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A SOCIOLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE ON ENGLISH NEOLOGICAL PROCESSES

University of California, Los Angeles

Ph.D. 1982

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A Sociolinguistic Perspective
on English Neological Processes

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Linguistics

by

Jean McCabe Phillips

1982
The dissertation of Jean McCabe Phillips is approved.

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Thomas J. Hinnebusch

Paul Vincent Kroskrity

Michael Shapiro

Raimo Anttila, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

1982
Creation is responsible for the evolution of language. Creation constantly renews the language and refers to what exceeds mechanical possibilities (Anttila 1974:16).

To the scholars whose footprints have guided me and to my family and friends

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A Sociolinguistic Perspective
on English Neological Processes

by

Jean McCabe Phillips
Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics
University of California, Los Angeles, 1982
Professor Raimo Anttila, Chair

This dissertation had two goals. First to contribute an analysis of some selected processes of word formation which have resulted recently in lexical innovations in American English. The implications of these neological processes for a theory of the lexicon is also part of this primary goal. Therefore, this study proposes a dynamic sociolinguistic-semiotic model of the lexicon. This model includes a theory of propagation of the new forms throughout the speech community. The distinction between nonce forms and change in the lexicon is emphasized.

The secondary goal of this investigation was to contribute a documentation of these innovations in their
linguistic, socio-cultural, and historical contexts. The appendix comprises the entire data corpus in citation form very similar to that used in the Oxford English Dictionary (1933).

It is argued that the synchronic-diachronic model advocated in this study accounts for some lexical phenomena which have not been explained in previous generative word formation models. Variables such as speech act context (pragmatics), and teleological forces in the speech situation are proposed as components of the interactionist model.

Peircean semiotic is the philosophical framework. It is argued that the lexicon is a system of Peircean legi-signs in flux. The stored units are in three overlapping levels corresponding to morphemes, words, and holistic formulas. The position is taken that change is the norm for a symbol and symbols need to be determined contextually. The contextualist analysis of word formation helps us to understand the cognitive processes involved in creating words for new concepts. Peircean semiotic also makes clear the role of perception in neologic processes.

In the introduction, I discuss previous work on neologisms, my methodology, Aronoff’s word formation model (1974), and the sociolinguistic perspective of the study. Chapter I, provides the theoretical framework of the study as the context in which the phenomenological model of the
lexicon is embedded. Chapter II, contains the analysis of the neological category of semantically extended affixes; namely, un-, -ee, -itis, and -ese. Chapter III, offers the analysis of the innovative suffixes, -athon, -aholic, and -gate. The processes of blending, acronymy, morphophonemic reduction, and condensation as they relate to the Peircean sign operations of superization and substitution are discussed in chapter IV. Chapter V summarizes the findings on the processes of lexical change discussed in this study.

It is shown that neologisms and subsequent changes in the lexicon are a function of affective motivations and changes in the real world as well as a function of intra-system constraints.
INTRODUCTION

Goals of This Dissertation

The primary goal of this study is to contribute an analysis of some selected processes of word formation which have resulted recently in lexical innovations in American English. The implications of these neological processes for a theory of the structure of the lexicon will be presented in the form of a model of a dynamic lexicon in chapter 1. This model includes a theory of propagation of the new forms throughout the speech community. The creation of the neologism and the subsequent propagation throughout the speech community are two separate issues. Both are necessary for language change to occur. I intend to emphasize this distinction between nonce forms and change in the lexicon.

The secondary goal of this investigation is to contribute a documentation of these innovations in their linguistic, socio-cultural, and historical contexts. The appendix comprises the entire data corpus in citation form
very similar to that used in the Oxford English Dictionary (1933) henceforth OED. All the iconic devices, i.e. quotation marks, hyphens, capital letters, etc. from the original source are included in the citation entries. The documentation of the contexts of the innovations is offered as evidential support for the sociolinguistic perspective of this study.

The Data

The tokens in the data collection for this study were culled from natural speech situations, various Los Angeles newspapers, and TV talk shows during the period 1976-1981. Basso (1974:428) points out that there are various genres of writing; each one having its own subset of rules of grammar. Newspaperese is one of those genres. Even though some of my data came from newspapers, I take the position that the data is not particular to newspaperese nor atypical to data from natural speech situations.

I have also researched the historical development and any previous citations of data tokens in sources such as the OED, Mathew's (1951) A Dictionary of Americanisms On Historical Principles, Mencken's (1941) The American Language and Supplements, and American Speech.

The data collection method was determined by the definition of a neologism as it is used in this study. This definition is drawn from both the criteria for the
selection of new tokens as given in the historical introduction of the OED and also those suggested by Jeffers (1977:17). These criteria are given below:

(a) Make a quotation for every word that strikes you as rare, obsolete, old-fashioned, new, peculiar, or used in a peculiar way.

(b) Take special note of passages which show or imply that a word is either new and tentative, or needing explanation as obsolete or archaic, and which thus help to fix the date of its introduction or disuse.

(c) Make as many quotations as you can for ordinary words, especially when they are used significantly, and tend by the context to explain or suggest their own meaning. (OED, 1933)

By an innovative morpheme, I refer to one for which there exists no corresponding morpheme with a corresponding function at an earlier stage in the history of the language. (Jeffers, 1977:17)

The Generative Word Formation Model

Prior to noting the criteria set forth by the above sources I had been using Aronoff's (1974) synchronic word formation rules, henceforth WFR, in addition to using my own intuition as a rule of thumb. I collected any word which could not be produced by Aronoff's closed system of rules. Aronoff's dissertation Word-Structure is one of the most recent comprehensive studies of word-formation within the transformational-generative model. Working within this framework, his emphasis was on characterizing the constraints on word-formation processes. He focussed on formalizing productive synchronic rules.
In Aronoff's model, a new word is formed by applying a regular rule to a single already existing word. These regular rules consist of a base which is specified syntacticosemantically and an affix. This affix is not accessible for derivation processes without the rule because it is not given any representation of its own in this system (:48). This has been referred to in the literature as the word based hypothesis, hereafter WBH. I will argue in future chapters that many neologisms are not created on an existing word base.

Aronoff defines the task of a morphology as "telling us what sort of new words a speaker can form (:44)." He assumes that the gross irregularities which words in the dictionary often have due to their persistence in the language and the fact that they are listed are not characteristic of the new words that a speaker makes up. He further assumes that the regular rules of his system are used for making up new words, and it is these rules which are interesting (:44).

I take the position that what the neologic processes of language can tell us about cognition and perception is truly interesting. The mapping between language and the mind is a topical problem of linguistic theory. The TG model emphasizes system and structure in an autonomous system; I will emphasize creativity, meaning, intention, and use in a contextually embedded communication system. I
will argue that Aronoff's position above is an explicit denial of the creativity of the neological processes which I am analyzing. It is specifically some of the mechanisms of word-formation which are not explained by Aronoff's WFRs that are the focus of this dissertation. For example, I intend to present evidence to argue against his definition of blending, "take two words, stick them together, and chop out the middle" (:47). I present five types of blending processes in chapter IV.

Aronoff's model of word formation was presented as a synchronic model and I am offering a dynamic model which incorporates teleological factors. I will be talking about the human will factor. This model serves the needs of historical linguistics. A current issue in historical linguistics is the controversy over deductive-nomological explanation versus teleological explanation of change. For an insightful explication of this controversy see Itkonen (1978a, 1978b).

It is because Aronoff's model is a closed system that the criteria for my data collection was taken from his model. My main argument against his model is that given his deterministic WFRs with their specified bases, none of the attested data tokens in my sample could have been 'generated'. In other words, they are all counterexamples. In subsequent chapters, I will discuss in detail as it is appropriate for specific examples in the data corpus why Aronoff's WFRs cannot account for the neologic processes.
Following the data collection and the classification stage of the analysis of the corpus, I created the following taxonomy of selected neological processes:

**Taxonomy of Selected Neological Processes**

I. Semantically Extended Affixes
   1. Definition: An existent affix which has been extended semantically. An existing symbol-legisign with a new interpretant.
   2. Representative examples: un-, -ee, -itis, and -esse.

II. Innovative Affixes:
   1. Definition: An innovative morpheme which functions productively as an affix. A new symbol-legisign.
   2. Representative examples: -athon, -(a/o)holic, and -gate.

III. Blending:
   1. Definition: Sequential segments of one word are combined with sequential segments of another word to form a new word. I have analyzed this general process into five subtypes.
   2. These five subtypes and the criteria for the classification are:
Type A: Beginning segments of word 1 are combined with the ending segments of word 2. *Frogurt* is an example of this type.

Type B: Beginning segments of word 1 are combined with all of the segments of word 2. *Chocoffee* is an example of this type.

Type C: Beginning segments of word 1 are combined with the beginning segments of word 2. *Sitcom* is an example of this type.

Type D: All of the segments of word 1 are combined with the ending segments of word 2. Some of the tokens of this type contain overlapping shared segments. *Palimony* is an example of this type.

Type E: Acronyms. I have analyzed acronym formation as a special case of blending in which the initial letters of categoric words of a phrase are combined to form a new word. This word is pronounced by orthoepic rules. *Laser* is an example of this type. It eventually became a derivational base, i.e. *laserist* and *laserium*.

IV. Morphophonemic Reduction:

1. Definition: Two contiguous words are amalgamated into one. Lexicalization results.

2. Representative examples: *gofe, wanna, twofer*. 

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V. Condensation:

1. Definition: Two contiguous words are condensed into one. It is not an amalgamation. One of the words of the collocation is completely lost and the semantics of the lost word is transferred completely to the remaining constituent.

2. Representative Examples: powder snow is condensed to powder; final exam is condensed to final.

The process of semantic extension of affixes, category I, will be discussed in chapter II. Category II, innovative affixes, will be discussed in chapter III. Blending, morphophonemic reduction, and condensation are all detailed in chapter IV.

In addition to the data corpus organized according to the categories outlined above, the appendix will also contain an extensive data corpus on paronomasia. I collected these data tokens during the same research period. These examples of punning or playing on words as they are commonly called are offered in support of my arguments for analogy as a basic unformalizable organizing principle of language in general and neological processes in particular. This claim will be made more explicit in chapter I. I posit the existence of idioms, greetings, cliches and other stored speech formulas in the lexicon and argue for their use as analogical bases during speech events.

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The Data Collection Problem

Approximately 800 new words a year are added to the working vocabulary of English; about 500 of these are eventually listed in such dictionaries as the unabridged, the college, and neologistic ones (Barnhart, 1978:99). Casting a net which would catch the average 800 new words a year would require numerous researchers reading a variety of newspapers, magazines, scientific journals, and listening to various TV talk shows, etc. over a wide geographic area in order to gather data from speakers of varying occupations and registers. The results of an extensive collection like this results in a classification of results of neologic processes divorced from their causal factors. This type of a collection of neologisms is very useful for lexicographers engaged in producing dictionaries. I have been concerned with looking at change in vivo rather than at diachronic correspondences. My goal has been to offer an explanation for the neologic processes rather than a description of them. In order for me to reach this goal, I have limited my data sampling to a few processes and made my own data collection.

Two processes which produce a large number of new words are compounding and borrowing. Both of these processes are extremely dependent on the social reality of the speech situation in which tokens are created. However,
I have not included them in this study. Downing (1977) presents a convincing argument for a pragmatic analysis of compounding. Fleischman (1977) has argued well for an analysis of the historical development of the suffix -age which includes the socio-cultural facts at the various instances of its borrowing from one speech community to another.

The first book on English word-formation was Herbert Koziol's Handbuch der Englischen Wortbildungslehre written in 1937. The classic work is Marchand's The Categories and Types of Present-Day English Word-Formation (1966).

A search of the literature did not reveal a previous study of the type I offer in this dissertation. My focus will be on words which have been creatively produced in the habitual sense of the word. My contribution will be to deal with that aspect of word-formation and the structure of the lexicon it implies that the TG models have not dealt with.

**Language in Use**

Using the data collection methodology as I have described it, I have been able to reconstruct the creation of some of the new signs by collecting the linguistic, socio-cultural, and historical contexts. This methodology places this study of word-formation within the framework of an interactionist or integrated approach to linguistic theory. Within this view, language is seen as embedded in
culture and human activity. Such contextual notions as intention, function, and use of language as a communicative system will be discussed in the section on the sociolinguistic perspective in this introduction. In chapter I, I will present the Peircean (1965-66) semiotic background for the study and argue that it takes the interactionist approach one step further and permits analysis of the neologic processes using teleological explanation.

Others have recently pointed out the need to develop theories of interpretation for language in use: Clark and Clark (1979:786) call for a theory of what a speaker means in uttering a specific innovative denominal verb on particular occasions, i.e. a theory of interpretation. Braunwald (1978) argues for an interaction model of lexical acquisition and a cognitive theory of semantics. We will see in chapter I that Peirce's theory of signs is a theory of cognition. Carroll (1979:25) especially points out the need to analyze the cognitive processes of word formation involved in neologism:

But the very difficulty we have in assimilating these results underscores the extent to which analysis of the cognitive processes of word formation and neologism has been neglected. Generations of research on word formation have provided a foundation of logical analysis for the question of what sorts of objects words are. Less attention in linguistics has been directed at the more narrow question of what sorts of objects names are ... But almost no attention has yet
been directed at the more psycholinguistic question of how these objects we call words and names are created by speakers for whatever purpose. These questions are the object of what might be called "contextualist" analyses of word formation.

It is specifically to the questions which Carroll mentions that this "contextualist" analysis of word-formation is addressed.

Neologistic Dictionaries

Linguists began documenting neologisms about 1940. Early reports appeared in "Among the New Words" in American Speech and in "Words and Meanings" in the Encyclopaedia Britannica annual supplement. The second and third edition of Webster's New International Dictionary have contained an addenda section of lexical innovations at five-year intervals since 1939. Only two dictionaries of new words were produced in the United States in the period from 1945 to 1973. One was by Mary Reifer, Dictionary of New Words (1955), and the other was by Barnhart, Steinmetz, and Barnhart (1973). Reifer's dictionary lists new words for the 1940s and the early 1950s and contains many of the new terms in linguistics. However, she does not give any quotations which would enable linguists to analyze the neologic processes involved. In general, the words she collected and defined are now listed in current standard dictionaries. Barnhart's dictionary covers those new words
which came into the English common vocabulary in the 1960s and the early 1970s. A second Dictionary of New English was published by Barnhart in 1980. In 1976, Merriam-Webster's 6,000 Words was published. It contained over 6,000 words that had become established in English during the previous 15 years.

**The Sociolinguistic Perspective**

Sociolinguistics has reintroduced the human aspect to linguistics. Malinowski, among others, anticipated the sociolinguistic perspective of the study of semantics.

I submit that the linguistics of the future, especially as regards the science of meaning, will become the study of language in the context of culture (1944:5).

I am using the term sociolinguistic in this dissertation in its broadest sense. I intend it to mean an approach to the study of language in its behavioral and cultural context. When language is used, it is generally used in a speech situation and for a purpose; its use has some goal. As I view it in this sense, the sociolinguistic perspective entails several other current approaches to linguistic theory. These are being referred to as semiotic, functional, pragmatic, and cognitive.

The common thread in all of these approaches is the basic sociolinguistic tenet that the general global factors
of communicative purpose (teleology) and social context have a direct effect on the form of the speech act. It follows that language change correlates with social change (Labov 1972:162). I will not be as concerned with the correlation of social facts such as economic class, age, and sex etc. with linguistic variables (Labov 1966) as I will be with the notions of situation, intent, and function mentioned above. My approach will be more within the ethnography of communication model (Gumperz and Hymes 1972).

Major changes in food production, transportation, communication, health care, science, architecture, education, religion, government, etc. have a tremendous effect on the lexicon of a language. All new concepts require names. The new meaning is there first, and the innovator is looking for the best way to express it without going to too much trouble (Bolinger 1975:109).

As I see it, the TG model of word formation attempts to make an analogy to the valence concept by comparing morphemes to atoms. Atoms are unchanging constants, morphemes are not. An acceptable bond between morphemes today may not be tomorrow or may not have been yesterday. As the world changes, the signs need also to change. We will be considering some of these changes.

My goal is to understand the language phenomena in my data corpus as they relate to the social milieu, cultural
traditions, cognition, perception, and communicative needs of the speakers who produced them. This is the hermeneutic approach to a human science.

One of the things that I have suggested by the above is that it is possible to determine the trends in society by reading the addenda to Webster's Third International and the Barnhart dictionaries of New English. For example, Makkai's (1973a) work on space terms offers neologisms which were created to meet the needs of the speakers in the space industry to name new concepts.

The Prague School

Jakobson's (1963) means-ends model of language was an early sociolinguistic model. He had previously set forth the notion of isolable speech act components such as code, channel, physical setting, and status and role attributes of participants (1960). For Jakobson, a member of the Prague Linguistic School founded in 1926, everything in the speech sound is functional.

Hymes, who later expanded the set of speech act components, states that the ethnography of communication model has roots in what the Prague Circle as long ago as 1929 called "functional and structural analysis" (1974:6). This was the basis for Jakobson's means-ends model. Since sociolinguistics has roots in the Prague school, it seems appropriate to offer here some of the basic notions of the school as they are relevant to this study.
I have based my view of the Prague school on Vachek (1964). According to the Prague conception, language is not a self-contained whole, separated from the extra-lingual reality, but in fact, its main function is to react to and refer to this reality. Each fact of language was evaluated with respect to the function it fulfilled within the extra-linguistic setting. The members of the Prague School further conceived of language as a system of systems in motion. They gave special attention to the focal point of my investigation, the historical development of language and the interrelation of the external and internal factors in its development.

It was Jakobson who pointed out the contradiction in Saussure's conception of language. Saussure was unable to reconcile the fact that language was a system with the fact that there were changes in language through time. Jakobson suggested that many changes in language were therapeutic and 'that the system of language is always striving after some kind of balance of its elements ad infinitum' (Vachek 1964).

Many of Jakobson's ideas on change were included in his paper *The Concept of the Sound Laws and the Teleological Principle* (1962). In addition to discussing therapeutic change in contradiction to Saussure, Jakobson pointed out the importance of the maintenance of means in a language for the purpose of stylistic differentiation. He
argued that the signalling of emotional coloring in speech as opposed to speech devoid of the emotive function was an important factor in change.

It seems reasonable to me that each new generation needs to create new forms for the emotive function. The older ones have lost their effect. In expanding this idea, emotional coloring in speech is one of the most important factors in explaining the speech of speakers of various social groups. The signalling of emotional coloring functions to achieve self-identification and social bonding as speakers conduct their activities. This communicative competence (Hymes 1972) is identified by taking a sociolinguistic perspective of speech acts in their context? Too often linguists do not consider social factors in the analysis of present structure which has resulted from past change. Questions of use and purpose have been taken for granted.

Jakobson further held that even in a "synchronically" studied period of language, it can not be viewed as static or homogeneous. At any moment in time within a language system, some items are just appearing and others are in the process of disappearing. It is this position of Jakobson's which is most relevant to my study and one to which I can offer evidential support. It is in the periphery of a language system that neologisms first appear as adaptive innovations and either disappear as nonce forms or go on to
enter the central core of the system. It is in the discussion of stylistic variation, emotive function, and lexical diffusion that the sociolinguistic perspective is required.

Mathesius, another member of the Prague School of linguists, laid the foundations for future functional analysis of 'theme' and 'rheme'. He also focussed on "functional onomatolgy" as well as functional syntax. Functional onomatology was concerned with the means employed by speakers of a language for the purpose of naming. He looked at the methods for naming new facts of extralingual reality in English and Czech. He was an early neologist. In summary, several members of the Prague school were early sociolinguists.

Speech Varieties

The sources of the data items reveal that they were produced by a variety of speakers who were members of various speech communities. These heterogeneous sources point out the existence of numerous occupational registers, jargons, etc. as identified by sociolinguists. The words legalese, academese, shoptalk, psychobabble, etc. are familiar to all of us. For a sample list of over thirty-five publications of lexical items of various speech varieties see McMillan (1978:144-145). Included in this list are five book-length glossaries for linguistics.
These speech varieties develop as a result of the specialized activity of speakers working in a specific field. By analyzing these special varieties we see that a limited inventory of symbols are constantly being intentionally semantically extended, shifted to new major lexical categories, clipped, blended, resegmented, etc. in order to function emotively. New signs are being made out of old signs. The essence of the symbol esse in futuro. The similarity vectors between the old sign and the new sign must be maintained in order for communication to occur. This point is developed in chapter I. I only mention it here.

Labelling the lexical items of these varieties as fad words, slang, occupational jargon, socio-economic indexes etc. does not change the process which produced them. These processes and the resulting neologisms are manifestations of the living language as described by Jacobson and others before and after him. Some lexical items will be in the process of appearing; others will be disappearing. We will be looking at those which are coming over the horizon.

The role of the individual speaker in the creation of neologisms is a crucial one. It is the perception of the innovator combined with his personal experience which are major factors in the production of a neologism. These psycholinguistic factors will also be discussed in chapter I.
My position is that sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic factors can be included in current linguistic theory. This is a move toward a more realistic model of language. Linguistics does not need to be hybridized as it has been. Different goals involve different tasks for different linguists. My task was looking at neologisms. My contribution to current linguistic theory is presented in the following chapters.
Footnotes

1. Lieber (1980) offers a modification of Aronoff's model. She proposes a unified theory of word formation in generative grammar. This unified theory redefines the subject of generative morphology to include inflection in the domain of the lexicon. See also Selkirk (1978) and Williams (1979) for proposals to integrate inflection and derivation. Since my concern here is derivational morphology, this aspect of her study is not within my focus.

What is important to note is that Lieber's view of a lexical entry is also based on a reductionist approach. The entry characterizes the constraints on the lexical item by listing category, subcategorization restrictions, semantic representation, syntactic argument structures, etc. (:13). Morphemes from the lexicon are 'inserted subject to their subcategorization restrictions' by a rule in the lexical structure component (:16). In particular, lexical entries for affixes specify the category of items to which they attach as well as the category of items produced (:63).

In general, the arguments relative to Aronoff's model, which follow in this study, also apply to later formalized word formation models in generative grammar. None of them can account for neologic processes.
2. The paper which introduced the idea of "ethnography of speaking" (Hymes 1962) is dedicated to Roman Jakobson. In it Hymes points out that it was Jakobson's paper 'Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics' (1960) that was the inspiration for his own work.

3. Speakers do know how to use neological processes. They know that they are not constrained by absolute values of the linguistic sign, but that they can rely on the situational context for the semantic interpretation of the message. If this were not true, communication would fail when neologisms were used.

4. Core of the system as I am using it here means something like public domain. It does not mean that all speakers of the language share the new lexical item. In fact, some of the new speech varieties may remain limited to the intimate social group in which they originated.
CHAPTER I

THE LEXICON AS A DYNAMIC SYSTEM OF SIGNS

My conception of the lexicon as a dynamic system of signs reflects my indebtedness to a group of linguists who take the position, in the tradition of Charles Sanders Peirce (1965–66),¹ that languages are structured semiotic systems (Jakobson, 1971, Andersen, 1973, Shapiro, 1979, Anttila, 1972, 1979) Within this semiotic model, a distinction is made between content signs and diacritic signs. I will be concerned only with content signs in this study.

In this chapter, I will provide a limited background of Peirce’s semiotic for the proposed model of the lexicon. First, I will describe Peirce’s triadic sign as it contrasts with Saussure’s dyadic model. Next, I will explicate Peirce’s system of interpretants of signs. In this same section, I will discuss Peirce’s notion of science as a hierarchy and his phenomenological categories.

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Peirce's terminology will be defined as it is necessary for our purposes. Following this, the importance of perceptual judgment as a component of sign selection will be substantiated. The interaction of perceptual judgment with the field of meaning of a concept will be a factor in this substantiation.

I offer this brief synthesis of Peirce's ideas to the reader who is unfamiliar with his philosophy and his system of signs. My goal in this chapter is to bridge between linguistics and Peirce's sign system by presenting a phenomenological model of the lexicon. I argue that it accounts for data which has not been accounted for in recent generative models.

**Peirce's Triadic Sign**

In a Peircean semiotic framework each sign is a triadic relation in which the form of the sign (the signans) has a relation to an object (the signatum) and to the idea (the interpretant) that arises in the mind of the interpreter (the speaker or hearer). This triadic relation is one of the main features which distinguish Peirce's semiotic from Saussure's dyadic system in which an arbitrary relation exists between the signans and the signantum. Peirce talked about many kinds of signs. What follows in this study refers generally to linguistic signs.
There is mediation in a triadic process as opposed to a dyadic one. For example, in a dyadic process, one effect merely follows a prior effect. Event B is produced by A, B in turn produces event C. The increase in degrees on a thermometer is an example of this process. There is no mediation. The first degree is not produced for the sake of the other degree. In the triadic process, there is mediation. Event A produces a second event B as a means to the production of a third event C (Peirce 1965-66 5.473). For example, a command is a triadic process. The speaker of the command will not give the verbal order unless he thinks that those who interpret the sign understand the sign and will behave accordingly. Therefore, the command is given in order for a further effect to be produced. The triadic sign is useful because of its effect (Fitzgerald 1966:73). The mediation of the sign is the basis for its pragmatic and teleological aspects.

