejudice, scatology cum obscenity, sacrilege, and anarchy or rabble-rousing [...]; [...] no discrete territories cum enduring territorial groups with discrete leadership positions [...]; [...] war monuments cum mass graves [...]; [...] an M.D. cum hypnotist; What forces us to give simplistic, overly accessible novels, fiction cum caricature, to the young?; [...] a sense of the puppet’s willingness to let a human hand act as its animating “soul”, the hand cum puppets delight in becoming, though only a part of a body, still magically, sufficiently whole; [...] this artistic cum socially defined objective; The main players in club life cum ceremonial local politics [...]; [...] from the homogenizing effects of Methodist Christianization cum civilization [...]; Combine pursuit of a military shield cum civic action with protection of Peruvian and foreign development workers; [...] from traditional chiefs cum court officials to Nigerian men and women asserting and redefining [...]; [...] a matter of employment creation cum industrialization; The religious cum political cum economic nature of these agrarian rituals of early leaders; The metaphysical theologian cum political philosopher [...]; [...] a large dining room cum library [...]; For work examining the fictional/nonfictional distinction, LC cum possible individual will yield richer and more interesting results.

Fiction

[...] Joelle Fisher, the receptionist cum Christmas elf, had already decorated the department and started talking about the Secret Santa exchange that she always organized; Never fear, little ones, death, after all, is a great rehabilitator cum resur-rector [...]; [...] a salesperson cum barista cum waitress [...]; [...] a smartsuit cum g-suit [...]; [...] biologist cum team physician [...]; Kevin toyed with an Earth rock cum paperweight from his desktop, a souvenir of his pre-emigration childhood; Sometimes I would simply watch those young men cum butterflies soar above, their shadows just briefly winking out the sun; [...] boarding schools cum penal institutions; [...] a piano bar cum bistro with deep armchairs and standing lamps; [...] my bookstore cum restaurant; [...] an all-hours strip club cum casino [...]; [...] reception counter cum gallery shop; [...] reception cum shop counter; [...] a Baltic duty-free zone cum European micro-buffer state; [...] a tiny back room, kitchen cum laboratory [...]; [...] the botanist cum zoologist [...]; [...] tailors cum pimps; [...] our spindly homeroom cum Latin teacher [...].

Magazine & Newspaper

Visit Magar's 19th-century house cum studio Magar Hatworks by appointment for a look at her latest creations; [...] the renovated farmhouse cum inn [...]; [...] a 30-year old New Delhi-based lawyer cum fitness enthusiast [...]; This always hopping cookout cum party celebrates the sea's bounty; [...] their own municipal swimming pool cum Laundromat; [...] her shop cum gallery; [...] as he laid out a dozen bowties cum hair ornaments for the evening's gala [...]; [...] a multibillion-dollar trade association cum insurance company [...]; [...] many American importers are now self-proclaimed enthusiasts cum evangelists [...]; [...] soap opera cum sex farce starring an expanding cast of actors and actresses [...]; [...] Colorado Republican Congressman Tom Tancredo, like pundit cum politician Pat Buchanan, was consigned to [...]; [...] a mosque cum madrassah [...]; [...] a kind of museum cum theatre [...]; [...] this deli cum takeout fish market [...]; [...] a propaganda medium cum travel service cum organizing tool; [...] the upbeat lawyer cum bowling-alley owner [...]; [...] American steakhouse cum pleasure palace; [...] the theater cum furniture store [...]; A baby-on-board raincoat cum pouch was slicker yellow; [...] politicians cum actors [...]; The bespectacled inventor cum research executive [...]; [...] similar smoothbore bolt-action rifles cum shotguns [...]; [...] the octagonal cafeteria cum bar [...]; [...] a balding real-estate broker cum con man [...]; [...] a row of workshops cum homes [...]; [...] a shopping village cum restaurant-theater; [...] a financial guide cum travelogue [...]; [...] a British cum New York successful magazine editor [...]; [...] the marketing slogan cum rallying cry of cable's infancy in the early 80s; [...] a 300-acre theme park-cum-zoo [...]; [...] the recession cum depression of the 1990s [...]; [...] a joshing give-and-take cum photo-op; [...] his factory cum showroom [...]; [...] business guy cum techno-visionary [...]; [...] boxing promoter cum gangster [...]; [...] an amphitheater cum architectural ruin [...]; [...] his \$.39.95 living-trust booklet cum cassette [...]; [...] his own word processor cum modem [...].

Spoken

[...] the 51-year-old soldier-turned-socialist head of state at a desk delivering a monologue. But last week, the TV host cum president plunged into health clinics in a high-gloss production; [...] our Elvis cum faux Elvis is the real Elvis [...]; [...] a burglar cum murderer [...].

