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ENGLISH WORD-MAKING

RICHARD HENRY LEDERER

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ENGLISH WORD-MAKING

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PH.D. 1980

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ENGLISH WORD-MAKING

by

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A DISSERTATION

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December, 1980

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ABSTRACT

ENGLISH WORD-MAKING

by

RICHARD LEDERER

University of New Hampshire, December, 1980

English Word-Making presents the content and methods of modern research in morphology in the form of a textbook for secondary school English students.

The opening section offers a rationale for the uses of morphology at the secondary level. The emergence of English as a subject in the curriculum is traced historically; and the study of morphology is related specifically to humanistic goals and to the enhancing of skills in language analysis, speaking, reading, vocabulary growth, grammar and usage study, spelling, composition, and literary interpretation.

The main body of the text consists of ten chapters, each exploring, diachronically and synchronically, a primary category of English word-formation: compounding, reduplication, derivation, conversion, clipping, back formation, acronyming, blending, and eponyming.

Each chapter includes exercises that require students to apply what they have learned about the English language. At the end of each chapter are extensive Notes that reinforce and expand the concepts presented in the main text.

Appendix 1 is an exposition of English spelling through a cataloging of various phoneme-grapheme correspondences. Appendix 2 is an attempt to apply to the slang lexicon of St. Paul's School (vintage 1978) the principals of morphological analysis that are treated throughout the manuscript.

THE USES OF MORPHOLOGY
IN THE SECONDARY CLASSROOM:
A RATIONALE

The history and present state of language teaching in the high school English classroom provides a classic study in lip service. Enlightened teachers almost everywhere admit, indeed proclaim, that language is the most important hallmark of our humanness; that the study of language, pure or applied, can vitalize the English classroom, both for the teacher and the taught; and that it can pull a scattered curriculum together. Most English teachers accept as a curricular model, the tripod, triad, or trinity of literature, composition, and language and perceive, at least vaguely, that, since language is the medium for the other two parts (as well as for talk and discussion), it is central to the school as well as to the human experience. Yet, in their evaluation of the National Study of High School English Programs, Squire and Applebee (p. 139) conclude:

That language, of the three major components of English, is the least well taught in the Study schools was obvious, whether the data considered came from project staff members, teachers, or students. Programs in language were cited in observer reports too infrequently even to be ranked among special strengths of the schools, falling far behind programs in composition, literature, reading, and even speech.

Squire and Applebee (pp. 140-143) and Milosh (p. 3) indicate some of the reasons for the paucity of time devoted to language study and the apparent inadequacy of the programs: the threat to the traditional ecology of the time schedule that a new facet of study poses, the lack of teacher training and preparation in the English language beyond the intensive study of literature, the gap between linguistic scholarship and applications to real, live curricula, the fear of the unknown, and the

pervasive myth that language instruction means grammatical analysis and isolated usage drills.

Behind each of these reasons and behind the mass confusion about language instruction in the schools lies the fact that, historically, the teaching of English has vacillated among several competing and conflicting traditions.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF ENGLISH AS A SUBJECT:
A CONFUSION OF TONGUES

Dixon (pp. 1-2) provides a concise and useful starting point from which we may chart the crosscurrents of English teaching during the past three centuries. He is worth quoting at length:

English is a quicksilver among metals -- mobile, living and elusive. Its conflicting emphases challenge us today to look for a new, coherent definition. Its complexity invites the partial and incomplete view, the dangerous simplification that restricts what goes on in the classroom. A map is needed on which the confusing claims and theories can be plotted.

In the map that emerges from the Dartmouth Seminar, one dimension is historical. Among the models or images of English that have been widely accepted in schools on both sides of the Atlantic, three were singled out. The first centered on skills: it fitted an era when initial literacy was the prime demand. The second stressed the cultural heritage, the need for a civilizing and socially unifying content. The third (and current) model focuses on personal growth: on the need to re-examine the learning processes and the meaning to the individual of what he is doing in English lessons.

Judy (p. 1) and Applebee (p. 2) trace the beginnings of English instruction to sectarian primers such as The New England Primer, or an easy and pleasant Guide to the Art of Reading, Adorn'd with Cuts, To which are added, The Assembly of Divines and Mr. Cotton's CATECHISM (circa 1686). For over a hundred years the Primer constituted the whole of instruction in

the mother tongue, each lesson beginning with the letters in the alphabet, followed by syllabification exercises, the Lord's Prayer, at least one catechism, and various other religious and instructional pieces, often heavy with moral lessons, among them:

In Adam's fall
We sinned all.

Thy life to mend,
This Book attend.

and

Good Boys at their Books

He who ne'er learns his A,B,C,
Forever will a Blockhead be;
But he who to his Book's inclin'd,
Will soon a golden treasure find.

In The New England Primer's longtime dominance of the early American educational landscape, we can already perceive the uneasy coexistence of two curricular objectives: the acquisition of verbal skills and the inculcation of the ethical-cultural commonalities of a young nation. On the one hand, the Primer series constituted a beginning of reading instruction; on the other hand, "for the most part the selections were didactic, chosen for the virtue of their dogma rather than for their suitability for children learning to read." (Applebee, p. 2)

The direct descendant of The New England Primer was Noah Webster's Grammatical Institute of the English Language, which, like its predecessor, held sway as a nearly universal medium for instruction (1783 to, in some areas of the country, as late as 1900) and combined under one cover alphabet,

primer, speller, and reader, "using materials which were unabashedly adult and didactic." (Judy, p.3) A number of textbook series similar to Webster's were popular on the regional level, most notably the grammar series of Lindley Murray, Caleb Bingham, and John Pierpont. These were joined and eventually superseded by another giant in English instruction, the six-book series by William Holmes McGuffey, the first volumes of which appeared in 1836.

All of these texts shared several prominent traits. They were modeled on an analogy between the study of English and the study of the classical languages, "an analogy conditioned and reinforced by the prevailing doctrines of 'mental discipline' and 'faculty psychology.'" (Applebee, p. 4) The assumption was that any given discipline was valuable only to the extent that it trained and strengthened the mental faculties of memory and reason. The emphasis was on the teaching and learning of grammar, especially the mastery of the parts of speech and the art of sentence parsing; and the grammar that was used reflected the eighteenth century attempt to regularize the English language on the model of Latin and Greek. As Applebee (p. 6) points out, "the shift of grammatical studies from the classics to English involved a shift from a method of teaching a foreign language to one of correcting a native one." As for their content, the prevailing late eighteenth and nineteenth century texts were decidedly moral, though not overtly religious, advocating a stern Protestant ethic and, in various degrees, patriotic fervor for the developing nation.

Composition and literature were later additions to the English program than grammar:

It was not until 1850 that demands for composition instruction (and composition textbooks) began to spring up. Most nineteenth-century texts on writing look surprisingly familiar to a twentieth century graduate of American schools. The texts emphasized analysis of structure -- including discourse forms (narration, description, exposition, and argumentation), paragraphs (the "topic sentence" is a nineteenth-century invention), and theme organization (complete with outlining skills). (Judy, p. 5)

Literature, the last component of English to enter the English curriculum, was finally included as a result of the unyielding requirements of colleges such as Harvard or Yale, which demanded that entering young men have background familiarity with classic British and American authors. Following Thomas Budge Shaw's Outlines of English Literature (1848), tens of histories of English and American literature were published and used. However, because these texts took their shape from the emphasis on formal discipline already noted, their concern was more with literary history, biography, and criticism than with the actual content of literature. Charles D. Cleveland's A Compendium of English Literature, Chronologically Arranged from Sir John Mandeville to William Cowper (First Edition, 1849) provides "Questions for Examinations" that reveal the basically encyclopaedic nature of the book. Of Milton the questions ask: "What is his first poetical work, and what its subject? What the second? Third? Fourth? Fifth? Sixth? Seventh? Eighth? Ninth? Tenth? ... What does Brydges say of Johnson's life of Milton?"

By 1880 Silas Marner and Shakespearean plays like Julius Caesar, Macbeth, Hamlet, As You Like It, and The Merchant of Venice had become established as a standard repertory in the high school syllabus, but it was to be a long time before the emphasis on information and mental discipline in literary studies would give way to a stress upon literary heritage and appreciation.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Developments in the teaching of English during the present century both continue the instructional traditions of preceding centuries and react against them. One needs only a brief examination of John Warriner's English Grammar and Composition series to see an unbroken 150-year line in the teaching of English skills. Just as Lindley Murray's books were so widely used that his name became synonymous with "grammar" and students talked of studying their "Murray," so in our own century students study their "Warriner's." The Murray and Warriner books are strikingly similar in content and format, and their clear and thorough approach to the "basic" structure of the English language is part of a solid, time-hallowed tradition.

While the teaching of English continues to build upon the ethical, cultural, classical, and skills models that were established in the past, some educators have been strongly attracted to a newly articulated model -- the model of personal and developmental growth.

Reacting against the forces of tradition that continued to promote a handful of English classics well into the twentieth century, the "Hosic Report," entitled Reorganization of English in Secondary Schools (1917), was probably this century's first effective and widely influential effort to reform the English curriculum. Declaring that the "entire doctrine of 'preparation' for higher institutions is fallacious" and condemning the academism and sternness of English as unrealistic, Hosic's NCTE and NEA "Committee of Seventeen" contended that English was preparation for life, not college. Their report recommended that teachers should relate items of knowledge to the experience of adolescents:

The committee on composition stressed "the development of the expressional powers of the individual pupil... rather than the teaching of specific form and rules." Grammar was placed under composition, and its "functional" aim was to improve speaking, writing, and reading. "In general, the grammar worth teaching is the grammar of use -- function of the sentence -- and the grammar to be passed over is the grammar of classification -- pigeonholing by definition."

The committee on literature presented an interesting blend of liberalism and conformity. First, it stated that all literature which does not contain a "natural appeal" for pupils "should be excluded, no matter how respectable it may be from age or reputation." On the other hand, the committee expressed the belief that if a classic doesn't appeal to a "healthy-minded" student, the choice of book isn't at fault; the teacher is "unable to point the way."
(Evans & Walker, p. 11)

An even more influential NCTE report, An Experience Curriculum in English, followed in 1935. As its title suggests, the major thrust of the curriculum is that "experiences through literature are the ultimate objective. The author's sensory and social experiences, his imaginings, and his feelings, are what he has tried to put into his writing, and they are what the reader wishes to get." The report insists that "the intrinsic worth of such experiences is the only valid reason for the reading of literature."

It was in the 1960's that the most sophisticated assaults on the content and skills models of English and the most dramatic assertion of the personal-developmental model occurred. Much of the fire of this movement was ignited by a series of NCTE seminars held at Dartmouth College which brought American educators into close contact with British educators and a British model for English instruction that focused not on the external demands of the discipline but on the personal and language growth of each child.

The clearest and most articulate summary of the British alternative is

John Dixon's Growth Through English (1967), one of the two books written in response to the Anglo-American Conference on the Teaching and Learning of English held at Dartmouth in September, 1966. Dixon begins his discussion by exposing the fallacies and limitations of what he calls the "skills" and "heritage" models. He concludes:

To sum up what we learn from the historical dimension: looking at the first two models from the standpoint of child development, we can see they have exaggerated two areas at the expense of the rest and in so doing have distorted these areas themselves. It is as if the mapping had been done on an elastic sheet. During the skills era this was stretched till the operations specific to the written system of language became the centre of English. The heritage era put "skills" in their place as a means to an end. But it failed to reinterpret the concept of "skills" and thus left an uneasy dualism in English teaching. Literature itself tended to be treated as a given, a ready-made structure that we imitate and a content that is handed over to us. And this attitude infected composition and all work in language. There was a fatal inattention to the processes involved in such everyday activities as talking and thinking things over, writing a diary or a letter home, even enjoying a TV play. Discussion was virtually ignored, as we know to our cost today on both sides of the Atlantic. In other words, the part of the map that relates man's language to his experience was largely unexplored.

(pp. 3-4)

Dixon's primary concern is with "language in operation," language that build's a child's "own representational world and works to make this fit reality as he experiences it." (p. 13) English curriculum is not a series of literary masterworks that transmit a cultural heritage to students nor is it the sequential acquisition of certain skills considered essential to adult life. Instead, the curriculum becomes the experiences, interests, needs, problems, and dreams of the individual at the time he is in a particular class responding to his world, his peers, and his teacher. Language--especially the free movement between dialogue and monologue, between talk, drama, literature, and writing--is crucial as it affects the stu-

dent's growth in his imaginative, emotional, and intellectual powers of experiencing, living, and making meanings in the world.

The most ambitious and sophisticated English curriculum design that is built on the personal-developmental model is James Moffett's A Student-Centered Language Arts Curriculum K-12 (1968) and its accompanying theory of instruction, Teaching the Universe of Discourse (1968). Moffett argues for a model that keeps a clear focus on how to rather than knowing about:

How much is the teaching of English a matter of covering content, and how much a matter of developing skills, which are independent of any particular matter? Frequently the dilemma has been resolved by claiming that certain contents are essential to learning the skills. That is -- to write one must know, as information, certain linguistic codifications and facts of composition; to read literature, one must be told about prosody and "form." But learning "form" this way is really learning content, and the result is quite different than if the student practices form or feels it invisibly magnetize the whole curriculum. Learning and learning how to result in very different kinds of knowledge.

(Teaching the Universe of Discourse, p. 3)

English for Moffett is the coming together of the structure of discourse -- the range of verbal activities which people engage in in real situations -- and the mental development of the individual:

Moffett's plan is based on seeing the communications situation as a relationship between "I" -- a speaker or writer -- "you" -- a listener or reader -- and "it" -- the material under discussion. His developmental scheme, drawn in part from the work of Jean Piaget and L.S. Vigotsky, argues that as students mature, they increase their ability to do abstract thinking (dealing with more and more abstract "it's"), while simultaneously learning to discourse over wider and more complex "I-you" distances. Thus, for the youngest children, K-3, he emphasizes such close kinds of communication as storytelling, sharing, and reportorial writing. At succeeding age levels, the writing and speaking activities tend to become gradually more abstract and formal: transcription, memory writing, fiction writing for grades 4-6; monologues, dialogues, narratives, poetry of observation, journals for grades 7-9; autobiography, reportage, research, generalization for the upper-level students. Moffett would select appropriate literature from these genres as the students experience different kinds of writing.

(Judy, pp. 157-158)

In reordering and redefining the basic priorities of English, Moffett identifies talk -- open-ended conversation -- as the primary and beginning language activity in the classroom. Out of talk issue drama and dramatic improvisation -- the open-ended enacting of roles by students in realistic discourse situations. Once the students have themselves improvised, drama will move them into literature in a fuller way and from literature into discussion and reflection. At the end of the sequence of verbal discourse -- talk to drama to discussion -- comes written discourse: writing that is founded not on the teaching of abstract skills but rather on present experience (what is happening), and ultimately past experience (what happened), general experience (what happens), and the probability of experience not yet encountered (what may happen).

ENGLISH WORD-MAKING AND THE CURRICULUM

Whether the subject matter be literature, rhetoric, or grammar, we can perceive a dualism of educational ideals that runs through the evolution of English instruction, a striving for balance between the useful and the personal. One image of English sees language as a subject to be studied, manipulated, and mastered and stresses rhetorical power and skill as tools for achieving specific purposes and effects. The second set of objectives centers on the language user and his efforts to discover and express himself in relation to his world. Language in this view is less a tool for achievement than an instrument for personal growth and self-definition.

English Word-Making is an attempt to amalgamate the best of both goals, the humanistic and the utilitarian. The philosophy that informs the book is that the hard-won content and methods of modern linguistics research

can be taught and learned as subject matter and as an instrument that helps people to receive and transmit spoken and written messages.

Language is central to the human experience. More than anything else, language distinguishes man's estate from that of the other forms of life on our planet. Human beings acquire language naturally, intuitively, and with astonishing speed. Hockett's assertion of the child's verbal competence is typical of the view of most modern linguists:

By the age of four to six, the normal child is a linguistic adult. He controls, with marginal exceptions if any, the phonemic system of the language; he handles effortlessly the grammatical core; he knows and uses the basic contentive vocabulary of the language.
(p. 360)

Rather than concentrating on the "marginal exceptions" of linguistic competence, exceptions that are often the eroding fringes of the language, a language awareness curriculum should focus what it is that real men and women do when they speak and listen so that students may come to understand some of the implications of what it is to possess and use language. When students begin to probe the most pervasive and commonplace phenomenon in their lives, when they begin to explore the nature and structure, the history and variations of their language, they will learn more rapidly and more lastingly about their humanness than in any other way we can hope to promote.