Peirce points out the importance of the interpretant in the triadic relation:

The most characteristic aspect of a symbol is its aspect as related to its interpretant; because a symbol is distinguished as a sign which becomes such by virtue of determining its interpretant (Peirce, 1976:260).

It follows from the above statement that the interpretant is the evaluative component of the sign. The sign derives
its signification from its interpretant which is an outgrowth of the symbol. This is our basis for stating that the mode of existence of the symbol is general, esse in futuro.

![Diagram](image)

Figure 1
A Schematic Representation of the Sign

Figure 1 above is a schematic representation of the sign as a triadic relation (Walther, 1974:54). The object (O) of the sign is that which is signified, the means (M) is the perceptible sign vehicle and the interpretant (I) is the evaluation. The essential conditions of a sign are that it represent an object and that it determine an interpretant. Objects are not limited to physical ones in the real world but may also be mental ones. For example, abstract concepts like justice or liberty can be objects in Peirce’s system. We will see later on, in chapter IV especially, that an interpretant of one sign can be an object of another sign.
Peirce's System of Interpretants

It is Peirce's interpretant which is most crucial to my analyses of the neological processes in this study. We will see in future chapters that some of the processes involve new interpretants for existing signantia rather than completely new signantia. For example in chapter II, data support is presented for a change in meaning of the existing affixes un-, -ee, -itis, and -ese. Recycling existing symbols reflects the economy of a sign system.

Peirce posited various types of meaning and developed a system of interpretants which reflect these various meanings of a sign. Any theory of meaning change such as I am proposing presupposes a theory of meaning. I propose to argue that a theory of meaning based on Peirce's thoughts on perception and cognition as they relate to the system of interpretants of a sign is a theory that is able to explain linguistic change as well as help us to understand the continuity of language across generations. In my view it is a theory which linguistics needs now in order to answer the call for semantic theories of interpretation as set forth by Clark and Clark (1979:786) and others cited in the introduction to this study.

In order to look at Peirce's system of interpretants, it will be helpful to first look at his notion of science as a hierarchy; and then to note the position of the theory of signs within this system. Below in Figure 2 is my schematic representation of Peirce's notion of science.
Figure 2
Peirce’s Notion of Science and its Division: A Hierarchy

The schematic representation above is based on Fitzgerald’s explication of Peirce’s division of science (1966:14-39). Peirce defined science as an habitual way of life rather than as a body of organized knowledge. Defined as such, the purpose of scientific inquiry was to develop
new habits. These new habits resulted from changes in the
interpreters of the signs used in science. We will see
below that one of the interpreters in the system is
habitual behavior.

The hierarchy in Figure 2 indicates Peirce's position
that in pursuing science there is an interaction between
the more general sciences and the less general sciences.
Within our focus of interest, the more general being the
three fundamental phenomenological categories and the less
general being the various trichotomies in his system of
signs. The trichotomies relevant to this study will be
explicated later on. In his view the more general science
contributes regularity principles to the less general
science. The less general in turn serves as verification of
the more general.

An example from the theory of signs will help to
clarify this interaction within the hierarchy of science.
The divisions of modes of being of signs, namely,
qualisign, sinsign, and legisign, and the divisions of the
system of interpreters in Figure 3 below are concrete
realizations of Peirce's phenomenological categories of
firstness, secondness, and thirdness. The modes of being of
signs and their definitions as they correlate with both the
system of interpreters (Peirce's three kinds of meaning)
and the phenomenological categories will be discussed in
more detail below. It is important now to only note that
the correlation exists.
The importance of phenomenology in Peirce's division of science and in turn its importance to his theory of signs and their interpretants is understood when we note that phenomenology (phaneroscopy in Peirce's terminology) is the description of all that is present in consciousness at any given time in a concrete environment. This includes in addition to sense data, remembered past experiences and the interpretations we place on them, imagination, and dreams.

It follows from this, that a phenomenological approach to knowledge incorporates the personal experience of the observer and his perception of the world. This approach is currently being used in human sciences to explain human action. A main concern of phenomenologists is ontology. The importance of the ontology of a sign to this study will be discussed in greater detail later on in this chapter. The interaction of the mental systems in consciousness, mentioned above, with the interpretant of a sign in a speech situation will be demonstrated when the schematic representation of the lexicon is given below. Now we turn to Peirce's system of interpretants.

Now the problem of what the "meaning" of an intellectual concept is can only be solved by the study of the interpretants, or proper significate effects, of signs. These we find to be of three general classes with some important subdivisions (5.475).
Peirce defined an interpretant above as the "proper significate" effect. Two main criteria are listed in his writings. An interpretant must be an effect in an interpreter and it must have been produced triadically, that is purposively, by a sign. The dynamic interpretant shown in Figure 3 above is named as the actual effect which
the sign produces upon an interpreter of it (4.536). The dynamic interpretant and its subdivisions, the emotional, the energetic, and the logical will be of interest to us for the rest of this study. These are actual semiotic effects in some time span in contrast to the immediate and the final interpretants. The immediate interpretant is defined as possibility of interpretation, and the final interpretant is defined as the true or ideal interpretation. These are not in our scope of interest.

Note in Figure 3 that three kinds of dynamic interpretants are correlated with Peirce’s three phenomenological categories, firstness, secondness, and thirdness. The categories of firstness, secondness, and thirdness are all present in each event in consciousness. It is not possible to isolate some object or experience as an instance of one or the other categories. However, one or the other is usually predominant. The conception of the categories can not be derived from "pure" cases of them (Fitzgerald 1966:28).

We now turn to the explication of the three subdivisions of the dynamic interpretant. The first "proper significate effect" of a sign is a feeling that has been produced by it. This is the emotional interpretant. It is firstness. Any further effect will occur through the mediation of the emotional interpretant. The energetic interpretant which may be a physical effort but more likely
a mental effort is the second subdivision. It is secondness. The interpretants correlated with thirdness are the logical interpretant and the ultimate logical interpretant. Peirce refers to the logical interpretant as the meaning of a general concept (5.476). What we see here is that the "intellectual meaning" of a sign is distinct from either the feeling or the effort. However, the logical interpretant is an effect of the energetic interpretant, and the energetic interpretant in the same way is the effect of the emotional one (5.486). The habit of action correlated with a sign is the ultimate logical interpretant. For Peirce, this habit of action, constitutes its meaning in the definitive sense (5.491) This interpretant will be discussed in more detail below.

Peirce gave the following definitions of his phenomenological categories:

Firstness is in ideas of freshness, life, and freedom; they connote spontaneity (1.302).

Secondness is present in the here and now - a brute reaction or existent (2.293).

Thirdness is law or regularity of the indefinite future (2.293). A law being thirdness, contains
in it firstness and secondness, since it brings about the embodiment of the possibility in actuality.

For our purposes, the definition of firstness, secondness, and thirdness can best be given in respect to the neologic process. First by chance a feeling impinges on the innovator, secondly this chance event leads to a reaction which results in the creation of a neologism, and third, if repeated, the innovation becomes habitual and ultimately is represented in cognition.

Shapiro (1979:21) points out that what other linguists have perceived as "ungraspability" (Lyons, 1977:1) of meaning is Peirce's firstness of meaning. However as we noted above firstness of meaning cannot exist by itself; but it is an inherent and highly necessary property of a symbol. It is this systematically built-in margin of inchoateness which allows the meaning of the symbol to vary in different speech situations and eventually to change.

Within this framework, any symbol can develop many meanings through time and we know this to be true. Data to support this evolution of meaning of symbols is also given in chapter II. Maher (1977b) points out that it is the surface structures of language which are "handed along from one generation to another, while the underlying values are
subject to revolutionary change in function and value". These changes occur as a result of contact between new experiences and stored verbal concepts, Peirce's logical interpretant. Recall that many neological processes involve a change of meaning of existing symbols. We can see that Peirce's firstness of meaning is tantamount to infinite regress.

There is a direct connection between the logical interpretant, thirdness of meaning, and Peirce's pragmatism. The claim of pragmatism is that we should look at the effects or consequences for the meaning of a sign (Fitzgerald 1966:18). Since most neologisms are created for effect this is important to my view of meaning of signs. Note that the ultimate logical interpretant is not a sign but a habit. It is dependent upon the logical interpretant. Therefore a change in the logical interpretant, the one we will be referring to frequently, generally results in a change of behavior (habit) of the speakers in a speech community. It is important to note here that Peirce's notion of pragmatism differs from other pragmatists who followed him, namely. William James and John Dewey. For Peirce, it was a theory of meaning. His followers went beyond what he intended by making pragmatism a theory of truth as well as a theory of meaning. It is now necessary to consider Peirce's position on perception before we continue the discussion of interpretants.
Perceptual Judgment

We saw above that the interpretant is the evaluative component of the sign. One of its inputs is perceptual judgment at the time that the sign is produced. We will soon see how this is a major factor in the neological processes under consideration. Peirce argues that perceptual judgment is abstract. It may represent any one or more aspects of the percept. Different speakers may abstract different salient features of an object under discussion in a speech situation. Similarity and contiguity underlie perception universally, however similarity is frequently in the mind of the beholder. In this study, it is in the mind of the innovator. It is for this reason that the interpretation made in the perceptual judgment is not the only one possible. What I believe follows from this is that it is not possible to write WFR's which will predict neologisms or state the constraints on the process. Anttila (1974:7) has asserted that "aspects of perception strategies and complexity have totally evaded measurement and formalization." Peirce's view of perceptual judgment, as stated by Reilly below, points out its unpredictability:

The perceptual judgment is interpretative because it is abstract. That is, it represents one or more features of the known object without exhausting the meaning of the object. The knowable aspect which is grasped in the perceptual judgment is only one of several.
Nonetheless the perceptual judgment is true in the sense that "it is impossible to correct it, and in the fact that it only professes to consider one aspect of the percept." It is for this reason that the interpretation made in the perceptual judgment is not the only one possible, and the aspect represented in it is really as given as it appears so forcefully to be (Reilly, 1970:50-51).

The Field of Meaning

The relevance of Peirce's description of perceptual judgment to the processes of creative neologism will be demonstrated by my discussion of the shift of emphasis within the fields of meaning of concepts. This shift of emphasis results from the perceptual judgment of a speaker in a specific speech situation. The concept of meaning as a dynamic field has strong roots in Gestalt psychology as well as Peircean semiotic. The principles of Gestalt closure such as similarity and contiguity will be relevant to the discussion.

Metaphor is a prime example of the dependence of the meaning of a sign on the shift of emphasis within a field of meaning as a result of extra-linguistic information and our perception of it. In chapter II, data support is given for a rearrangement of the features of meaning in a group of affixes.

By claiming that there is a shift in the field of meaning, I have made the implication that there is a hierarchy of semantic features in the field of meaning for
any conventional concept; and that any one feature of an object may be perceived as salient and result in a change in the hierarchy of the features. This saliency is the result of the spontaneous unified interaction of remembered experience, cognition and perception. This is the phenomenology factor discussed above in the section on interpretants.

It is only through the interaction of the interpretant of the sign with the dynamic field of meaning that specific meanings of a symbol in a context can be determined. The similarity vector which connects the new sense of the symbol with its new hierarchy of features to the characteristic gestalt or target meaning is the important point here. We will be looking at similarity vectors throughout the study. Recall that similarity and contiguity underlie the organization of perception universally and are two basic factors in the mechanisms of neological processes.

It seems appropriate here to make the sociolinguistic perspective of this study and the semiotic framework compatible. I am advocating that as speakers select signs from their inventory of signs which are linked by various degrees of similarity in order to meet their communicative needs in a social setting, their perceptual judgment and cognition are interacting with other mental systems to determine the interpretants of the signs. This event is
anchored in space and time. It is language in use that triggers changes in meaning. The sign selection process as I have described it above is similar to the behavior described by Gumperz and Hymes (1972:15) in their discussion of communicative competence: 'communication is seen as a process in which the speaker selects from his communicative options after he has taken in stimuli from the environment'.

The main claim here is that morphemes vary in meaning in varying speech situations, and it is the interpretant portion of the sign which gives us a specific meaning. This view contrasts sharply with reductionist semantic models in which concepts or morpheme meanings are described as discrete sets of unranked analytic features (see Jackendoff 1975, and Aronoff 1974). These mechanistic models are usually synchronic ones and the development of a symbol is not a concern.

Now we turn to a schematic representation of a dynamic model of the lexicon which is based on the ideas I have just presented. I believe it accounts for the innovations which will be analyzed in future chapters.
Figure 4

The Lexicon as a Dynamic System of Signs
I have made the following point above and in earlier papers (Phillips 1976a, 1976b, 1980, and 1981). The lexicon is a dynamic system of triadic signs which integrates mental systems with extra-linguistic facts during language behavior in a speech situation. This event represents a gestalt tendency; it is a gestalt completion of all the relevant information in the field.

In Figure 4, we can again see the triadic relation between the object, the means (neologism) and the interpretant represented in the system. This figure reads like a flow chart of a true system. Notice that the directions of the arrows indicate that the interpretant in a spontaneous unification interacts with inputs from perception of the speech situation, previously stored concepts in memory, and the principles of similarity and contiguity (analogy). This is the integration of extra-linguistic information and mental systems. Implicit in this model is the assumption that perceptual and linguistic signs share a common representational system. In other words, a theory of semantic representation is a part of a theory of cognition and events.

We can also see a representative sample of legisigns (stored signs) in three overlapping levels: morphemes, words, and idiomatic/holistic formulas. The importance of this anti-reductionist view of lexical storage will be made clear shortly.
The legisigns or mental habits represent thirdness or law as defined above. They are necessary fictions which represent a stereotype of the extension of the term. Sufficient similarity to the stereotype is required for a new instance to be signified by a sinsign (token). For example, in the case of the category fruit, new instances may be signified by the sinsign fruit based on the degree of similarity to the clearest case apple.

The category fruit covers a range of gradations, with apples, pears, and oranges in the center, melons a little farther out, tomatoes and avocados still farther and gourds and hedge apples on the fringes (Bolinger 1976:11).

In this example of the gradations of fruitness, we see that there are both foregrounded and secondary attributes of a stored legisign. This is the hierarchy of features which was discussed above. Note that the direction of the arrow indicates that the neologisms (sinsigns) which are produced by this dynamic system feed back into the dictionary (legisigns), to be used as future models for contact innovations. Contact innovations will be detailed in the section on the propagation of an innovation.

The Levels of Lexical Storage

In figure 4, we noted that the lexical storage contains three overlapping levels of signs, morphemes, words,
idioms, and other holistic formulas. In chapter II, the existence of the word *uncola* in lexical storage is part of the argument for the semantic extension of the prefix *un*-. In chapter IV I posit the storage of supersigns which serve as base signs for blends, acronyms, morphophonemic reductions and condensations. This antireductionist view of the lexicon implies that heterogeneity is one of its characteristics. This is not a new idea. Van Lancker (1975) graphically presents the continuum of propositional and automatic speech. Automatic speech phenomena have been referred to in many ways in the literature: Bolinger’s (1976) "prefabs", Anttila’s (1975) "independent units", Ross and Cooper’s (1975) "freezes", Wolff’s (1973) "modification structures", Hymes’(1972) "linguistic routines", Jakobson’s (1971) "phrasewords", and Jespersen’s (1924) "speech formulas". The position that our language provides us with a large number of prefabs has been well argued by Bolinger (1976:1); Makkai (1972) has especially pointed out the vast stock of idioms in English.

Recent research in neurolinguistics supports the claim that automatic and propositional language relates to the lateralization of functions in the cortex. It is suggested that there is "a side that files things and a side that puts them together - a scheme that could readily accommodate itself to the storing of vast quantities of remembered stuff" (Bolinger, 1976:13),
In the first section of the appendix I have presented evidence for this vast quantity of remembered stuff in lexical storage. I have also gone beyond just presenting the evidence for its existence. I have collected data which demonstrates how these holistic lumps are used frequently by advertisers, sloganeers, punsters, etc. for analogical extensions. Jakobson (1971) pointed out that there is pressure from current cliches upon our choice of constituents in everyday speech. There is attention-getting value in utilizing familiar automatic speech both in everyday conversation and in the public media.

The data are presented in the form of two term analogies in which the form above the line is the documented datum and the form below the line is the automatic speech formula which I retrieved from my own lexical storage. These automatic speech formulas make up a portion of the "encyclopedic knowledge" of the culture in which the language is embedded. Many of them are nursery rhymes, songs, poems, book titles, proverbs, etc. Below is a representative sample of the complete corpus in the appendix.

Anological Extensions Based on Memorized Language: Evidence for Larger-Than-Word Units in the Lexicon

The Wizard of Eyes     Fly the Coupe
The Wizard of Oz       Fly the Coop

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I have already stated my position that the treatment of the lexicon in current generative models does not account for neologisms and that therefore it becomes evident that a different model of word-formation processes is necessary. I have proposed above in Figure 4 a model which I believe accounts for the creativity of neological processes in general and the production of specific innovations in particular. This is an explanatory model for a human science and it seems to me that it has psychological reality. I have used the hermeneutic or human understanding approach in its development.

Change in the Lexicon as a Continuum

This dynamic model meets the needs of historical linguistics. It allows for symbols to change meaning. From an historical perspective, language cannot be viewed as a static invariable whole if the goal is to develop an explanatory theory of language change. Within the view of the proposed model, change in the lexicon of a language is
a continuum. Speakers at different points on the continuum will have different lexicons. The same lexical items will have different frequencies for individual speakers. In other words, variation is the norm; and it is these coexisting variations which are the prerequisites to language change. This is a basic sociolinguistic tenet. It is only possible to speak about a morphological "rule" being added to the grammar when it has become conventionalized. At this time, a "rule" is descriptive rather than explanatory. Coseriu (1974:236) said it well:

What makes language language is not only its structure (which is the mere prerequisite for its functioning), but the speech activity which creates and preserves language as tradition. If change is now understood as systematic becoming of language, there can obviously be no contradiction between "system" and "change", and still more, it is not even legitimate to speak of "system" and "movement" — as of opposite things, but only of "system in movement": the development of language is not a constant, arbitrary, and uncertain change, but a constant systematization. And every "language state" represents a systematic structure just because it is a moment of systematization. With the concept "systematization" one can overcome, in a fundamental way, the antinomy between diachrony and synchrony.

The Propagation of an Innovation

Viewing change in the lexicon as a continuum makes it possible to set forth a theory of the propagation of an innovation following Andersen (1974). I noted above that in
figure 4, the direction of an arrow from the neologisms to the stored legisigns indicated that the neologisms which are produced by this dynamic system feed back into the dictionary, to be used as future models for contact innovations.

A contact innovation occurs when the codes of the addressee differ and either participant adapts his grammar to the other's usage. The actuation of the neologism is the accommodative innovation. By definition, this occurs when a speaker adapts his grammar to a new communicative need (:22). Both types of these adaptive innovations are purposeful and motivated by discourse. A contact innovation is further motivated by linguistic solidarity. The actuation of the innovation is usually an open question. However, in chapter III I have been able to research the actuation of the innovative suffix -athlon in its socio-cultural setting.

Unless contact innovations occur subsequent to accommodative innovations, innovative forms are not diffused throughout the speech community and do not result in codification or change in the stored legisigns. I have schematized this process below:
Positing subsequent stages in the processes of change in the lexicon will help us to begin to explain how to get from state A to state B when we are analyzing diachronic correspondences. The scheme in figure 5 points out the essential connection between the creation of a neologism in the lexical system of one speaker and its subsequent adoption by the speech community. We know that not all accommodative innovations result in change in the language. Some remain in the category of nonce forms. It is not within the scope of this study to discuss in detail the social facts affecting contact innovations. Following Labov (1972), I will point out that we need to look at factors of interpersonal interactions to explain why speakers modify their speech and adopt the linguistic characteristics of those with whom they interact. Linguistic solidarity, mentioned above, is one factor. Propagation is another aspect of the sociolinguistic perspective of innovations.

Peirce's trichotomy of reasoning, abduction, deduction, and induction underlies much of the process of lexical diffusion which I have schematized above in figure
5. Given the production of the first token of an innovation by speaker A, I have hypothesized the following scenarios. Speaker B who is interacting with speaker A hears this innovation and resorts to the lexical system described in Figure 4; he reasons abductively to arrive at an interpretation of the new sign within his immediate sensory experience. This common everyday reasoning process is described by Peirce (1965:66):

The surprising fact, C, is observed; but if A were true, C would be a matter of course. Hence there is a reason to suspect that A is true.

The surprising fact C is the innovation. A is the abduced pattern which produced it. Speaker B in a subsequent speech situation produces a second token of the innovation deductively using the pattern he has previously abduced. What we see here is that the product of abduction can only be determined by its deductive consequences. This process or chain reaction continues throughout the speech community. In this manner, the frequency of use of the innovation results in the codification of a habit in the logical interpretant. Reilly (1970:76) reminds us that abduction is the only process of inference which is genuinely additive of ideas. The inductive test in the scenarios above is whether other speakers accept the contact innovation and are able to interpret it.
In this chapter, I have been concerned with showing how Peirce’s theory of signs, a division of science, makes it possible to explain change in the system of the lexicon. One aspect of this change is the propagation of an innovation throughout the speech community. This issue has been discussed within the framework of Peirce's trichotomy of inference: abduction, deduction, and induction.

**Two Types of Development of a Sign**

I have been discussing two types of development of a sign. In a specific speech situation, a symbol is developed through a series of dynamic interpretants during an event within a short time span. The second type of development of a symbol is as a result of a series of events historically through a longer span of time. As the real world changes, it is necessary for the symbols of a language to be expanded, corrected, or qualified if they are going to continue to be used for communication in everyday activities. It is the firstness of meaning in both cases which allow the symbol to be developed. The successive interpretants which are connected by similarity vectors maintain a semantic affinity simultaneously synchronic and diachronic (Shapiro 1979). This principle of continuity is an important one in the development of symbols through time. Within one event, or within a series of events, the interpretants of a symbol become more determinate than the
previous ones. However, even thirdness as a habit or a rule cannot be fully realized. The mode of existence of the symbol is always general, esse in futuro.
Footnotes

1. My discussion of Peirce's philosophy and system of signs is based on Fitzgerald (1966) and Gentry (1952). I have followed the tradition of referring to the Collected Papers by volume and paragraph number.

2. It is in Peirce's definition of Normative Science that we see the importance of teleology in Peirce's notion of science. "The second grand division is Normative Science, which investigates the universal and necessary laws of the relation of phenomena to ends, that is, perhaps, to Truth, Right, and Beauty" (5.121).

3. Fitzgerald (1966:64) holds that what has traditionally been called the concept is Peirce's habit in the mind. Peirce required that habit as he used it "be in a relatively future tense" of the "conditional mood", and be general in its possibilities of reference. "A symbol is a law, or regularity of the indefinite future" (2.293). He further points out the generality of the habit of the mind (thirdness) associated with a sign: "Such signs (symbols) are always abstract and general, because habits are general rules to which the organism has become subjected" (3.360).
4. The position that the treatment of the lexicon in generative grammar is inadequate has been argued currently by others, see Maher (1977a), Sullivan (1977), and Lockwood (1972). Makkai (1973b) has offered a general proposal for an alternative to the TG model of the lexicon.
CHAPTER II

SEMANTICALLY EXTENDED AFFIXES

In this chapter, I will present the analyses of neologisms in which the form of the affix has not changed but the meaning has. These affixes are in category I in my taxonomy of selected neological processes which was presented in the introduction. By definition, this is a process in which an existent affix has been extended semantically. In our Peircean terminology, it is an existing symbol-legisign with a new interpretant. The affixes in this category are: un-, -ee, -itis, and -ese.

The UN- Prefix

The Germanic negative prefix un- is the representative example of this set, and has received the most extensive treatment. In addition to the analysis of the words in (1) below, I will also present a sketch of the semantic and the syntactic development of this prefix beginning with the Old English period.

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(1) unperson uncolors unpie
unzoo untrack unnominee
unfranchise unpeople ungame
uncoffee unmarriage un-Greek
undesign unwelcome unsyntax
uncollie unopening undiet
unliterature undraperies unhighlights
unmothers unmothering unflation
uncandle unfashion unshopping
unsuit unwork unchild
unwallpaper unfaculty untour
unschedule unfares unmiracle
unlabor unalligator

My analysis of the recent semantic extension of the prefix un- in these words uses a real world change as a representative example in which a new communicative need arose and the token innovation unzoo was created to meet it. This real world change emphasizes the significance of cultural and social settings to the structure of a language. I argued in the introduction that by investigating the social and historical circumstances of innovations we can show that the structure of language is dependent on the social world. The nonlinguistic system of social behavior is the independent variable in establishing
correlations between elements of the linguistic system and the non-linguistic system (Labov 1972:162).