Appendix 4. Cum-constructions in the Guardian

Template type 1: '(AdjP) N₁ serves as/is used as/is also (AdjP) N₂/N_n'

Buzzing wine bar-cum-restaurant, installation cum museum presentation, bedroom-cum-studio, French novelist's memoir-cum-fiction, spa-cum-clinic, personal museums-cum-ego-trips, two-page interview-cum-profile, Oregon forest-cum-nature-reserve, film-documentary-cum-family-album, makeshift operating-theatre-cum-vivisectional-research-unit, display-piece-cum-slanging-match, Berlioz's genre-bending viola concerto-cum-symphony, catwalk-cum-children's playground, ready-made article-cum-competition, Berlioz's Byron-inspired symphony-cum-concerto, cultural centre-cum-artists' quarter, Gatorra's signature guitar-cum-drum-machine, pedometer cum Tamagotchi, half derelict city-cum-lunatic asylum, clothing line-cum-shop, pop-up hotel-cum-beauty parlour "soirée" venue, commentary-cum-poetry, "a song cycle cum bass concerto", terraced house-cum-studio, bar-cum-brothel (3), loft conversion-cum-recording studio, installation-cum-performance, futuristic beret-cum-frisbee, mini favela-cum-council-estate, 22-seat platform-cum-dining-table, huge dining-table-cum-altar-of-love, sand tray-cum-manger, press-conference-cum-ceremony, Britain's longest-running and "best loved" (it says here) ad-cum-soap, sculpture-cum-architecture, slick reboot-cum-sequel, circus-cum-dance show, container-cum-changing room, hardcore conceptual art-cum-grotesque vaudeville, critically acclaimed rom-com-cum-musical, village hall-cum-Royal Opera House educational facility, grand dinner-party-cum-soirée, home-cum-workshop, thriving upscale deli-cum-eaterie, installation cum museum presentation, cunning psychoporno "too hot for MTV" pastiche-cum polemic, installation-cum-performance piece, blog-cum-scene, argument-cum-meditation, company-cum-brand, courtyard cum garden, dungeon-crawling shooter-cum-puzzler, Tarantino-esque crime romp cum lesbian prison drama, open-plan lounge-cum-courtyard, tiny caravan-cum-cinema, converted laundry-cum-bathhouse, couple's cottage-cum-café, off-beat love-story-cum-road-movie, bedroom-cum-studio, homemade instruments-cum-sculptures, jumbly garden room-cum-studio, grassed liquid-picnic-spot-cum-urinal, branding exercises-cum-soap operas, kitchen cum living area, Wiggle's HQ-cum-warehouse, temporary hotel-cum-performance space, sauce-cum-dressing, living room-cum-kitchen, club-cum-cathedral, theatre game cum documentary performance piece, militia-cum-political party, gallery-cum-hostel, church-cum-arts-centre, advert-cum-love letter, restaurant-cum-dancehall, project-cum-campaign, kitchen-cum-sitting room, African hairdresser-cum-deli, pull-out throne cum trolley, rehearsal studio-cum-equipment store, giant kinetic sculptures-cum-environmentally friendly feats of engineering, tiny studio-cum-office, library-cum-lounge, curved plastic bedroom-cum-nesting box, heater cum shower, stew-cum-soup, wooden bicycle-cum-scooter, \$8-a-night hotel-cum-brothel, sitting room-cum-games room, chilling memoir-cum-cold-case investigation, family tragedy-cum-farce, hand-warmer-cum-packed-lunch, hotel-cum-restaurant, shed-cum-office, bakery-cum-cafe, rehearsals-cum-shows, bookstore-cum-café, barn-cum-shop, grandiose listening-post-cum-embassy-in-exile, jail-cum-barn, office-cum-laboratory, legalised marijuana-dispensary-cum-art-gallery, mimesis-cum-worship, shop-cum-gallery, old farmhouse-cum-tapas restaurant, rudimentary computer-cum-graphics tablet, nightclub-cum-cinema complex, study-cum-living room, grocery-cum-general store, irritant cum badge-of-honour, off-beat love-story-cum-road-movie, psychological drama-cum-disaster-movie, circus-cum-cabaret show, map-cum-video guide, investigation-cum-gossip-cum-rumour, organic farm-cum-restaurant-cum-guesthouse.