The goal of linguistics -- the scientific study of language -- is to describe languages and to explain the unconscious knowledge all speakers have of their language. Science does not consist merely of the observation and description of phenomena, although these are two activities of the scientist that are most obvious to the outsider. Every science, including linguistics, seeks to discover the general principles which underlie the variety of observable fact.
(Falk, p. 4)

The purpose of English Word-Making is to help secondary students to make sense of the almost overwhelming data of human language. More specifically, the book focuses on English words, the most observable components of our language, and, applying the principles and discoveries of morphology, helps student to identify, describe, and analyze how bits of meaning called morphemes combine, shrink, and transmogrify to make words. As this rationale will show, students, in becoming more aware of what it is that people do when they make words and use them, can productively apply their knowledge to the many areas of the vast and inclusive subject we call English: literature, reading, composition, grammar, usage, spelling, and oral activities.

Even while acknowledging the contributions of linguistics, many teachers may sincerely question its appropriateness and value to pre-college students. Moffett is among them:

Although it is certainly the business of the English teacher to know as information the history and science of language and literature, it does not follow at all that he should teach these as contents to his elementary and secondary students. If he does teach, say, the history of literature or the science of language, organized as a corpus, he must justify doing so either on the grounds that they improve certain skills or that they have value in their own right.

(Teaching the Universe of Discourse, pp. 3-4)

My point throughout this introductory rationale is that the teaching and learning of linguistics in the secondary classroom can be justified on both the grounds that Moffett mentions. In further opposition to Moffett's stand it is appropriate at this point to examine Jerome Bruner's concepts of sequence and structure in the curriculum. In The Process of Education (1960) Bruner argued that the easiest and most effective way to learn a

given subject is to grasp its structure, the relationship that exists between the parts and the whole. Structure is best taught through a "spiral" curriculum, a curriculum built on the central ideas of the discipline. These central and fundamental concepts "may be taught to anybody at any age in some form" and should be returned to again and again at successively higher levels of complexity. Teaching the fundamental structure of a subject promotes a better understanding and memory of that subject and application of its details. Bruner's reasoning (pp. 23-25) is especially relevant to this rationale:

The high school student reading Moby Dick can only understand more deeply if he can be led to understand that Melville's novel is, among other things, a study of the theme of evil and the plight of those pursuing this "killing whale." And if the student is led further to understand that there are a relatively limited number of human plights about which novels are written, he understands literature the better for it.

* * *

Detailed material is conserved in memory by the use of simplified ways of representing it....A scientist does not try to remember the distances traversed by falling bodies in different gravitational fields over different periods of time. What he carries in memory instead is a formula that permits him with varying degrees of accuracy to regenerate the details on which the more easily remembered formula is based. So he commits to memory the formula $s = \frac{1}{2}gt^2$ and not a handbook of distances, times, and gravitational constants.

* * *

To understand something as a specific instance of a more general case -- which is what understanding a more fundamental principle or structure means -- is to have learned not only a specific thing but also a model for understanding other things like it that one may encounter.

English Word-Making is written in the belief that, while we take language for granted as naturally as the air we breathe, theoretical considerations of

the ways that people create and communicate their language must be part of the "fundamental structure" of the English curriculum. Agreeing with Bruner's hypothesis that since "any subject can be taught to any child in some honest form," the discovery of a subject's structure should begin with the student's first encounter with it, I maintain that much of the material in this book can be used in some form in even the earliest years of a child's education:

As far as I am concerned young children learn almost anything faster than adults do if it can be given to them in terms they understand....We just have to wait until the proper point of view and corresponding language for presenting it are revealed. Given particular subject matter or a particular concept, it is easy to ask trivial questions. It is also easy to ask impossibly difficult questions. The trick is to find the medium questions that can be answered and that can take you somewhere. This is the big job of teachers and textbooks.
(Bruner, p. 40)

In English Word-Making I have tried to establish the fruitful relationship that Bruner speaks of between general principles and specific examples. I have also tried to ask the "medium questions," placing the more difficult considerations in the notes at the end of each chapter.

A SCIENTIFIC APPROACH TO LANGUAGE

The central theme of the school curriculum is: what a piece of work is man. In mathematics courses the student learns about man, the only organism capable of making symbol systems and applying them to think. In science and history the student discovers and explores man as a product of biological and institutional history. In art and music the student learns how man has created order and beauty from the swirl of the

universe. We are missing a real opportunity if we do not fill in this conceptual picture by introducing another image of man -- the concept of man the talker, the only animal that employs an open, constantly changing system of words that responds to our total world, ranging all the way from food, shelter, and sex -- our most elemental concerns -- to the National Football League, the energy shortage, the theory of relativity, and, of extreme importance, language itself.

Linguistics is the scientific study of language. The linguist learns how language functions by observing and recording the way people use language and by studying the history and structure of language. One of the major differences between the modern linguist and the traditional grammarian is that the language scientist is primarily interested in how language was and is used, not in how it should be used. "Linguists are concerned with determining the knowledge of the speakers of a language -- the knowledge that enables them to produce and comprehend all of the actual utterances possible in their language." (Falk, pp. 13-14)

In seeking to answer questions about what it is that speakers of English know and do when they make utterances and create new words, the student is in for a fascinating and extended adventure in classification, a classification of the most available and observable data in their lives.

The study of morphology and word-formation tells us that, while the vocabulary of English is constantly changing and expanding, words are, for the most part, formed in a limited number of time-honored and identifiable ways. In English Word-Making the order of these methods is: older words become longer (compound words, reduplications, derivations; compounding

and derivation, the two most common ways of creating new words in English, thus come early in the book); words retain their previous form but change function (function shift); words become shorter (clipping, back formation); words become both shorter and longer (acronyms, blends, and eponyms).

Boynton, Johnson, and Reeves (pp. 19-20) outline a "Method of Reasoning" for the linguist to follow:

- (1) He collects a large amount of material to work with.
- (2) He studies the material carefully and makes general observations about it.
- (3) He proves or disproves the observations by giving specific examples from the large body of material he has collected.
- (4) He makes a list of general conclusions which can be tested and proved.
- (5) He arranges these statements in a systematic order, if possible.
- (6) He expects that others will challenge his statements and is willing to change his viewpoint if his findings are shown to be inaccurate.

In the writing of this text, I have tried mightily to follow these six steps; and, regarding #6, I have not hesitated to show that every single one of the categories of word-formation discussed contains puzzling problems of definition. One can, as I have tried, build a tall and elaborate filing cabinet; but, as the reader of this book must soon discover, human beings are so unpredictable and linguistically creative that it is probably impossible to fashion the cabinet with enough pigeonholes in which to sort out all words neatly.

In a rainbow or a color spectrum from a prism, there is a continuous gradation of color from one end to the other. Studies show that different societies represent these colors in their languages in strikingly different ways, especially in the number of colors named and the frequency of dividing points between colors. The more one explores word-formation, the more one discovers that language is a rainbow; for just as one color in a

spectrum dissolves imperceptibly into the ones next to it, so linguists dispute the exact demarcations between categories of word-formation. English Word-Making points up these skirmishes. We have scarcely gotten started when it becomes clear that, while people have a strong sense of what a word is, it is no easy task to come up with a definition that will cover all words. Most controversial is the common dictionary definition of "word" as "the smallest unit of language capable of independent use." Each strategy that we employ -- question-answer, uh-insertion, and word or phrase insertion -- possesses strengths and drawbacks and does not always correlate with our instinctive notion of what constitutes a word. Apparently everybody "knows" what a word is but nobody can quite define it. And there are comparable difficulties with the definition of morphemes as the smallest indivisible meaning-bearing elements in language, especially in light of the uncooperative fact that some morphemes don't seem to mean anything.

In Chapter 2 we encounter similar problems with the concept of a compound word. At what point can we say that two independent morphemes have become sufficiently welded together to qualify as a compound? Styling is not a very helpful clue since a single entry like prize fighter can be written in three different ways and the open style of boy scout and closed styling of boyfriend make no perceptible difference in the spoken language. The presence of contrasting stress (usually forestress) is a useful criterion for distinguishing phrases like hot dog (perspiring canine) from hot dog (frankfurter). But why is it that hot dog (frankfurter), centerfold, and blackboard are all forestressed, while cold duck (a drink), center field (in baseball), and black hole (astronomical phenomenon) are

all backstressed, yet all six are compounds?

As with our definition of words, the criterion of inseparability seems to be the most useful, although so-called "two-word verbs" like make out ("I can't make it out") constitute an exception to the inseparability hypothesis.

Among compounds, derived words, and reduplications -- that part of the language rainbow we call expansions -- there is considerable ambiguity and controversy as one type shades subtly into the next. It is no great feat to label bookcase and booksmith as compounds and bookish and books as derivatives, but how do we classify words ending in man, like gentleman, and land, like Maryland, which look like compounds in writing but which have lost stress and vowel grade in their last syllable? Have man and land evolved from free morphemes into suffixes? What do we call the final morphemes in words like lovable, powerful, heartless, godlike, sideways, and praiseworthy? Are these words compounds or derivatives? Does the abundant productivity of morphemes like -burger, -holic, and -athon indicate that they have become a kind of suffix, or are words such as cheeseburger, workaholic, and talkathon essentially blends (cheese + hamburger = cheeseburger, etc.)?

What is a blend? What parts of allegedly blended words can be lopped off, and what parts can be combined? The exercises and notes in Chapter 9 indicate that even the most respected dictionaries will disagree about how to label the formation of a given word, especially if it is a possible blend.

Because human beings will slap together almost anything to create new

words, questions about the classification of human language proliferate almost endlessly. Are constructions like Nabisco and Amvets to be labeled clippings, compounds, acronyms, or blends? Should we make a distinction between initialisms, abbreviations, and acronyms? Should function shifted words, which retain their written form, be included in a study of word-formation? Must a name lose its capital letters to qualify officially as an eponym? When we talk about Machiavellian politics or when we name the planets in our solar system, have we completely eponymized the original proper names?

In my observation and research, I have found that the process of trying to distinguish reduplications from compound words most typically illustrates how language insists on wriggling even under the most precise of microscopes. Hans Thun's contention that when we encounter combinations "in which both elements can be used separately as words," we have a compound and not a reduplication is of little help since his criterion seems to exclude words that we strongly suspect are reduplications, such as singsong and hustle-bustle. Marchand's two criteria of (1) motivation by the linguistic form of the twin elements and (2) the absence of a grammatical syntagma based on a determinant/determinatum relationship do properly place singsong, hustle-bustle, and the like in the camp of reduplications. But what are we to do with constructions like claptrap, prime time, and redhead, in which we encounter a clear grammatical interaction between the parts and a sense that sound has strongly motivated the coining and preservation of the words?

Are claptrap, prime time, and redhead compounds, reduplications, or simply phrases? Here the living language appears to resist our prodigious

efforts to classify it. Or, if you will allow me to jump metaphors: we cannot tell where the front half of a horse ends and the back half begins, even though we usually know the difference between a horse's head and a horse's ass. It is often the midpoint that makes for the most intriguing anatomical and linguistic investigations.

NEW WORDS

One way to approach the problems and questions of morphology is to explore the ways that new words are formed. The vocabulary of English, like that of every other living language, is constantly growing. This growth is not new. Throughout history, as people have met with new objects and new experiences, they have needed new words to describe them. Webster's Third New International Dictionary, published in 1961, contains over 450,000 words -- the largest, most varied word stock of any language that has ever existed. This great dictionary had to find space for 100,000 more words that had not been included in the Second Edition, published only twenty-seven years before; and, since 1961, thousands of new words in English have been identified, recorded, and defined. Students are bound to be interested in a course of study that helps them to perceive order and arrangement in these words.

Here, for example, is the lead to a recent article headlined "Running in Style":

At Saks Fifth Avenue in Boston a runner can pay \$160 for a warmup suit that's described as "sharp looking," "expensive," and "statusy."

"It's a designer," said salesperson Bill Martin. "It's like the most statusy one you can wear. It's like the thing to wear if you're into it."

(Concord Monitor, Saturday, August 9, 1980)

Many readers will be struck by the shiny newness of the adjective statusy, a word that presumably appears in no dictionary. Unfamiliar as the word may appear, statusy is a perfectly analyzable formation for the student of morphology who knows that, in words like sunny and rainy, the suffix -y has been used to create derived adjectives from nouns. Statusy can be criticized from the point of view of taste and appropriateness, but it cannot be faulted on the basis of "grammar" or morphological consistency.

A more famous and creative example of word-making is the recent rise of Billygate to denote the revelations and brouhaha surrounding Billy Carter's financial entanglements with the Libyan government. Here we have a sparkling instance of an independent morpheme, gate, that has become a productive suffix meaning "scandal" -- initially Watergate, next Koreagate, and, currently, Billygate.

In Appendix II of the text, I offer an analysis of the slanguage of St. Paul's School, a lexicon that includes a number of words that may not exist elsewhere. One apparently pure SPS'ism is the word snarf, a verb (at least originally) meaning "to fall asleep with one's clothes on." The word may or may not be a blend of "snore" and "barf" (its origins seem to be lost in the mists of campus history), but once it entered the St. Paul's corpus, it began, predictably, to take on inflectional endings -- snarfs, snarfed, snarfing -- derivational suffixes -- snarfer -- and underwent conversion to a noun, as in "I pulled the biggest snarf last night." On the basis of word-formation rules, we can predict that snarfable and resnarf will not enter the School's vocabulary, since -able and re-, with few exceptions, attach only to transitive

verbs.

While most slanguage words lead mayfly lives, all are created in a limited number of analyzable ways. In identifying and describing their own particular school and age-group argot, students will gain first-hand insight in to linguistic creativity in which they participate.

Many of the exercises in English Word-Making ask readers to analyze recent additions to the English lexicon or to create new words themselves. An early exercise in the book asks students to name the method or methods of word-formation by which each of twenty very recent words was made. Another assignment in the chapter on derivation requires students to combine classical word parts to form original words that describe new ideas and activities in our society, such as a device that allows people to move objects through the power of thought. Other exercises offer the student the opportunity to fashion his or her own compounds, reduplications, blends, eponyms, and acronyms.

THE IMPORTANCE OF SPEECH

Throughout the classification process that occurs in this book, questions of spoken language in contrast to written language arise. For example, in my discussion of compounds I offer a list of a dozen words, like breakfast and necklace, whose spelling underscores their origin as compounds but whose pronunciation obscures their compound nature. Synchronically, such words are no longer compounds for the average speaker. While I do devote some space to the writing of compounds -- open, hyphenated, and solid styling -- I try to make it clear that the written version in no way affects the compound status of a word.

The chapters that cover compounds and function shift both deal with the role of stress, a phenomenon not apparent in the written forms. I demonstrate how a shifting of stress usually signals a compound word, like hót dog, and often accompanies the conversion of a noun to a verb or a verb to a noun, as in rébel-rebél or retárd-rétard. In almost every case I have assigned primary importance to the spoken forms.

To the linguist all aspects of language originate with the spoken code. Language is very old, while writing is relatively new. Man has been speaking for a half million to a million years, but he has known how to write for less than six thousand years, since the invention of cunieform writing in Mesopotamia and hieroglyphic writing in ancient Egypt. Moreover, the primary and most widespread means of human communication is speech. The proportion of people throughout the world who use writing is relatively small, and, even in this literate age, just about everybody speaks a lot more than they write. An exercise in Chapter 1 asks students to keep a log of their daily language activities. The results should demonstrate how completely students and other people depend on language and how much more time they devote to speaking and listening than to writing and reading. Finally, the written language is simply a reflection of the spoken language, an attempt to represent graphically what has already been represented auditorily in speech. It is no wonder that the word language is derived, through the French, from lingua, the Latin word for tongue.

The emphasis on speech as our primary tool for organizing past, present, and future experience has significant implications for the teacher

of English at any level:

For years English teachers have acted as if written language (reading and writing taken together) is the most important educative form of language experience for young people. Fortunately, the linguists have reminded us that spoken language, not written language, is the most significant form of language use in the life of all people. This is to say, quite simply, that talking has more to do with growing and learning at all ages than reading or writing. Reading and writing are important, but talking is more fundamental and should provide the foundation for all other classroom activities, verbal or nonverbal. (Parker & Daly, p. 118)

Such an awareness of and attention to the spoken language can help to ameliorate the typical disjunction in the English classroom between writing, reading, and the basic verbal activity of talk. Judy, Parker and Daly, and Moffett suggest a number of oft-neglected activities in which talk is at the center: conversation, open-ended discussions in small and large groups, storytelling, dialogues, panel discussions, interviews, debates, formal and informal talks, drama, and improvisation.

The development of human personality is inextricably bound up with the development of language, and the development of language is overwhelmingly the development of spoken language. A respect for the centrality of spoken language and the encouragement of the activities suggested above should foster a greater degree of oral literacy (oracy, as some call it) and help insure that students' writing and reading will grow more directly from feelings, experiences, and ideas that touch them personally.