I will now claim that the social fact that the neologism uncola has been used frequently by the communication media for over a decade is a pivotal factor in the semantic change of this prefix. It is just that kind of cultural and social setting factor to which Anttila makes reference in the citation in chapter I above. The nonce form unbirthday party appeared in Lewis Carroll's Alice's Adventures in Wonderland. George Orwell (1949) created the neologism unperson meaning a dead person for his totalitarian language Newspeak. These words, especially uncola appear to be the pivots in the change.

What strikes us as odd about the words uncola, unbirthday, and unperson is that the prefix un- meaning 'not' which used to be limited to adjectives, adverbs and a few abstract nouns is used with the concrete nouns, cola, person, and birthday. Given these words in the lexical storage of the language, I will argue that the subsequent semantic extension of the prefix un- in the words in (1) and its use with concrete nouns were motivated by them. The new meaning of the prefix may be interpreted roughly as 'atypical' or 'has most of the properties of the class represented by the noun but lacks some of the criterial properties'. For example, the answer to the possible question, "What's an unzoo?" is "A place where wild
animals are contained for exhibition without cages". The analysis of the creation of this innovative form, unzoo, as a result of the interaction of the mental systems of perception, memory, and cognition of the speaker with the pragmatics of a particular speech situation will be presented later on.

I have discussed earlier the inadequacy of the word-formation model of Aronoff (1974) for analyzing the neologisms in this study. Recall that in Aronoff's model a new word is formed by applying a regular rule which consists of a unified base that is always specified syntacticosemantically and an affix. This affix cannot be separated from the rule because it is not given any representation of its own. For example, in Aronoff's system the word-formation rule for the negative prefix un-, our focus of interest here, specifies that it attaches only to adjectives, and most productively to deverbal adjectives (:132):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a} & \quad \text{Rule of negative un#} \\
& \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{adj} \\
\text{[X]} \\
\end{array} \\
& \quad \rightarrow \\
& \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{adj} \\
\text{[un#X]} \\
\end{array}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\text{semantics (roughly), un#X = not X}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b} & \quad \text{Forms of the base}
\end{align*}
\]
1. $X_{\text{V}}^{\text{ED}}$ (where ED is the marker for past participle)

2. $X_{\text{V}}^{\text{#ing}}$

3. $X_{\text{V}}^{\text{#able}}$

4. $X_{\text{Y}}^{\text{worthy}}$

5. $X_{\text{Y}}^{\text{seemly}}$

6. $X_{\text{#ful}}^{\text{mindful}}$

7. $X_{\text{al}}^{\text{conditional}}$

8. $X_{\text{#like}}^{\text{warlike}}$

Aronoff states that the forms of the base are listed roughly in order of productivity.

Siegel (1977) in her paper *The Adjacency Condition and the Theory of Morphology* presents two descriptively equivalent statements of the WFR for the prefix. She also takes the position that every WFR must specify the major lexical category of the bases it operates on. The first version of her WFR for the *un-* prefix is the simple one below:

\[
(3) \quad [\ldots]_A \rightarrow [\text{un} \ # [\ldots]_A]_A
\]

The second version of her rule is almost identical to Aronoff's above. It lists the condition: *Un-* may attach to (1) an undervived adjective (sound), (2) denominal
adjectives ending in -al (conditional), -ful (mindful), -y (worthy), -ly (womanly), and finally (3) to deverbal adjectives ending in -ed (potted), -ing (distressing), and -able (readable). In the second version, all possible internal structures of adjectives to which un- attaches are explicitly stated. Siegel goes on to argue that in a theory of morphology constrained by the adjacency condition, we are forced to choose the simple rule over the convoluted second version, since the notions "underived adjective", "deverbal adjective", etc. refer to material which is not uniquely contained in the cycle adjacent to un- (:32). What is relevant here to my analysis is that all of the bases which are specified in her rules are adjectives as they were in Aronoff's system.

Thompson (1975) in discussing the productivity of the prefix states that of approximately 2700 adjectives with un-, three fourths of them have derived base forms. Two thirds of these are derived from past participles of transitive verbs ending in -ed or -en, the other one third include those with bases ending in -ful, -able, and -ing. Examples of this last group are unpainful, unforeseeable, and uninteresting. Thompson also offers a rule for the productivity of the prefix. We can see below in (4) that it is similar to Aronoff's and Siegel's in that the rule applies only to adjectives:
In contrast with Siegel's WFRs, what seems to follow from Thompson's and Aronoff's productive rule is that words like unhappy, unclean, and untrue which do not have derived base forms are not formed by a rule but are discrete memorized units with the relationship to the words happy, clean, and true represented by a set of redundancy rules. In addition no new words can be made on this model. In general in Thompson's system, "un- cannot be prefixed to nouns." (338).

Both Aronoff and Thompson require another WFR for the prefix when it attaches to reversative transitive verbs and has the meaning of 'reverse the result of an action', as in...untie, unlock, and unwrap. Thompson also analyzes a group of privative denominal verbs; the sense of the prefix is 'remove or deprive of'. Some examples of this small group are: unmask, unfrock, and unbonnet. It seems possible to me to view the meaning of the prefix in these words as also reversing a previous state.
The analysis which I am proposing categorizes all of the above uses of un- both "productive" and "non-productive" as instances of a polysemous morpheme. Within this view, the innovative sign un- which has the meaning 'atypical' when prefixed to concrete nouns in general is another instance of the same morpheme (symbol) but not the same sign. There are different interpreters relating to different speech situations.

In summary, we can see that except for the word uninflation, which has been created by analogy with inflation, all of the words in (1) are composed of the un- prefix attached to a base noun, not an adjective. In addition to attaching to a different major lexical category, the prefix has also been semantically extended. The attested forms in (1) support my claim that Aronoff's WF model and other TG models similar to his are inadequate for accounting for the neologisms in this study.

A look at the Oxford English Dictionary (1933) and Marchand (1966) reveals that the un- prefix did attach to abstract nouns in Old English and a few words like untruth, unwisdom, and unbelief are survivals in Modern English. However the prefix in these words has the conventional meaning of negation which is represented in (2) as: un#$X = not X. There was no gestalt switch at that time in the field of meaning of the concept represented by the sign it was prefixed to. Thus the prefix in the words in (1) meets
the criterion for an innovative morpheme that I am using for this study as set forth by Jeffers.

It is appropriate here to give the account of the stages of sense development and syntactic development of the un- prefix as documented in the Oxford English Dictionary. However, we will see that none of the previous senses are the same as the one under discussion here.

My purpose in presenting a summary of the semantic and syntactic development of this prefix is to give empirical evidence for my view of the development of a sign given in chapter I. Recall that I argued for a simultaneous synchronic and diachronic perspective of the development of a sign. In this system, each time the semantics of the un- prefix was extended as a result of an aggregate of innovative signs (contact innovations) new logical interpretants were created. These successive interpretants are connected with the previous gestalt of the prefix by a similarity vector, and a new legisign results.

The world did not stand still from the period of OE to ModE. In order for a symbol to be used continuously and effectively from 1150 to 1981, it had to be expanded and qualified to meet the communicative needs of speakers in a changing world. We will see later how the other affixes discussed in this chapter also continuously developed through time. Language contact, speech varieties, and other sociolinguistic factors will be noted.
This view of the development of signs as a series of events, enables us to have a synchronic and diachronic perspective simultaneously. From this perspective, change in meaning is the norm; it is an inalienable part of the sign situation and it is just that which assures semantic continuity across discontinuous generations (Shapiro 1979:23). Kroskrity (1978) argues within this perspective for the interpretation of the Arizona Tewa suffix -di as a polysemous symbol. In Peircean terms, the symbol is a legi-sign which occurs in a range of syntactic constructions and requires contextual interpretation. Kroskrity offers evidence for semantic similarity vectors which connect the various interpretants of the sinsigns.

The Semantic and the Syntactic Development of the Germanic Negative Prefix UN- : A Cycle

In the Old English period, un- is cited in the following syntactic structures:

- un- + Adj. unbrád “not broad” unbeald “not bold”
- un- + Derived Adj. unbealoful “not baleful” uncynlic “unsuitable”
- un- + Adverb unfeorr “not far” unefne “unequally”
- un- + Derived Adverb uncléallice “uncleanly” unfcálstlice “unsteadily”

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un- + Present Ppl.  unberende  unfelende
   'barren'     'unfeeling'
un- + Past Ppl.  unbeden  unbyrged
   'unasked'    'unburied'
un- + Noun  unār  unbealu
   'dishonor'  'innocence'
   uncyst  unlagu
   'a fault'  'illegality'
un- + Derived Noun  unwisdom  unclēanness
untruth  unescāfsice
   'uncleanness'  'inactivity'

Note that the nouns to which the prefix attaches are abstract nouns rather than concrete nouns as in our examples in (1). There are also a number of OE adjectives of long derivative or compound formations based on or corresponding to Latin formations with in-/im-/il-, e.g. unbegripendlic, 'incomprehensible'. At this time, some structures of un- + noun have a pejorative sense, e.g. unāxt 'excessive eating', uncoǎu, 'evil disease', and uncraft, 'an evil art'. The glossary in Bright's Old English Grammar and Reader (Cassidy and Ringler 1971) contains approximately twenty five nouns consisting of the un- prefix + noun. This group includes some words having the pejorative sense.

The total number of words with the un- prefix which have been documented for OE is 1250. About an eighth of these survived beyond the OE period. In the early ME period up to 1300, there were few additions and a large number of
the survivals from OE passed out of use. Those remaining were chiefly adjectives; unclene `unclean', uncouth; nouns such as unwisdom; and a few past participles such as unborn, unwounded. There were some new formations attested with native bases:

un- + Adj.        untidy, uncomely
un- + Noun         unhope, unstrength, unwinne `grief'
un- + Pa. Ppl.     undone, unshriven

There were also some formations on Scandavian and French bases as a result of language contact:

un- + Adj          unmeek (S); ungracious, unsavoury (F)
un- + Noun         unhap `mishap', unskill `folly' (S)
un- + Pa. Ppl.     unbigged (S); untrussed (F)

A period of new development of the symbol represented by the un- prefix took place during the period from 1300 to 1400. There was an increase in the proportion of past participles in comparison with adjectives and nouns. There was also a reappearance of present participles such as unseand and unfeland which were scarce in earlier ME. There was an increase in French influence which is reflected in words such as uncertain, unwily and undispensed. With the beginning of affixation to polymorphemic words ending in
-able and the revival of past and present participles we can see that this was the beginning of productivity for the prefix as it patterns in Modern English. Some unusual forms with -able which occurred later were: uncome-at-able (1694), un-do-without-able (1844), un-keep-off-able (1840), and untalkaboutable in 1863.

New forms containing the prefix occurred in Chaucer, Wyclif and others before 1400. The pejorative sense from OE still survived in a few words: unrede 'evil counsel', unwine 'evil one', unthaw 'a vice', and unwrench 'evil trick'. The prefix also occurred at this time in one construction in which it was redundantly prefixed to adjectives ending in -less. Two early examples of these syntagms are: ungiltles 'guiltless', and unrecheless 'reckless'. Some later examples of this usage which are attested in the 16th and 17th centuries are: unboundless, unshameless, and untimeless. A survivor of this group, unrestless exists in our modern dialect of English.

Of sociolinguistic interest to us is the coexistent variation in the syntagms when the base was of Latin origin. This began in the 14th century and continued into the 17th. The two variants were the Latin negative prefix represented by in-, im-, etc- and the Germanic prefix under discussion. Some early examples of words which had variants are:
unability   uncircumcised   uncorrect   uncircumspect
undign   undiscreept   unmovable   unnumberable
unperfect   unperfection   unportable   unpossible

Later examples from the 17th century are:

unadequate   unadventent   unarticulate
unartificial   unattentive   unaudible
uncapable   unauspicious

The peak period of double forms was in the 17th century. Since then, the tendency has been to differentiate between the variants. In Mod. E the forms with Latin bases more commonly have the latinate prefix. However, some variation still exists, as in in- or un-advisable and in- or un-alienable. In some of the cases where doublets still exist, a new form with the Germanic prefix has developed when the form with the latinate prefix has acquired a connotation which is a semantic extension of the negative meaning. The new form with un- assumes the negative function, while the existing form may have almost a positive sense. This observation lends itself to speculation as to what will be the ultimate result of the current semantic extension of the prefix under discussion here.
In summary, it was during the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries that the use of un- steadily increased and a large number of the words in ModE were established in the language. This period of productivity is well documented in the dictionaries of Florio and Cotgrave. Many of the words are Italian and French negative words which originally had the Latin prefix. Many of these forms are now rare and obsolete. It is difficult for us to know if these forms with the Germanic prefix were actually used in natural speech situations or were an artifact of the dictionary makers. This is a data problem that current sociolinguistic methodology has made us aware of.

Many of the older forms disappeared during the 18th century, and new forms were more limited. However, Ash's dictionary in 1775 contains 5000 entries of words with the un- prefix. In the 19th century, the productivity of the prefix increased again. It was freely applied to almost any adjectival or participial base. It is at this point of almost unrestricted productivity that the OED ceases to attempt to cite forms which have actually been used.

A brief review of the development of the syntactic structures which contain the prefix in Modern English will serve to foreground some of the points that have been made in the above synopsis of the history of its development. Un- is freely prefixed to polyme-phemic adjectives ending with -al, -ant, -ar, -ary, -ent, -ful, -ic, -ical, -ile,
-ish, -ive, -ly, -ory, -ous, -y, etc., except where a Latin form has been established by use. We saw some of these affixes in the formalized rules of Aronoff, Siegel, and Thompson.

However, there is considerable constraint in the use of the prefix with short underived adjectives of native origin. The negatives of this class usually are antonyms which are also underived adjectives. Forms such as unbroad, undeep, unwide, unglad, ungood, unstrong, and unfew did occur freely in older language beginning with OE. At the end of this section we will see some data from my corpus which will permit the speculation that the structure of un- plus simple adjective has been revived. I will suggest that as a result of the new structure of the prefix with concrete nouns in the words in (1), the structure of un- + short simple adjective is also currently being revived.

The use of un- with adjectives containing the suffix -like is found from about the end of the 16th century, for example, ungentlemanlike. In the 17th century, unbodylike, ungodlike, and unwarlike is cited. By the latter part of the 19th century, this structure is used freely; un-letter-like in 1822, un-teacher-like in 1877, un-university-like in 1869.

The prefixing of un- to past participles was common in OE. It was revived in ME and eventually became the most productive use of the prefix in ModE. An early example of
a participial formation with un- and also a suffixed adverb or preposition is given in 1483, unborne-away; in the 16th and 17th century, uncalled-for, uncared-for, and unheard-of are cited. A number of these words are in use today.

The use of un- with present participles, which as we noted above was revived about 1300 became productive and resulted in the following words still in ModE: unbecoming, unbending, unchanging, and undoubting.

Denominal adjectives ending in -ed were also used as a base for the prefix. For example words such as unbearded, unfeathered, and unblanketed are anticipated in OE by words such as ungefeathered ‘unfeathered’ and ungewintred ‘not adult’. This structure was rare in OE and few similar forms are cited until into the 16th century. The usual semantics is ‘not provided or furnished with’.

In OE adverbial formations with the suffix -lice represented a large portion of the words containing the prefix. Very few of these survived in ME, but gradually the frequency of the structure increased. At one time, there were the co-existing variants of words with -liche in the southern dialects and -ly in the northern ones. Eventually the variant ending with -ly became the common usage in ModE.

The prefix is seldom attached to underived adverbs in ModE. Even in OE, such structures were rare, though we did see unferor ‘not far’ and unefne ‘unequally’ above. These have since been lost from the lexicon.
The use of the prefix with verbs is also limited in OE. It did begin to be used with underived verbs around 1200, *untrowen* 'to disbelieve' (1200), *untrusten* 'to distrust' (1225). In the 16th and 17th century, words like *unbe*, *unbelieve*, and *uncomprehend* were common. The OED suggests that many of these were influenced by the structures containing participial adjectives such as *unbecoming*, etc above.

The prefixing of *un-* to nouns is the most relevant to my focus. The OE use of *un-* + noun survived fully in ME. Old forms were retained and many new ones were created. However, as we stated above, the nouns have been entirely restricted to abstract ones usually containing suffixes. The words, *unacknowledgement* and *unbrittleness* are two examples. The prefixing of *un-* to nouns which are used attributively in noun-noun compounds is rare but did occur in the 18th and 19th century: *unquality lady's* (1771), *uncountry gentleman* (1823), *unbusiness man* (1880) and *unsociety people* (1898). In neither of these two structures does the prefix have the meaning 'atypical' as in the words in (1).

We now return to our main focus, the analysis of the most recent change in the *un-* prefix. In chapter I, I presented my model of the lexicon as a dynamic system of signs. I stressed that the interpretant of a sign is most crucial to the analysis of the neologic process which
produced it. The relevance of Peirce's description of perceptual judgment to the process of creative neologism which resulted in the semantic shift in the prefix will be demonstrated later on. I will discuss the shift of emphasis within the field of meaning of the un- prefix. We will see that this shift results from the perceptual judgment of a speaker in a specific speech situation. This will be an example of how language in use triggers changes in meaning. In the data corpus in (1) are the new signs unzoo, uncandle, unmothering, and undraperies. I propose that new percepts such as zoos without cages, candles not made of wax, mothers who give no advice, and draperies made of woven wood interacted with remembered experience and cognition to form new concepts which were in turn channeled into these new triadic signs. These are attested examples of innovations created to fill the lexical gaps which resulted from real world changes.

As we stated above, the new meaning of the prefix un- is 'atypical'. This new sense of un- places the word unzoo in the periphery of the positive field of the word zoo. Under this analysis, an unzoo is still a member of the class of zoos, but lacks some of the criterial properties of the prototype zoo. In addition to Bolinger (1976), cited in chapter I, Fillmore (1977), Lakoff (1972), Rosch (1973) and Rosch and Mervis (1975) have also discussed prototypes and the range of gradations covered by categories.
Just as there are degrees of fruitiness, there are degrees of zooness depending on what the defining features and the characteristic features are. This analysis reflects my position that there is a hierarchy of semantic features in the field of meaning for the concept represented by the sign zoo. We will return to these implications later on. We can see that the word zoo varies in interpretation in varying speech situations, and it is the interpretant portion of the sign which gives it a specific meaning in a specific context.

I will continue to use unzoo as the representative example of the set of words in (1) and trace its production through the dynamic system presented in chapter I. The referent (object) for the sign unzoo is an African wildlife preserve and amusement park located outside of Los Angeles. Elephants, lions, tigers, giraffes, and other wild animals are contained within a 50 acre complex. Visitors drive their own cars throughout the park to view the animals freely roaming in the unzoo. The characteristic feature that most zoos have which is not present is cages. I am hypothesizing that the pragmatics of the momentary speech situation triggered the idea in the mind of an advertising writer which resulted in the use of this particular sign.

Recall from our discussion of perceptual judgment in chapter I, that any one feature of an object may be
perceived as salient and result in a change in the hierarchy of the features. My claim here is that as the result of a gestalt switch the feature 'cages' was no longer foregrounded in the meaning of zoo. This shift in emphasis within the field of meaning of zoo places the wild animal park inside but on the fringe of the category zoo. Specific semantic features were raised into consciousness as the speaker perceived the similarity between the use of the un- prefix in the grammatical pattern of the stored anomalous word uncola. The awareness of some speakers that uncola is the pivotal word in this change is documented in the following citation:

"Uncola" of Designer Jeans

"We've come up with an 'unlabel'," said ..., explaining Goodwill's thinking in putting new labels on second-hand denims that will go on the racks in its 15 stores Dec. 1. "You know, like 'uncola'." (LAT Nov. 19, 1981, P I p 1)

Certainly the word uncola had been an intentional grammatical violation by the advertising media to draw attention to the soft drink that it referred to. Recall that in the model I am presenting, a dynamic system of legisigns are stored in three overlapping levels. These levels are: morphemes, words, and holistic formulas. Given that the morphemes un- and zoo were stored in the lexicon along with the word uncola, the neological process, which
is one of spontaneous unification of the components of the system, produced the word unzoo. Figure 4 from chapter I is repeated below:

---

**Figure 6**

The Lexicon as a Dynamic System of Signs

---

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The creation of neologisms such as unzoo, uncandle, unwork, unpie, and the others in (1) and the subsequent addition of a productive rule for the un- prefix in its new sense to attach to concrete nouns are two separate issues. I have already discussed the analysis of the first issue. Now we turn to the question of the subsequent propagation of the innovation throughout the speech community.

As we can see in Figure 6, neologisms like unzoo feed back into the dictionary to be used as models for the future contact innovations. Recall that a contact innovation occurs when the codes of the addressee and the addressee differ and either participant adapts his grammar to the other's usage. The contact innovation stage is one of the most important sociolinguistic factors in the process of change in the lexicon.

The actuation of the neologism as described above is the accommodative innovation. This actuation is usually an open research question. Therefore, I have arbitrarily assumed throughout this chapter that unzoo was the accommodative innovation. I have repeated the schematic representation of the change process in Figure 7 below and also added representative examples for each stage of this particular change in the system of the lexicon.
Figure 7
The Diffusion Stages of the Semantic Extension of UN-

I make no claim as to which form actually occurred before others. I do suggest that positing subsequent stages in the processes of a specific change in the lexicon will help us to begin to explain how to get from state A to state B when we are analyzing diachronic correspondences.

The above scheme points out the essential sociolinguistic connection between the creation of the word unzoo in the lexical system of one speaker and the subsequent development of a legisign with the new sense of the prefix in the grammar of members of the speech community. This reflects my position that speakers at different points on the lexical continuum will have different lexicons in respect to this prefix. It is this coexisting variation, which sociolinguists view as the norm, which is the prerequisite to language change. In future chapters this position will be assumed and not made explicit for each analysis.
I will now show how Peirce’s trichotomy of reasoning: abduction, deduction, and induction underlies much of the process of lexical diffusion which I have schematized above. Using the word unzoo as an example of the first token of an innovation, I have hypothesized the following scenarios. Speaker A views the wild animal park and ‘names’ it the unzoo during a speech event. Speaker B, who is interacting with speaker A, hears this innovation and resorts to the lexical system described in Figure 6; he reasons abductively to arrive at an interpretation of the new sign within his immediate sensory experience. This common everyday reasoning process was discussed in chapter I above in the section on the propagation of an innovation. Speaker B, in a subsequent speech situation, produces uncandle deductively using the pattern he has previously abduced.

This process or chain reaction continues throughout the speech community. The same change, or semantic extension in our case at hand, is repeated in a series of adoptions in Coseriu’s (1974) terminology. These adoptions are always intentional, their motivation usually being the linguistic solidarity of the speakers (Coseriu 1982, personal communication). In this manner, the frequency of use of the new sense of the un- prefix results in a new legisign or mental habit in the speech community. Abduction is the only process of inference which is genuinely
additive of ideas (Reilly 1970:76). The inductive test, in the scenarios above, is whether other speakers accept the contact innovation, and go on to produce other forms using the same pattern.

In this section, I have been concerned with the explanation of the process of semantic change which resulted in a new sense (interpretant) for the English prefix un-. I have argued the data support within the theoretical framework which was presented in chapter I. In doing this, I have presented the social, psychological, and grammatical factors in the situational motivation of this particular example in this category. I have also pointed out what I have called a syntactic structure cycle which began in OE.

In the brief review of the syntactic development of the prefix, we noted that in Old English, the prefix occurred frequently in the structure un- + noun; most of these forms were lost by the Middle English period. Thus the words in (1) which have the syntactic structure of un- + noun complete this cycle, even though the prefix has an extended meaning. In addition to the revival of this syntactic structure, we see an increase in the structure of un- + underived adjective as documented in the data items below:
(5) unlast    undead    unnormal
unheaviest  unpretty  unmerry
unfunny    unhip      unsleek
unpetite   unneat    unsweet
           unbusy

Note that in (5) the native prefix is attached to both
latinate (petite, neat, and normal) and native bases. This
argues against the constraint that one sort of
morphological condition on the base of a WFR is a condition
on abstract morphological features like latinate (Aronoff
1974:111). I believe that the words in (5) have been
produced by analogy to the structure of both words like
unreal which has a Latin base and unwell which has a native
base.

Another observation that can be made in view of the
citations in (1) is that the earlier data items were, in
general, produced by speakers in the advertising business
or sloganeers, and the orthography in these early citations
contained qualifying quotations marks as iconic devices to
signal the marginal status of these words in the English
lexicon (see the appendix). Later citations contain fewer
iconic devices.

The conclusion we can draw from these observations is
that even though innovations may be in the periphery of
language when they are produced as nonce forms by
individual speakers, eventually some of these adaptive innovations feed into the system. Ultimately some of them cause a chain reaction in that other syntactic structures are affected. This last statement borders on speculation. I am basing this statement on some interesting data items which I collected toward the end of the research period. I have used my own abductive inference process in analyzing them.