Template type 2: '(AdjP) N₁ performs (AdjP) N₂/N_n's duties

Comicbook hero-cum-evangelist, minister-cum-reality-TV-producer, cosmetologist-cum-masseuse, web designer-cum-wood pellet distributor, wacky dentist-cum-Spitfire-pilot, socialite-cum-probationer, crusty old singleton-cum-credible badger, midfielder cum defender, servant-cum-companion, guide-cum-barman, werewolf-cum-rock star, band-cum-theatre trio, film-maker-cum-music impresario, janitor-cum-guru, narrator-cum-sleuth, classic leftie journalist-cum-enemy, manager-cum-fiance, 1980s pop star-cum-political activist, rapper-cum-impresario, Roman soldier-cum-sasquatch beneath, footballer-cum-artist, entrepreneurs-cum-odd-job-men, birdwatchers-cum-trainspotters, model-cum-designer, football star cum miner, rap mogul-cum-actor, sex-addict-cum-comedic export, mad-scientist-cum-travelling showman, great editor-cum-Liberal-MP, copper-cum-dad, midfielder-cum-winger, restaurateur-cum-TV chef, teacher-cum-referee, analyst-cum-therapist, crooner-cum-guru, centre-half-cum-midfielder, artist provocateur-cum-porn star, poet-cum-politician, goalkeeper-cum-striker, holding-midfielder-cum-playmaker, model-cum-wannabe actor, producer-cum-manager, right-sider-cum-makeshift-centre-half, wildlife cameraman-cum-presenter, winger-cum-forward, wicketkeeper-cum-opening batsman, wing-back-cum-winger, psychiatrist-cum-powerboat champion, comedian-cum-cabaret artist, defender-cum-midfielder, readers-cum-scribes, drummer-cum-hype man, president-cum-dictator, organiser-cum-presidential candidate, outlaw-cum-folk hero, teacher-cum-missionary, infocapitalist-cum-prime minister, beekeeper cum naturalist hooker, solicitor cum cleric, left-midfielder-cum-right-back, dealers-cum-pimps, statesmen-cum-scholars, striker-cum-midfield man, financier-cum-retailer, gourmands-cum-gluttons, farmer-cum-trader, scrutineers-cum-defenders, prankster-cum-outlaw, trainee-cum-store manager, driver-cum-valet, artist-cum-writer, midfielder-cum-striker, actor-cum-writer, striker-cum-attacking midfield whippet, five-year-old boy cum “very small 62-year-old man”, critics-cum-thinkers, scavenger-cum-rapper, journalist-cum-commentator, irksome stylist-cum-unqualified psychiatrist, candidate cum Bond villain, central-midfielder-cum-left-back, DJs-cum-producers, fugitive-cum-actor-cum-jeggings-purveyor, defender-cum-midfielder-cum-substitute.

Template type 3: 'AdjP_n assign_n roles to / describe_n features / types of N₁'

internet-cum-telephone bank, flag-waver cum recruitment poster, computer-cum-front-parlour-television-set revolution, vortex-cum-bullring set, survival-horror-cum-thriller franchise, Cameron-cum-Clegg austerity obsession, theatre-cum-installation piece, Goth-cum-stockbroker look, school of chat-cum-chat-up, game of lawn-bowls-cum-shove-ha'penny-on-ice, economic-cum-geopolitical analysis, crowded airport-cum-shopping malls, youth-cum-prettiness hands, feverishly readable post-apocalyptic-cum-vampire chiller, terrific angling-cum-music site, installation-cum-dance piece, collective wartime-rationing-cum-recession-austerity survival instinct, rock'n'roll roaring cum sphincter-straining groans, Congolese king-cum-politician, sprawling exercise-cum-enlightenment industry, "love-cum-arranged" marriages, John Maynard Keynes-cum-FDR stage, cuddly-cum-terrifying Wenlock mascot toys, Barry's power-cum-heart-rate graphs, linguistic-cum-cultural fears, surrendered-wife-cum-careworker role, inappropriate cum tabloid-friendly celebrity couplings, gullible-cum-optimistic left, territorial-cum-political tensions, class-based cum financial boundaries, gossip-cum-bitching staple, long (and frankly, tedious) profile-cum-notebook dump, dream-cum-nightmare palace, villainous bald-cum-untrustworthy facial hair combo, team's usual orange-cum-tangerine jersey, football-cum-club culture fanzine, fresh sound-cum-look-cum-bandy-legged dance craze, "discussion-cum-record" radio show, post-Massachusetts post-mortem-cum-group hate, Garbo-cum-goth beekeeper look, alternative enthusiasms-cum-ways of life, government-sponsored intensive therapy-cum-support, Obama candidacy-cum-movement, takeover handing-off cum in-house consumer public relations drive

Template type 4: '(AdjP) N₁ is characterised by / is with / has (AdjP) N₂'

intriguing strategy-cum-Illuminati logo, printed inside latest "best job in the world" cum marketing wheeze, babysitter-cum-cricket-fixtured, spiel-cum-disarming-stand-up-routine, career-ending lost decade-cum-burning doghouse of disgrace, Docklands arts centre-cum-dining experience

Template type 5: '(AdjP) N₁ causes / produces / results in / has become (AdjP) N₂'

tabloid celebrity darling-cum-victim, G8 cum G20, small bombsite-cum-park, mining camp-cum-artists' community of Bisbee