LANGUAGE PLAY FOR FUN AND PROFIT

Children learn and exercise their language not only orally but also playfully:

Children use their own language in ways that modify and expand it [to discover] a suitable linguistic model from which to operate.... The "fundamental process by which language is used to construct a representation of reality offers by its very nature an invitation to play." (Britton, Language and Learning, p. 71) The fact that young children more than any other group are naturally playful users of language argues powerfully for the continuation of the activity in the classroom. (Brossell, p. 49)

Don and Alleen Nilson have written a textbook, Language Play (1978), that attempts to awaken in its readers the many possibilities of play in language. The Nilsons' definition of language play is a broad one. "It includes any use of language that is creative and unusual: that has a purpose beyond the mere communication of basic information." (p. 28) The authors contend that this generation of students is better equipped than any other to appreciate language play and to play with language themselves because "language play is an integral part of the development of modern English!" :

A good percentage of what we hear or read through the mass media is at least partially language play. A generation or so ago it would have been possible for someone who lived in a rural society to speak to others only occasionally on matters of business and to go through the daily routines of life meeting very little creative or playful language. In fact, certain religious sects encouraged this kind of life. A frivolous tongue was thought to be sinful. But today the mass media at least introduces listeners and readers to extensive and clever language play. Whether or not they choose to incorporate this kind of play into their own speech, they recognize it as a possibility. And when they are with friends and acquaintances whose reactions they can anticipate, they are likely to indulge in language play of their own. (p. 29)

The B.C. cartoon below (8/30/80) is a spectacular but nonetheless repre-

sentative example of mass-communicated language play. In this sequence the play is based on finagling with metaphor, semantic change, compounds, and homophonic puns:

B.C.



As serious as the goals of English Word-Making may appear, the book is founded on the conviction that language play is a lifelong activity and that whenever students have fun with a subject, they are likely to learn it more lastingly. Word-making and word play are so closely related that the text, notes, and exercises almost cannot help but abound with linguistic and logological fireworks. But in each case my aim is that readers should be able to gain considerable profit from the fun.

The opening disquisition asks students to consider the strong family resemblances between words and people. The extended analogy is not just fanciful. Rather, the discussion is intended to stimulate students to think about the humanness of language, to see that language is man's invention and not his discovery.

In succeeding chapters readers encounter again and again the play of language. In Chapter 2 they follow the steps in the construction of a matrix in which, using the four major parts of speech, two-word compounds

are shown to combine in all sixty-four possible ways, according to the order of the elements and the function of the combination. Such a puzzle not only appeals to the human passion for order and elegance; it also demonstrates the amazing versatility of compound relationships. Immediately following the treatment of the grammar of compounds appears a small history of compounds in which the second element is a "little adverb," at the end of which the text explores the quirky fact that a house can burn up and down at the same time, we add up a column of figures by adding them down, and we chop down a tree and then chop it up. Readers then discover that, because the meaning of a compound is not always obvious from the meaning of its parts, upset and set up is one of five examples in which the reversal of the components produces a reversal of meaning. In thinking about the fact that blackboards are not always black, silverware silver, and darkrooms dark, students will enjoy the humor of the linguistic paradoxes and be more open to learning that words dramatically change or lose meaning when they are merged into compounds.

Throughout the remaining chapters and the exercises, students are encouraged to play with their language: to list slang compounds for stupidity that illustrate how creatively and prolifically people put each other down; to combine as many reduplications as possible into a single sentence to show how abundant are these innately playful combinations of repeated sounds; to "depress" tailors and "dispose" of models and in the process to learn more about how the meanings of prefixes and roots have become absorbed and obscured in modern English; to forge their own classical root chains as they create their own phobias (like ovapsiphobia, "fear of having egg on one's face") or their own descriptions for new inventions; to

interpret the meanings of grammatically ambiguous sentences like "Time flies" in order to focus on the ability of words to change function without changing form; to identify words like finger that appear to end with a noun agency suffix but in fact don't, in order to gain insight into the illogistics of back formation; to create club names on the model of SCOPERS (Students Concentrating on the Palatable Extremities of the Reciprocal Sex) in order to play with letters in the manner of the modern reverse acronym; to make their own blends of the modern, punnish variety, along the lines of vidiot and administrivia; to make their own malapropisms and spoonerisms and to create and define their own eponyms, as Ledererize: "to write windily suspirational rationales on the use of morphology in secondary schools."

In a book peppered with language play, it should come as no surprise that a linguistic artificer like Lewis Carroll becomes a continuing character in the text. Carroll's Humpty Dumpty appears early and tries to stand on its head the whole idea of what a word is by insisting that any word can mean anything he wants it to mean. Carroll's unbirthday, uglification, and curioser are used in Chapter 4 to clarify the concept of a word-formation rule by showing how an author can cleverly violate such a rule. Given Carroll's special aptitude for creating portmanteau words, Chapter 8, on blending, would be incomplete without the author's coinages. His brillig, slithy, mimsy, chortle, galumph, and snark are shown to be little different in morphology and spirit from other blends in English.

Today's advertisements are, in many ways, lineal descendants of Carroll's morphemic manipulations. Through the mass media, advertisers expend vast quantities of time and energy to create language that flaunts

convention in order to catch consumers' attention:

It doesn't take a particularly astute observer to discover that there is something different about the way advertisers break rules and the way students break rules. In the Madison Avenue brand the rules are still there and still very visible. They are violated in carefully controlled ways that bring about interesting effects....Rather than giving up in despair, I suggest that we welcome the language of advertisers into our classrooms and use it as a corpus for studying and understanding how language works. (Nilson, pp. 29-30)

The language of advertisers is indeed welcomed into English Word-Making, and readers are asked to analyze and learn from such creative "violations" as Uncola, Scrumpdillyicious, and "What makes a brownie brownier? Milk does!..."

Taking a close look at the morphology of brand names is a good way of establishing and reinforcing in students' minds the various categories and types of English word-formation. Almost every chapter in this book shows how almost every major method of word-formation appears on the shelves of American supermarkets:

Compounding: Airwick, Palmolive

Reduplication: Tic-Tacs, Fiddle-Faddle

Affixation: Kleenex, Jello

Root Combining: Pepto Bismol, Electrolux

Clipping: Fab, Tums

Compound Clipping: Nabisco, Sunoco

Acronym : STP, GORP

Blending: Dynamints, Count Chocula

Eponym: Baby Ruth, Mars Bar

THE LESSONS OF LANGUAGE HISTORY

There are many ways to study the growth and development of the English language, but, as Milosh (p. 7) correctly points out, "the teacher's particular concept will really not be in conflict with others. Rather, it will be part of a legitimate diversity permitted by the very richness of the subject." Milosh goes on to define and place in context two primary approaches to English language study:

The history of the language is a complexity which itself is based on a series of complexities. The study of a given language at any given moment is called a "synchronic" study. A synchronic study can be as complex as language is in all of its aspects, including sound, structure, and meaning. If several synchronic studies of the same language but at different times are set side by side, one has the basis for a "diachronic" study, or a study of language change. Whether one particularizes or generalizes about language change, he is talking about the history of the language. (p. 7)

English Word-Making is primarily a synchronic study of the English language in that its chief purpose is to illustrate and analyze the types of word-formation that exist within and characterize the present-day English linguistic system. At the same time, I have found it necessary in practically every chapter to treat the origin and evolution of these relevant types in past stages of the language; that is, I have made diachronic observations whenever such an approach seemed to shed bright light on the current state of the language.

Thus, while the average speaker-on-the-street would not know of the origins of daisy and gospel as compounds, or connect bonfire with bone fire and holiday with holy day, or, even when spelling is retained, recognize the compound status of breakfast and necklace, it is illumina-

ting to trace the evolution of such words. Similarly, students should know that beg and edit are verbs that are backformed from previously existing nouns. Such knowledge not only provides interesting historical information but also lends insight into the formation of more recent backformations like sculpt and enthuse.

Without a diachronic approach, there could hardly be a chapter on blends since the average speaker can scarcely be aware of the absorbed components of words like glimmer and smash and probably does not know that more recent coinages like chortle and even motel are blends. But, regardless of the state of contemporary consciousness, a diachronic approach will show how words become transmuted over time and how they continue to change today:

Should English Word-Making become a full-fledged text, it will presumably lead off with an external history of the English language that will precede the primarily internal history presented in this manuscript. Hoey stresses how this kind of exploration of the social, political, and cultural forces that affect language development will inspire students to learn more about the heritage of their nation and its people:

History can...build intense interest. Not all students will respond, of course, but I have seen classrooms glow with real excitement when certain facts of language history were brought into the open. The student, like anyone else, often enjoys learning things that he had never dreamed of before and that open new fields of inquiry.

For instance, the usual student has never heard of the Indo-Europeans. He has no idea that a mysterious people started out somewhere in central Europe and, by migrating in many directions, spread their words all the way from Ireland to India. Telling him this is like showing him a page of Ripley's Believe It or Not. He sees that his word mother is mor in Danish and mutter in German, máthair in Irish, matka in Polish, matin in Russian, madre in Spanish and Italian, mEdar in Persian, and ma in Hindi -- and his interest is stirred. (Hoey, p. 1012)

Bank (pp. 421-432) suggests many paths of inquiry that students can follow as they study the growth of English over the centuries: tracing semantic change in words like doctor and nice; sharing reactions to native-Latinate word pairs like dead-defunct and vomit-regurgitate; drawing conclusions from the fact that live animals have English names like cow, calf, sheep, pig, and deer and French derived names when they appear on the table -- beef, veal, mutton, pork, and venison; comparing the contributions of Celtic to English and American Indian words to our own vocabulary.

Hoey (p. 1043) provides both a summary of a rationale for the diachronic approach and a transition into the next topic for consideration:

By now it should be clear that language yesterday can make some valid points about language today. But I've left out one of the most significant -- and to the students most intriguing -- parts of all. This is the period during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when English was given many of its rules of grammar and usage. I've seen students really perk up over this chapter in English history. They assume that the rules were always there, presumably set down by the serpent of Eden, and that language could not exist without rules. They are amazed to find that the writers of Greece's Golden Age -- not to mention Dante, Chaucer, and Shakespeare -- wrote in a language that had no formal syntax. (p. 1043)

LANGUAGE CHANGE IN PROPER PERSPECTIVE

The history of a living language like English is a history of constant change. Just as students know that all living things do not remain the same, their study of English as a language will quickly reveal that language, like a tree, sheds its leaves and grows new ones and even replaces its withered branches to help it live on. The changes occur not from decay or degeneration; rather, they are signs

of a living, growing, healthy organism.

In the lengthy preface to his dictionary, Samuel Johnson wrote that he and others hoped, by publishing the dictionary, "to fix our language and put a stop to those alterations which time and chance have hitherto been suffered to make in it without opposition." But by the time he had finished writing his two volumes, he was convinced that the natural course of language change cannot be stopped: "sounds are too volatile and subtle for legal restraints; to enchain syllables, and to lash the wind, are equally undertakings of pride."

The vocabulary of English (or of any other language) is particularly liable to change. Words constantly disappear and are replaced by new ones. As early chapters in English Word-Making show, murffles, bellytimbers, and leechcraft are no longer with us except as museum curiosities; and Anglo-Saxon compounds like afterthink and over-speech have been replaced by words borrowed from other languages. Words change meaning and climb up and down the social ladder, as illustrated by the recent histories of streak and Mickey Mouse.

Even bound morphemes may don new meanings, as Chapter 4 demonstrates with suffixes like -ee and -ster and bound roots like dilapidate and candidate.

Change in language is not confined to the addition of new words or the transformed meanings of old words. With the passing of years, the sounds of words change. Rhyming lines of poetry like Pope's "Great Anna, whom three realms obey, / Dost sometimes counsel take and sometimes tea" indicate not that Pope had a bad ear but that in the eighteenth century tea was

pronounced to rhyme with obey or day. Appendix I shows how silent letters like the k in knight and the l in would were once sounded, and today we can hear the reverse of that process as, through "spelling pronunciation," more and more people are pronouncing the t in often.

Tracing the growth of English as a living language will point up another area of change: spelling. Students will discover that several characters are used in Old English spelling that don't even exist anymore; that a final e attaches to the ends of many words in Chaucer's poetry; that in the fourteenth century cw was replaced by qu; that during the Renaissance Dutch printers began to use their own spelling of gh in places where English had previously used only g; and that in the eighteenth century in America Noah Webster introduced broad spelling reforms, including the replacement of the British -our with -or.

Once a language becomes encased in print and taught in a standard form in schools and universities, its grammar tends to stabilize. Nevertheless, changes in grammar have continued in English. Chapter 2 shows how the English language does not employ compounding as a method of word-formation nearly as extensively as it once did, and Chapter 4 points out that the language no longer accepts strong, irregular verbs. Chapter 5, on function shift, illustrates that, because English has shed almost all of its flexional endings, there is no such thing as an inherent "part of speech" and almost all conversions from noun to verb to adjective to adverb are now possible. So today we witness the acceptance as verbs of words like contact and author; the transformation of intransitive verbs like sleep and shop into transitive ones ("This ship sleeps twenty"; "Shop our fabulous sale"), and the movement of into into verb territory ("I'm really into astrology").

Goldstein points to many constructions that were once hallowed by antiquity and have lost prestige: "Who are you looking for?" "between you and I," Chaucer's quadruple negative in his prologue to the Knight's Tale -- "He never yet no vilainye ne saide/ In al his lif unto no manere wight"-- and Shakespeare's "most unkindest cut of all."

So it is that through a historical study of the English language students will learn that there are no sacred language forms that are eternally good and that so-called standards of usage, while they have a perfectly real existence in many people's behavior, have nothing to do with the nature of language itself. As the National Council of Teachers of English advised in 1964, "instead of teaching rules for the avoidance of errors, pupils must be taught to observe and understand the way in which their language operates today for all the various needs of communication." Gaining a perspective on language as it has been spoken and written by real men and women should help students (and teachers) to avoid an obsession with "correctness" and to measure the effectiveness of their communication in terms of purpose, context, audience, and content:

If English classes learn nothing else from their study of dictionaries, linguistic geography, and history of the language, they are at least cured of some of their notions of "correct" English. Once they have been exposed to the truths about language change and usage, there's no turning back to a right-wrong dualism. In these classes we find less talk about correct usage and more talk about good usage. For the most glaring fact is that no language widely spoken is uniformly spoken. Correctness, then, becomes a dubious goal; the only realistic one is effectiveness in speaking, reading, and writing.
(Goldstein, p. 157)

Noam Chomsky quite rightfully instructs us that the real meaning of "grammar" has little to do with a set of "thou shalt"'s out there and

much to do with the making of meanings from inside of people:

Finally, I would like to say just a word about the matter of teaching grammar in the schools. My impression is that grammar is generally taught as an essentially closed and finished system, and in a rather mechanical way. What is taught is a system of terminology, a set of techniques for diagramming sentences, and so on. I do not doubt that this has its function, that the student must have a way of talking about language and its properties. But it seems to me that a great opportunity is lost when the teaching of grammar is limited in this way. I think it is important for students to realize how little we know about the rules that determine the relation of sound and meaning in English, about the general properties of human language, about the matter of how the incredibly complex system of rules is acquired or put to use. Few students are aware of the fact that in their normal, everyday life they are constantly creating new linguistic structures that are immediately understood, despite their novelty, by those to whom they speak or write. They are never brought to the realization of how amazing an accomplishment this is, and of how limited is our comprehension of what makes it possible. Nor do they acquire any insight into the remarkable intricacy of the grammar that they use unconsciously, even insofar as this system is understood and can be explicitly presented. Consequently, they miss both challenge and the accomplishments of the study of language. This seems to me a pity, because both are very real. Perhaps as the study of language returns gradually to the full scope and scale of its rich tradition, some way will be found to introduce students to the tantalizing problems that language has always posed for those who are puzzled by the mysteries of human intelligence. (p. 595)

MORPHOLOGY; READING; AND VOCABULARY GROWTH

Evans and Walker (pp. 67-68) inform us that "the teaching of reading skills is demanding increasingly more attention on the high school level....Teachers who initially scoffed at the slogan that every teacher should be a teacher of reading have discovered that, indeed, much of their time must be spent teaching students the vocabulary and syntax peculiar to the printed materials in their subject field."

The majority of linguists agree that the child's fundamental task in learning to read is to associate the already comprehended sound patterns

with related visual patterns on the printed page. There is much less agreement on how this task is best learned. A number of procedures are advocated: phonics to help students gain meaning by analyzing the letter-sound correspondences of words; picture clues; word configurations; contextual analysis to help readers determine the meaning of an unknown word by the way it is used in a phrase, sentence, or passage; and structural analysis -- a skill by which a reader ascertains the meaning of an unfamiliar printed word through examining its familiar, meaningful parts.

In the past, most reading materials seemed to concentrate on such reading habits as developing proper eye movements and increasing the span of vision as activities operating independently of the meaning of a text. Today, new reading materials reflect the notion that the key to acquiring and improving reading comprehension is the ability to translate the printed word into speech and the key to accomplishing that crucial task is the ability to extract meaning from words.