(6) Verbs
unretire unrake unfilee
unjump unfire unmother
unflip unwig unlove

Adverbs
unlibrarianly
untgether

Nouns
unsurgery uncolor
unshine unname
un-TA unplenty

Adjectives
unzooable
un-put-downable

Since un- plus noun is the main focus of this section, I will only make some observations of the data in (6). Note that the new sign unzoo has been used as a deriving base
for the new adjective unzooable. The verbs retire, jump, flip, rake, fire, and wig do not seem to me to belong to the usual set of reversative verbs that I discussed above in this section. The noun uncolor with the interpretation of 'not a color' referring to white also appears in the list in (1) in which the interpretation is 'atypical' referring to the colors of beige and grey. Finally, the words unmother and unlove are both used in the same sentence. In unmother, the prefix is used in its new sense, in unlove, the prefix has the meaning of negation. See the appendix for the context of these items. These examples offer further evidence for the semantic extension of the prefix.

The -EE Suffix

We now turn to another affix in this same category of semantic extension. It is the suffix -ee. The analysis of this suffix in the words in (7) below will offer additional support for the view of the meaning of a legisign as a field i.e. a vague target meaning which has interprets determined for each sinsign. This view contrasts with meaning as a specified discreet set of unordered semantic features which is part of a word formation rule.

(7) returnee pinnee awardee
blindee  pornographee  retiree
vanishee  attendee  grudgee
escapee  flightee  dunkee
conferree  suburbee  whirlee
loanee  biographee  augmentee
standee  strokee  tributee
sellee  waitee  lookee
franchisee  mentee  scoopee

The immediate observation that can be made is that the words in (7) would not be produced by Siegel's WFR for the _ee suffix (1971) reproduced in Aronoff (1974:189). This rule is presented below:

(8)  +ee attachment

\[
\begin{array}{c}
X \\
\end{array}
\oplus
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ee} \\
\end{array}
\]

+ transitive
+ animate object

We see that this WFR states that the _ee suffix regularly attaches only to verbs which are both transitive and take animate objects. This rule will derive words like chasee, frustratee and muggle. These are some that I noted
during my data collection. In a footnote Aronoff (1974:236) states that _ee used to attach to verbs which took animate indirect objects as well, but that this rule is obsolete, though the forms still exist in the lexicon. He is referring to the words in the relational pairs such as grantee/grantor etc. which were borrowed from French. More about this type below. In (7) above, there are words which have been formed by attaching the suffix to verbs which take animate indirect objects. For example: sellee, franchisee, pinnee, awardee, and lookee. Except for awardee, all of these have the counterpart word of the relational pair in the same context (see appendix). I suggest that this class which Aronoff has claimed is obsolete is either being revived or has never been obsolete.

In the same footnote, Aronoff lists additional exceptions to the general WFR : escapee, refugee, devotee, absentee, and standee. Again in (7) there are attested words which are similar to these exceptions in that the base word is usually an intransitive verb. These words are: returnee, vanishee, escapee, conferee, standee, waitee, and retiree. There are a number of nouns already in the lexicon which also are counterexamples to the rule in (8). These are derived from verb forms which have been truncated. For example consider the pairs:
Within Aronoff's word based theory of morphology, these examples are strong counterevidence, since the base is not a word. To get around this problem, Aronoff invokes a truncation rule which eliminates -ate before the -ee attaches. However, there is an exception to this exception rule; it is the word, dedicatee. In my view, this truncation rule is an ad hoc protection device for his theory. It is used to explain counterexamples for this particular affix. Since Aronoff's theory is built on a very strict 'one affix one rule' principle, this type of protective device is needed for these strong counterexamples.

A review of the historical development of the -ee suffix which draws on Marchand (209-210) reveals that like the prefix un- the suffix -ee developed through time and had several changes in interpretants and syntactic context. With the Norman conquest, French became the language of the law courts. Relational pairs such as donee/donor, lessee/lessor, grantee/grantor, and trustee/trustor occurred in an English context in the 15th century. The noun with the suffix -ee is a passive noun (originally a French participle used as a noun) and the noun with the
-or suffix is the agent noun. The endings -e and -ee denoting gender had been neutralized to the more general -ee. The sense relation is that of 'one to whom something is given'/ 'one who gives'. The noun with the -ee suffix is the indirect object of the verb. It is specifically this early construction in which the noun with the -ee suffix is the indirect object of the verb which Aronoff states is obsolete.

Around the period of World War I, a group of direct passive nouns which referred to military personnel were created. Some of these are: draftee, selectee, trainee, and rejectee. Bolinger (1941) cites the revival of draftee, and trainee during World War II. He further cites direct passive nouns sockee, squeezee, quizee, and bombee. Marchand also suggests that in present day American English the suffix has had more general application, and offers the attested forms divorcee, slanderree, honoree, and holdupee. Note that both Bolinger's and Marchand's citations are direct passive nouns. These would be produced by the WFR in (8). However, as early as the 17th century Marchand reports that there was direct derivation from intransitive verbs which resulted in words like standee, and returnee. These are examples of Aronoff's exceptions.

As early as 1884 nouns ending with the suffix may be interpreted as having noun bases. In support of this claim, Marchand offers the word chargee. The words in (7) with a
noun base are: pornographee, flightee, suburbee, biographee, strokee, grudgee, whirlee, and tributee. Blindee has an adjective base. Mentee is particularly interesting because it is produced by analogy to the earlier -or/-ee relational pairs derived from verbs. This gives mentor/mentee without the verb *ment.

In summary, a review of the citations in (7) argues that the symbol -ee has a field of meaning in which the relationship of the derived noun to other nouns in the syntactic structure is open. It could be the direct recipient of the action of the main verb, it could be the indirect recipient of the action of the verb, it could be the agent of the action, it could be simply associated with a referent represented by a base noun. By noting the context in the appendix, we see that strokee is ‘one who had a stroke’; suburbee is ‘one who lives in a suburb’; and blindee is ‘one who has a blind date’. It is only by the process of semantic investiture (determining the interpretant) that the meaning is revealed in a speech context. The -ee suffix is an excellent example for demonstrating the simultaneous synchronic-diachronic development of a symbol. It also points out the futility of attempting to capture the occurrence of this suffix in a reductionist type WFR. There is no single generative or algorithmic description for the -ee suffix.
The -ITIS Suffix:

The next suffix under consideration in this chapter on semantic extension of existing forms is the suffix -itis which appears in the words in (10) below. This suffix based on the Greek suffix which formed the feminine of adjectives was often used with a feminine noun. It was already used in Greek to qualify disease of the joints, arthritis, and disease of the kidneys, nephritis. On the analogy of these, -itis became in modern Latin and then in English to be the regular suffix with the semantics of "disease". As early as 1909, the suffix was used as an independent word. For example: "It must be remembered that the complaint referred to, mucous colitis, is not, strictly speaking, an itis at all" (OED 1976). As early as 1903, the semantics of the suffix had been extended; fiscalitis is the first citation. For the dates of some of the other early innovations in (10) see the appendix.

(10) buyitis          electionitis           NuYorkitis
    sequelitis          end-of-Tv-           corvairitis
                        seasonitis
    museumitis          spendicitis          soundtrackitis
    skinnyitis          senioritis           footballitis
    abbreviaitis        freshman-year-at     vinylitis
                        collegeitis
    fiscalitis          gas crunchitis       oh-two-itis
The first observation that we can make concerning the words in (10) is that several of them have been formed with more than a single word as the base for the suffix. These examples are counterexamples to the word based hypothesis. I am aware that several of these examples are nonce forms and will probably not become lexical items. However, I do argue that speakers know that they can access an affix without the WFR as in the several TG models discussed in the beginning of this chapter. *Spendicitis* in the second column is an interesting item. It appears that *spendicitis* was produced instead of *spenditis* by analogy with *appendicitis*.

The *-itis* examples offer additional evidential support for my theory of semantic change in which change results from a change in the hierarchy of features within the field. This change in turn has resulted from a prescinding in the perceptual judgement of the innovator at the time that the first sinsign was produced. This is another example of a speaker perceiving a feature as foregrounded which up to that time had not been. It is also additional evidence for my argument that analogy as similarity and
contiguity is a strong organizing principle in our perception as well as in our speech. Anttila (1980) pointed out the power of similarity and contiguity in affecting spontaneous unification in sensory fields.

I will use *museunitis* as the representative example of this group. A schematic representation of the rehierarchization of the field is presented in Figure 8:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tonsil + itis</th>
<th>museum + itis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ inflammation</td>
<td>+ high frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ pain</td>
<td>+ affliction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ disease</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ affliction</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ intense</td>
<td>+ inflammation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 8**

The Rehierarchization of the Field of Meaning of *-ITIS*

What I have shown above is a gestalt shift in emphasis. The salient feature in the semantics of the suffix prior to the change is inflammation, usually in a part of the body. In this sense, the base of the structure was a noun which referred to an organ like the appendix, the bursa, or the tonsils in words like *appendicitis*, *bursitis*, and *tonsilitis*. The salient feature which is foregrounded in *museunitis* and the other words in (10) is the high frequency of specific behaviors related to the base word in the structure. For example, someone who has
museumitis is someone who frequently goes to museums. When this activity is perceived as similar to a disease of the body, the neologism is created. The similarity vector mentioned connects the new interpretant with the previous gestalt of the suffix. This example points out the role of similarity as one principle underlying semantic change. This type of analysis requires the linguist to use his/her Sprachgefühl and points to hermeneutics as a necessary factor in linguistic analysis.

The -ese Suffix:

The next suffix to be considered in this chapter is the -ese suffix. Prior to a recent semantic extension, this suffix derived adjectives from a proper noun which generally referred to a geographic place. These adjectives may be used as nouns. For example, Japanese, Chinese, Burmese, and Pekinese. According to the OED (1933), this suffix was adopted from OF -eis, MF -ois, -ais. However Marchand (1966) argues that English -ese is due to Italian -ese from Latin -ensem. English borrowed Milanese in 1484, Genoese in 1553, Maltese in 1615. Marchand further claims that the association of the suffix with remote countries in the Far East influenced the rise of derivatives from other remote foreign countries:

The tinge of strangeness which these words evoke, helped to coin words denoting a strangely
peculiar style, a negatively characteristic jargon (:226)

(11) 

nursese  legalase  postcaredese
medicalase  teenagese  Johnsonese
psychologese  textbookese  Carlylese
journalase  vocalise (sic)  novelese
educationalase  Watergateese  telegraphese
PCP-ese  proposalese  jargonese
Americanese  computerese  offiaialese

It is in the sense of a characteristic jargon associated with specific groups that the suffix is used in the words in (11). Marchand pointed out the similarity vector which connects the interpretant of this new sense with the interpretant of the previous sense.

In this chapter, I have presented the analyses of semantically extended affixes. New interpretants have been developed for existing legi-signs. I have argued that it is futile to attempt to capture the occurrence of some derivational affixes in a generative or algorithmic descriptive rule. What I have shown is that in an attempt to ‘reveal’ systematicity within the TG model of word formation, everything that is unsystematic is simply ignored (Itkonen 1981:113).
CHAPTER III

INNOVATIVE SUFFIXES

This chapter is concerned with the analyses of neologisms in which the suffix of the word is an innovative suffix in English. These affixes are in category II in the taxonomy. By definition, this is a process in which a new form functions productively as an affix. In Peircean terms, a new symbol-legisign has been created with its associated new interpretants. The suffixes which will be discussed in this chapter are -athon, -(a/o) holic, and -gate. The suffix -athon will receive the most detailed treatment as the representative example of this category. Again, I will present the historical development of the innovations. Within the framework of our sociolinguistic model of semantic change, we will see that an analysis of the process which resulted in the new suffix is an explanation which incorporates the socio-cultural conditions during its historical development.

93
(1) Pink Floydathon jogathon learnathon
smellathon sellathon smileathon
cutathon leaseathon moveathon
radiothon phonathon runathon
danceathon Americathon lifeathon
telethon bikeathon marijuanathon
eatathon styleathon marchathon
funkathon ringathon hireathon
skateathon readathon simchatorathon
rockathon cyclethon birathon
bowlathon excelathon liftathon
walkathon memorython cubeathon
freezeathon

The case of -athon is an especially valuable example to demonstrate the inadequacy of the formalized closed system word formation model of the Extended Standard Theory. The suffix developed from the proper noun Marathon, a city in Greece.

We will first trace the historical stages of the development of the -athon suffix as documented in the Oxford English Dictionary. Following this, I will suggest an explanation of these historical stages within the framework of the dynamic model of the lexicon in Figure 4, chapter I. As we will see in what follows, Marathon first
appeared in the OED as a proper noun. The same morpheme form subsequently functioned within several word classes before -athon was cut from it, reanalyzed, and began a separate journey to become a new suffix.

**Historical Development of the -Athon Suffix**

**1896**

Marathon Introduced in the first revived Olympic Games at Athens in 1896, in memory of the famous Greek runner, Pheidippides, who is said to have brought the news of the battle of Marathon to Athens in 490 B.C. (OED V. 13:33).

In the above citation we can see that Marathon functions as a proper noun. The referent is the city in Greece.

**1905**

Marathon Race Programme of the Olympic Games in Athens in 1906. Marathon Race, 42 kilometres. From Marathon to Athens on the road. (OED V. 13:33)

In this citation Marathon still functions as a proper noun in a noun-noun compound structure. This same noun-noun compound structure is cited again in 1908.
1908
Marathon Westm. Gaz. 22 July 1/3. There are two things which no one who wishes to win the Marathon can ever afford to forget. (OED Supplement 1976 V 2:827)

In this citation Marathon is the result of the neological process of condensation. This process is in the focus of chapter IV in this study and is defined as the deletion of surface phonological material and the compression of the semantic material left onto the remaining items. For our purposes here, two signs become one and the new interpretant has the same meaning as the two previous interpretants combined. Thus Marathon in this usage incorporates the semantics of Race. The referent is a long race which takes place between the cities of Athens and Marathon. The reanalysis of Marathon is semantically equivalent to the analysis of Marathon Race.

1908
Marathon Daily Chron. 5 Nov. 1/2. A competition (in potato-peeling)...under the title of 'The Murphy Marathon' was decided last night at the cookery exhibition. (OED 1933 V 13:33)
In this citation, we can see a second sense development. The referent of Marathon is a competition calling for endurance but not necessarily a long-distance foot race. Here we see it applied to another type of competition calling for endurance. This new common noun may be further specified by a modifier. In 1909, Coaching Marathon is cited and in 1928, dance marathon is noted.

1920

Chamber's Jnl. Aug. 519/2. Do I have to marathon ten miles and back. (OED 1933 V 13:33)

In this citation, the denominal verb occurs. The participle, marathoning is cited in 1964.

1923

Glasgow Herald 19 Apr. 6/7. The present wave of "marathon" or endurance dancing. (OED 1933 V 13:33)

This is the first citation of marathon used as an adjectival. In 1932, marathon swimmer and marathon swimming is cited; marathon session appeared in 1951, and marathon criminal cases appeared in 1972.
1934

-athon A combining form, barbarously extracted from *mar)athon, used occasionally in the U.S. talkathon, walkathon, rarely in Britain, to form words denoting something carried on for an abnormal length of time. (OED 1972 v 1:143)

Again the process of condensation has reduced the phonological units without reducing the semantic units. There is no longer any reference to the city of Marathon, Greece, but the meaning of long duration as in marathon dancing has been transferred completely. Later on I will discuss a new interpretant which I suggest has been added to the -athon suffix recently.

In Figure 9 below, I present a schematic representation of the chronological development of the cline from the proper noun Marathon cited in 1896 to the the suffix -athon which I have cited beginning in 1977.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Cultural Phenomena</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>Revival of Olympic games at Athens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>PN (compound)</td>
<td>Olympic games at Athens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Olympic games at London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A competition in potato-peeling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A competition in potato-peeling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Marathon dancing competitions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>N (Blend)</td>
<td>Walkathons, endurance-dancing competitions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Suffix</td>
<td>Numerous community events or activities of long duration; sometimes for the purpose of fund-raising for charities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9

Chronological Development of a Cline: Proper Noun to Suffix

As we can see in Figure 9, the two continuous dimensions which changed simultaneously were time and the number of grammatical categories containing the form marathon or its condensed form -athon. The particular positions of the grammatical categories on the cline are based on the documentation from the OED volumes XIII Supplement and Bibliography (1933), I A–G Supplement (1972), II H–N Supplement (1976). A search of Mathews'
(1951) Dictionary of Americanisms failed to reveal any citations of marathon or -athon. According to Mencken, The American Language (1941), the coining of dance marathon to designate a long-distance dancing match occurred in 1927. Mencken also documents the social facts which influenced the change in the form of the signans dance marathon to the signans walkathon to designate exhibition dancing matches. This change will be discussed in more detail later on.

As we view the cline in Figure 9 as a continuum in the lexicon of English, we note that the points which represent simultaneous changes also represent the first occurrence of a new sense development which results in coexisting sets of semantic features. In other words, within the framework which I am suggesting, the same signantia has varying interpretants which require a contextual interpretation. At these specific points on the cline it is not possible to have a discreet set of analytic features for the signans marathon. Currently, there are homophonous forms with referents ranging from a city in Greece to any activity of long duration. Until -athon was cut, the signans remained constant while new signata developed. Evidence for co-existing sets of semantic features or interpretants in Peirccean terms is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Boston Marathon</th>
<th>comedy marathon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>air-land marathon</td>
<td>marathon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Derived nouns  marathoner  marital marathoners
Adjectives  marathon dance  marathon art auction
  marathon week  marathon chase

All of the above data items were collected in 1978. The contexts of these words appear in the appendix.

Notice in Figure 9 that I have also correlated cultural phenomena with sense developments. I am suggesting that corresponding with the revival of the Olympic games in both Athens and London, there was a high frequency of use of the word Marathon. High frequency is reflected in association and memory. The high frequency of the blend walkathon is documented by Mencken (1941:180):

The first use of dance marathon to designate a long-distance dancing match was in 1927. After a while the promoters introduced rest-periods, during which the dancers were free to walk about. In 1930 a promoter in Des Moines called such an ameliorated contest a walkathon, and the word quickly spread. I am indebted for this to Mr. Hal J. Ross of St. Louis, and to Mr. Don King, endurance-shows editor of the Billboard (Cincinnati). I have been informed by other authorities that the use of walkathon was encouraged by the passage of laws in some of the States forbidding dancing for more than eight hours on end. The cops, it appears, were easily persuaded that a walkathon was really a walking-match, which had no time limit.

During the economically depressed '30s, it was possible to earn money by being a participant in a dance marathon. As reported by Mencken, these were exhibition
events which were held nation-wide. In the Los Angeles Herald of September 4, 1980, June Havok, the actress, gave a first hand description of the social context in which this new affix was created.

Q: What did you do when you left vaudeville?

A: When I was 13, I eloped and joined the dance marathon. The dance marathon was an entirely different world than has been depicted. It could only exist in those days because degradation was prevalent among us — with the financial status of the country and one disaster after the other.

The idea of entertainment was reduced to the level of watching someone in worse condition than you were in, and saying, "Get up, don't fall down," because you were yelling for yourself, in a way. In a way, you were saying, "Oh, God, don't let that person fall, because I'm going to fall if they do." So it was a very honest and touching terror of the times. It's a huge, throbbing story.

In my view, it is possible to conclude that the cultural phenomena cited in Figure 9 and described in the quotations above were causal factors in the sense development of Marathon and the subsequent creation of -athon as an innovative suffix. What I have not claimed is that they are the determining factors. It is not within the scope of this dissertation to investigate all of the factors in creative neologism which have been pointed out by Anttila (1972:193) and others. However, we will turn to a phonological factor next.

Except for the words: radiothon, Americathon, excelathon, memorython, marijuanathon, and simchatorathon,
all of the words in (1) are trisyllabic. Marathon, the analogical base for the words in (1) is also trisyllabic. The interesting fact here is that except for radiothon, the other words are among those most recently added to the data sample. I suggest that as a first step in building a theory of this type of neological process that we test a hypothesis which predicts that the early forms will have the same syllable pattern as the analogical base. The evidence for -athon suggests that only as the innovative affix moves toward productivity as an independent form in the system does the new word move away from the template which originally serves as the model. Except for a few words which have either proper nouns or common nouns as bases, all of the other words in (1) have the structure [V + athon] N. Recall that the first documentation of the blend walkathon has the same structure. See Figure 9 above.

It seems to me that if we want to attempt to explain the creation of -athon, we need to begin with the creation of walkathon as cited in 1934. I have already discussed the social and cultural situation in which this word occurred. I have also made some observations about the phonological structure of the new words; and have argued for a high frequency of the form marathon in its various senses. Now we will return to our dynamic model of the lexicon (see Figure 4, chapter I).
Again, the creation of the innovation needs to be placed within a specific speech situation. In this case, a dance marathon in Des Moines Iowa. The system in flux which consists of the open set of speech components including such mental systems as perception, memory, conception, in addition to the lexical storage, interacts with the pragmatics of the speech situation. A network of analogy as unformalizable similarity is also interacting. I hypothesize that the similarity which was perceived by the innovator between a marathon and dancing competitions was the quality of "long duration". As we saw above, participants in the dancing competitions usually continued until they were barely able to stand up. Given these percepts and the existence of the words marathon and walk in the lexicon storage, coupled with the principle of least effort (Zipf, 1965) and an affective communicative purpose, the coining of walkathon may be explained. It is assumed here that the communicative purpose of the promoter of dancing competitions in Des Moines was to attract the public's attention as well as to comply with the new law. He met his communicative needs by creating the neologism, walkathon. This is the sociolinguistic perspective of the innovation process.

As we saw in chapter II, in the discussion of the semantic change of the un- prefix, neologisms which are produced by the dynamic system feed back into the
dictionary, to be used as future models for contact innovations. As members of the speech community adopt the innovation, it is diffused throughout the community. The documentation of the actuation of the new suffix -athon is available to us. We can assume that walkathon was the adaptive innovation or first stage in the change. However, the choice of the subsequent contact innovations is an arbitrary one. The -athon suffix is another example of the result of a process in which an innovation is created in the lexical system of one speaker and its subsequent adoption by the speech community.

As I pointed out in chapter I, we need to look at interpersonal interactions and the intentions of the speakers to explain why they modify their speech and adopt the linguistic characteristics of those with whom they are interacting. This is another aspect of the sociolinguistic perspective of language change.

The usage of the innovative suffix -athon appears to be on the ascent. An additional semantic feature, "fund raising event" has extended the sense of the suffix in some specific speech situations. The complete context of the tokens given in the appendix indicates that many of the events referred to are held for the purpose of raising money for various charitable organizations.

I have just presented the historical teleological explanation of the development of the suffix -athon. I have
offered an explanation which I believe accounts for its creation and subsequent propagation throughout the speech community. I believe that the model of word formation which I am proposing in this study explains this specific category of lexical change better than the current TG model. If there were a synchronic word formation rule which really mirrored the cline in Figure 9 and predicted -athon and walkathon, the research reported in this chapter would not have been necessary.

The principle of uniformitarianism in language change applies to the -athon suffix. It is certainly not the only suffix in English to result from the reanalysis and dissection of a full morpheme. Two others will be considered below. Anttila (1974:21) offers evidence from Finnish that this same process occurs in other languages. The feminine suffix -tar was reanalyzed from the single word tytar "daughter". It is productive and occurs in words like laulajatar "singer-ess" or "songstress".

I also collected a data corpus of words containing the innovative suffixes -a/oholic, and -gate. The same process which resulted in the suffix -athon produced these innovative suffixes also. I researched the historical development of the -a/oholic suffix but I was unable to locate such specific socio-cultural contexts for the stages of its development as I had been for -athon.
Certainly the creation of the \textit{-gate} suffix is recent enough for most of us to immediately bring to mind its sociocultural context, the Watergate political scandal. This was the motivation which precipitated the segmentation of \textit{Watergate} by an innovative speaker into two signs. The interpretant of the new symbol-\textit{legisign}, \textit{-gate}, is 'scandal, improper behavior, etc'. In (2) and (3) below, I present for your consideration the neologisms which have occurred recently which contain suffixes which I have categorized as resulting from the same neological process as that one which produced \textit{-athon}. The contexts for these words are also in the appendix.

\textbf{The \textit{-aholic} Suffix}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
(2) pillaholic & walkaholic & teloholic \\
clothesaholic & beeroholic & saleaholic \\
lcafhaholic & winoholic & chargeaholic \\
footballohollic & foodaholic & spendaholic \\
storeaholic & starchoholics & plantoholic \\
bookaholic & colaholic & bloodoholic \\
potoholic & carboholic & pianoholic \\
potaholic & sweetsoholic & credaholic \\
TVaholic & sugaroholic & gasaholic \\
chocoholic & cookiesoholic & clipaholic \\
aeroholic & workaholic & parfoholic \\
\end{tabular}

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shopaholic          quietaholic         tapeaholic
newsaholic          talkoholic          videoholic
phoneaholic          moviecoholic        hugaholic
sugarholic           sexaholic           wordoholic
adoholic             TV-holic

The innovative suffix _a/oholic_ in the words in (2) consists of the whole morpheme _-ic_ and _-ohol_ which has been reanalyzed from the whole morpheme, _alcohol_. The interpretant in general for this neo-suffix is 'one addicted to'. Note that most of the new words in (2) have the same syllable and stress pattern as the analogical base _alcoholic_; that is four syllables with the primary stress on the first syllable. These facts support my hypothesis which predicts that the early forms containing an innovative suffix will have the same syllable and stress pattern as the analogical base.

In contrast with the _-athon_ suffix, the syllable boundary of the source word _alcohol_ has been ignored and the cut was made within the syllable _co_. The exception is the word _moviecoholic_ in (2) above which appears to have the suffix _-coholic_. Cassidy (1979) has suggested that _alcohol_ was abbreviated to _alky_ and _alk_ a long time ago, making the reanalysis of _alcoholic_ by cutting within the syllable easier. Notice also that this suffix has variants with either _a_ or _o_ as the first vowel. Of particular interest are the following sets:

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potoholic    TVaholic    sugarholic
potaholic    TV-holic    sugaroholic
teloholic    videoholic

The words in the first column show the vowel variation within the same word. The words in the second column reflect the variation between a vowel and no vowel as the first segment of the suffix within the same word. Column two also presents four different forms for the same meaning. The third column is another example of the vowel/no vowel alternation. It seems possible to me to label these variants as sociolinguistic variants. The phonological analysis of these sociolinguistic variants and the other variants is a future research problem.

The first citation of the word alcoholic was in 1790. The meaning of the word at that time was limited to 'of or belonging to alcohol' as in the statement: The combination of alkohol with caloric, becomes alkoholic gas. In 1852, the interpretant 'preserved in alcohol' is documented in the citation 'The specimen, an alcoholic one, has a pale brown colour.' In 1856, the sense of 'using or employing alcohol' is given in the citation 'The differences which alcoholic thermometers exhibit ...' The noun, alcoholics meaning alcoholic liquors is first cited in 1856 also. Just
as we saw in the discussion of the -ese suffix in chapter II, the adjective alcoholic was shifted into the noun category.

In 1891, the term chronic alcoholics is cited with the meaning of "one who is addicted to excessive consumption of alcoholic drinks; a drink addict". This usage is again cited in 1907 and 1909. There were two other competing forms with the same interpretant. Alcoholicist is cited in 1888, "Of 250 chronic alcoholists nearly 90% had fatty degeneration of the liver." This term is cited again in 1894 and 1920. Alcoholizer is cited in 1890 in the statement, "I pity those alcoholisers ... and they are often such Bayards in their sane periods" (OED 1933). We can assume that these last two forms disappeared and that alcoholic is the surviving one. This period of competing forms presents a problem for the "one rule -one affix" model of word formation.

I pointed out the relevance of the social milieu at the time of the creation of the -athon suffix i.e. degradation was prevalent, and the financial status of the country was very low. I suggest that the social milieu was also an important factor in the creation of the early if not the first contact innovation, workaholic. It seems to me that it was necessary for the early work ethic of this country to wane before the concept of an individual who works more than he should could develop in the cognitive
system of an innovative speaker. This process of univerbation or naming of a new concept is a key factor in the neologic process.

We now turn to the final innovative suffix in this chapter. In (3) below is the list of the words in the data corpus containing the suffix _gate_. What is interesting here, is the difference in the time span between the creation of the _gate_ suffix and the occurrence of the subsequent contact innovations and the time span of the development of the _athon_ suffix. I suggest that the mass media of today is an important factor in the diffusion of _gate_.

**The _gate_ Suffix**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Koreagate</th>
<th>Dallasgate</th>
<th>Scrantongate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cartergate</td>
<td>laborgate</td>
<td>Volgagate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hollywoodgate</td>
<td>winegate</td>
<td>golfgate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dopegate</td>
<td>Lancegate</td>
<td>Grantgate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>metergate</td>
<td>mediagate</td>
<td>Billygate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cattlegate</td>
<td>motorgate</td>
<td>Angelgate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>autogate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I offer the following data item in my collection as evidential support for the similarity vectors in a field of meaning which continue to connect a series of
interprets. The speaker has associated the early interpretant of the symbol gate to the later interpretant of 'scandalous behavior':

1980 Valley news Aug. 17, Section 5, page 1. On Billy Carter: "Billy-gate is a good name. He's used to a lot of swinging doors, anyway."

New derivational suffixes historically have developed from free full morphemes and become bound morphemes. In this chapter I have offered analyses of three new symbol-legisigns which have developed as a result of a reanalysis of one sign into two signs. A portion of a free full morpheme has been arbitrarily cut and analyzed as a suffix symbol with its associated interpretant.
CHAPTER IV

BLENDING, MORPHOPHONEMIC REDUCTION, AND CONDENSATION

In this chapter, I will be concerned with the analyses of data items which I have classified as blends, morphophonemic reductions, and condensations. These items are in category III, IV, and V respectively in the taxonomy. By definition, a blend is produced when sequential segments of one word are combined with sequential segments of another word. A classic example of this process is the word brunch. I have analyzed this general process into five subtypes. Morphophonemic reduction is defined as a process in which two contiguous words are amalgamated into one. A characteristic example of this process is the amalgamation of the words go for into the new noun gofer. Condensation is defined as a process in which two contiguous words are condensed into one. It is distinct from morphophonemic reduction in that it is not an amalgamation. One of the words of the collocation is

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completely lost in the process and the semantics of the lost word is transferred completely to the remaining constituent. A classic example of this process is the condensation of the two words final exam into the word final.

I have grouped these three categories of neologisms together in this chapter because the shortening processes which produce them all involve the sign operation of substitution, generally on supersigns. This operation replaces signs with others, deletes or adds them, as well as shortens them (Walther 1979:55):

Substitutability is the requirement of all interpretation, explanation, definition, and translation,... It is irrelevant whether the replacing one is longer or shorter, or one-to-many, or many to one.

In the specific processes under discussion in this chapter, substitution replaces a supersign with a shorter sign. A new symbol will stand for other symbols in the base supersign. I am using the Peircean term supersign to refer to a syntagm which has semantic closure. In this sense, superization contrasts with adjunction (Walther 1979:119-124). Superization connects units and frequently produces holistic lumps in the lexicon. For a detailed discussion of supersigns see Section III, Superzeichenbildung, in Posner and Reinecke (1977:49-106).
We will see in the sections below that superization is a requirement for the sign process of substitution in the production of blends, morphophonemic reductions, and condensations.

It seems possible to me to include all of these traditional categories of word formation under the supercategory of ellipsis. Just as presuppositions, shared knowledge, etc. must be resorted to in syntactic ellipsis, it is necessary to do the same in lexical ellipsis. These are marked forms and signal that the speaker is one of the 'in-group'. It is for just this reason that these categories of neologisms are excellent examples in a sociolinguistic framework. This will be discussed in more detail below.

In accord with his word-based morphology, Aronoff has labelled blending and acronymy as non-productive, sporadic, and opaque word-formation processes (1974:48). They are a problem for his theory because none of the bases in these processes are a single word. His main arguments are that any word formed by such a process is not regularly derivable from elements which are meaningful and does not have internal structure or constituents. Marchand (1966:367) echoes this position by stating that the clusters of segments which are joined in a blend are morphemes only for the individual speaker who blended them, and are not signs at all. I will argue below that these
elements are meaningful as a result of indexing from the new word to the base words from which it was formed. The interpretants of the base words are the object of the new sign which in turn has its interpretant.

This period of indexing lasts at least through the contact innovation stage as the new blend or acronym is being diffused throughout the speech community. Recall the sequence of abductive, deductive and inductive reasoning which takes place as a speaker interprets a new word he has observed and then attempts to produce another word using the new pattern.

Eventually, the indexicality from the new word to the base words is lost. Examples of this are the words smog and laser. Many speakers do not have the association of smog to the two words smoke and fog, nor do they associate laser with the phrase light amplification by stimulated emission of radiation.

The various types of blending processes listed below are productive but the same sequences of segments may or may not ever occur in another blend. In the case of the -athon suffix, they did occur repeatedly. We saw in chapter III that the new suffix originally was part of an innovative blend walkathon. Many of the early new words ending with the neo-suffixes -athon, -aholic, and -gate could have been classified as productive blends in which the same sequence of segments of word two
occurs. As I argued in chapter III, it is an arbitrary decision as to when a productive part of a set of blends shifts to the category of neo-suffix. This is again an example of the gradation between the lexicon and the syntax of a language. We will see more examples of this gradation in the discussion of the category of morphophonemic reduction.

As I have defined acronymy below, it also is a regular process of word formation. Support for the productivity of acronymy is evidenced by the Acronyms and Initialisms Dictionary (AID), first published in 1960. Subsequent editions have been published periodically. From 1960 to 1974, it grew from a listing of 12,000 entries to 103,000 entries (Algeo 1974:220).

If we think of WFR rules as "once-only-rules" used for the purpose of "making up new words which may be added to the speaker's lexicon" (Aronoff:50) then I will argue that the word-formation processes analyzed in this chapter need to be included in this set.

Blends

As defined above a blend is produced when sequential segments of one word are combined with sequential segments of another word to form a new word. I have analyzed this general process into five subtypes:
Type A: Beginning segments of word 1 are combined with the ending segments of word 2.

(1) frogurt      Hungarian
    Woodstein     rockabilly
    litercture    tinger
    graphacator   telecoper
    frasority     povertician
    cremains

What we see in (1) above, and in the other types of blends which follow is that the forms of at least one of the base symbols is truncated or clipped in traditional terms. What remains is a word which meets the phonotactic restrictions of English and is an index to the base symbols. For example, the innovative blend frogurt above is an index to the words frozen and yogurt; and similarity vectors connect these two words to the neologism. The interpretant for the sign frogurt must include the interpretants for the signs frozen and yogurt. Recall that in the chain of interpretants, the interpretant of the first sign or signs becomes the object of the second sign in the chain.

The use of a new blend such as frogurt instead of the two base words indicates a sociolinguistic shift in value in a specific speech event. As we have seen with other

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neologisms, blends including acronyms, morphophonemic reductions, and condensations usually originate as specialized vocabulary of a particular social group. The use of these colorful economical terms signifies membership in the group. Within the intimacy of this social group, a small part of the word or phrase is sufficient to indicate the whole. In summary, a special case of metonymy occurs in which a part of the signans of each base sign represents the whole sign in the neologism. Shapiro (1976:12-13) discusses the hierarchical structure of the metonymic process involved in blending and acronymy. It seems possible to me to view metonymy in word formation processes in return as a special case of the sign process of substitution.

My criteria for the different types of blending are the different types of truncation of the base words. These processes are similar to the traditional kind of clipping of single words. For instance back clipping of gymnasium produces gym and fore-clipping of telephone produces phone. Since my taxonomy of blends is based on the different combinations of the segmentations of the two words involved, this causes a crossreference or overlap when blends are categorized according to the relation between the two words involved. For instance, the syntagmatic blend frugurt has a contiguity vector while the paradigmatic blend Hungarican has a similarity vector. Hungarian and
Puerto Rican belong to the same substitution set. The function of syntagmatic blends is generally for speech economy as well as for attention getting. Algeo (1980) which came to my attention after I completed my data analysis and taxonomy suggests that the term telescope word is most appropriate for this particular kind of blend. The two words of the syntagm are telescoped to form one word. The function of paradigmatic blends is generally to fuse two interpretants. The classic paradigmatic blend brunch fused together the interpretants of breakfast and lunch. The syntagmatic blend motel shortened the phrase motor hotel. The interpretants of motor and hotel are indexed but are not fused in the same way as those for breakfast and lunch. In this respect, syntagmatic blends are more like morphophonemic reductions and condensations than paradigmatic blends are. This comparison will be clarified in the sections on morphophonemic reductions and condensations below. I only note it here. We see that both frogurt and brunch are type A in my system. I have been more concerned with the various ways of combining the clusters of segments in word derivation than I have been concerned with the syntactic relation of the source words.

Type B: Beginning segments of word 1 are combined with all of the segments of word 2.
(2) Gerotours
   whis-skiers
   rejuvetours
   chocoffee
   Joakie
   pedicab
   psychobabble

The meaning of *whis-skiers* in (2) above is "skiers who spend more time drinking whiskey than they do skiing". Its source as determined from the context in the appendix is the two noun syntagm *whiskey skiers*. The relationship between the two contiguous source nouns is determined by the interpretant. *Chocoffee* is an example of blending in which there is an overlap of a syllable which is the last syllable of the segments of the first base word and the first syllable of the segments of the second base word. This process of haplology can also be seen in the blends of type A in (1) above: *Hungarican, povertician*, and *cremains*. It will be seen again in other types below.

Type C: Beginning segments of word 1 are combined with the beginning segments of word 2.

(3) moped
    sitcom
    sencit
    aldehyde
    minicam
    capcom
    sitrept
    capsep

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This type represents a contrast with types A, B, and D in that the beginning segments of word two are chosen rather than all of it or just the ending segments. Explaining the choice of segments from each base word of the blends in type C is left to future researchers.

Type D: All of the segments of word one are combined with the ending segments of word two. The tokens of this type which also contain overlapping shared segments are: **Samboree, palimony, and guesstimation.**

(4) buscycle petamedics guesstimation
togatan fanzine blaxploitation
kitchen- jazznastics ice-cotheque
frontation
bassackwards cellocipede dancercise
Samboree clutchretary mousecara
parrotdisse palimony gasohol
parrotfanalia sexsational crepewich
Napadashery Fawcettphiles sexcom
booketeria ergonomics

The blends **Samboree, parrotdisse, parrotfanalia** and **Napadashery** exhibit a similarity to the complete words from which the ending segments were chosen i.e. **jamboree, paradise, paraphernalia, and haberdashery.** It seems
possible to claim that the similarity of the entire base word to the blend precipitated the word play. Again the teleological emotive function is a factor in the explanation of a new word.

Type E: Acronyms

The term acronym has been used in diverse ways in the literature, and there is disagreement about its application. Algeo (1974:221) states that central to most of the scholarship on acronymy has been an effort to define the type and to clarify the use of the term. In agreement with Algeo, I have analyzed acronymy as a special case of blending. It meets the criteria of the definition of blending that I have established for this study. I am not in agreement with him, however, on the definition of acronymy. I have defined it as the process in which the sequential units of words which are combined to form a new word are generally limited to the initial letters of categoric words of a phrase. This new word is pronounced by orthoepic rules. Baum (1962:49) supports this same definition, and reports that this was the earliest definition at the time of the coining of the word in 1943.

Using the narrow definition that I have established results in classifying what others have called acronyms as either other types of blends or abbreviations.
For example, in my framework, syllable words such as Nabisco (National Biscuit Company) and Sunoco (Sun Oil Company) can be viewed as blends. Others have called them acronyms. The process which produces such syllable words is generally used in creating proper nouns for trade-names. The gradation between blends and acronyms is made apparent by words like these. I suggest that shortenings such as Nabisco and Sunoco be classified as three word blends, an additional category in the open-ended taxonomy. It is very unlikely that new syllable words like these proper nouns will become derivation bases as some acronyms have. For example, from the pure acronym, laser, we now have the words laserist and laserium. I will also have nothing to say about another shortening process which I have categorized as abbreviation rather than acronymy. Examples of this process consist of alphabetically pronounced letters; i.e. GI, OK, YWCA, and ID. In (5) below is a representative sample of acronyms which meet the criteria I have established in the definition above.

(5)  laser  map  hep  
Reo  jocer  rage  
Nato  elf  aid  
zip  scuba  Lacus  
Unesco  sam  care  
avol  sins  waves
Bart core gotcha
salt jobs egads
alps now

All of the above acronyms meet the phonotactic restrictions of English. In fact several result in words which are homonyms to existing words. These apposite acronyms are strong examples of the teleological function of language. Notice that the letters which spell the acronyms core, jobs, now, hep, rage, aid, care, waves, gotcha, and egads also spell an English word whose meaning is very appropriate and can be associated with the phrase from which the acronym was produced.

This association becomes apparent by checking the contexts and base words of these acronyms in the appendix. For example, the word rage is expressive of the anger which members of the group organized under the phrase residents against gas and electricity increases are experiencing. Each time that the new acronym is expressed in a speech situation, the interpretant for the homonym rage is also associated with the phrase which the acronym indexes.

The letters of the acronym LACUS spell a word which is a homonym to the Latin word lacus "lake". Members of the organization of LACUS live on both sides of the Great Lakes in Canada and in the United States.
This phenomena was noted by Baum (1955:108) and Makkai (1973:iv). Makkai referred to this type of acronym as "punning acronyms" which have mnemonic value because of the familiar words with which they are associated. He argued that simultaneous awareness of transmodal cognition is required for the formation and the understanding of "punning acronyms".

As we saw in the process of blending, we again see in the process of acronymy the results of the sign operation of substitution on a supersign. In the case of acronyms, the supersign is a phrase or holistic lump. The symbol representing the acronym stands for all of the symbols in the base phrase.

It has not been my intention to offer an exhaustive analysis of what others have categorized as blends or acronyms in the literature (see Algeo 1974, 1980). My goal in this section has been to offer an analysis of various types of blends and acronyms within a sociolinguistic-semiotic framework and suggest how some of the neologisms enter the language.

**Morphophonemic Reduction**

I have defined morphophonemic reduction as a word formation process in which two or more contiguous words are amalgamated into one. In (6) below are some traditional familiar examples of this process. The phonemic shortening
occurred first and the graphemic shortening followed. It is
doubtful that many speakers of English today still have
indexing to the source words in their language system.
Notice that this process usually results in category
shifting. For example, the adjective *bloody* was created by
the shortening of a prepositional phrase.

(6)  God like        goodly
     by our lady     bloody
     God be with you goodbye

Consider the following data items in this category
from my corpus:

(7)  gofer        shoulda
     twofer       druthers
     gotcha       wanna
     seeings      gonna
     (how)        
     lookit       hafta
     gotta        usta
     hasta        fonda

The examples in (6) and (7) point out the overlap
between the syntax and the lexicon in a language system.
Forms which are habitually produced together become reinterpreted as a single unit. Gofer is a particularly interesting case. It represents a phonemic change, analogy, semantic change, and a syntactic change. The two source words are go and for. We can see from the appendix that it originated by speakers referring to low status members of an organization. For example, secretaries who 'go for' coffee, assistants who 'go for' reviews, wardrobe, scripts, etc. are referred to as gofers. The new noun gofer was grammaticized. Instead of the source verb plus particle being used in a descriptive phrase in those particular speech situations, the new noun is used. By analogy gofer became a member of the class of agentive nouns ending with the -er suffix, i.e. baker, teacher, etc. In two citations, folk etymology was applied during the abductive process and the innovation was interpreted as gopher.

Bolinger (1980) argues convincingly for lexical storage of the morphophonemic reductions wanna, gonna, hafta, hasta, and gotta as innovative auxiliaries on a gradient in a transition zone between syntax and lexicon. He states that these auxiliaries which previously had syntagmatic connections are "making their bid for a paradigmatic niche" (1:292). Bolinger also makes a distinction between this set of innovative auxiliaries and reflexes of fast speech which are not stored lexical items. Chomsky and Lasnik (1978:271) also suggest some special
status for *wanna*: "it might simply be that wanna has been lexicalized, with new and specific properties".

In the citation below, we see that the data item *fonda* results from an intentional morphophonemic reduction:

1979 LAT Oct. 7, P I p 3. Replete with pink "I'm not Fonda Jane" buttons, the crowd cheered when...

The words *fond of* have been reduced to *Fonda*, the actress's last name. This example offers some evidence that speakers are aware of these shortening patterns and can invoke them consciously for a purpose. The pattern which was the analogical base for *fonda* is stored in words such as *sorta*, *kinda*, and *coupla*.

Condensation

I have defined condensation for purposes of this study as a process in which two contiguous words are condensed into one. In this respect, the process of condensation is similar to both syntagmatic blending and morphophonemic reduction. In contrast with morphophonemic reduction, it is not an amalgamation. The surface phonological material of one of the words in the collocation is completely lost and the semantics of the lost word is transferred completely to the remaining
constituent. The two most common types are: the head from an adjective-noun syntagm is dropped, the adjective substantivizes, and a new noun is produced, for example flat from flat tire or final from final exam; or the head is dropped following an attributive noun giving it a new sense. Some familiar examples of this second type are pukas from puka shells, freight from freight train, and vacuum from vacuum cleaner.

In Peircean terms, the signans of one sign of the supersign is substituted for the signantia of the signs which made up the supersign. The new sign has an interpretant which is similar to the interpretant of a syntagmatic blend in that both of the interpretants of the source words are indexed but not fused. Superization or semantic closure is a prerequisite of condensation as it has been for other processes in this section.

Examples of condensation par excellence occur with trademark names. Kleenex has been condensed from Kleenex tissue; crayola from Crayola crayons, and xerox from Xerox copier. Many words such as cellophane, zipper, and aspirin once were trademarks owned by single companies. When these words became generic in their interpretation, they could no longer be legal trademarks.

The Xerox corporation is currently reminding speakers that Xerox is not a verb but the name of a company. The trademark is an attributive noun in that it is
the name of one brand of a particular product. It is not the product. However, members of the speech community continue to condense the syntagm. In this manner, xerox has the interpretant which results from the fusion of the interpretants of Xerox copier.

Condensation is the term used by Breal (1964) for this word formation process. Maher (1973) skillfully analyzes the condensation of Greek πέτρος 'flying' from ιάσις πέτρος 'flying stone' and offers the condensation of Latin desertum 'desert' from locus desertum. Others have traditionally referred to this process as clipping, or decomposition. Givon (1967) labels it reinterpretation and offers a lexical rule for nonaffixal category shift. Anttila (1972:142) states: "... words that frequently occur side by side influence each other semantically so that one of them can drop without semantic consequences".

My own data for my discussion of condensation as a neologic process was collected while I was a participant-observer in natural speech interactions at a ski area. I observed the following speech acts:

(8)

(a) What a pleasure to have powder after all that corn yesterday.
(b) I don't know how you can ski in that crud.
(c) There's too much junk up there today.
(d) You can't use your edges in the crust.

To most English speakers "snow" is "snow"; to most English speaking skiers, "snow" is either "powder, corn, crud, junk, or crust". These are the neologisms that I will be discussing in this section. A basic assumption here is that the type of snow is far more important to skiers than to other English speakers. It is also assumed that the communicative needs of skiers require more refined distinctions in this specific semantic domain. Snow used as a general term has little meaning to a skier. In order to determine the amount of wax that needs to be applied to skis or to determine the rate of descent down a run, it is necessary for the skier to know the specific condition of the snow.

Note that the words which I have claimed as neologisms are semantic extensions of the words powder, corn, crud, junk, and crust. As we can see from the context, all of these words refer to types of snow. It is not possible to interpret the sign corn as something to eat in the environment of a ski slope. The sociocultural context takes precedence over the linguistic context.

The data items in (8) are particularly useful for addressing the question, "Why do specific word formation processes operate in appropriate cultural settings and are constrained in others?" Each speaker has exercised a
semiotic choice and used the in-group lexical items instead of the lexical item snow in a descriptive phrase. This is another example of univerbation in a specific situation. In this manner, the structure of the utterance has been affected in order to serve the communicative need of the speaker to distinguish between various types of snow. Again the economy of continually developing the interpretants of existing symbols in order to create new communicative signs is made apparent.

The words underlined in (8) above may be viewed as a segment of the lexicon of the intimate specialized register of the speech community of skiers. As we saw above, this in-group communication system allows them to communicate with little effort, important information concerning the texture, moisture content, compactness, and depth of the snow in the ski area. The following concepts map onto the newly developed symbols:

(9)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>powder</td>
<td>A light, fluffy snow which usually is the result of fresh snow, and cold dry conditions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corn</td>
<td>As a result of continuous melting and freezing usually in the Spring, the snow has broken down into slippery pea-shaped granules.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crud</td>
<td>Snow which has had heavy traffic and is usually packed and cut up.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
junk  Very wet as a result of the sun and relatively high temperature.
crust  The snow has frozen into a crust at the surface with loose snow underneath.

The neologisms at the left in (9) contrast with the lengthy descriptions of the snow conditions on the right. These descriptions would be required for communication if the condensed signs did not exist. Skiers have closely shared identifications and expectations. They expect other skiers to talk about skiing by using the shared lexical items. This is the means used to signal social solidarity and membership in the group. In other words, a skier needs to know the terms in order to have communicative competence in that specific speech situation.