Johnson and Pearson (pp. 83-84), for example, urge the value of structural analysis:

The beauty and advantage of morphemic analysis lies in the relatively high degree of consistency between letters, sounds, and meanings when words are analyzed at the morphemic level. For example, the word laugh is not easily analyzable if you look at the consistency between its component letters and sounds; both au and gh take variant pronunciations. However, as a morphemic unit, a root, laugh is quite predictable in both sound and meaning. Its pronunciation (laf) and its meaning (having to do with humor) are predictable and consistent whether it is used as a noun or a verb or whether it occurs by itself or in words like laughing, laughable, unlaughable, laughed, and so on. Hence analysis of words on the level of the morpheme is probably more rational and intuitively sensible than at the level of relating letters to sounds. We believe structural analysis to be a highly important reading skill because though context determines the meaning of a word, it does not always reveal it.

This insistence on the importance of word meaning skills in developing and building reading comprehension is supported by the work of the Wisconsin Design for Reading Skill Development:

The skills necessary to extract meaning from words involve the most basic reading comprehension skills. In order to understand the meaning of a sentence or a passage or understand sequencing within or between sentences, children must first understand the words. Since the ability to understand any given word involves or can involve all of those skills traditionally linked with vocabulary development, the staff concluded that reading comprehension and word knowledge or vocabulary development are linked by the skills common to both. (Pennock, p. 35)

In helping students to become more sensitive to the morphemic components of words and more aware of the development of the English lexicon, English Word-Making should catalyze the kind of vocabulary growth that will aid reading skills. The old chestnut that "It's hard by the yard; by the inch it's a cinch" holds especially true for the learning of vocabulary. Students who wish to improve their vocabulary may open a dictionary or book of word lists and wonder how they can ever cram all those words into their heads. A study of morphology will reveal that words are not just unintelligible strings of letters or sounds that exist as formidable wholes. Students should discover that many words are made up of component parts and that a useful relationship exists between structure and meaning.

In Chapter 4, the analysis of clusters like telephone-telegraph-television-telescope and dictate-dictaphone-predict-dictionary (sharing the common meanings of "far" and "say") or word chains like sophomore-philosophy-bibliophile-etc. should help a student to realize that thousands of words exist in English that do not need to be mastered as separate units, one by one. The lists of the most frequently occurring prefixes,

roots, and suffixes are additional aids to develop an organized, economical system of vocabulary growth and to extract order from chaos.

At first glance, a student may be stymied by a word like deprivation. But, with an increased knowledge of word formation rules, he or she should perceive that the word is composed of deprive + -ation and that vowel changes and accent shifts often accompany the attachment of a suffix. Similarly, the exercises in Chapter 4 are designed to show students how a knowledge of root combinations and prefixation can help them to infer the meanings of words like magnanimous, antipathy, discursive, and euphony.

Greenough and Kittredge tell us that "Language is fossil poetry which is constantly being worked over for the uses of speech." Our commonest words are worn-out metaphors." (p. 11) An expanding knowledge of word parts and etymologies is bound to increase the students' sense of the poetry of language and excite them to learn more. That precocious means "too early ripe," that bald, from the Welsh, means "white-faced horse," and that photograph means "to write with light" are insights that may well inspire further research and language awareness. What student can forget the meanings of eponyms (Chapter 10) like silhouette, gerrymander, tawdry, and pandemonium after learning of their origins in history and literature?

MORPHOLOGY AND SPELLING

There are obvious connections between acquiring a linguistic approach to words and improving one's spelling of them. Learning about the differences between the spoken and written codes will help students to appreciate the special complexities of the English spelling "system";

tracing the historical forces that have created the chasm between English speech and its orthographic representation will help students to avoid the pitfall of trying to spell words "as they sound."

Moreover, a heightened sense of word parts will almost certainly make a student a better speller. When students become more aware of prefixes as meaning-bearing bits of language, they will better understand and adhere to the rule of spelling that proclaims that the addition of a prefix does not alter the spelling of a root. For example, the common misspellings of misspelling (often "mispelling"), disappoint (dissappoint), and denotation and connotation (dennotation, conotation) issue from the student's failure to perceive the prefix-root components of these words. Other examples include:

dis+satisfy = dissatisfy, not disatisfy
re+commend = recommend, not reccommend
un+natural = unnatural, not unatural
pre+judice = prejudice, not predjudice

A knowledge of the process of assimilation with prefixes will help students to understand the spelling of ob+currence = occurrence (not occurrence); ad+commodate = accommodate (not acommodate), and sub+ceed = succeed (not suceed).

Similarly, a knowledge of suffixes as discrete entities should help students to become more proficient spellers and to put into practice such rules as "when a word ending in a consonant adds a suffix beginning with the same consonant, the double letter is retained" (as in drunk+ness = drunkenness, not drunkeness); "when a word ends in a silent e, the e is dropped before a suffix beginning with a vowel" (as in guidance and hiding); and "in words that end with a single consonant preceded by

a single vowel, double the consonant if the accent falls on the final syllable of the base word" (as in confer+ence = conference, but confer+ing = conferring).

As with derivatives, a knowledge of how independent morphemes join together to form compound words will help students to avoid atrocities like backround and sheperd and to write correctly the double letters in words like roommate and bookkeeper.

MORPHOLOGY; WRITING; AND LITERARY INTERPRETATION

Careful, effective writers and speakers strive to say exactly what they mean. They try to choose the best words to communicate their feelings, thoughts, and messages. Donald Hall (p. 57) identifies the word as the leaping-off place for all writing:

Words seem like drops of water in a stream that has its own wholeness and its own motion. But when you write well, each word is accurate and honest and exact in itself, and contributes its special history to the wholeness of the stream of meaning.

The writer must be able to feel words intimately, one at a time. He must also be able to step back, inside his head, and see the flowing sentence. But he starts with the single word. He starts with tens of thousands of these units, and he picks among them.

Mark Twain once wrote that the difference between the right word and the nearly right word is "the difference between lightning and a lightning bug." But how can we help students to become more skillful at catching the lightning? Milosh (p. 21), like Hall, finds part of the answer to this question in the development of word sense:

Students in their writing must make word choices constantly, and teachers determine the excellence of student writing in part by examining these word choices. But few students have any notion of the factors underlying word choice. They work

intuitively. Fine, if their intuition is accurate. But when it is not, they should know something about how words lose and gain various connotations, how local usage is different from national usage and why, how a new word becomes "established" and how to determine when it is established, and the like. Briefly, if a student knows how words develop and gain currency, he will conceivably be more aware of the possible implications of his own word choice and more attentive to his teacher's comments on it.

The student of language history is in a position to understand why and how he has at his fingertips the largest word stock ever accumulated, from which he may select the best words for his occasion, purpose, and audience. Robertson and Cassidy (along with many other scholars) point to the two and three-tiered vocabulary -- "the great wealth of synonyms, or near synonyms" -- as "the most noteworthy asset" of our vast word stock:

Finely discriminated shades of meaning are made possible by the existence of hundreds of pairs of words that are almost, but not quite synonymous. One need consider only paired adjectives like the following (of which, in each pair, the first is native and the second borrowed) to be impressed by the point: hearty, cordial; deadly, mortal; bloody, sanguinary; motherly, maternal; lively, vivacious; watery, aqueous. Often there are more than two words among which to choose the one that is exactly right in connotation and denotation: manly, male, masculine, virile; womanly, feminine, female; kingly, royal, regal; and earthly, earthy, earthen, terrestrial. The existence in English of so many words to choose from does not make the language easy to handle; nevertheless, to one who seeks to use it well, this plenitude does offer great possibilities for precise and complete expression. (p. 177)

Robertson and Cassidy go on to develop a key implication of the existence of such word clusters: the prominence in the English vocabulary of two planes -- "one made up of everyday, familiar words, and the other of rarer, more learned ones." The existence of these planes creates a spectrum of writing and speaking styles in English,

ranging from the simple, brief, and direct, to the eloquent, grand, and learned. The student who has come to see the insides of words can better choose from the myriad possibilities in the vocabulary and discover the most appropriate level of style. He will learn to use the simplest and most familiar word whenever possible, but he will not be afraid to use a longer and less common word if that word helps him to say exactly what he wants to say.

Robertson and Cassidy then proceed to illustrate the prominence of one or the other writing styles in the hands of a number of famous authors -- from the ornate, polysyllabic diction of Sir Thomas Browne to the simpler and more native diction of William Shakespeare. A reader is considerably enriched as he becomes increasingly aware of a writer's ability to exploit the various excellences of the native and borrowed word stocks and the plain and learned tiers of the vocabulary. Exercise 20, in Chapter 4 of the text, on William Wordsworth's Lucy poem, is an example of just such an approach. Additional exercises illustrate how William Shakespeare, Gerard Manley Hopkins, Lewis Carroll, and e.e. cummings employ dramatic compounds, conversions, and blends to shape words to their uses.

In support of the theory that the study of language can improve the study of literature, Milosh (p. 70) quotes Francis Christensen's explanation of the relationship:

Language is a code; the process of writing or speaking is encoding the message; the message, the product of this encoding, is the spoken utterance or the written piece, everything from the simplest to the most complex; hearing and reading are the process of decoding. In utilitarian writing we are interested primarily in the message; the code should be transparent. In

fine writing -- in literature, that is -- we exploit the physical qualities of the code itself, the physical properties of language, to suggest more than can be uttered otherwise. In all these processes and states the constant element is the code, language -- the words and the constructions they enter into. The way to start, at least, integrating the three areas is to remedy the neglect of the code.

Literature, then, is communication that does more than it says. Literature is language which, by its richness of form and complexity of meaning, has become art. Clearly, there is an arsenal of linguistic approaches to help students more fully appreciate that art. Frank (pp. 239-245) gives specific applications of a number of these linguistic tools: discovering how sounds, alliterative and assonantial, link mood and theme in Conrad and Joyce; analyzing syntactic structure in Hemingway, James, and Faulkner.

Finally, an appreciation of how English has developed and changed over the centuries will aid students in appreciating how the literature of English has developed and changed over the centuries. Exploring the state and characteristics of the English language at a given period of history while studying the major writers of that age, students will be more open and sensitive to particular qualities of literary works and, a benefit not to be neglected, will achieve a higher level of understanding of what a text, especially an older text, literally says.

CONCLUSION

In this rationale I have suggested various ways in which the systematic study of language, especially the study of morphology, might promote the more effective teaching and learning of English in secondary schools.

My primary emphasis has been on the humanistic benefits that accrue from placing language study at the center of the curriculum. More than any other trait of our species, it is language that makes us human. Language is deeply rooted in personality development, in shaping the image that a human being has of himself, of others, and of his world. Therefore, the more a student learns about his language, the more he learns about himself and the business of being human.

Language is an organization of chaos. To perceive the order and arrangement of such a complex system of sounds and symbols is an extraordinarily exciting challenge. Such an effort can be only partially successful, but the student, during his search, will peer into the mirror of mind and intelligence in the deepest and most significant ways.

At the same time, because language informs every activity in the English curriculum, I have tried to show how the humanistic and skills models of learning can coalesce into a seamless whole. I have dealt with the vast and inclusive subject of English in terms of its most important components: grammar, usage, spelling, composition, and literature. In each area, linguistics in general and morphology in particular have a contribution to make -- by no means the sole contribution, but one that can help each student to see the world with a clear eye and to encompass the world with a lucid mind.

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CHAPTER 1

SOME WORDS ABOUT WORDS

In the year 1666 a great fire swept through London and destroyed more than half of the city, including three-quarters of St. Paul's Cathedral. Sir Christopher Wren, the original designer of the Cathedral and perhaps the finest architect of all time, was commissioned to rebuild the great edifice. He began in 1675 and finished in 1710, a remarkably short period for such a task.

Upon completion of the magnificent Cathedral, the reigning monarch, Queen Anne, told Wren that his work was "awful, artificial, and amusing." Sir Christopher, so the story goes, was delighted with the royal compliment, inasmuch as three hundred years ago awful meant awe-inspiring, artificial meant artistic, and amusing meant amazing.

This etymological tale is meant to illustrate how the meanings of words, like the lives of people, change over the years.

Has it ever occurred to you how much words and people have in common? Like people, words are born and even die. They may be very old, like man and wife; they may be very young, like radar and xerox; they may be newly born and struggling to live, as biorhythm and workaholic; or they may no longer be alive, as leechcraft, the Anglo-Saxon word for the practice of medicine, or bellytimbers, which once meant food, or murples, a long defunct word for freckles or pimples.

Our lives are filled with people and words, and in both cases we are bound to be impressed with their vast numbers and infinite variety. Some words, like OK, are famous all over the world; others, like foozle (a bungling golf stroke) and adze (a cutting tool with a thin, curved blade), are scarcely known, even at home. Like people, there are some words that we will probably never meet, such as groak (a verb that means "to watch people while they eat, hoping that they will ask you to join them") and hippotomonstrosequipedalian (an adjective that means "pertaining to a very long word") and others that are with us practically every day of our lives, such as I, the, and, to, and of, our five most frequently used words.

As with people, words have all sorts of shapes, backgrounds, and personalities. They may be large, like pneumonoultramicroscopicsilicovolcanoconiosis, a 45-letter, hippotomonstrosequipedalian name of a lung congestion caused by inhaling quartz dust from a volcanic eruption; they may be very small, like a and I. They may be multinational in their heritage, as remacadamize, which is Latin-Celtic-Hebrew-Greek; they may come of Old English stock, as lord and goodness; they may be distinctly continental in flavor, as kindergarten, lingerie, spaghetti, marijuana; or they may be unmistakably American, as stunt and baseball. Words like remunerative and encomium are so dignified that they can intimidate us, while others, like burp and blubber, are distinctly undignified in character. There are words such as ecdysiast,

H. L. Mencken's Greek-derived name for a stripteaser, that love to put on fancy airs; there are others, like vidiot (someone who watches too much television) that are merely playful. Certain words strike us as rather beautiful, such as luminous and gossamer, others as rather ugly, such as guzzle and scrod, some as quiet, like dawn and dusk, others as noisy -- thunder and crash.

Also notable is that the reputations of words, like those of people, may change radically as the years pass. Some words began their lives in low station and have become elevated, as angel, which in its early life meant simply "a messenger," and governor, originally "a steersman, a pilot." But more commonly, the reputations of words slide downhill, as your dictionary will tell you about words like vulgar, notorious, villain, or, more recently, Mickey Mouse.¹

Man the Talker. We should not be surprised by the striking resemblances between people and words. After all, words could not exist without people, and it is perfectly natural that humankind has created and continues to create language in its own image. But equally important is that language has created humankind, for it is language, more than any other characteristic or invention, that distinguishes man's estate from that of the other animals.

You may have seen or heard about William Gibson's play and film The Miracle Worker, which tells the story of Anne Sullivan and her pupil, the blind and deaf Helen Keller. When Miss Sullivan first meets Helen's mother, the two have the following dialogue:

MRS. KELLER: What will you teach her first?

ANNE SULLIVAN: Language. I hope.

MRS. KELLER: Language.

ANNE SULLIVAN: Language is to the mind more than light to the eye.

MRS. KELLER: Language.

The miracle that Miss Sullivan worked was to give Helen language, for only language could transform a little animal who looked like a child into a human being. Years after, Helen Keller described what had happened to her:

Before my teacher came to me, I lived in a world that was a no-world. I cannot hope to describe adequately that unconscious yet conscious time of nothingness. I did not know that I knew aught, or that I lived or acted or desired.

. . . .

Somehow the mystery of language was revealed to me. I knew then that water meant the wonderful cool something that was flowing over my hand. That living word awakened my soul, gave it light, hope, joy, set it free... Everything had a name, and each name gave birth to a new thought.

In Language and Mind, Noam Chomsky maintains that "when we study human language, we are approaching what some might call 'the human essence,' the distinctive qualities of mind that are, so far as we know, unique to man." Many of the so-called lower animals do indeed communicate with each other through calls, cries, and posturing; and some chimpanzees have been taught to "converse" using Ameslan -- the gestural language of the deaf -- or nonalphabetic symbols. But only human beings can talk, in the truest sense of that word, because we are the only animals that employ an open, constantly changing system of words that responds to our total world, ranging all the way from food, shelter, and sex -- our most elemental concerns -- to the National Football League, the energy shortage, the theory of relativity, and, of extreme importance, language itself.

Words in our Lives. Man's origin is language origin, and language origin is man's origin. Each is as old as the other. Whatever else we do during a typical day, we talk and we listen, we write and we read. Hardly a moment of our waking lives is free from words. We also think, and many scholars contend that abstract thought would be impossible without words. Therefore, it is language above all that has produced our literatures and technologies, our philosophies and religions, our frisbees and our television game shows. It is language that permits human experience to be accumulated and transmitted so that we, of all the animals, change from one generation to the next. Man did not discover language. He invented it, and it became the most important tool man has for living and acting together. By serving as the chief means we have for exchanging our emotions, knowledge, and ideas, words make possible the complex communication and cooperation that characterizes human society. Words are the bridges from mind to mind, and the more we can learn about them, the more we are bound to learn about ourselves and our society.