(10)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{powder snow} & \rightarrow \text{powder} & \text{crust(y) snow} & \rightarrow \text{crust} \\
\text{corn snow} & \rightarrow \text{corn} & \text{crud(y) snow} & \rightarrow \text{crud} \\
\text{junk snow} & \rightarrow \text{junk}
\end{align*}
\]

The examples above in (10) indicate that the first three are condensations of the type attributive noun plus noun and the head noun is dropped; the last two are of the second type in which the head noun drops and the adjective
substantivizes. The development of the symbol which is not dropped has increased the complexity of its interpretant. For skiers there is indexing to the interpretant for snow.

The coexistence of the three stages in the development of the symbol powder is attested in the following three data items:

(11)


1977 Los Angeles Times. Feb. 6, Part VIII, p 2. Others hop helicopters that deposit them in the virgin powder of distant mountains, ...

What follows from the above is that given the appropriate socio-cultural context, almost any English adjective could shift categories and become a noun by the condensation word formation process. However, this new noun has an interpretant which includes the qualities of the head noun which was dropped. What is necessary is that the
adjective be a constituent in an existing supersign and the noun be a predictable collocate due to the intimacy of the group.

In this chapter, I have stressed the teleological function of speech in intimate social groups. I have also given evidence to support my position that the importance of the processes of blending, morphophonemic reduction, and condensation to a general theory of word formation cannot be dismissed with the label of "sporadic".
Chapter V

Concluding Remarks

The lexicon of English is continually in flux. New words are being created and older words are dropping out of the lexicon. We have seen that these new words are necessary in order to meet the communicative needs of members of a speech community as they conduct their daily activities. Neologisms are created by all members of a society as the real world changes around them. We have also seen how neologisms are used for social indexing and cohesion within speech communities.

I have pointed out that the process of univerbation usually indicates a change in the value system of a speech community. A new scientific discovery needs to be named, or a new type of amusement park or a dance marathon requires naming, as in my own data. The task of the linguist is to attempt to account for the creation of the neologism within a model of word formation. I have
approached this task with an attitude that is similar to Lakoff (1975:321):

…it’s silly to be a slave to any theory, especially one that isn’t appropriate, and it’s silly to twist facts to match some idealization of the way language ought to be, but isn’t; and it’s silly to burden oneself with theoretical mechanisms that one must pick his way around, mechanisms that fight his intuition rather than support it. … For certainly the theorist gets into trouble by not having his hands on enough real data, by not having the facts forced to his attention, having people contrast reality with idealism as presented in his theory.

I set out to get my hands on some real data, and then to seek some theoretical mechanisms that would not fight my intuitions (my sprachgefühl) concerning the data items. I approached the problem from a sociolinguistic-semantic perspective, because a new word is both a sociolinguistic variant and a semiotic choice from an inventory of signs.

When we choose to produce a neologism which is a univerbation, we have at the same time chosen not to use a descriptive phrase. For example, in chapter II, when the neologism unzoo is produced, the speaker has chosen not to say something like an animal park in which the animals are not kept in cages.

Current generative grammar models of word formation have been used as examples of models which do not account for neologisms. The formalized rules do not either explain or predict the occurrence of the neologisms in my data.
corpus. In my view, what I have suggested in the previous chapters has more explanatory validity. I have offered both perceptual and cognitive factors which I believe need to be a part of any model of the lexicon which claims psychological reality. In general, the generative model of grammar has assumed the lexicon as a given, and syntax as the true locus of creativity.

I have claimed that linguistics is a part of semiotics. Semiotics emphasizes meaning and communication in contrast with other current models of language which emphasize form and structure. Peirce's system of interpretants within his sign system especially provides a theoretical frame for language change. Most of the neologic processes that I have analyzed above are concerned with the development of existing symbols. I have shown how I believe new interpretants have been determined for these symbols.

I have pointed out the relevance of Peirce's phenomenological categories of firstness, secondness, and thirdness for neologism. First by chance a feeling impinges on the innovator, secondly this chance event leads to a reaction which results in the creation of a neologism, and third if repeated the innovation becomes habitual and leads ultimately to a representation in cognition.
I have argued that it is in thirdness, the highest cognitive area that Peircean laws exist. This is the realm of the legisigns of the lexicon. However even these laws are not permanent. As I have demonstrated, as the symbol is determined contextually, during an event or through a series of events, new legisigns develop.

Peirce's doctrine was that all that exists is continuous. I have stressed this notion of potentiality even in what linguists have been accustomed to calling rules. The mode of being of rules of a language esse in futuro.

I have shown that the absolute word formation laws need to be replaced by a model which incorporates this principle of continuity. It is manifested in the constant systematization of the lexicon. Within this view, productivity is a continuum rather than an either or concept.

I have also begun with firstness in doing this study, by beginning with language use in order to attempt to isolate some of the first flashes of chance which precipitated the perceptual judgement of the innovator. I have argued that two moving forces of linguistic change are the global innate faculty of the power of association (analogical power), and communicative purpose (teleology).

I have taken the position that analogy, abduction, and perceptual judgement are unpredictable and unformalizable.
This position contrasts with other models of language in which the concept of formalism is central. Therefore I have offered a model which is in the form of a flow chart or a circle. This circle represents the principle of continuity in the hermeneutic circle in which everything depends on the mind of the innovator.

It has been argued that perceptual judgements of innovators are feeding into the existing inventory of symbol-legisigns (laws of habit) in cognition and eventually resulting in new symbol-legisigns. It is this creative process which constantly renews the language.

Recall the sign mechanisms of superization and substitution in respect to blending and acronymy. After supersigns become blends or acronyms through the mechanism of substitution, they feed back into the lexicon as single units and begin all over again. Laser is the example par excellence of this phenomena. "Once you have embraced the principle of continuity no kind of explanation of things will satisfy you except that they grew "(Peirce 1.175). Anttila points out that absolute laws cannot grow, and language has to change in order to stay the same. (1972:380).

Finally, I have argued for a sociolinguistic perspective of neologic processes. This seems to me to be an imperative one in order to explicate language use, the beginning point of my analysis. This perspective is also
necessary in order to discuss notions like, intention, free will, function, communicative needs, heterogeneous speech community and others discussed above.

This perspective has also allowed me to talk about the language of speakers who are members of a society in a specific social milieu. The interpretation of neologisms frequently depends upon the shared knowledge and the degree of intimacy of the group. I have emphasized the importance of the individual speaker in this social context. It is the individual speaker who evaluates the sign and determines the meaning in the interpretant.

My argumentation throughout this study has been based on an anti-positivist (anti-reductionist) position. I have proposed a phenomenological model and claimed that linguistics is a human science. I have further claimed that the deductive-nomological methods of natural science cannot be used to explain language change. My contribution has been to a non-nomic theory of change.
APPENDIX

Abbreviations Used in the Appendix

LAT Los Angeles Times Newspaper
LAHE Los Angeles Herald Examiner Newspaper
DN Daily News Newspaper
VN Valley News Newspaper
AS American Speech
NADS Newsletter of the American Dialect Society
S Section
P Part
d page
Class. Classified Section
Cal. Calendar Section
TV Television Section
SUPP Supplement
n.d. no date available
C: Socio-cultural Context
Analogue Extensions Based on Memorized Language:
Evidence for Larger-Than-Word Units in the Lexicon

The Wizard of Eyes
The Wizard of Oz

1977 UCLA Bruin April 7, p 5.
C: Caption of an advertisement for
prescription glasses.

The Frill is Gone
The Thrill is Gone

1977 LAT July 24, p 85.
C: Caption of an advertisement for a
discount showroom.

In His Merry Rollsmobile
In His Merry Oldsmobile

1977 LAT June 14, P IV p 1.
C: Title of Jack Smith's column.

Thoroughly Committed Millie
Thoroughly Modern Millie

1977 LAT Sept. 12, P IV p 1.
C: Title of an article.

Who's the Farrahst One of All?
Who's the Fairest One of All?

1977 LAT Apr. 1, P IV p 1.
C: Caption of an article concerning
Farrah Fawcett.

I Come From Alabama With a Bandage on My Knee
I Come From Alabama With a Banjo on My Knee

1977 LAT Nov. 16, P IV p 3.
C: Caption of a cartoon by Bill Keane.

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The Taming of the Stew
The Taming of the Shrew
C: An article concerning cooking lessons for fabulous stews.

The Sideman Cometh
The Iceman Cometh
1977 UCLA Bruin April 26, p 12.
C: An article concerning guitarist Steven Hunter.

A Skin of Beauty is a Joy Forever
A Thing of Beauty is a Joy Forever
C: A caption on a sign advertising cosmetics.

United Guitar Workers
United Auto Workers
Garment etc.
1975 May 23
C: These words were printed on the side of a van which contained musical instruments.

That's a fly in the ointment
That's the fly in the ointment
1977 LAHE July 12, S b p 2.
C: Butchers warn of big price hikes upcoming for pork products. That's a fly in the ointment.

Datsun of a Gun of a Deal
That son of a gun
C: Caption of an advertisement for Datsun automobiles.
The Sew Must Go On
The Show Must Go On

C: Title of an article announcing a sewing contest.

Chicken A La Prince
Chicken A La King

1977 LAHE July 14, S b p 7.
C: Cartoon dialogue: "What's chicken a la prince?" "That's chicken a la king that didn't quite make it."

Fly the coupe
Fly the coop

n d
C: Caption for an advertisement for a type of automobile. This was on a billboard.

His Heart's in the Trite Place
His Heart's in the Right Place

C: Title of an article about the "Great American Cliche Contest."

A Change of Hearth
A Change of Heart

C: An advertisement for furniture.

Knott's Scary Farm
Knott's Berry Farm

1976 Radio Oct. 23,
C: An announcement of a special Halloween show at a local amusement center, Knott's Berry Farm.
Knott's Merry Farm
Knott's Berry Farm

C: An advertisement caption for a New Year's Eve party.

Plant Parenthood
Planned Parenthood

n d LAT

Don't Be Quart Short
Don't Be Caught Short

C: Advertisement caption for a quart of whiskey.

Why Do You Keep on Truckin?
Keep on Trucking

C: Caption on advertisement concerning air freight.

Keep on Tracking
Keep on Trucking

C: Caption of advertisement for Amtrak.

Nobody Knows the Troubles Jamaal's Seen
Nobody Knows the Troubles I've Seen

C: The title of a sports column concerning Jamaal Wilkes (a sports figure).
Happy Cooker
Happy Hooker

1977 VN May 27, The Big Valley section p 38.
C: Title of an article concerning the author of a new cookbook.

Dinner Prices a la Carter
a la Carte

C: Title of an article concerning President Carter.

The Roads Scholar
The Rhodes Scholar

n d Los Angeles Magazine
C: Caption of an advertisement for a Datsun 280-Z.

Let Yourself Glow
Let Yourself Go

C: Caption of an advertisement for The Grand Canyon National Park Lodges.

Proceed With Cauthen
Proceed With Caution

C: Title of an article concerning a 16 year old jockey. "What can you say about this golden boy, 16-year-old Steve Cauthen, that hasn't been said before?"

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Popp and Circumstances
Pomp and Circumstances
C: Title of Jack Smith's column concerning a colleague named Bob Popp.

Our schools rush in where professionals fear to tread.
fools rush in where angels fear to tread.
1977 LAT May 9, P IV p 1.
C: A sentence contained within an article concerning contemporary opera workshops.

How Suite It Is
How Sweet it is
C: Title of an article concerning the Waldorf's presidential suite.

Paper Greats
paperweights
1976 LAT Nov. 29,
C: Caption on an advertisement for French crystal paperweights.

Attack By A UFT (Unidentified Flying Tire)
UFO (Unidentified Flying Object)
C: Caption on a picture of two boys throwing an old tire back and forth.

Finger Pickin' Good
Finger Lickin' Good
C: Caption on announcement of a musical special featuring 28 country music artists.
Til Debt Do Us Part
Till death do us part

1977 LAT June 27, P I p 18.
C: Caption under a picture of a bride and groom in an advertisement of a savings and loan association.

Mouth-to-Mouth Reagancitation
Mouth to mouth resuscitation

1977 LAT Feb. 9, P II p 7.
C: A political cartoon caption. Ronald Reagan is attempting to revive an elephant.

See Mexico for a Change of Peso
Change of pace

C: The title of an article concerning the devaluation of the peso in Mexico.

Unmitigated Gala
unmitigated gait

1977 LAT June 12, P IX p 1.
C: Title of Jack Smith's column concerning a "pretty corny" motion picture premiere.

How to Play Your Cars Right
play your cards right

1977 LAT April 23, P I p 1.
C: Caption on an article concerning fuel-efficient automobiles and a proposal for increasing the federal gasoline tax.
It's as easel as 1-2-3!
It's as easy as 1-2-3!

1977 LAT April 23, P I p 12.
C: Caption on an advertisement for easels.

Now's the Time to Let Everything Go to Blazers.

Go to blazes

C: Caption on an advertisement for women's blazers.

The Dinosaur Comes Fuel Circle
come full circle

C: Title of Art Buchwald's column concerning fossil fuel oil.

A Bachelor of Arfs at CalArts
A Bachelor of Arts

nd LAT P IV p 1.
C: Caption under a picture of a shepherd dog that was recognized at the graduating ceremonies at California Institute of the Arts.

Bad to Verse, It's a Curse
Bad to Worse

1977 LAT Feb. 8,
C: Title of a poem concerning the silver anniversary of Elizabeth, as Queen of England.

Flesh Gorden
Flash Gordon

C: The title of a movie being advertised.
C: The caption under a picture of a pair of women's shoes with very high heels.
"Will famous feet go to new heights on sandals like these from... ."

1977 LAT Mar. 3, P VI p 34.
C: The caption of an advertisement for a saving on two packages of bathroom tissue.

C: A sign on the counter in a shop.

C: Caption of an advertisement for a woman's dress with "soft shoulders above a floaty A-line skirt.."

1977 LAT Oct. 9, SUPP.
C: Caption on advertisement for Yosemite Park.

C: Caption of a cartoon.
**keep your corpus delecti-ble!**

C: A sentence within an advertisement for physical fitness equipment.

**Tonight is the beginning of the REST of your life.**

*Today is the beginning of the rest of your life.*


C: Caption of an advertisement for an electrically powered bed.

**Chocolate moose**

**Chocolate mousse**

1976 Nov.

C: Caption on a mural on the side of a van. The mural contained a picture of a moose dressed in brown clothing.

**It's a form of mirth control**

**birth control**


C: a sentence contained in an article concerning the selection process for new clowns for the circus.

"**What are you reading--King Leer?**"

**King Lear**

n d

C: Caption of a cartoon.

**Bootify America!**

**Beautify America**


C: Caption of an advertisement for leather boots.
JM Shirt Cuts.
short cuts

1977 LAT May 9, P IV p 4.
C: An advertisement for shirt style
dresses. "Quickest way to get summer
on the road."

objets d'hippie
objets d'art

C: "Along with the more stock objets
d'hippie you can find such delights now
as exquisitely painted eggshells in
delicate glass cases and....

Edith Bunker Is Rights-On
right on

C: An interview with Jean Stapleton
concerning the ERA.

Tee Party
tea party

C: An article concerning a women's
golf tournament.

Chicken out with the kids tonight
chicken out

n d LAT
C: Caption on an advertisement for
American Express credit cards. "Great
idea. Eat out at a great California
restaurant."
Wanted: Big Time Operators!
big time operators

C: Advertisement for stereo equipment.

Wanted: For Receiving The Goods!
receiving stolen goods

C: Advertisement for stereo equipment.
"Two of the best known 'receivers' around--have all the goods. ...Hiding out behind big savings at...."

Wanted: Stacked Deck!
stacked deck

C: Advertisement for stereo equipment.
"Dual automatic reverse stereo cassette deck with Dolby."

Jolly Red Giant and His Coach
Jolly Green Giant

1978 LAHE Jan. 17,
C: Caption under a picture of a Soviet basketball figure. "Alexandr Gomelsky, coach of the Soviet national basketball team, takes his center, Vladimir Tkachenko, by the arm to offer some advice.... Vladimir, ...who rises 7-feet-4 and weighs 300, ...

Along Came A Spyder Manza
Along came a spider

1977
C: An advertisement for an automobile called a Spyder. This was seen on a billboard on Sunset Blvd.

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No Fuel Like an Old Fuel
No Fool Like an Old Fool

1977 LAT Nov. 8, P II p 7.
C: An article concerning gasohol, an alcohol-based fuel. The implication is made that the government is foolish not to develop gasohol.

SHOW 'N SELL
Show 'n tell

1980 Napa Register Nov. 13, p. 16.
C: Announcement of an arts and crafts sale by the Napa Valley Art Association.

Like at first sight
Love at first sight

1979 VN Dec. 9, S 1 p 23.
C: Excerpt from a sample love letter. "I also believe in like at first sight. And, having sighted you, I'm pretty sure I'm very much in like."
unperson

Leisure is a con... It gets sold, as
part of the unperson package, as time
in which you are expected to do trivial
things for which you...

unzoo

1977 LAT.
Presenting THE UNZOO in the heart of
deepest Lion Country Safari, you'll
come face to face with some of Africa's
most ferocious beasts--all in the
comfort and safety of your own car.

unfranchise

Never heard of an un-franchise? It is
a unique concept which utilizes the
advantages of the franchise approach,
but on an individualized basis.

uncoffee

Kick the coffee habit with uncoffee!!
The coffee replacer that has real
coffee flavor, but no coffee.

undesign

Columnist Art Seidenbaum of the Los
Angeles Times, who specializes in
"urban design and undesign," will be
one of the featured speakers this
Saturday at UCLA Extension's Third
Annual "Design Day '77".
uncollie 1978 On a bumper sticker.
Shelties the uncollie

An incidental advantage of that policy
would be a great reduction in the bulk
of the professional unliterature.

unmothers 1978 UCLA student within a discourse.
"I am going to promote an unmothers' day."

uncandle 1978 LAT Nov. 23, P I p 23.
The un-candle trio set. For the
holidays add a quiet note of elegance
to any table setting.

unsuit 1978 Vogue magazine Sept. 9, p 427.
The appeal of an "un-suit" suit.

unwallpaper 1978 VN Nov. 17, S 3 p 2.
Coming soon. The un-wallpaper, no
seams, no bubbles, no tearing, no
peeling.

uncolors 1978 LAT.
The uncolors...from haberdashery by
Personal.

untrack 1978 LAT Classified Ad section
LIVE IN THE "UN-TRACK"! Each home
distinctively designed...
(folk etymology for tract)
They have defiantly refused to become "unpeople".

unmarriage 1978 VN Aug. 4, S 1 p 5.
UnMarried and Living with someone?
Eliminate Disputes! ...UnMarriage
UnLimited.

Film Crew Gets Un-Welcome Mat During Visit to Cuba.

Introducing the world's First "UN-OPENING". You're buying before we can get them completed--Come and see why--we may never have a grand opening.

undraperies 1979 LAT Home Section.

unmothering 1979 LAT Nov. 18, P IX p 36.
Here's where the first step in unmothering begins...And then, after you've heard all the pros and cons,... say, "I know you will do what is right for you."

unfashion 1979 LAHE Apr. 27, S b p 2.
The occasion was the Nurd Un-Fashion contest which was sponsored by The Gap stores.
unwork 1979 VN June 28, S 3 p 5.
While it is always disheartening to observe a goofoff when you are doing your darndest, as long as her "unwork" isn't directly affecting your performance, I'd say leave her fate to ...

unfaculty 1979 Within a discourse.
Unfaculty are post-docs who teach a class occasionally.

Make "Unpies." Unlike traditional pies they are more quickly made, with fewer pastry calories, while retaining all the traditional flavor.

unnominee 1979 TV Guide.
Toast season's un-nominees
While members of the Television Academy are whooping it up in ... tonight, handing out the annual Emmy Awards, ...

ungame 1979 Teacher Aids Brochure.
THE UNGAME
This unique, fun game shares interests and feelings in a noncompetitive atmosphere. Board, playing pieces, and two decks of cards included.

un-Greek 1979 LAT May 27, P IV p 2.
The right-wing military dictatorship that ruled the country from 1967 to 1974 branded demotic as "vulgar, un-Greek and ...
1979 Title of paper, Linguistics Dept.
The University of Chicago.
The Un-syntax

1979 LAT.
If you're going crazy trying to find a
diet you can stick to consider the
UN-DIET.

1979.
A few fortunate people have summer
memories like these. But most of us
share a variety of mundane experiences
that might better be termed the ...
Unhighlights of Summer.

1980 Warren Brewer (personal communi-
cation).
Trailways announces senior citizens
unflation fares; inflation fighting
fares for people on fixed incomes.

1980 Spiegel's mail order catalog.
Spiegel is the store you never have to
go to. We'll be happy to come to you
... Spiegel presents the unshopping bag.

n.d. Within a discourse.
Speaker A. She's a child.
Speaker B. She's gotta be an unchild.
untour  
n.d. LAT.  
Reforma Mex., 505 W. 5th St., has a real unwinder--and "Un-tour Tour" that's billed as "unhurried, unescorted, unregimented, uncomplicated, and unbelievably cheap."

unmiracle  
n.d. LAHE  
KAREEM'S 'UNMIRACLE' IN SUNDAY EXAMINER.

unschedule  
But they also learn time-management techniques applicable to procrastinators not in therapy, such as setting one goal at a time...and making out something they call an "unschedule."

unfares  
1981 LAT  
We're cutting fares and abolishing restrictions. We're introducing new deals to a number of great Eastern cities. And they're so dramatically different, we're not even calling them fares anymore. They're Eastern's Unfares.

unalligator  
The Un-Alligator  
Same great tailoring, same terrific colors and fit, same fine 100% cotton knit... But this one has your name on it!
unlabor

Disc jockey...has proposed an "Un-Labor Day" for Tuesday. It would be for disc jockeys, TV people, newspaper workers, electric and gas department personnel, police, firefighters, doctors, nurses, and others who have to work today, Labor Day.

unlast

1978 LAT Feb. 19, Calendar Section, p 2.
Unlast Word on Love and Marriage
Does the book mark the end of Carson's infatuation with matters of the mind and heart? "Never, ... The last word on the subject will never be written. Not by me, anyway."

unheaviest

n.d. Discourse with a speaker 10 years old, concerning a bowling game.
The littlest ball, the unheaviest was still ten pounds.

unfunny

A disjointed portrayal of Eleanor Roosevelt, who among other things, was found peering under the tail of a fox stole, was simultaneously tasteless and unfunny, and the Mae West impersonation unfolded strangely flat and ... 

unpetite

1977 LAHE June 6, P b p 2.
Example: For eye openers opening night, Mrs. ... wife of the owner, sported around her neck an unpetite 80 carat sapphire and 70 carats of diamonds.

163
undead 1978 LAT Nov. 15, P IV p 2.
Here they come, silhouetted against the moon-paled sky, up over the hill, the undead-bodies brought back to slave motion by that fiend, Bela Lugosi.

He made a note to call his neighbors about the old kitchen chairs, the ones long since discarded in the basement, the unpretty but functional chrome-and-plastic chairs that they had...

We have never appealed to the intellectual community anyway. I don't have any concerns about appearing 'unhip'.

unneat 1979 LAHE Feb. 20, S b p 2.
Joe Ely gets beautifully un-neat at the Palomino
There is nothing neat about Joe Ely, and therein lies his charm and power. ... he always looks as if he's just leaped out of a barber's chair from a sound sleep with the job only half-completed.

unnormal nd Discourse.
Speaker A. I don't need anymore animals around the house.
Speaker B. Well then, you're unnormal, unnatural.
Unmerry, makeshift yule for earthquake survivors. More than half of the 300,000 people left homeless in last month's earthquake in southern Italy are still without adequate housing and most will spend Christmas in makeshift campsites, relief officials said Monday.

The Unsleek Side of New York Dance
The evening ended--not a moment too soon --with Becker's aptly titled... but never finds anything original or subtle to do with the music and shows the company at its unsleek worst.

A Rose by This Name Smells Unsweet
I have heard it said that a rose by any other name would smell as sweet. What I witnessed in Pasadena no doubt was counterfeit.

unbusy 1981 Discourse.
I am unbusy these days.
Nighttime is Right Time for Doctor
He unretires to open Medical Office in
Tarzana at Night and on Weekends.
Ten years ago, age 52, Dr. ... retired
as a successful general practitioner.
... Two months ago, he suddenly decided
to start over again--with a job in
medicine virtually nobody else is will-
ing to do.

n d  LAT cartoon page.
A young child is watching a home movie
and makes this statement:
Run it backwards again, Daddy, and
unjump me.

1979  LAT Sept. 6, P IV p 10.
Discourse in a cartoon.
Speaker A:  She flipped when I told her
she'd be in TV commercials!
Speaker B:  So? I'm afraid she'll have
to unflip!

n d  LAT cartoon section.
A big dog is coming through the door in
a cloud of leaves. The woman at the
doors makes the following statement:
Whose lawn did you unrake this time?
The first policewoman in St. Petersburg, Fla., has been unfired. ... 24, was dismissed from the force last week for not cutting her hair short enough to suit the chief, ... "Common sense should tell you a dress code designed for men can't be applied to women," City manager ... said in overruling the chief.

unwig 1981 TV Talk Show.
I was going to wear a wig out here, and let you unwig me. Context: This quote was made by a TV personality who had her long hair cut short recently.

True to her million selling "I am Woman" format, singer ... filed for divorce from husband ..., then unfiled less than 24 hours later.

unmother 1979 LAT Nov. 18, P IX p 36.
I am grateful that I have taught myself how to unmother. It doesn't mean that I have learned how to unlove.

unlove 1979 LAT Nov. 18, P IX p 36.
I am grateful that I have taught myself how to unmother. It doesn't mean that I have learned how to unlove.
unlibrarianly 1979  LAT Dec. 8, P II p 1.
"It's breathtaking," Jones said with unlibrarianly enthusiasm. "Clearly the world's best. Nothing could touch it."

untogether 1980  Discourse.
She's just untogether.

... a picture of a young woman examining her smooth, bare abdomen. Across the top was the word "Unsurgery," and underneath the picture was the caption: "The cure with nothing to show for it."
Thanks to the second opinion program ... surgery was considered unnecessary.

Pure Magic Make-up
Un-shine Liquid or Super Clear

un-TA 1979  UCLA memo.
Also, you should consider the importance of administering diagnostic exercises and sounding out students about their skills levels before you wind up doing TA work for decidedly un-TA wages

uncolor 1980  LAT April 18, P I p 8.
Evan-Picone uncolors sharkskin White, the uncolor. In a welcomed turn of texture.


unzooable nd LAT. Africa couldn't be more exciting... A most unzooable experience.

un-put-downable 1977 LAT Apr. 27, P IV p 4. One of the most compelling, un-put-downable novels so far this year.
Returnee Serves Zimbabwe
... Today Kamusikiri is one of a hand-
ful of Africans who have returned to
their native land, now called Zimbabwe
Rhodesia, ...

Blindee 1979 LAHE April 26, S a p 5.
Being touted for a blind date by re-
assuring the blindee "she has a wonder-
f ul personality" is like being named
Miss Congeniality in the Pillsbury Bake-
off. It's a kiss-off.

Vanishee 1978 Vogue magazine April, n.p.
Angela Lansbury and her onscreen,
onstage career explosion. ... Next,
The Lady Vanishes. "In this, I'm the
vanishee.

Escapee 1978 LAT Nov. 16, P I p 23.
A 21-year-old escapee from Wayside Honor
Ranch near Castaic was shot to death by
a ... sheriff's sergeant 15 miles ...

Conferee 1979 VN Jan. 23, S 1 p 10.
... there was no direct causal connec-
tion between the conference per se and
the Beverly Hills demonstration. ... 
To my knowledge, none of the 200
conferees was among the seven arrested
and charged, ...

170
loanee 1978 VN June 22, S 1 p 3.
The no-interest loans are granted with
the understanding that they will be re-
paid quickly, by drawing on the loanee's
other resources.

Hearing officer Gary ... began the
proceedings in the packed room, with
standees trying to listen from the
corridor.

Wilhelmina claims that her 21 years of
experience as both the seller and sellee
of beauty give her an edge.

franchisee 1977 LAHE Sept. 28, S a p 16.
Big profits have been made by
franchisers and franchisees.

pinnee 1978 TV program, Happy Days.
The pinnee and the pinner are ready.
Let's get the ceremony started.

pornographee 1977 LAT Dec. 4, P V p 35.
Beyond the pornographers and the
pornograpees, there is a rarer world
of sexual advisers: the academicians,
the gurus of social and psychological
"science." These are the leaders of
the sexual "revolution," ...
attendee

1978 Community College Social Science Journal, Fall, p 1.
The board members have been sent lists of members, schools and libraries in their regions, plus names of former attendees at conventions and also former book reviewers.

flightee

1977 VN Nov. 23, S 2 p 2.
"Look, you even have three choices," he said proudly. "One, you can volunteer your children, two, you can put them in a private school, or three, you can become a white flightee!"

suburbee

Suburb Vs. the Suburbee
In referring the other day to the "Buttonwillow sound" in country rock music, I said that Buttonwillow was of course a suburb of Bakersfield, ...

biographee

1978 VN Feb. 12, S 1 p 6.
Each biographee has something he wants to keep hidden. This is understood by the biographer.

strokee

1978 VN March 16, S 3 p 1.
With the help of Juanita ... and a part-time social worker, she conducts various activities designed to help stroke victims gain control over their own lives. "Our program is like a stepping stone," says Ms. ... "From here, strokees can go out to other recreational activities.

172
Like everyone else who visits ..., 
Miss Midler had to wait. And while she 
did, she read magazines, ... 
Miss Midler's fellow waitees were 
delighted. A big star's presence, ...

mentee  1979  UCLA Bruin Sept. 24, p 5.
Mentors--faculty, staff, graduate 
students and undergraduate seniors-- 
advise, listen to problems and generally 
act as friends to students, ... 
Each two-man mentor team is assigned to 
eight or 10 mentees, ... explained.

Auxiliary President ... said of the 
awardee, "George serves Braille best by 
the example he sets."

retiree  1980  LAT Feb. 25, special section 
ECONOMIC NECESSITY 
More women, retirees enter work force.

But harboring grudges and hating always 
hurt the grudgee and the hater much more 
than the scoundrels who do the dirty 
work.

dunkee  1980  TV program dialogue. 
E. R. is going to be the dunkee. 
Context: A carnival booth in which a 
baseball is thrown at a target which 
results in someone getting dunked in 
water.

173
Social whirlees adore doing the bump.
Getting together with people is growing more complicated all the time.

"an additional number of augmenteens"
... (The augmenteens are people who augment the staff already on the job, and are therefore properly "augmenters.")

tributee 1980 LAT Nov. 30, Calendar Section p 43.
The televised tributee has grown to be a sort of sub-genre within the medium,... It takes a strong and genuinely liked tributee to rise above the by now over familiar rituals of the evenings.

"It all depends who's the lookee and who's the lookor (sic.)."

muggee 1980 TV Game Show Dialogue
"Are you the muggee or the muggor?"

scoopee 1982 Playboy Magazine February p 76.
To have planned for years to have expended so many gigabucks on the project, and then to have our first human scoopee die on us anyway.

174
Frustrated Nation of Consumers
We are a nation of frustratees--plagued
not only by shoddy and badly designed,
or produced, goods, but also by a host
of other woes ranging from snarling and
indifferent salespeople to sadistic
computers, a relentlessly shrinking
dollar and governmental bureaucracies
that not only create chaos, but do it
in triplicate.

chasee 1978 TV Talk Show Dialogue.
Cowboys chase Indians. There is the
chasee.

roastee nd TV Talk Show Dialogue.
You're going to be the roastee.
Context: Discourse concerning a future
Dean Martin "Roast" (a tribute banquet)
buyitis

For both men and women afflicted with "buyitis" what is needed is some meaningful dosage of deterrent medication, says W. Scane Bowler, chairman and chief executive officer of a national financial services organization.

sequelitis

On the face of it, the ongoing series would seem the latest example of sequelitis.

museumitis

In addition, roll-about foam forms will be available close to exhibits, two mini-theaters will provide sit-down interludes, and the garden will offer fresh-air bench breaks to help dispell "museumitis."

skinytis

I would like to report a new public health menace--it is skinnytis. Victims of this affliction are subject to colds, frequent absences from work and severe emotional problems.

abrevia-itis

Don't let "abrevia-itis" turn you off! Got something to sell? Then come out and say so with a clearly understandable ad.
All the people were suffering from a new disease—the disease of fiscalitis. (OED Supplement V II, 1976).

suffragitis 1906 Ibid. April 27 4/2.
Several members of Parliament are suffering from a slight attack of Suffragitis. (OED Supplement V II, 1976).

Cricket has just suffered from so severe an attack of 'testitis' as to render it highly improbable [etc.]. (OED Supplement V II, 1976).

bushrangeritis 1944 F. Clune Red Heart 68.
Those were the days when the nor'west of New South Wales was agog with bushrangeritis. (OED Supplement V II, 1976).

electionitis 1945 W. S. Churchill Victory (1946) 186.
It was impossible to go on in a state of 'electionitis' all through the summer and autumn.
As the year wears on, politicians' electionitis will have more influence on events then central bankers' views. (OED Supplement V II, 1976).
end-of-TV-seasonitis

1979 LAT April 7, Television Times Section.
Actor Ron Leibman, the star and creator of TV's "Kaz" had flu and the end-of-TV-seasonitis. Actually, it's called collapse.

spendicitis

n.d LAT.
The occupational disease of politics is spendicitis.
1978 Speech Interaction "You've got spendicitis."

senioritis

1979 LAT April 6, P IV p 6.
..., the blahs, nothing to look forward to, senioritis, ..., these things, she says, cause overeating and putting on weight temporarily.

freshman-year-at-collegeitis

1979 LAT April 6, P IV p 6.
..., the blahs, nothing to look forward to, senioritis, freshman-year-at-collegeitis--these things, she says, cause overeating and putting on weight temporarily.

gas crunchitis

1979 Speech Interaction
During the recent gasoline shortage, a dental hygienist was discussing the anxiety some of her patients were experiencing. She referred to this condition as "gas crunchitis."
Fonda-itis
1979 LAHE July 16, S a p 11.
*Fonda-itis*: The Politics of Moral Blindness (a heading on a political article).

Jerrybrownitis
As for myself, it is going to take me a long time to get over my acute case of *Jerrybrownitis*.

Telephonitis
The judge warned the lovesick young woman with *telephonitis* that if she didn't quit calling the guard, she'd be sent to prison—but not to the one where the guard was employed.

Nu-Yorkitis
1979 LAT June 12, P IV p 10.
Sandy Fox, in his invitation to the First New York Street Olympics, characterized the problem of acclimation to California as *Nu-Yorkitis Bemoanas*, a virus that has had a crippling effect on the majority of immigrants to Los Angeles.

Corvairitis
He owns 53 Corvairs, and with a twinkle in his eye tells those who ask that he plans to restore one a year. He's now 63. It's a disease, it's *Corvairitis*, joked a friend.
soundtrack-itis
1980 VN July 25, Friday Section p 23.
The Hollywood music business has a severe case of soundtrack-itis. What's more, the disease is communicable.
Soundtracks are proliferating like bacteria.

footballitis
He's a little under the weather. He's got footballitis.
Context: New Year's Day on which numerous football games are broadcast.

vinylitis
n d TV Talk Show
It's called vinylitis.
Context: Discourse concerning those who collect 'Beatles' records.

oh-two-itis
Of all the physical miseries that hounded the Angels last year and depressed them in the standings, none was more harmful than oh-two-itis. That's the incurable malady of throwing too fat a pitch when the count is oh-and-two. For pitchers, it's fatal.

deck-shoe-caught-in-it-itis
Take my closet (please). Aside from the fact that the door suffers from terminal deck-shoe-caught-in-it-itis and won't open all the way (that's OK, it won't close all the way either.)
... teaches people how to play, designs playgrounds and spreads her gospel that ...
"The biggie here is getting permission, that it's all right to play, to have fun. When they got finished they really had playitis."

house-itis  1980  Personal communication Geoff Nunberg.
Excerpt from dialogue on a TV game show.
She was, I learned, a nurse's aide, but
she had already begun to speak Nursese.
"Now, we must be absolutely quiet and
not move a muscle," Angel said, spreading
a sheet over my supine body.

If there is anything that Lois and Selma
DeBakey dislike, it is the pompous, con-
fusing, vague, monotonous and ambiguous
medicalese that so often turns up in
learned journals of medicine and in the
conversations of physicians.

psychologese 1977 VN Sept. 8, S 3 p 1.
Psychologist and author Sven Wahlroos
speaks at least three languages, but he
shuns psychologese.

journalese 1976 UCLA Ms, "A Pragmatic Approach to
Word Formation" (Phillips:10).
Most of the data came from speakers of the
journalese register, or from 'show
business personalities'.

educationalese 1977 LAT April 18, P IV p 1.
If I had any fear that the branch of
gobbledygook known as educationalese was
losing its opacity, I am reassured by a
periodical called the Reflector, which
had been sent to me by a bemused reader.
People create their own reality; they
start thinking in PCP-ese. Their
delusions become very real.

AMERICANese
Colonies Still Bending the King's
English
From the earliest days of the colonies,
in fact, there was fear that, after
Americans got through with it, English
would sound like a language that has
been "pecked to pieces by a passel of
pidgins."

Legalese  1978 speech situation.
"I don't understand all that legalese."

A slender man with warm eyes, Kappelman
is fluent in teen-agese and a good
listener when a teen-ager comes in com-
plaining of headaches but suffering from
acute sexual panic.

Goodkin writes as he talks, in a
straightforward manner that gets his
often highly technical points across
much better than stilted textbookese.
Even the singing, of course, entailed the simultaneous use of his guitar in several of those finger-boggling unison passages while he improvised in his favorite language, vocalise.

Higgins criticizes such Watergatese as 'at that point in time.'

Parameters to Effectuate a Grant 3. Avoid proposalese. It's a dying language that deserves your cooperation in its demise.

Pro Hockey's Future Just a Jumble of Computerese. That's the futuristic message from the Buffalo Sabres of the National Hockey League. The Sabres will become the first professional sports franchise to computerize every facet of its operation and have signed a ...

Mr. ... is a leading practitioner of postcardese, so termed because his medium is customarily a postcard. To do justice to this occasion, however, he has had to employ a larger canvas.
<table>
<thead>
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<td>officialese</td>
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<td>(Marchand 1966:226)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Pink Floydathon 1977 UCLA Bruin May 5, p 32.
Paupers Pink Floydathon! Dancing, candlelight lounging. Eight continuous hours. All of Pink Floyd--on record.

Chanel president Robert Kamerschen explains the heady smellathon race this way: "Women use more perfume because they work. ..."

With more than 20 hairdressers from Southland participating in benefit "Cut-a-Thon" on Sunday for Muscular Dystrophy at Glendale Civic Auditorium,...

A record 80 radio stations nationwide will participate in the sixth annual Fight Leukemia Day radiothon, a 24-hour fund-raising event beginning Saturday at 3 p.m. and originating from the KIIS studios in Hollywood.

danceathon 1978 LAT Feb. 19, P VIII p
Lloyd Banks leaps high while doing the Robot at danceathon.
telethon
1978 VN Mar. 28, S 3 p 5.
We met about three months ago on a
Cerebral Palsy telethon and hit it off
right away.

eatathon
1979 LAHE April 6, S b p 7.
But apparently plenty other party
regulars weathered the journey anyway
for the four-hour eatathon hosted by
the restaurant's co-owners, ...

funkathon
1978 LAT November 18, P 2 p 7.
After the Brides' relatively short set,
Parliament-Funkadelic (everyone calls
them P-Funk) played for three hours--a
sort of funkathon--and were better than
ever.

skateathon
'Skateathon" at Death Valley to help
City of Hope research.

rock-a-thon
1978 UCLA Bruin April 4, p 28.
...present the second annual Rock-a-thon
April 6 & 7 at the Kerckhoff Patio. All
proceeds to Marion Davies Children's
Clinic.

bowl-a-thon
Bowl-a-thon to Be Sponsored
Members of the Producers for Hope chapter
of the City of Hope will sponsor a
bowl-a-thon on Sunday, June, at noon at
the ... Bowling Center.
rockathon 1978 UCLA Bruin April 7, p 2.
The second annual Rockathon will benefit
the Marion Davies Children's Clinic and
Inpatient Clinic of the Med Center.

walkathon 1978 VN May 7, S 1 p 9.
West L.A. walkathon today honoring
Israel.

freezeathon 1980 Feb. 15, Discourse context.
Context: Speech act of a man standing
in line waiting for a bus at the Lake
Placid winter Olympics.
This is a freezeathon.

jog-a-thon 1978 LAT April 30, P X p 3.
Kennedy High School, which claims to have
the lowest per capita supply of library
books of all Los Angeles city schools,
will hold a "jog-a-thon" during the week
of May 8 for ...

Holiday Health Spa holds grand opening
on West Side with celebrity jog-a-thon.
A celebrity-charity jog-a-thon was held
with a cash prize donated to the Boy's
Club.

sell-a-thon 1978 VN June 8, S 1 p 9.
59 HOUR SELL-A-THON!
Discounts on name brand furniture and
bedding.
FATHER'S DAY SELL-A-THON
Over $1 Million Inventory of New & Used Cars.

sell-a-thon  1978  LAHE April 29, S c p 12.
72 HOUR SELL-A-THON. Tax Refund Sale
Bring in your estimated tax refund as
credit toward your purchase of any new
or used car or truck.

lease-a-thon  n.d.  LAHE classified.
Coast Chrys Plym (Chrysler-Plymouth)
LEASE-A-THON

phonathon  1979  CSUN Alumni News Network, March,
p 1.
CSUN's Annual Phonathon is currently
underway through March to raise funds for
special programs on campus.

Americathon  1979  LAT January 8, P 4 p 7.
"Americathon" was written originally
months ago for 20th Century-Fox.

Americathon  1979  Los Angeles TV Talk Show April 26.
Americathon, that's a movie being made
about a fund raising drive for America
in the year 2000.

bike-a-thon  1978  LAT May 14, S v-t p 7.
The fourth annual cystic fibrosis
bike-a-thon will be held Sunday, May 21,
from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. on the bike paths
in the Sepulveda Basin.
**style-a-thon**

Danny Thomas St. Jude **style-a-thon**
Sunday July 23 12 noon to 5:00 PM ...
The finest hairstyling salons in this area will help fight childhood cancer by donating the money you pay for their services.

**ring-a-thon**

1978 LAT June 11, P 1 p 3. 
The choir, ...raised funds for a European concert tour by holding an 18-hour "**ring-a-thon**" Saturday.

**read-a-thon**

Students at Carden-Lee Primary School in North Hollywood are participating in a **Read-A-Thon** designed to raise money for...

**read-a-thon**

1978 VN Feb. 16, S 1 p 4. 
And speaking of boys, young singing stars John and Tom Keane were recent guests of Mayor Tom Bradley at City Hall as National Youth Ambassadors for **Multiple Sclerosis Read-a-thons** and the MS Mystery Sleuth.

**cyclethon**

1979 LAT June 4, P 1 p 3. 
Most of all, however, there were broad smiles as an estimated 300 doctors, dentists, nurses, paramedics and others in the health care industry took part in the Third Annual Doctors **Cyclethon**.
| **excel-a-thon** | 1979 LA Times April 1, P 8 p 17. Tickets for the 'Excel-A-Thon' benefit are $5. |
| **memory-thon** | 1979 VN March, S 1 p 19. On Monday, she raised $275 for the March of Dimes by recalling in perfect sequence 2,000 random numbers she had been given a week ago. It was a fund-raising "memory-thon" put on by the charity group. |
| **learnathon** | 1979 VN February 17, S 2 p 14. A "Torah Learnathon" sponsored by the Netzach Organization will take place Sunday at 8:30 a.m. at Yeshiva University, 9760 W. Pico Blvd. Participating students will spend the day studying Torah and then will join in a trip to Disneyland. |
| **smileathon** | 1979 TV commercial Datsun Smileathon |
runathon
1979  LAT Sept. 6, P IV p 5.
Musical **Runathon** Set Sept. 23
"Run With Music" is the title of the
Los Angeles Master Chorale's 10 Kilometer **Runathon**. ... Runners will start
out to the strains of the William Tell
Overture blaring forth from amplifiers.

life-a-thon
1979  LAT Sept. 25, Calendar Section
p 10.
Caption:  Paul Marks, a leukemia
survivor, will participate in the 10-
kilometer "Paul Marks **Life-a-thon**"
Saturday to raise money for a cancer
fund at Children's Hospital.

marijuanathon
1980  **Marijuanathon** KXLU Radio Station
in Los Angeles (Bill Bright, personal
communication).
A campaign to repeal anti-marijuana
legislation.

marijuanathon
1979  Sept. 2 KMET Radio Station.
**Marijuanathon** (Warren Brewer, personal
communication).

march-a-thon
1979  VN Nov. 22, S 2 p 14.
**March-a-thon** to aid band set
There will be a **march-a-thon** to raise
money for new band uniforms Wednesday on
the Chatsworth High School football
field.
hire-a-thon 1981 DN May 4, S 3 p 5.
Management Hire-a-thon
Ole's Home Centers ... offers exceptional management careers to people with retail management experience. Come to our Management Hire-A-Thon and talk with our Personnel Representatives about the excellent management opportunities available throughout Southern California.

SIMCHATORATHON
Drink "Lecmayim" with new faces and enjoy delicious Honeycake imported from Fairfax. Dance and feel the vibes of 1,000 soul brothers and sisters, ...

Annual Bird-A-Thon Helps Raise Funds
A rare warbler from Siberia--a species never before seen in the United States showed up on the Farallon Islands during this year's annual Bird-A-Thon count. The event is held to raise money for conservation efforts to save Mono Lake in the Sierra and to help fund the Point Reyes Bird Observatory.

Vintage High School's second annual Lift-A-Thon is scheduled next Wednesday ... Vintage athletes have been seeking sponsors throughout the community to help raise funds for the athletic department and to build a weight room.
liftathon

1981 Napa Register March 10, p 10.
The third annual Napa High School Indian Liftathon is scheduled Thursday beginning at 1 p.m. in the school's weight room facility. The liftathon provides funds to improve the weight training facility and a new training room.

cube-a-thon

Rubik's CUBE-A-Thon October 31 at MAGIC MOUNTAIN
Come for a fun filled day at the park and compete in Ideal's first annual Rubik's CUBE-A-THON. We are looking for the fastest Rubik's Cubist in America to compete against the world.

Boston Marathon

I don't think most nonrunners realize how difficult it is to get into the Boston Marathon, the nation's best-known long-distance running event.

air-land marathon

1978 VN April 28, S 1 p 1.
26-mile air-land marathon The chase covered a reported 26 miles and lasted more than 1½ hours, but the combined police force of air and land units caught the elusive suspect late Wednesday on a ...
The Comedy Store's Mainroom will host
a nonstop 48-hour comedy marathon to
benefit Cedars-Sinai Medical Center on
April 2 at noon.

marathon 1978  LAT Nov. 24, cartoon caption
Should we ever have to attack the United
States, it should be done during a
marathon, while they're all running.

marathoner 1978  VN May 7, Weekly p 22.
Most marathoners practice so their legs
are in good shape, but unless you've
done special exercises, your arms will
start hanging down and close your chest
so you can't get enough air.

marital marathoner 1978  LAT Nov. 24, P II p 7.
At '60 years of wedded bliss' party
Marital Marathoners Share Secrets
... gathered in a bright recreation room
of a senior citizens home in Santa
Monica, were 50 couples, each celebrat-
ing 60 years or more of marriage.

Marathon dance foots bill for library's
books. More than 50 Kennedy High School
students sponsored by ... started danc-
ing at 6 p.m. and 24 hours later, more
than 40 were still on their feet.
marathon week 1978 LAT May 13, P I p 19.
Sunday, the next day, he is off again to begin another marathon week--six engagements, first a March Air Force Base golf tournament, then to Pennsylvania, next Dallas for an appearance before the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and a golf tournament and two appearances in Kentucky.

A spectacular marathon art auction escalated into the realm of the unbelievable here Thursday when a 5½ inch enamel medallion sold for $2.2 million.

marathon chase 1978 VN April 28, S I p 1.
"That was one pooped dog," a photographer witness to the marathon chase said after its capture.
-AHOLIC

pillaholic 1975 VN Oct. 30
'Pillaholic's' Husband Seeks Realistic Cure

clothes-aholic 1977 LAT Sept. 6, P II p 3.
Is there such a group as "Spenders Anonymous" for "Clothes-aholics"? If not, I would be interested in starting a local chapter.

loafaholic 1977 VN Oct. , S 1 p 2.
I speak of the chronically relaxed person, or loafaholic. A conservative estimate of the problem's size suggests that between a quarter and a third of the population may be loafaholics.

But hang on to that natural staying power all football-o-holics have, because there are six more games to go this weekend.

storeaholic LAHE
The Storeaholic
Years ago, I swore off going to Mexico because I had a biological intolerance for gift shops.

197
book-aholic

"Because a novel becomes a novel when people start reading it, I took into account the books people like to read," says the self-confessed book-aholic.

potoholic

However, just like an alcoholic, there is a "potoholic" and anyone that thinks that pot is not harmful should regard our experience seriously.

potaholic

1979 VN Jan. 20, S 1 p 4.
And, from another New Yorker, Dr. David..., founder of "Potaholics Anonymous", an organization designed to help marijuana smokers kick the habit, we have this observation on alcoholics who tend to give up booze and take up pot:
...