What is a Word? So far, this book has sung a swelling hymn of praise to the glory of words. Now it is time to ask what exactly is a word; for, after all, in a book about word-formation, the word word should be defined. Surely an easy task, you say: we all use words every day of our lives and have little difficulty separating them with spaces when we write them or separating them in our minds when we speak them or hear them. Still, as you will see, it is no easy task to come up with a definition that will cover all words.

Since dictionaries are collections of words, each accompanied by a preferred pronunciation, an etymology, and one or more definitions, we can assume that dictionary editors -- lexicographers they are called -- have lavished special care on a word as important to a dictionary reader as word. Here are parts of the definitions of word from three well-respected and widely used dictionaries:

word: a speech sound or series of speech sounds that symbolizes and communicates a meaning without being divisible into smaller units capable of independent use.

-- from Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary

word: a sound or a combination of sounds, or its representative in writing or printing, that symbolizes and communicates a meaning and may consist of a single morpheme or of a combination of morphemes.

-- from The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language

word: a unit of language, consisting of one or more spoken sounds or their written representation, that can stand as a complete utterance or can be separated from the elements that accompany it in an utterance by other such units. Words are composed of one or more morphemes with relative freedom to enter into syntactic constructions and are either the smallest unit susceptible of independent use or consist of two or three such units combined under certain linking conditions... Words are typically thought of as representing an indivisible concept, action, or feeling, or having a single referent, and are usually separated by spaces in writing.

-- from The Random House Dictionary of the English Language

The three definitions share four basic ideas:

1. Words are groups of sounds or combinations of letters to which people give meanings. In the topsy-turvy world of Through the Looking-Glass, Lewis Carroll has great fun standing this concept on its head when, in Chapter VI of that fantastic story, Alice complains to Humpty Dumpty, the large, articulate egg, "I don't understand what you mean

by 'glory.'"

Humpty Dumpty smiled contemptuously. "Of course you don't -- till I tell you. I meant 'there's a nice knock-down argument for you!'"





"But 'glory' doesn't mean a 'nice knock-down argument,'" Alice objected.

"When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said, in a rather scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean -- neither more nor less."

"The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean so many different things."

"The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is the master -- that's all."

Dumpty's theory of language is nine parts nonsense and one part truth. Human beings can make words mean many different things (Webster's Third New International Dictionary lists more than one hundred definitions for the word run), but these meanings must be agreed upon and tested by the collective use of a word over a length of time. Alice, of course, can have no idea that Dumpty is using glory to mean "a nice knock-down argument," rather than "fame" or "honor" or "beauty." If you mean "no" when you say "yes," you are likely to be misunderstood and you may even be accused of lying. If you use "hat" to mean "shoe," you are likely to get cold feet.

2. A word is a symbol. A symbol is something that stands for something else as  stands for America (and other national flags for other countries),  and  for the concepts of male and female, and  for the Olympic Games.

Man is distinguished from other animals by his ability to create and use words to symbolize objects or ideas in the world and to join them together in the system we call language. A dog's bark may warn of an immediate danger; but when human beings make noises with their

vocal organs to warn of a danger that lurks over a hill or will not occur until the next day, such communication of something that is not present illustrates language at work to its fullest extent.

In Book III of Gulliver's Travels, Jonathan Swift presents a tongue-in-cheek proposal that humorously ignores this symbolic value of language. In the School of Languages at the Grand Academy of Lagado, Gulliver is introduced to a "Scheme for entirely abolishing all Words whatsoever." The proponents of this scheme argue "that since words are only names for Things, it would be more convenient for all Men to carry about them, such Things as were necessary to express the particular Business they are to discourse on." Gulliver comments that the proposal "hath only this Inconvenience attending it; that if a Man's Business be very great, and of various Kinds, he must be obliged in Proportion to carry a greater Bundle of Things upon his back, unless he can afford one or two strong Servants to attend him."

Gulliver goes on:

I have often beheld two of these Sages almost sinking under the Weight of their Packs, like Pedlars among us; who when they met in the Streets would lay down their Loads, open their Sacks, and hold Conversations for an Hour together; then put up their Implements, help each other to resume their Burthens, and take their Leave.

The Lagadoans' efforts to do away with words only serves to point up their useful ability to represent reality without our having, literally, to carry the world around on our backs. And, we may wonder, what could the Lagadoans possibly lug around to represent words such as ambition, into, the, and and.

3. In each definition, the spoken word is of primary importance.²

To the linguist all aspects of language originate with the spoken code. A little reflection will reveal why this is so. First, language is very old, while writing is relatively new. Man has been speaking for a very long time -- between at least a half million to a million years -- but he has known how to write for less than six thousand years, since the

invention of cunieform writing in Mesopotamia and hieroglyphic writing in ancient Egypt. Second, the primary and most widespread means of human communication is speech. The proportion of people throughout the world who use writing is relatively small, and, even in this literate age, just about everybody speaks a lot more than they write. Compare the percentage of your time spent in speaking during a normal day to that of writing. Is there any doubt which activity occupies far more of your time and attention?

Finally, the written language is simply a reflection of the spoken language, an attempt to represent graphically what has already been represented auditorily in speech. Speakers of English make at least forty-five basic sounds: writers of English use the twenty-six letters of the alphabet, singly and in combination, to record these sounds. In other words, writing is a code of a code and is secondary in importance to the original code of speech. It is no wonder that the word language itself is derived, through the French, from lingua, the Latin name for tongue.

4. A word is the smallest unit of language capable of independent use.³ Most speakers of English would identify the preceding italicized sentence as consisting of twelve words; and, indeed, most of the twelve units could occur as entire utterances in answer to a question in English:

What concept are we trying to define?	(a) <u>word</u>
A word is a unit of what?	<u>language</u>
What kind of a unit?	(the) <u>smallest</u>
What is a word capable of?	<u>use</u>
Capable of what kind of use?	<u>independent</u>

only operate when attached to another morpheme. While cats, softly, and walked are each fashioned from one free and one bound morpheme, into and bedroom each contain two free morphemes, since in, to, bed, and room can themselves occur as independent words.

Morphemes, then, are the prefabricated bits of meaning from which words are made. The identification, description, and analysis of morphemes and the study of their role in word-formation is called morphology.

Word-Making. The vocabulary of English, like that of every other living language, is constantly growing. This growth is not new. Throughout history, as people have met with new objects and new experiences and have formulated new ideas, they have needed to make new words to describe them. Webster's Third New International Dictionary, published in 1961, contains over 450,000 words -- the largest, most varied word stock of any language that has ever existed. This great dictionary had to find space for 100,000 more words that had not been included in the Second Edition, published only twenty-seven years before; and, since 1961, thousands of new words in English have been identified, recorded, and defined.

The Anglo-Saxons, who were the earliest speakers of our language, used a vivid term to describe the great wealth of English; they called it word-hoard. The speaker and writer of English can choose from an ever-growing word-hoard to select the word that is right for the occasion, the purpose, and the audience.

You may have wondered how English acquired so many words. Even though the word-hoard in our language is constantly expanding and changing, new words are, for the most part, formed in a limited number of time-honored, identifiable ways. These methods of English word-

formation are the subject of this book. To help you understand this exploration, here is an outline of the organization of the book and a preview of its contents.

People form new words by making older words longer:

COMPOUND WORDS (discussed in Chapter 2) are created by joining together two or more independent morphemes. Examples of compounds are high school, sit-in, and skateboard.

When morphemes repeat themselves with little or no change in sound, we call the resulting combinations REDUPLICATIONS (Chapter 3).

Examples: namby-pamby, dilly dally, dodo.

DERIVATION (Chapter 4) is the process of making new words by adding bound morphemes called prefixes or suffixes. Examples: unfriendly, predict, goodness.

People form new words by making older words neither longer nor shorter:

FUNCTION SHIFT or CONVERSION (Chapter 5) describes the ability of words to pass from one part of speech to another without any basic change in form. Examples: in the red, to have a good read, to contact a friend.

People form new words by making older words shorter:

CLIPPING (Chapter 6) is using part of a word, in its short form, as a substitute for the whole word. Examples: gym, bus, movie.

In BACK FORMATION (Chapter 7) someone takes a word he or she thinks has been created by derivation and removes what looks like an ending.

Examples: edit, enthuse, pea.

People form new words by making older words both shorter and longer:

ACRONYMS (Chapter 8) are formed from words or syllables reduced to their initial letters and then strung together. Examples: TV, YMCA, UNICEF.

If, in the merging of two words, a part of one or both is lost, the resulting word is called a BLEND (Chapter 9). Examples: glimmer, motel, electrocution.

EPONYMS (Chapter 10) are words that are made from the names of people or places, real or fictional. Such words usually lose their capital letters and may also undergo any of the other processes of word-formation. Examples: lynch, gerrymander, bedlam.

It is probably impossible to build a structure with enough pigeonholes in which to sort out all words neatly. That is because human beings are so wonderfully unpredictable and linguistically creative. But in reading and learning from this book you will discover a great deal about the most commonplace and pervasive phenomenon in your life, words, and you will come to know more deeply the piece of work called man who makes the words.

EXERCISES

1. List five words that you think are the most beautiful in English. List another five words that you think are the ugliest. How much does the sound and how much does the meaning of each word influence your choices?
2. Can people think without using words? Write a paragraph defending your opinion.
3. Write a brief description of word based on what you have read so far.
4. Describe five symbols (other than those in the text) that play a part in your life.

5. No one knows exactly how man began talking. One hypothesis, called the "bow-wow" theory, holds that man learned to talk by imitating the sounds he heard. Investigate the more popular theories that have been put forth about the origin of human language and share your results with the class. What theory do you favor?

6. How completely do you depend upon language? Keep a log for three hours out of a typical day, noting the proportions of time you devote to speaking, listening, reading, and writing. What conclusions can you draw?

7. In the writing of English words, we use the twenty-six letters of the alphabet, singly or in combination, to represent approximately forty-five sounds and their variants. Once you start exploring, it is astonishing how many different ways you can find to spell some of the sounds in English. The sound we hear as eye, for example, has been recorded at least twenty different ways: kayak, maestro, shanghai, aisle, Haydn, aye, feisty, height, geyser, eye, I, indict, tie, sign, high, island, coyote, guide, buy, my, bye.

Identify as many variant spellings as you can for two of the following sounds in English:

sh (as in shoe)

ee (as in see)

oo (as in boot)

oh (as in go)

ay (as in day)

8. In 1980, the Prentice-Hall Company compiled a sample list of new words that did not appear in any other college dictionary but theirs.

Twenty of these words appear below. Using the brief definitions given in this chapter, name the method or methods of word-formation by which each word was made. Try doing this exercise a second time, after you have finished reading this book.

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| (a) antsy | (k) PLO |
| (b) beefalo | (l) prioritize |
| (c) bionic | (m) punk rock |
| (d) biorhythm | (n) scuzzy |
| (e) blusher | (o) sexploitation |
| (f) dynamite (adj.) | (p) sickout |
| (g) freeze frame | (q) streetwise |
| (h) health food | (r) Sunbelt |
| (i) microcomputer | (s) victimless crime |
| (j) NOW | (t) workaholic |

NOTES

1. In "Mickey Mouse About Mickey Mouse," Word Study, Vol. XLII, No. 2, (December, 1966), pp. 7-8, L. W. Michaelson attributes the downward slide of mickey mouse to a guilt-by-association process:

Then came World War II, and the subsequent flooding of European troops with Mickey Mouse wristwatches. Now, by accident or design, these watches were pretty much shoddy affairs.... Thus, it was fairly natural that foreign watch customers began to associate anything trivial, cheaply constructed, etc. with the name mickey mouse and the word fast became a term of disapprobation.

2. In the nine chapters that follow this one, questions of the spoken language in contrast to the written language arise from time to time. For example, in my discussion of compounds I offer a list of a dozen words whose spelling clearly underscores their origins as compounds (breakfast, necklace, etc.) but whose pronunciation obscures their compound nature. Synchronically, such words are no longer compounds for the average speaker. While I do devote some space to the writing of compounds -- open, hyphenated, or solid styling -- I try to make it clear that the written version in no way affects the compound status of a word.

In my discussion of derivation as a process of word-formation, I deal with the question of whether words ending in man and land are compounds or derivatives, especially those words in which the last syllable has changed, in its pronunciation, from maen and laend to mən and lənd. My conclusion is that such words still retain their identity as compounds.

The chapters that cover compounds and function shift both deal with the role of stress, a phenomenon not apparent in the written

forms. I demonstrate how a shifting of stress usually signals a compound word, like hót dog, and often accompanies the conversion of a noun into a verb, as in rébel-rebél. In almost every case I have assigned primary importance to the spoken code.

3. The three strategies employed in this section -- question-answer, insertion of "uh," and insertion of additional words or phrases -- are adapted from Julia S. Falk, Linguistics and Language: A Survey of Basic Concepts and Implications (Second Edition) (NY: John Wiley & Sons, 1978), p. 27, and Dwight Bolinger, Regarding Language (NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1972), pp. 68-69.

As pointed out in the text, the question-answer approach is of limited applicability since one cannot easily make a complete utterance with most articles, conjunctions, or prepositions. Falk also points out that questions could be constructed to yield answers that are clearly smaller than words, for example, "Did you say í or é?" (where the symbol í represents the vowel in the word bit and é in the word bet). (p. 28)

The "uh"-insertion strategy seems to work better, for, in the representative sentence given in the text, the "uh"'s could not be inserted anywhere else than where they appear. But compound words and so-called two-word verbs do present a problem here. Can "uh"'s be inserted in the middle of the likes of skateboard, whitewall, and make out? I suspect that speakers of English would differ in their answers to the question.

Such compounds and two-word verbs appear to challenge the three dictionary definitions offered in the text because such formations

appear to contain "smaller units capable of independent use." Even Hans Marchand's carefully wrought definition of a word as "the smallest independent, indivisible, and meaningful unit of speech susceptible of transposition in sentences" (The Categories and Types of Present-Day English Word-Formation, Second Edition; Munchen: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1969, p. 1) seems vitiated by the fact that skate, board, white, wall, make, and out are free morphemes that may occur independently in a sentence.

The word or phrase-insertion strategy may be the best of the lot since speakers of English would not insert such elements in the middle of compounds like skateboard and whitewall, leaving only constructions like make out (i.e. "make it out") as problematic.

4. The definition of morphemes as "the apparently meaningful bits that can be smaller than words" is also open to serious question.

Consider the following:

a. Fiddle-faddle, nitty-gritty: in reduplicative words like these we identify fiddle and gritty as free morphemes. Faddle and nitty must, therefore, be bound morphemes since they cannot exist independently. If this is true, what minimal sense is contained in faddle and nitty?

b. Cranberry, boysenberry, huckleberry, etc.: in all of these we recognize the free morpheme berry. But how do we classify cran, boysen, huckle, and the like?

c. In the sentences "The fast food eatery gave out plastic silverware" and "A green blackboard sat in the front of the classroom," how can we possibly assign meanings to the morphemes silver and black?

d. In the words understand and partake, what meanings do under and stand and par and take possess?

e. In clusters like confer-prefer-transfer and commit-remit-submit, linguists identify a series of bound morphemes (here prefixes and roots). But what even vague meanings do fer and mit share in the examples above?

f. In receive and grocer one is inclined to spot two morphemes, identifying re- as a prefix meaning "back" or "again" and -er as a suffix meaning "one who." But in the sentence "She received her first bicycle yesterday," re- cannot possibly mean "back" or "again," and in words like grocer, tinker, and chauffer, -er cannot mean "one who" since grocers don't groce, tinkers don't tink, and chauffers don't chauf.

Marchand attempts to dispense with aberrant morphemes as follows:

The existence of unique semimorphemic elements, occurring in conjunction with signs only (as cran- in cranberry, Mon in Monday), is not denied, but from the point of view of word-formation, such blocked morphemes are of little value. Though identifiable (cran-, Mon- have distinctive semantic features which make them opposable to other full or semi-morphemes: cran-berry is distinct from berry, blueberry, or mulberry, Monday is distinct from day, Sun-day, or Tues-day), they are not productive, at least under normal circumstances. (p. 2)

Here Marchand fails to explain what exactly are the "semantic features" of these "semimorphemic elements" and fails to account for productive "morphemes" like re-, mit, fer, and -er that appear to possess no consistent meaning.