TV-aholic

1978 VN Feb. 9, S 3 p 4.
TV-aholics are either so dull they can't talk or so bored with their lives they avoid talk.

chocoholic

1977 LAT June 4, P I p 11.
Chocoholics! Where you can find the Southland's best chocolate ice cream--Tuesday in YOU magazine.
aeroholic
For years he resisted all my efforts to
lure him back up into the air, explain-
ing that he was an "aeroholic" and
couldn't take the chance--one flight and
he'd be hooked again.

shopaholic
1978  VN June 23, S 3 p 3.
Gloria ... admits she is a "shopaholic".

newsaholic
He likes to read three newspapers a day.
"He's a newsaholic", Kate says with a
thin but tough voice.

phone-a-holic
First, psych yourself out so you won't
feel guilty. Remember, phone-a-holics
always have a mess of problems and no
matter how long you listen, it's never
long enough.

sugarholic
Children Turning to Sugarholics?
The food industry is helping to turn
children into "sugarholics" ...

adoholic
Like many other people out in the cold
hard world, I am an adoholic.
walkaholic 1979 LAT July 5, P IV p 11.
The author calls himself "a walkaholic" and recalls that when recovering from serious illness, he looked out the hospital window and watched people walking until ...

beeroholic, winoholic 1979 (cited by Kolin, 1979:74)
My wife, a psychiatric nurse, informs me that when an alcoholic is admitted to the hospital, his preference for a particular intoxicant often helps the staff to classify him as, say, a beeroholic or a winoholic.

foodaholic 1975 (cited by Kolin, 1979:74)
For those who would rather gormandize than guzzle, the coinage foodaholic is appropriate.

starch-oholics 1975 (cited by Kolin, 1979:75)
Those who lust for bread and potatoes have been labeled starch-oholics.

colaholic, carboholic 1976 (cited by Kolin, 1979:75)
There are also those who are colaholic and carboholic, the latter addicted to carbohydrates.
carboholic 1977  LAT April 15, P IV p 8.
No, the insatiable urge for sweets may be related to changes in carbohydrate metabolism resulting in a temporary drop in your blood sugar level. If you have this condition, you are a "carboholic."

I have heard those with an insatiable hunger for sugar called sweetholics or sugaroholics.

The cookieoholic takes her sugar in small quantities.

An actress has been described as having "a slightly sexaholic notoriety in the London tabloids".

workaholic 1975 (cited by Kolin, 1979:75)
Our national dedication to labor seems to be under attack with the term workaholic, precisely defined by Dr. Walt Menninger as a person who ...

quietaholic 1976 (cited by Kolin, 1979:75)
Nor is silence always a golden virtue, for Ann Landers received a letter from the wife of a 'quietaholic', complaining of her husband, whose only fault is his silence.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>term</th>
<th>year</th>
<th>citation</th>
<th>description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>talkoholic</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>(cited by Kolin, 1979:75),</td>
<td>... at the University of ... tells me that one of his friends referred to himself as a talkoholic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>movie-coholic</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>(cited by Kolin, 1979:75),</td>
<td>A man in Erica Jong's Fear of Flying who &quot;would sometimes go to two or three movies a day&quot; refers to himself as a movie-coholic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teloholic</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>(cited by Kolin, 1979:75),</td>
<td>Watching TV too much is also grounds for being labeled an addict, or a teloholic, as Lamont called his father in &quot;Sanford and Son&quot;, ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sale-a-holic</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>(cited by Kolin, 1979:75),</td>
<td>There are commercial dangers for the sale-a-holic: This is the term given to those of us ... who simply can't resist a sale.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spendaholic</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>(cited by Kolin, 1979:76),</td>
<td>Those bullish in department stores may be classified as spendaholics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plantoholic</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>(cited by Kolin, 1979:76),</td>
<td>Even floricultural activities can be excessive; I have heard a young woman who keeps forty plants alive and healthy refer to herself as a plantoholic.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
By far the most bizarre addiction, if it can be so labeled, is denoted by the term bloodoholic referring to "a psychopathic vampire".

pianoholic 1979 Verbatim V VI.3 p 17. (cited by Cassidy).
pianoholic playing the piano at all possible times.

credaholic 1979 Verbatim V VI.3 p 17. (cited by Cassidy).
credaholic buying excessively on credit.

gasaholic 1979 Verbatim V VI.3 p 17. (cited by Cassidy).
gasaholic a car consuming too much gasoline.

clipaholic 1979 Verbatim V VI.3 p 17. (cited by Cassidy).
clipaholic clipping items from newspapers.

parfoholic 1980 Viva voce Abigail Shapiro, age 11.
(personal communication, Michael Shapiro)
Context: Reference to her penchant for a kind of candy called 'Chocolate Parfait'
"I'm a parfoholic"
tape-a-holic  1979  LAT Dec. 4, P V p 3.  
Confessions of a Tape-a-holic  
A few months ago I bought a television 
tape recorder to make copies of programs 
when I was out of the house.

videoholic  1979  LAT Nov. 28, P IV p 1.  
A videoholic is a person who is addicted 
to watching television.

Indeed, at least one social scientist 
contends that hugging transfers energy 
and gives the person being hugged an 
emotional boost. Thrash, who, appropri- 
ately, earns his living as a massage 
technician, is a confirmed hugaholic 
who is not satisfied unless he hugs at 
least four people a day.

TV-holic  1980  VN Nov. 5, S 5 p 1.  
TV-holics! Read all about it!  
Tube junkies pacified and understood.  
Let us now take time to paint a picture 
of the ultimate television fanatic, 
shall we?

wordoholic  1979  AS Spring p 76. (Philip C. Kolin)  
I suspect that the list of -oholic names 
could go on and on, but I hope that those  
I cite here will be of interest to all  
wordoholics.
-GATE

Koreagate 1977 VN Sept. 18,
There are signs that the Democratic leadership may be tampering with the "Koreagate" investigation.


My friend Liz Smith had an interesting story in the Los Angeles Herald Examiner the other day about the Washington Post sending out a team of reporters to investigate what they call Hollywoodgate.

Carter's Dopegate
Dr. ..., the president's drug abuse adviser who departed the White House under the cloud of a drug abuse scandal, could be the thread which, drawn, could unravel the Carter administration.

All but one worker in the city's 17-member parking meter department were arrested March 24 in the scandal, which came to be known as Metergate. Nine were charged with stealing at least $3 million in coins over a six-year period.
A Democrat in the Michigan legislature has said that state agencies have been slow to investigate the contamination of some cattle feed by PBB so as not to embarrass certain powers ... Farmers in ... county have distributed bumper stickers that say, 'PBB: Cattlegate Bigger Than Watergate.' (AS 1978:215).

SHOCKING 'DALLASGATE' REVEALED (concerning a JFK coverup) (AS 1978:215).

Watergate became an international symbol of corruption. (...; crooked Southeast Asian unions produced a 'Laborgate.') (AS 1978:216).

Watergate became an international symbol of corruption. (A French vintage scandal became 'Winegate'; ...) (AS 1978:216).

And then there was Lancegate. (AS 1978:216).

mediagate 1978 Atlanta Constitution May 2, S a p 5.
You might say that when it comes to serving and recognizing blacks and other minorities, the press has its own cover-up scandal--maybe we ought to call it Mediagate. (AS 1978:216).
1976 Cleveland Plain Dealer April 3, S a p 12.
A former auto service manager was sentenced to three to five years in prison yesterday in the first of a series of fraud cases resulting from the 'Motorgate' affair. ... the submission of fraudulent warranty claims to General Motors, ... a quagmire of corruption. (A S 1978:216).

What is known is that Post Reporter ... penetrated perhaps the most elaborate security precautions ever thrown around the birth of a book, and that her coup touched off a divisive row in the publishing community that some newsmen quickly dubbed 'Scranton gate.' (H. R. Haldeman's The Ends of Power was bound at Scranton, Pennsylvania, where copies were apparently acquired by unauthorized persons). (A S 1978:216).

There have been persistent rumors in Russia of a vast scandal involving high-ranking members of the communist bureaucracy in a serious conspiracy. Implicated in the Volgagate are a group of liberal officers who .... (A S 1978:216).
Is it 'Golfgate'? County orders probe of fee collection at 11 courses.
Complaints of irregularities in greens fees at Los Angeles County's Victoria Golf Course in Carson prompted officials yesterday to ...

Grantgate 1980 LAT May 2, P II p 7.
Is it "Grantgate?"
San Diego police detectives Thursday continued their investigation of a reported break-in and vandalizing of the county Democratic Party headquarters in the U.S. Grant Hotel.

'BILLYGATE'
What's in store for President Carter now? His brother Billy has received almost half of what he calls a $500,000 loan from the Libyan government, and has been trying to negotiate business deals with the government of Col. Muammar Khadafy since 1978.

'Angelgate' has all the ingredients for a movie
The year-long investigation into the financing of "Charlie's Angels" and the accounting practices of Spelling-Goldberg Productions and ABC contains all the elements of conflict necessary to hold an audience.

208
AUTOGATE?

UCLA officials and others close to the basketball team are soft-pedalling reports about an NCAA investigation into four players' acquisition of automobiles within a short time of each other early this year. (personal communication from Warren Brewer).
BLENDS

**Type A:**

**Frogrunt**

1977 LAT Jan. 6, P VI p 12.

...the company which brings to frozen yogurt 150 years of dairy product know-how is pleased to announce that Frogrunt the original frozen yogurt, the all natural frozen yogurt, ...

**Woodstein**


*Woodstein* Spinoffs

Obviously inspired by the success of "All the President's Men" and the super-sleuthing done by its heroes, Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, the series...

**litterecture**


Jack-in-the-Box comes close to being a modern translation of the litterecture tradition. The restaurants are box-like shapes. And those odd out-sized grinning clowns do pop out of the tops of the signs.

**Graph-a-cator**

1978

The name on the label of a tube of graphite lubricant.
fraternity

1977 UCLA Bruin April 4, p 15.
What do you get when you cross a fraternity with a sorority? A frasoriy, of course. A group of students here is attempting to organize a frasority which would be "more democratic and more mature" than fraternities or sororities, said ...

Hungarican

Prinze, who called himself a "Hungarican," is of Puerto Rican-Hungarian ethnic background, but portrayed a young Los Angeles Chicano in Chico and the Man, the NBC television show that ...

rockabilly

He is more general in his collecting, into rockabilly (primitive, Southern-based rock and roll), California sounds, Beatle era tunes, but he is cooler about his wants because he works in a record store in Santa Ana during the week.

tinger

Surgeons at Presbyterian Hospital said the operation that transferred the second toe from Rodney Biege's right foot to his fingerless right hand was the first such surgical procedure performed in Oklahoma. ... The physicians now refer to the transplanted toe as "a tinger".

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>word</th>
<th>date</th>
<th>source</th>
<th>definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>telecopter</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>LAT Nov. 28, P IV p 1.</td>
<td>A <em>telecopter</em> is a helicopter equipped with a television camera.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>povertician</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>LAT Nov. 28, P IV p 1.</td>
<td>A <em>povertician</em> is a politician who has made a career out of antipoverty programs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cremains</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>LAHE Sept. 12, P A p 10.</td>
<td>In the death industry, <em>creains</em> is the pasted-together version of &quot;cremated remains&quot; ...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BLENDS

Type B:

Gerotours  
n d
Gerovital H₃. The drug that has been called the alternative to aging. Gerotours, Ltd., under the direction of ... has been formed to make Gerovital H₃ treatments available to those who need treatments but are unable to get them in the U.S.

whis-skiers  
1977 VN Mar. 6, S Inside p 10.
The ones who come not to ski. ... Many swinging singles--and some not so single have discovered ski lodges are an alternative to urban singles bars. ... "We call it skiing the bar." ... At Alpine Meadows near Lake Tahoe, Calif., the ski school instructors call them "whis-skiers."

Rejuvetours  
1978 LAT June 11, P 1 p 25.
Rejuvetours Ltd.
Here on beautiful Rosarito beach amid lush gardens and cascading waterfalls, you will embark on a luxurious 10 day complete rejuvenation vacation.
1979 LAHE Oct. 17, S c p l.
Chocoffee Connection
Like politics and baseball, coffee and chocolate raise passions and are not to be taken lightly. ... there are as many coffee addicts as there are chocoholics. Put the two together in one bean and the result is more than a comfort food, it's a marriage.

Joakie
nd
The winner will receive the Joakie Award. The Joakie is named for the great Jack Oakie, one of Hollywood's brightest luminaries of the 30s and 40s, and former Broadway musical comedy star.

HONOLULU - This city, which has always had a tinge of the Oriental, has taken on another trapping of the Far East---the pedicab.
You see the little vehicles--half ricksha, half bicycle--carrying tourists all over Waikiki.

psychobabble

... psychobabble was a word invented to describe a whole glossary of other words invented during the decade in the service of freehand psychotherapy: rebirthing, for example, ...
BLENDS

Type C:

A new breed of vehicle is fast becoming popular with Americans—the moped. A hybrid between a bicycle and motorcycle, the name is a derivative of "motor" and "pedal."

Each Wednesday morning, weather permitting, the Moped-Mamas of Walnut Creek ... take to the back roads for a four or five hour spin on their Crayola-colored motorized bikes.

With those T-shirts bearing slogans such as "Mopeders Have More Fun" and "110 MPG", the women attract their share of attention.

An accident about a month ago—"I got hit on Burbank Blvd. Some guy turned his wheel sideways into me"—only temporarily dulled her enthusiasm for mopeding.
Sitcom "King Embarks on a New Episode
A relaxed seemingly contented ... sat
patiently in his office at Metromedia
Square Wednesday trying to answer a
reporter's questions about his decision
to take an "extended leave" from the
production of TV series, but the tele-
phone kept ringing.

Even Bing Crosby has succumbed to series
TV and will appear in a sitcom as an
electrical engineer who happens to break
into a song once a week. (American
Speech, 1970:296)

sitcom  1971  Newsweek Mar. 15, p 68.
"Television's 'hottest' sitcom."
(American Speech, 1970:296)

"There are two fine senior-citizen
actors here, and there's plenty of room
on TV for a fine sencit sitcom."

"There are two fine senior-citizen actors
here, and there's plenty of room on TV
for a fine sencit sitcom.

aldehyde  1966  (Marchand:369)
Source: alcohol dehydrogenatum

216
minicam 1974 (Algeo:225)
Source: miniature camera

capcom 1973 Space English (Makkai:iv)
Source: capsule communicator

sitrep 1973 Space English (Makkai:iv)
Source: situation report

capsep 1973 Space English (Makkai:iv)
Source: capsule separation
BLENDS

Type D:

On a Buscycle Built for You
The buscycle is a wondrous piggyback
transit system combining the long-haul,
mass-carrying capacity of the bus with
the free-spirit, gas-saving beauty of
the bicycle. ...commuter pulls
bicycle up Transit Bike Bank attached to
rear of bus and locks wheels in place
while boarding the bus as passenger.
... The buscycle merely marries the
personal convenience of the bike to the
distance capability of the bus.

"togatan" 1976 LAHE Nov. 8, S b p 1.
The "togatan" by ... of Paris, is half
dress, half caftan. For the woman who
cannot decide if she wants to wear a
caftan or a long dress to her holiday
fetes, ...

KITCHENFRONTATION--What's a mother to
do wonders Nancy Steen in "Kentucky
Fried Movie." (Caption of a picture of
a woman and a child in a kitchen.)
Bassackwards 1977 LAT Jan. 30, P VIII p 1. As many as 6,600 skiers an hour are being transported up the mountain-side to schuss down Primrose Path, Chip's Run, ... and a dandy dip called Bassackwards (a 2½-mile plunge) that was named for Snowbird's developer, Dick Bass.

"Samboree" 1977 LAT Dec. 31, P I p 12. The school charged the Good Sam Club ... for the four-day "Samboree," the first such event held in Pasadena. The RVers, most of whom are retired, have a full schedule of activities, including films, slide shows, dances, magic acts, tours and ...

parrotdise 1976 LAT Dec. 28, YOU section p 18. Parrotdise Pet Parrots--possibly the largest most beautifully displayed presentation of parrots in the world.


"petamedics" 1978 VN Jan. 29, Family Weekly p 34. A dog's life in Chicago isn't that bad because that municipality is the first in the country to run an emergency ambulance service for animals. The service, ..., employs 4 "petamedics" who man the ambulance in 2-person shifts.

219
Trans-Oceanic Trouser Press, a fan
magazine, with an auction list
specializes in English musicians. ...
Once your name and address are published
in any of the major "fanzines" you are
apt to be flooded with unsolicited auc-
tion lists from all over the country.

jazznastics n. d.
_**Jazznastics**-Fitness buffs near Northridge
can swing and sway their bulges away at
a new jazznastics course to start
Sept. 27, 8-10 p.m., at the ...

cello-cipede 1977 VN June 28, S 1 p 6.
Just call it a 'cello-cipede' ..., 
eighth grade student at University
Laboratory School, Greeley, Colo.,
converted his mother's golf cart into a
cello carrier.

clutchretary 1977 LAT n.d.
_Clutchretary_
Combination clutch wallet-check book
holder, card holder, photo section and
change purse.

... in two celebrated relationships--
on the field (above) with ..., and off
(right) with former girlfriend ..., now
suing him for _palimony_.

220
sexsational 1977 VN June 29, S 3 p 5.
The trouble-plagued feature, ..., is finally being edited in Rome. They're hoping the sexsational epic will be ready for theaters sometime this year—but I wouldn't bet on it.

Keeping such statistics is a big part of ... job. Predicting them as far ahead as a month before a game is an even bigger part. He calls his work guesstimation. The key guesstimate is crowd size.

"It's not easy to sell a black picture to the majors," she said. "They are convinced that the market is primarily a black one and that blacks are only interested in blaxploitation.

ice-cotheque 1977 VN July 16, S 1 p 16.
Ice-cotheque at Ice Capades Chalet is a brand new way to have fun on the ice. It's like disco dancing, ice skating, and New Year's Eve all mixed together in a most delightful way.

Women's Dancercise classes will begin June 27 at the West Valley Family YMCA.
mousecara 1978 n. s.
Mousecara and Other Animals
Mousecara for melting, mouse-soft eyes.
Use Mousecara--the completely natural mascara!

gasohol 1977 LAT Nov. 8, P II p 7.
Gasohol: No Fuel Like an Old Fuel
Energy Based on Alcohol Could Solve
Oil Problem, but It's Resisted--Why?
West Germany, spurred by Volkswagen,
is beginning to blend alcohol into fuels
used by government vehicles. Brazil,
already on a 10% "gasohol" mixture, is
moving toward a 25% blend ...

crepewich 1979 LAT Nov. 28, P IV p 1.
A crepewich, for example is a sandwich
made with crepes.

sexcom 1979 LAT Nov. 28, P IV p 1.
Also, sexcom, meaning a sexy
sitcom, is OK if you like sitcom to begin
with.

"well," he continued with a paternal
smile, "it's a name we coined to describe
a science that bridges the gap between
the physics of energy, in which the
fundamental measurement of energy is the
erg, and economics. ..., and ergonomics
is a new word that means just what it
looks like.
Napadashery 1981 A sign on a clothing store in Napa, Calif.
Source: a pun on haberdashery by creating a blend based on the analogy of Napa to haber(dashery).

Fawcett-philes 1977 LAT P IV.
Context: An article discussing Farrah Fawcett's recent rise in the public eye.

The Booketeria offers you a selection of savings that are designed around your interests and your budget.
Type E: Acronyms

laser

1977 LAT June 8, P VI p 5.
Source: Light amplification by stimulated emission of radiation.
But the most important advantage of the laser is that cells are exploded and totally destroyed.

Reo

Cited by Algeo (1974:216)
Source: The name, R. E. Olds, an automobile manufacturer.

Nato

Source: North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

zip

Source: zone improvement plan.

Unesco


awol

Source: The military term, absent without official leave.

Bart

Cited by Algeo (1974:224)
Source: Brooklyn Army Terminal

salt

Source: strategic arms limitation talks.

alps

Source: alternate launch point system.
Source: multiple aim point.
Multiple aim point, or MAP, is a more elaborate and expensive way of moving missiles around underground than ALPS, or alternate launch point system.

jocer 1979 June 28, P I p 5.  
Source: Joint Committee on Employment Relations.
Actually, its JOCER, the Joint Committee on Employment Relations. But to make it a little easier on the larynx, it's been shortened to "joker."

elf 1979 June 28, P I p 5.  
Source: Extremely low frequency.
"Then there was ELF," Ms. Riordan recalled. "I thought maybe it had something to do with the Milwaukee sausage company that has little elves that make sausages in the dead of night.

scuba Cited in Baum (1962:50)  
Source: self-contained underwater breathing apparatus.

sam Cited in Makkai (1973:iv)  
Source: surface to air missile.

sins Cited in Makkai (1973:iv)  
Source: ship's internal navigation system.
core
Source: Congress of Racial Equality

jobs
Cited in Algeo (1974:224)
Source: Job Opportunities in the Business Section.

now
Source: National Organization for Women.

hep
Cited in Algeo (1974:229)
Source: Harlem Education Program

rage
Source: Residents Against Gas and Electricity Increases.
That is the view of Stockton’s... coordinator of Residents Against Gas and Electricity Increases (RAGE). His group last week joined with a coalition representing some 7,000 persons to decry Pacific Gas and Electric's rate increase of $909 million.

aid
Cited in Algeo (1974:225)
Source: Agency for International Development.

Lacus
Source: Linguistic Association of Canada and the United States.

care
Source: Cooperative for American Remittances to Everywhere.

waves
Source: Women's Auxiliary Volunteer Emergency Service, a branch of the US Navy.
gotcha  
Cited in Makkai (1973:iv)  
Source: ground operated television camera hook-up assembly.

egads  
Cited in Makkai (1973:iv)  
Source: electronic ground automatic destruct sequences.
MORPHOPHONEMIC REDUCTION

gober  1977  Ms. magazine Mar., p 73.
My friend Nora was working as a gober, I think, for one of the networks, a budding journalist.

I'm young; I have lots of ideas. I did not want to be a gober for a year or two.

Gobers Are Getting Gumption
..., there is a growing movement in the country among secretaries to no longer go out and get coffee for their bosses.

gober  1977  LAHE Mar. 21, S b p 1.
From film school she worked as a gober for the Maysles brothers on "Salesman" and then moved over to learn editing.

gober  1977  LAT Mar. 6, TV p 2.
Both entered show business via the time-honored route of secretaries who became gobers and worked their way up to associate producer posts on various series and specials.

He started studying for a real-estate license and worked as gober for an agency where his father-in-law worked.
Hairdressers, makeup men, wardrobe women and go-fers pamper and dote on the beauties.
The rest of the field ranged from... to actor Bill Johnson, whose most recent gig was as a gofer for the comedy team of Stiller and Meara.

"I was washing clothes, sweeping the stage, keeping track of props," she says angrily, "it's gofer work, and it takes away from University education."

Like most film school graduates, Quinn found it tough to get any film job, let alone one as a writer or director. Instead he worked as a gofer on documentaries, as a still photographer, ...

...he was assigned to a game show. "I was the classic gofer," he says, "running errands, going for coffee, lunch, carrying messages. I didn't learn much about show business, but I was in."

Help Wanted
Errand Service needs gophers with own car. Part-time, flexible hours, good money.
Call...
gopher 1979 LAT Nov. 7, P II p 8.
"I was a flunky," Mellinger said. "I was a
gopher--I would go for this and go for that.
I cleaned toilets...

The Los Angeles Herald Examiner wants you
to be their guest at TWOFER NIGHT. Two
tickets for the price of one.

"Gotcha Gun" compact pistol grip Hair Dryer.
"Gotcha" rechargeable Rotary Razor.
1977 LAT May 19, P IV p 1.
The painter nodded thoughtfully. "Gotcha,
he said at last. Whatever it turns out to
be, I'm calling it gotcha white.

Seeings how your column has been the only
thing worth even glancing at in that...

lookit 1980 LAT July 20, P IV p 11.
One little girl hugged a bowl to her stomach
and drove a wooden spoon through the batter.
"It smells good. Lookit," she said to
another.

lookit Cited in Bolinger (1980:293)
Hey, fellas! Lookit! I can spin this
backwards.

lookit Cited in Bolinger (1980:293)
Lookit 'im! He's a crook and a thug!
There's gotta be a better way to make a living.

gotta Cited in Bolinger (1980:294)
I gotta spend that money ('I am obliged to').
I got to spend that money ('I was privileged to').

hasta Cited in Bolinger (1980:294)
It hasta be true.

shoulda n d
My old tax service didn't double-check everything. I shoulda come here last year.

Ford said he would retire completely when he becomes 65,... "If I had my druthers,
I would have stepped down as chairman on Oct. 1," he said.

wanna 1980 (Bolinger:295)
I wanna see.
?John wanna go, does he?

gonna 1980 (Bolinger:296)
I'm gonna as soon as I can.
?She's gonna as soon as she can.

hafta 1980 (Bolinger:295)
Do I hafta?

usta 1980 (Bolinger:296)
I'm not usta that kind of treatment.
Replete with pink "I'm not Fonda Jane" buttons, the crowd cheered when the giggling executioner kicked...
REFERENCES

---- 1979. The Field of Meaning. Ms, University of California, Los Angeles.


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