The most direct and useful approach to the problem that I have found is taken by Mark H. Aronoff in his dissertation entitled "Word-Structure"(Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T., 1974). Citing many of the examples above, Aronoff concludes that "there are morphemes which have no meaning. The hypothesis that morphemes are the 'minimal meaningful

elements of language' cannot be maintained in any of its even most contorted variants." (p. 36) Aronoff goes on to define the morpheme:

A minimal sign is defined, as an arbitrary union of significant and significance, sound and meaning. A morpheme does not always meet the second criterion... We will define the morpheme as an arbitrary unit of significant, or rather a set of such units which appear in mutually exclusive, other than phonologically determined, environments. (p. 37)

Answers to the Exercises

1. Answers will vary. The class will find it useful to consult J. Donald Adams, The Magic and Mystery of Words (NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), especially Chapter III, "Beauty in Words." Adams reproduces Wilfred Funk's list of the most beautiful words in English:

tranquil	cerulean	chalice
golden	melody	anemone
hush	marigold	alyssum
bobolink	jonquil	mist
thrush	oriole	oleander
lullaby	tendrils	amaryllis
chimes	myrrh	rosemary
murmuring	mignonette	camellia
luminous	gossamer	asphodel
damask	fawn	halcyon
	dawn	

and then points out the insidious role that meaning must have had in determining Funk's choices (why bobolink and not condor; why hush and not lush?)

H. L. Mencken somewhere quotes a Chinese boy who was learning English as saying that cellar door was the most musical combination of sounds he had ever heard.

2. Answers will vary; this topic should provoke a useful debate.
3. Answers will vary.

4. Additional examples may include pictographic symbols, like those for school zones and reserved parking for handicapped persons; conventional symbols (red and green traffic lights, a peace sign); and psychological or literary symbols (autumn leaves for old age, fire for passion).

5. In addition to the bow-wow theory, students should be able to discover material on hypotheses like the pooh-pooh, ding-dong, and yo-heave-ho theories. Encourage students to formulate their own conjectures about the origin of human language.

5. Most logs will show how pervasive language is in human life and how primary are the activities of speaking and listening.

7. See Appendix 1 for lists of phoneme-grapheme correspondences and other ways to dramatize the chasm stretching between spoken and written English.

8. (a) derivation (b) blending (c) derivation and root combining
(d) root combining (e) derivation (f) function shift (g) compounding
(h) compounding (i) root combining (j) acronym (k) acronym
(l) derivation (m) compounding (n) blending (scum + fuzzy) or original
coinage (o) blending (p) compounding (q) compounding (r) compounding
(s) compounding, derivation (t) derivation or blending

CHAPTER 2

COMPOUNDS

Since earliest times, speakers of English, true to the Germanic heritage of their language, have created thousands of new words by joining together two (or more) independent morphemes to form compounds.¹ These new words, which we call compound words, are formed like this:

boy + scout = boy scout
sit + in = sit-in
book + case = bookcase

Quite often we can infer the meaning of compound words from the meanings of their separate parts:

shoemaker	sometimes
steering wheel	stomachache
motorboat	northwest
toothbrush	into

But many compounds express ideas that are different from the sum of the words that make them. They go their own way and lead lives of their own:

brainwash	make up
roughneck	earmark
highbrow	tongue-lashing
starboard	hearsay

Old English Compounds. As any page of Anglo-Saxon literature will show, compound words were abundant in Old English, a language which sought to express new ideas not by borrowing from foreign tongues but by forming combinations of words already in the native vocabulary.

So in the Beowulf poem the ocean is the whale-road, the swan-road, or the sea-path. A ship is a sea-wood and a harp a pleasure-wood. A warrior is called a shield-bearer, his sword a battle-friend, and war a battle-play. The body is a bone-house or flesh-clothing.⁴

The Old English names for the arts and sciences, which ended in -craft, disappeared early from the language, their places taken by words adopted from Greek, Latin, and French. Leechcraft, scopcraft, tungolcraft, and rīmcraft we now call medicine, poetry, astronomy, and arithmetic. The following list suggests the characteristic vividness of the compounding process in Old English:

afterthink - repent
breast-coffer - heart
dearworth - beloved
eyebite - fascination
errand-writing - letter
foresayer - prophet

glad-heart - happy
gold-hoard - treasure
ministerman - monk
over-speech - talkativeness
wanhope - despair

5

Compounds in Disguise. Some of the oldest words in English are disguised compounds, the elements of which have been so closely welded together that, judging from sound and frequently from spelling, most people cannot tell that they are formed from two words. The word daisy was created by speakers of Old English from the poetical "day's eye." Few people today think of daisy as containing two parts, although the poet Geoffrey Chaucer, without the benefit of any linguistic manual, guessed well when, in the Prologue to The Legend of Good Women, he referred to the sun as "The dayesyē, or elles the yē /eye/ of day." Other words quite changed from their formerly compounded state include gospel (originally gōdspel, "good tidings"), husband (hūsbonda, "house dweller"), sheriff ("Shire-reeve"), and answer ("and swear"). "God be with you" has become good-bye, and "All Hallow Even" and "Christ's mass" are now Halloween and Christmas. The word full appears as a suffix in adjectives like beautiful and awful,⁶ and like has been reduced to -ly in the likes of homely and softly (originally "home-like," "soft-like").⁷

When spelling and pronunciation change, often meaning does, too. Holiday comes from "holyday," although many holidays, like Independence Day and Labor Day, are not holy. A bonfire, originally "bone-fire," is seldom kindled from bones. Even when the spelling is retained, the pronunciation may change in such a way that it obscures the compound nature of a word. How conscious are you of the compound elements in the following words, and how do you pronounce them? See what your dictionary has to say about each one.

background	cupboard
blackguard	forecastle
boatswain	handkerchief
breakfast	necklace
clapboard	vineyard
coxswain	waistcoat

8

Compounding in America. Extensive borrowing from Latin and French, two languages that lack the compound-making ability of English, has done little to extend the creation of compound words in our language.⁹ Nonetheless, we continue to combine words enthusiastically, especially in America, from the early backwoods, sourwood, butternut, and selectman to the contemporary pantyhose, soap opera, and water bed. In The American Language, H. L. Mencken, the most widely-read investigator of American speech, points with great pride to our love of compound words:

In them America exhibits its habit of achieving short cuts by bold combinations. Why describe a gigantic rainstorm with the lame adjectives of every day? Call it a cloudburst and immediately a vivid picture is conjured up. Roughneck is more apposite and savory than any English equivalent, and unmistakably American. The same instinct for the terse, the vivid, and the picturesque appears in boiled shirt, claim jumper, home stretch, comedown, bottom dollar, cold snap, crazy quilt, ticket scalper, prairie schooner, and flatboat.*

*The American Language, edited by Ravin I. McDavid and David W. Maurer, pp. 157-158.

The American "compounding disease," as Mark Twain playfully calls it, shows no sign of letting up. Whenever we meet with new objects, new experiences, and new ideas, we need new words to describe them; and often the new words are old words combined in new ways. 6,000 Words: A Supplement to Webster's Third New International Dictionary (1976) lists over 6,000 words that have become established in English since 1961. On practically every page are several new compounds:¹⁰

from the exploration of space: splashdown, moonwalk, earthrise, black hole, big bang theory, steady state theory;

from science and technology: open-heart surgery, truth set, flash-cube, Wankel engine, integrated circuit, water bed, corn chip, litter-bag, pantsuit;

from entertainment: situation comedy, talk show, spaghetti western;

from sports: tight end, square out, team foul, hotdogger;

from military activity: overkill, domino theory;

from youth culture: counterculture, flower people, folk rock;

from minority groups: freedom ride, Native American, golden-ager;

from education: open classroom, underachiever, grade-point average, pass-fail.

The Grammar of Compounds. Compounds are amazingly versatile creatures that can be used in any grammatical function: as a noun (earthquake), as a pronoun (herself), as an adjective (colorblind), as an adverb (underground), as a verb (dryclean), as a preposition (without), or as a conjunction (whenever). Moreover, almost any combination of the parts of speech may be used to form a compound, although some are more common than others. The Noun-Adjective-Adverb-Verb matrix that

follows will give you some idea of the diversity of compound formations.¹¹

	Noun	Adjective	Adverb	Verb
Noun	bookcase	homesick	hands down	handpick
Adjective	madman	bittersweet	straight-forward	dryclean
Adverb	upshot	evergreen	henceforth	underplay
Verb	scarecrow	fail-safe	diehard	hearsay

Independent morphemes may combine in such ingenious ways that the part of speech of a compound may be different from that of either of its components, as in the last two entries above: die (verb) + hard (adverb) = diehard (noun); hear (verb) + say (verb) = hearsay (noun). This happy state of affairs raises the question: can the third dimension of the matrix be filled out so that each of the sixteen types function as a noun, adjective, adverb, and verb, yielding a total of sixty-four entries? Below is a response to that burning question. In the matrix, the author has tried to avoid repetition and grammatical suffixes, such as -ly as an adverb marker.

	Noun-Noun	Noun-Adj	Noun-Adv	Noun-Verb
N	bookcase	bootblack	flashback	godsend
Adj	shipshape	homesick	head-on	handmade
Adv	side saddle	knee-deep	hands down	sunrise
V	tiptoe	court-martial	zero in	handpick
	Adj-Noun	Adj-Adj	Adj-Adv	Adj-Verb
N	madman	deaf-mute	black-out	slowpoke
Adj	commonplace	bittersweet	straightforward	rough hewn
Adv	barefoot	northeast	moreover	roughshod
V	blackball	high-low	black in	dryclean
	Adv-Noun	Adv-Adj	Adv-Adv	Adv-Verb
N	upshot	evergreen	whereabouts	downpour
Adj	offhand	overdue	never-never	income
Adv	overboard	outright	henceforth	overmatched
V	outlaw	outsmart	fast forward	underplay

	Verb-Noun	Verb-Adj	Verb-Adv	Verb-Verb
N	scarecrow	catchall	diehard	hearsay
Adj	telltale	fail-safe	tumbledown	slapdash
Adv	starboard	punchdrunk	worn out	willy-nilly
V	pickpocket	blow dry	give up	make believe *

It should be mentioned that the boxes above do not cover all the possible grammatical alliances. Additional combinations include into (adv+adv=preposition), whenever (adv+adv=conjunction), he-man (pronoun+n=n), each other (pronoun+adj=pronoun), himself (pronoun+n=pronoun), and whoever (pronoun+adv=pronoun).

Those Little Adverbs.¹² Even a brief glance at the examples that appear in this chapter will show that one of the most characteristic and flavorful qualities of English is its penchant for joining adverbs to other parts of speech to form compounds. In the early development of the language, adverbs were prefixed to verbs to produce such compounds as ofercuman ("overcome"), ingangan ("go in"), and withstandan ("withstand").

*Most of these items are self-explanatory, but some require a brief exegesis. Sunrise (n+v=adv) acts adverbially in sentences of the type "Each sunrise he arose to watch birds." Overmatched (adv+v=adv), punchdrunk (v+adj=adv), and worn out (v+adv=adv) act as adverbs in sentences such as "He left the ring overmatched (or punchdrunk or worn out)." Starboard (v+n=adv) derives from the Old English words meaning "steering side" and willy-nilly (v+v=adv) from the verbal construction "will I, nill I?" High-low (adj+adj=v) and fast forward (adv+adv=v) are new but well-entrenched compounds in the language: when one leads first the high and then the low card of a two-card suit in Bridge, he high-lows; when one presses the "cue" button on a tape or video recorder, he fast forwards. The newness of compounds like high-low, fast forward, and blow dry indicates the experimental vigor of twentieth century English. One suspects that only recently could this matrix have been constructed.

Modern English is full of combinations that are formed by an adverb followed by a verb (overdo, uphold, and the recently added underwhelm), a verbal form (forthcoming, downtrodden), a noun (outcry, onlooker), and even an adjective (uptight, outright).

By the fifteenth century the language reached a stage in which the adverb tended to follow the verb -- get up, come in, speak out. These verb + adverb alliances can be of enormous value to the new learner of English because they pinch-hit for hundreds of bigger words. The little adverb up, for example, is especially uppity: we can act up, add up, blow up, bring up, call up, clean up, do up, drink up... and so on right through the alphabet.

But sometimes this versatility seems to be bewildering or unnecessary. You can make up your bed, your face, your mind, a story, or a test. You can use the single combination give up in place of the synonyms abandon, abdicate, abjure, cease, cede, desert, desist, discontinue, forgo, forsake, relinquish, renounce, resign, sacrifice, stop, succumb, surrender, vacate, withdraw, and yield.¹³ Is there really any important difference between adding a column of figures and adding up a column of figures -- especially when we actually add them down!? Does it really matter whether a house burns up or burns down or whether a car slows up or slows down? Has it ever struck you as a bit odd that we chop down a tree, then chop it up; that we fill out a form by filling it in; that when we give out, we usually give in; and that when we put people on, we put them off (and out)?

To show that the meaning of a compound is not always obvious from the meanings of its parts, let us compare some adverb + verb with some

verb + adverb combinations. In many cases the two meanings are essentially the same: to be downtrodden is to be trodden down; bygone days are days gone by; to overthrow is to throw over. But frequently the meanings are not the same: to offset is not to set off; to overtake is not to take over; and an outlook is not a lookout. In five intriguing instances the meanings happen to be the opposite of each other: to upset (overturn) is the opposite of to set up (assemble); to overlook (ignore) is the opposite of to look over (peruse); to uphold (support) is the opposite of to hold up (hinder); to overcome (conquer) is the opposite of to come over (surrender); and to withstand (resist) is the opposite of to stand with (join).

Finally, it should be noted that the creation of nouns from verb + adverb alliances has been exceptionally vigorous in recent times. Nouns like takeoff, takedown, pickup, pinup, breakthrough, and turnabout are usually written as one word and characteristically bear a strong stress on the first element.

How Are Compounds Written? By now you probably know that the elements in English compounds may be variously written as one word (solid), two words (open), or joined with a hyphen (hyphenated):

oak tree	cease-fire	newspaper
make up	narrow-minded	pineapple
high school	sit-in	sometimes

Webster's Third New International Dictionary packs into two pages (30a-31a) a very careful study "On the Writing of Compounds" and concludes that sometimes one styling predominates and sometimes -- as in prize fighter, prize-fighter, and prizefighter -- a compound is freely styled in

all three ways.¹⁴ When you are in doubt, you should consult your dictionary, although even dictionaries will differ, especially if two or more stylings are in use.¹⁵

The Stress Factor. At this point, you may be wondering how to be sure when two words have become a compound word. How can we make precise distinctions between two separate words like black bird ("a bird that is black") and blackbird ("a species of bird"), hot dog ("perspiring canine") and hot dog ("frankfurter")?

One method is to listen for the presence of heavy stress in the front of noun compounds. Try saying aloud the pairs of sentences below, noting how you distinguish in speech between the two separate words and the compound words:

1. He scolded the dumb waiter.
He loaded the dumbwaiter.
2. My father has a high brow.
My father is a highbrow.
3. I saw a man eating shrimp.¹⁷
I saw a man-eating shrimp.
4. Walking down the street, I saw a hot dog.
Walking down the street, I ate a hot dog.
5. Mary lives in a white house.
The President lives in the White House.

In the second sentences of the five pairs we see all three styles. But in each case we recognize the compounds in two ways: (1) the stress falls heavily on the first part, as in dumbwaiter and White House, and (2) there is no pause between the elements as we say the word. Say aloud the words on pages 73 and 74; you will note that the vast majority of compounds, regardless of their type, do acquire some kind of contrasting stress.

The Meaning Factor. The kind of stress pattern we have been talking about helps to emphasize the close connection between the parts that gives the whole compound its special meaning. A man eating shrimp (man devouring seafood) is different from a man-eating shrimp (seafood devouring man); a hot dog (perspiring canine) walking down the street is different from a hot dog that we eat; and a white house (any white building that serves as living quarters) is not the White House in Washington, D. C.

A few more examples will serve to show how dramatically words can change meaning when they are merged into compounds. We all know what the color black looks like, but we seldom think twice about the fact that blackbirds, blackberries, and blackboards are not always black. The blackbird hen is actually brown; blackberries are red before they are ripe; and, nowadays, many blackboards are green or some other color. Similarly, fastfood eateries often dispense plastic silverware, hot dogs are cold in the refrigerator, the light can be on in a darkroom, homework can be done at school, cupboards don't have to contain cups, and bathrooms often don't have baths in them. In fact, a bathroom isn't always a room, since a dog can go to the bathroom under a tree.

Inseparability. The stress pattern and special meaning of compounds welds the parts together into units that cannot be separated. We can talk about a "dumb, clumsy waiter," but we cannot interpose a word between the elements in dumbwaiter. We can imagine a "man greedily eating shrimp," but we cannot interrupt man-eating shrimp without changing its status as a compound and its meaning. We might see a "white country house," but we cannot insert a word in the middle of White House.

Further proof of inseparability in compounds is that we can say "a very hot dog," where "very" modifies the one word "hot," but we cannot say "a very hot dog," where hot dog means a sausage in a bun.¹⁸

Now that you have some sense of what a compound is, become a compound-watcher. There is no better way of following the development of the language than to keep track of the compounds you read and hear, analyzing and classifying them in the ways we have been discussing in this chapter.

EXERCISES

1. Analyze the grammar of each of the following compounds. Example:

school bus: noun + noun = noun.

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------|
| (a) homework | (f) cookout |
| (b) redneck | (g) outwit |
| (c) ever-young | (h) playboy |
| (d) pickpocket | (i) set up |
| (e) chimney sweep | (j) upset |

2. Examine one page of a magazine or newspaper and list and analyze the grammar of all compounds you find there.

3. List ten slang compounds, such as birdbrain, that have been invented to describe people we think are stupid.

4. List five additional compounds, such as snow job, that are part of your slang or colloquial vocabularies.

5. If your school or local library contains a copy of 6,000 Words: A Supplement to Webster's Third New International Dictionary (1976), skim through it and list ten compounds that have entered the English language since 1961.

6. List five compounds of three or more words.

7. Here are some very old words that were originally compounds but in which the elements are no longer obvious. Find out what words they were made from.

- | | | |
|---------------|--------------|-------------|
| (a) fortnight | (e) marshal | (i) steward |
| (b) fulfill | (f) naught | (j) twenty |
| (c) gossip | (g) neighbor | (k) window |
| (d) hussy | (h) nostril | (l) woman |

8. If we living today still retained the linguistic spirit of the Beowulf poet, we would combine words already in the language to express new ideas and describe new objects. Here are some relatively new words in common use today. What compounds might the contemporaries of the Beowulf poet have invented to express the same ideas? Example: camera: likeness-taker or picture-box.*

- | | |
|-------------------|------------------|
| (a) bicycle | (f) psychiatrist |
| (b) car | (g) radio |
| (c) encyclopaedia | (h) revolver |
| (d) escalator | (i) tariff |
| (e) locomotive | (j) telescope |

9. List five examples of compound names that advertisers have given to their products. Examples: Palmolive soap, Band-Aid plastic strips.

10. The primary stress in compounds helps to emphasize the close connection between the parts and to establish their special meaning. In effect, stress welds together the elements and thus makes the difference between hot rod (souped-up car) and hot rod (heated piece of metal), loudspeaker (sound amplifier) and loud speaker (noisy talker), and handout (gift to a beggar) and hand out (driver's turning signal).

List and define five such pairs, giving first the compound and then the two separate words.

*Adopted from Word Study, January 1932, pp. 3-4.

11. List five compound words in which each of the following occurs as an element.

(a) man

(d) black

(b) house

(e) school

(c) air

(f) time

NOTES

1. In "A Complex of Compounds," Word Ways, Vol 11, No. 4 (November 1978), pp. 252-253, Maxey Brooke sampled the last entry on every page of a Random House Collegiate Dictionary and found 111 compound words in 1534 entries for a percentage of 7.23.

In The Categories and Types of Present-Day English Word-Formation; A Synchronic-Diachronic Approach, 2nd edition (Munich: C. H. Bech 'Sche, 1969), Hans Marchand posits the term "Expansion" as "a combination AB in which B is a free morpheme (word) and which is analysable on the basis of the formula AB=B." (p. 11) When both the determinant and the determinatum are free morphemes, as in steamboat and colorblind, the result is a compound. When the determinatum is a free morpheme and the determinant a bound morpheme, as in rewrite, the result is a prefixed word.

My method will be to treat the joining of two or more free morphemes into a new entity as compounds and, in Chapter Four, the union of bound morphemes with free morphemes or with each other, through affixation or root combining, as derived words.

2. In this list of words each determinant (usually the first element in English compounds) bears a fairly clear relationship to each determinatum. In each case the first element makes the second more specific by limiting its range of applicability. Marchand explains: "The principle of combining two words arises from the natural human tendency to see a thing identical with another one already existing and at the same time different from it." (Marchand, p. 11)

It is important to observe that, even in this list, the relationship between the elements is not clear ipso facto. Motorboat, for example, could mean "boat that transports motors," on the model of

"banana boat." It is usage alone that determines the meaning "small boat powered by a motor." It is also usage that establishes the meanings "maker of shoes," "brush for the teeth," "wheel that one steers," and "ache in the stomach." Henry Bradley sums up the diversity of determinant-determinatum relationships by saying

the phrase for which such a compound is the condensed expression admits of a great variety of form.... A tree-frog is a frog that lives in trees; a tree-fern is a fern that is a tree; a tree-fruit is the fruit produced by a tree.

The Making of English, Reprint D
(New York: The MacMillan Company,
1948), p. 80.

Northwest is an especially interesting word in this list. Custom dictates that its meaning is "a point halfway between west and north" rather than "a point slightly north of west." In this way it seems to me to be different from blue-black, in which the grammatical and semantic emphasis is on black. As such, northwest (southeast, etc.) does not appear to conform to the AB+B pattern since each word specifies the other equally. Nonetheless, Marchand does list it as a type of compound. (Marchand, p. 63).

3. There are various reasons why the words in this list significantly transcend the meanings of their constituents. Choosing a few of the words at random, we note that brainwash is metaphoric, roughneck is a slang synecdoche, make up can have at least ten meanings, depending on context -- a common phenomenon for verb + adverb combinations -- and only custom determines that tongue-lashing means "verbal reproof" rather than "lashing of the tongue."

4. Examples from "The Study of Words in Beowulf," Word Study, Vol. VII, No. 1 (September, 1931), p. 1.

5. Most of the examples in this list are from Jerome C. Hixon and I.

Colodny, Word Ways, (Boston: American Book Company, 1946) pp. 44-45.

6. Full is also amalgamated into the verb fulfill (full + fill).
7. Words like lord, barn, don, and doff, all of which originally consisted of two compounded words, are not listed here. For my reasoning, see note 3 in my discussion of blending.
8. Those who are unfamiliar with these words may well pronounce them analytically, just as the spelling suggests they "should" be. But with none of these words is a "phonetic" pronunciation correct.

In The Origins and Development of the English Language, 2nd edition (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1971) Thomas Pyles states that "it is the general principle that when the complete loss of secondary stress occurs, phonetic change occurs as well" (p. 290). This is just what has happened to the pronunciation of blackguard /blægərd/, clapboard /klæpərd/, cockswain /kəksən/, cupboard /kəbəd/, and necklace /nekles/. Breakfast /brékfəst/, forecastle /fəksəl/, vineyard /vínyərd/, and waistcoat /wéskət/ show drastic changes in both syllables. Handkerchief /hæŋkətʃ/ is unusual in that it evidences decay in one of its accented syllables.

Pyles points out that vowel reduction is often a function of the age of a word. Thus, we find loss of stress and the occurrence of the schwa pronunciation in the last syllables of Englishman and gentleman, but not in businessman and milkman, in England and woodland, but not in wonderland and Disneyland (The Origin and Development of the English Language, p. 291). It will be interesting to see whether or not the last syllables of words like businessman and Disneyland become reduced over time. My reasons for labeling such words as compounds appears on page 111 of Chapter Four.

I am hard-pressed to find any examples of such phonological changes that seem to be going on in the language today. Perhaps the phenomenon of widespread literacy and, with it, the practice of "spelling pronunciations" is retarding the obscuring of the original elements in compounds.

9. Stuart Robertson and Frederic G. Cassidy are quite helpful on this point:

It should be observed that a number of our early native compounds have died out or have been replaced with French or Latin borrowings that are not compounds, as when treasure replaced gold-ward and when medicine superceded leech-craft....Some...argue that the ability of English to form compounds has actually been impaired by the additions from French and Latin. But this claim is dubious, to say the least; for the borrowed words, once naturalized, have themselves entered freely into new compounds (e.g., treasure-chest, medicine-bottle), and the "displaced" Old English compounds have been more than compensated for numerically by new compounds. The only pattern that has suffered some diminution of use is that -- very vigorous in Old English -- of adverb and verb (or verbal form) as in output, income, uprising, downtrodden. Yet at least in Scottish and United States usage...this pattern is by no means dead -- witness the recent uptake, outgo, upkeep, and outcome. Perhaps the only broad generalization that can safely be made about these compounds is that the less common patterns do not find as much favor at the literary level as in everyday use. Compounding generally, however, still flourishes as a major means of adding to the vocabulary. The Development of Modern English, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1954), pp. 192-193.

10. Most of the examples that follow are from the introductory essay, "The Recent Growth of English Vocabulary," 6,000 Words: A Supplement to Webster's Third New International Dictionary (Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam Co., 1976), pp. 13a-17a.

11. Robertson and Cassidy (pp. 191-192) and Pyles (pp. 293-294) present eleven classifications and Margaret Bryant (Modern English and Its Heritage, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962, p. 242), ten.

Marchand's insistence on the necessity of the AB=B formula for compound words (a criterion I do not accept) leads him to exclude from compound status at least half of the entries in this chapter. My opinion is that these should be included as they conform to the criteria for compounds that I establish in my discussion. They are morphological units consisting of independent morphemes, they usually show contrasting stress, they usually possess special meanings that are more than just the sum of the parts, and they are inseparable.

12. It is difficult to know what to call the "little words" in this discussion. They look like and possess many of the characteristics of prepositions (especially in constructions like upstairs and outdoors) or adverbs. Marchand terms them "locative particles." I have adopted "adverb" as the simplest and most appropriate term for a secondary school text.

This section is adopted from my article "Particular Particles," Word Ways, Vol 11, No. 3 (August, 1978), p. 192.

13. This list appears both in Lincoln Barnett, The Treasure of our Tongue (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), p. 30, and Mario Pei, The Story of the English Language (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1967), p. 283.

14. This remarkably thorough article is essential to any study of the styling of compounds. If there is a general conclusion that can be drawn from the vast number of categories that are presented, it is that contrasting stress is almost a prerequisite to solidification but that some compounds that contain falling stress may be open or hyphenated,

depending on such factors as the grammatical relationship between the elements, the degree of abstractness, or figurativeness, the number of syllables in the word, and the resulting letter series that occurs at the juncture.

Bearing in mind that there are exceptions to every "rule" regarding the styling of compounds, we may state the following very broad generalities: (a) Compound nouns may be variously written as the examples at the top of page 69 show. Compound nouns that contain adverbs as the second element are usually hyphenated: sit-in, go-between. (b) There is likewise little consistency in the writing of compound verbs, although it is a general rule that adverb + verb combinations are written solid (overdo, understand), and verb + adverb combinations are open (give up, make out). (c) Compound adjectives are usually hyphenated, as in one-horse, narrow-minded, and blue-black, but adverb + adjective (or participle) compounds are usually solid: uptight, forthcoming. (d) Compound pronouns, prepositions, and adverbs are always solid: whoever, herself, upon, throughout, nevertheless, moreover.

15. Some compounds that begin life as open or hyphenated become solid. For instance, high-brow, in Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (1949) has become highbrow in Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary (1963). Thus, the date of publication may make a difference in the styling that appears in a given dictionary.

16. The patterns of stress in compounds are similar to the patterns of styling. One can formulate generalizations, but some classes of compounds show more inconsistency than others. (a) Compound nouns usually contain falling stress, as in blackbird and high school, but a great many types contain level or rising stress: fur coat, woman

driver, best man (at a wedding). (b) Compound pronouns (someone, whoever) and compound verbs (broadcast, fulfill) vary a great deal but almost always show some kind of unifying stress pattern. Adverb + verb combinations are always stressed on the second element: outdo, oversee, as are verb + adverb combinations that act as verbs: give in, make up, and verb + adverb nouns (lookout, sit-in) contain falling stress.

17. For this delightful example I am indebted to Pyles (p. 290), who calls his invention "a hitherto unheard-of anthropophagous decapod."

18. The criterion of inseparability seems to work even in contexts in which there is no strongly contrasting stress. Thus, best man, meaning "a man excelling all others," and best man, "a friend of the groom," are stressed identically; but the fact that we can interpose a word in the first, as in "best, brightest man," or modify "best" with "very," neither of which we can do in the second, indicates that the first best man is a casual syntactic grouping while the second is a compound. Cold duck (compare to hot dog) and grand jury are other examples of inseparable compounds that do not exhibit forestress.

Verb + adverb combinations of the type look up and make out appear to be exceptions to the criterion of inseparability since we can say "I make the man out" as well as "I make out the man." Marchand explains that "both make and out distributionally behave like words, yet the semantic content of the phrase cannot be inferred from that of its constituents make and out. The phrase make...out is one discontinuous sign, a moneme." (Marchand, p. 1)

Regarding our attempts to establish criteria for identifying

compounds, A Grammar of Contemporary English offers a useful conclusic.

Since the term 'compound' covers a wide range of different relations between bases, none of these three markers (orthographic, phonological, or semantic) can be used as strict defining criteria. We shall have to be content with a broad definition of compounds as isolated multi-base units which function as single words and reflect certain grammatical processes.

Randolph Quirk, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, Jan Suartick, A Grammar of Contemporary English (New York: Seminar Press, 1972), p. 1020.

Answers to the EXERCISES

1. (a) noun + noun = noun; (b) adjective + noun = noun; (c) adverb + adjective = adjective; (d) verb + noun (object) = noun; (e) noun (object) + verb = noun; (f) verb + adverb = noun; (g) adverb + noun = verb; (h) verb + noun (subject) = noun; (i) verb + adverb = verb; (j) adverb + verb = verb.
2. Answers will vary.
3. Answers will vary. Possibilities include feather brain, pea brain, lamebrain, nitwit, dimwit, halfwit, bonehead, muscle-head, blockhead, lunkhead, dumbell.
4. Answers will vary.
5. Answers will vary.
6. Answers will vary. Possibilities include adverbs of the type nonetheless, compound compounds like real estate salesman, or phrases like editor-in-chief and good-for-nothing.
7. (a) fourteen + nights; (b) full + fill; (c) god + related; note the change in meaning that this word has undergone; (d) house + wife; (e) horse + servant: again note the semantic change; (f) no + wight (creature); (g) near + dweller; (h) nose + hole; (i) sty + ward; again semantic change has occurred; (j) two + ten; (k) wind + eye; (l) wife +

man.

8. Answers will vary. Possibilities include (a) wheel-saddle; (b) horseless carriage; (c) truth-holder; (d) stair-mountain; (e) car-puller; (f) mind-explorer; (g) sound-bringer; (h) shooting iron; (i) goods toll; (j) heaven-seer.

9. Answers will vary. Possibilities include AirWick, Corn Flakes, Easy-Off, Easy-On, Frigidaire (frigid air), Kool-Aid, Lestoil, Renuzit, Spearmint, Sunkist, Vermont Maid.

10. Answers will vary.

11. Answers will vary. Possibilities include (a) manhole, manhunt, manpower, Englishman, repairman; (b) houseboat, housebreaker, household, birdhouse, doghouse; (c) airplane, aircraft, air-condition, airdrop, airmail; (d) blackboard, blackball, blackmail, blue-black, bootblack; (e) high school, summer school, schoolteacher, school board, schoolmate; (f) timepiece, timetable, time-lapse, sometime, summertime.

CHAPTER 3
REDUPLICATIONS

From a very early age human beings take great pleasure in sounds and repetition of sounds. We grow up intoning such ditties as hickory dickory dock, eeny meeny miny moe, and fee fi fo fum, not because they make sense to us, but because their rhythms and repeated sounds satisfy our ears. The appeal of such repetition we especially enjoy in the story of Chicken Little (also Chicken Licken) and her friends Cocky Locky, Ducky Lucky, Goosey Loosy, and Turkey Lurky, and their nemesis, Foxy Loxy.

In each of these examples, a sound or syllable is duplicated. When a morpheme repeats itself with little or no change in sound, we call the resulting combination a reduplication.¹ There are over 2,000 such twin words in English, and they come in three types -- rhymes, like namby-pamby; vowel shifts, like dilly dally; and repetitions, like dodo.

Rhymes. You are familiar with the use of rhyme in poetry, but how aware are you of the extent to which rhyme operates within English words:

boogie-woogie	hodge podge	pell-mell
clap trap	namby-pamby	willy-nilly
hocus pocus	okey-dokey	yoo hoo

Some of these rhymed reduplications have intriguing origins. A hodge-podge was originally "a stew of many ingredients" and has broadened its meaning to "a widely varied mixture." Namby-pamby was the title of a poem written in 1726 that ridiculed the poetic efforts of one Ambrose Phillips. Long after Phillips has been forgotten, the word namby-pamby has remained in English to denote someone who is weakly sentimental or indecisive. Willy-nilly comes from the phrase "will ye, nill ye" and has the meaning "willingly or unwillingly."

Vowel Shifts.² In addition to rhyming pairs there are many twin forms in which the second element reduplicates the first with only a slight change in vowel:

chit chat	ping-pong	teeter-totter
dilly dally	riff raff	tip top
mishmash	sing-song	wishy washy

Do you hear a pattern of sound in this list? Perhaps you note the powerful tendency in these combinations to move from a vowel formed in the front of the mouth, /i/ or /iy/, to a middle or low vowel, /a/ or /ɔ/.³

Repetitions. The third type of reduplication involves an exact repetition of the same syllable. Often these combinations represent expressive sounds, such as the choo-choo, chug-chug, puff-puff, and toot-toot of a train, or quack-quack and cuckoo of a bird. But there are other kinds of examples:

blah blah	goody-goody
dodo	tomtom
fifty-fifty	yoyo

While some of the examples of all three types have semantic content in the first element (super duper, fiddle fiddle) or in the second element (herky jerky, crisscross) or in both (hustle bustle, singsong), it is clear that sound is the strongest motivation for bringing the two parts together. The resulting alternation in sound makes reduplications especially appropriate to express certain concepts:

(a) to imitate sounds: bow-wow, clip-clop, pitter patter, ping-pong, chug-chug, tuck-tock, thump-thump, ding dong

(b) to and fro movement: zigzag, crisscross, flip-flop, teeter totter, seesaw

(c) idle talk: chitchat, bibble-babble, fiddle-faddle, clap trap, mumbo-jumbo, blah blah.

(d) disparagement: fuddy duddy, wishy-washy, dilly-dally, shilly-shally (from "shall I, shall I?"), dodo, dum dum, no-no.

(e) intensifiers: super duper, killer diller, teen(s)y-ween(s)y.

EXERCISES

1. Become a collector of reduplications. As you hear or read such combinations, write then down and ask yourself the following questions:

(a) Which of the three types is the reduplication?

(b) Does the sound of the second element differ from that of the first? If so, how?

(c) Which of the two halves has a semantic content? The first? second? neither? both?

(d) What is the stress pattern of the reduplication?

(e) What concept does the reduplication express? Is it one of the five mentioned in the text?

(f) Is the word listed in the dictionary? Is it slang or standard English?

2. Make up five of your own reduplications and define each one.

3. Fit as many reduplications as you can into a single sentence.

4. The English language is filled with rhyme which we can hear in compounds like payday and sky high and expressions like near and dear and fair and square. List ten additional examples.

NOTES

1. Quirk, et. al. introduce their treatment of "reduplicatives" with the statement "Some compounds have two or more elements which are either identical or only slightly different, e.g.: goody-goody ('affectedly good', informal)." (Quirk, p. 1029)

While I have placed this chapter immediately after the discussions of compounds, I agree with Thun and Marchand that reduplications are not to be classified as subtypes of compounds. In Reduplicative Words in English, p. 11, Thun accepts as the definition of a compound "cases when both elements can be used separately as words." By this logic, reduplications such as singsong and even Stephen are varieties of compounds, while those such as chit-chat and super-duper, in which only one element can function as a word, are not compounds. Such a conclusion is unsatisfactory.

Marchand's distinction between reduplications and compounds seems just:

All these words are basically motivated by rhythm and ablaut (or rime) underlying the significant of the twin form. Even those combinations which are composed of two independent words do not speak against this essential character of twin words. Sing-song is not really a combination of two signs comparable to rain-bow... Nor is walkie-talkie just walkie + talkie, but we have a playfully matched combination whose elements were attracted to each other, so to speak, by the esthetic element of rime while the putting together of logical contents is more or less incidental.

{ p. 436)

In summary, Marchand appears to postulate two primary criteria for reduplicative words: (1) motivation by the linguistic form of the twin elements and (2) the absence of a grammatical syntagma based on a determinant/determinatum relationship.

These two word-formation rules serve us well in identifying as reduplications such combinations as flim-flam and super-duper, in which neither or only one element possesses semantic value and, hence, in which there can be no grammatical relationship, and tiptop and walkie-talkie, in which both elements are morphemes but do not interact syntagmically.

But what about pairs containing two semantic elements that do evidence a grammatical alliance? Hans Thun points out that in cases in which "the first element can... be replaced by an element of similar or opposite meaning,... there is no reason to postulate reduplicative word-formation."

Reduplicative Words in English: A Study of the Types Tick-tick, Hurly-burly and Shilly-shally (Upsala: 1963), p. 14. As examples he shows that ill-will corresponds to goodwill and that mole-hole has as its companions mouse-hole, pigeon-hole, and the like. Thun's insight does indeed help us to confirm our hunch that in combinations like cook book (corresponding to textbook, etc.) and downtown (corresponding to uptown) the rhyme is not the primary motivating force and that the first element was not "chosen" so as to match the sound of the second. Similarly, in words such as freely, helplessness, and maintain we may conclude that the rhyming of the roots or the suffixes with the first elements was not intentionally done in the coining.

But in examples such as claptrap, originally "a trap that makes a clapping sound," prime time "time that is prime," and redhead, "one whose head has red hair," we encounter a clear grammatical interaction between the elements, the first element is not easily replaceable "by an element of similar or opposite meaning" (for example, redhead cannot be matched by brownhead, blackhead, or yellowhead), and we can feel that the rhyming motivation was quite powerful in the coining and the preservation of such words.

Thus, as we have seen with compounds and derived words and will see in the word-formation types that follow this chapter, there are many examples in the living language that appear to resist our efforts to classify them, in this case as reduplications, compounds, or simply expressions.

2. While the type chit-chat should be distinguished from the type nitty-gritty in any textbook, I prefer to avoid the forbidding term "ablaut combinations" in a high school text.

3. See Marchand, p. 429.

Answers to the Exercises

1. Answers will vary. Students should be encouraged to analyze their examples thoroughly.

2. Answers will vary. Students should be encouraged to coin rhyming combinations, such as bumpy-pumpy, an adjective describing the gyrations of a go-go dancer; vowel shifts, such as fribble-frabble, "an idle political promise"; and repetitions, such as beep-beep, "a person devoted to computing." Students should apply the questions in Exercise 1 to their creations.

3. Answers will vary. My offering is: "Do you ever get the heebie-jeebies about the hubbub, hurly-burly, helter-skelter, hustle bustle, razzle-dazzle, pell mell, hodge-podge of modern life and yearn for something a little more humdrum?"

4. Examples may include jet set, bedspread, letter sweater, peg leg, fat cat, sky high, low blow, true blue, boob tube, speed read, no go, May Day, dead ahead, high and dry, huff and puff, rough and tough, lean and mean, wear and tear, make or break, ants in his pants, by hook or by crook.

CHAPTER 4

DERIVATION

In an earlier chapter on compounding you learned that two or more existing words (free morphemes) can be used as raw material to form a new word. There is another important way that words are made longer by the joining together of two or more morphemes. To a word or a root is attached a bound morpheme called an affix. This process, known as derivation (meaning "from the river"), is the most common way that speakers and writers of English form new words.

Prefixes + Suffixes = Affixes. An affix is a small piece of language, usually a letter or a syllable, that is joined to a word or root to change its meaning and sometimes its word class. If the affix is placed at the beginning of the word or root, it is called a prefix: disagree can be analyzed as dis- (meaning "not") + agree. If the affix is placed at the end of a word, it is a suffix: agreement is agree + -ment (meaning "state of Xing"). Here are some examples of words and roots to which affixes have been added:

<u>undo</u>	<u>predict</u>	<u>fertilize</u>	<u>credible</u>
<u>remake</u>	<u>progress</u>	<u>drunkard</u>	<u>dictate</u>
<u>misspell</u>	<u>contain</u>	<u>wonderful</u>	<u>gradual</u>
<u>afoot</u>	<u>import</u>	<u>goodness</u>	<u>civic</u>

1

In some languages affixes are inserted within a base word and are identified by linguists as infixes. Infixes are rare in English, except in a few slang expressions. The British absobloodylutely is one example, and the American "a whole nother," currently in fashion, is another. In constructions like "That's a whole nother ballgame" whole seems to have been plunked down in the middle of another.²

Affixes: Dead and Alive. Through affixation, any new word, whatever its source, may almost immediately become the nucleus of a cluster of derivatives. Thus, an imaginary word, gorple, may become the base for a string of possible related words:

gorpler	gorplization	pregorple
gorplette	regorple	
gorplize	ungorple	

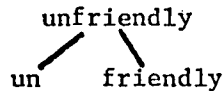
Affixes like these are called productive; that is, English speakers still use them widely to form new words. Other affixes are unproductive; though they are still felt as affixes that exist in a number of words, they can no longer be used to create new ones. For example, the suffix -ize is probably our most prolific verb-former -- symbolize, authorize, finalize, and Midasize -- while be- and for- (beget, forbid) get almost no new use. The noun endings -ment, -ness, -ity, and -ism often make new nouns, while -dom, -ant, and -hood are seldom pressed into word-making service and -th (true-truth; grow-growth) never.

The productivity of an affix can grow or diminish with time. For example, -ese, a mildly productive suffix that has meant "of," as in Chinese and Japanese, has become a popular ending during the past twenty years to denote jargon, as in academese, pedagogueese, and computerese.³

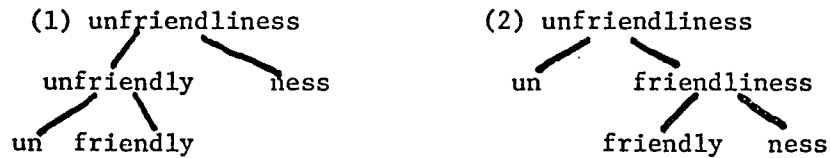
Order of Affixes. By attaching an affix to a base, we can create a derived word that itself can become a base for another derivation. By the addition of common affixes to the word friend, for example, we can, as we extend the word, change its function from noun to adjective to adjective and back to noun:

(1) friend	noun
(2) friendly	adjective
(3) unfriendly	adjective
(4) unfriendliness	noun

Note that in the first three steps of the sequence we can be quite sure of the order of operations. Since unfriend does not exist as a word,⁴ we must conclude that friendly is the base for step 3 in the pattern, as represented by the following branching diagram:



However, unfriendliness is susceptible to two possible analyses:⁵



Hybrid Words. Some purists object to words whose parts are combined from different languages. They urge the advantage of a predominantly Anglo-Saxon vocabulary, pointing out (not too accurately) that native words tend to be short and familiar, of one or two syllables, while borrowed words are more often polysyllabic, like the word polysyllabic. However, derivation, from Middle English on, made extensive use of foreign affixes as well as native ones, and it is difficult to imagine how we could get along without the Latin affixes pro-, pre-, post-, ante-, super-, -ation, and -ative; the Greek a-, hyper-, -ist, -ize, -ism, and -ic; or the French (all, of course, ultimately Latin) dis-, en-, -al, -ment, -able, -ous, and -ary. Few speakers of English today hear or see anything at all "alien" about such word parts.

Often we do add Latin affixes to Latin roots (predict) and Greek to Greek (psychiatrist). However, there are a great many formations in which classical affixes are attached to native words, as co-owner, ex-husband, interbreed, preheat, and superman, or native affixes to foreign bases, as peaceful, statehood, and decisiveness. Another cause of

puristic handwringing is the intermarriage of Latin and Greek roots and affixes, as in automobile and bicycle, but English is already too much of a linguistic melting pot for anyone to get upset over the free interchange of diverse word elements.

l+l=?. Examine the list below and draw whatever conclusions you can about English word-formation.

powerful	powerless
careful	careless
restful	restless
pitiful	pitiless
beautiful	*beautiless
*penniful	penniless

The first four pairs should confirm for you the fact that morphemes, once they combine, don't sit still. Powerful and powerless are antonyms (opposites), the one meaning "full of power," the second "lacking in power." Are careful and careless antonymic? Not quite, for careless means more than just "lacking in care" (we would use carefree to convey such a concept) but "negligent." Similarly, in the third combination restless denotes "constantly moving," rather than just "lacking rest"; and in pitiful-pitiless we clearly have a different relationship from powerful-powerless since pitiful means "to be pitied strongly," not "full of pity."

When we confront the last two pairings, beautiful-*beautiless and *penniful-penniless, we discover another peculiarity of the English vocabulary. Not only do words often fail to mean what they apparently should mean; not all of them that should exist actually do. Oldful and youngless are impossible words in English because -ful and -less do not attach to adjectives, but penniful and beautiless are possible. Their absence from the language is not predictable by any general rule. All we can say is that many possible words are not actual words. If the

*The stars placed before beautiless and penniful indicate that the word does not exist in English.

system were more mathematical, we would talk about slothless and tireful students who devour healthless junkfood, as well as horseful carriages and strapful bras.⁶

Negative prefixes are equally inconsistent. In the following poem, David McCord enjoys a good laugh at the fact that removing a negative prefix (or something that looks like a negative prefix), such as in-, un-, non-, dis-, or a-, produces a stem that may not exist in English:

Gloss

I know a little man both ept and ert.
An intro-? extro-? No, he's just a vert.
Sheveled and couth and kept, pecunious, ane,
His image trudes upon the ceptive brain.

When life turns sipid and the mind is traught,
The spirit soars as I would sist it ought.
Chalantly then, like any gainly goof,
My digent self is sertive, choate, loof.

from "Odds without Ends" by David McCord

There is no reason to despair about the widespread informality of English word-making. Words are not numerical composites that are strictly the sum of their parts, as the number 4 is the exact sum of 2 plus 2 or 3 plus 1. Language is made by people, and people are not computers.

EXERCISES

1. In Lewis Carroll's Alice in Wonderland, Alice declares that things are becoming "curiouser and curiouser," Humpty Dumpty gets an "unbirthday" present, and the Gryphon is disappointed that Alice, who knows what beautification is, does not also know what "uglification" is. What is Carroll doing with word-shaping in these examples?
2. Advertising writers often play with language in striking ways. What is going on in each of the following examples:

- (a) Seven-Up: the Uncola
- (b) Ultra Lash Mascara
- (c) Dairy Queen Dilly Bars are Scrumpdillyicious
- (d) Midasize Your Muffler
- (e) Campbell's Soups: The Manhandlers
- (f) Campbell's Sloppy Joe: "Better than a sandwich; it's a Manwich."
- (g) What makes a brownie, brownier? Milk does!
What makes roastbeef beefier? Milk does!
What makes a doughnut doughnuttier? Milk does!
'Cause milk is a natural.
(Milk advertisement)

3. Identify five negatively prefixed words whose positive bases do not exist in English. Use examples other than those that appear in David McCord's poem above. From your list, what conclusions, if any, can you draw about the kind of word that can fall into this category?

4. Make a list of five possible English words that do not exist. Make another list of five impossible English words and explain why they are impossible. Use real morphemes and vary your base words and affixes.

Prefixes. The word prefix comes from two Latin words meaning "before" and "fix." Indeed, prefixes are morphemes that are "fixed before" words and roots. Used to indicate such information as number, degree, time, location, and attitude, prefixes add to the meaning of the word bases to which they are fixed. Obviously it makes a great deal of difference whether you perceive, receive, deceive, conceive, or preconceive. Thus, when we place the prefix un- before words such as happy or tie to produce unhappy and untie, we have, in effect, created two new words with two new meanings: (1) not happy; (2) reverse the action of tying.

In rare instances a prefix can alter the part of speech of the

. base word:

knowledge (noun)	----->	acknowledge (verb)
courage (noun)	----->	encourage (verb)
foot (noun)	----->	afoot (adj. or adv.)
witch (noun)	----->	bewitch (verb)
danger (noun)	----->	endanger (verb)
glitter (noun)	----->	agitter (adj.)
large (adj.)	----->	enlarge (verb)
little (adj.)	----->	belittle (verb)
able (adj.)	----->	disable (verb)

Assimilation. You should be aware that the spelling and pronunciation of a given prefix may vary from one word to another. Such changes are designed to accommodate the prefix to the main part of the word. Indeed, affix, accommodate, and assimilation, three words we have used in this discussion, illustrate the process:

ad- + fix	=	affix
ad- + commodate	=	accommodate
ad- + similation	=	assimilation

The tendency to change one of two adjacent sounds to make pronunciation easier and more agreeable is called assimilation. It accounts for the fact that many people say gimme for give me, gonna⁷ for going to, and gramma and grampa for grandma and grandpa.

The prefixes il-, im-, and ir- are all variants of the prefix in-, meaning "not." Study the words in the columns below and see if you can write a rule that states what form of the prefix seems to be used in what context:

inappropriate	illegal	imbalance	irrational
inconclusive	illegitimate	immobile	irregular
indelicate	illicit	impartial	irrelevant
intractable	illogical	impossible	irreligious

Your rule may look something like this: In columns 2, 3, and 4, the prefix has varied its form in each case in order to become phonetically compatible with the base word. To take one example, the m of im- obviously fits better with the p of possible than would n, since m and p

are both lip sounds. You may have also noted that the prefix il- is attached to words that begin with l, the prefix im- to words beginning with b, m, and p, and the prefix ir- to words that start with r. In- precedes bases that begin with all other sounds. All of this is explained by most dictionaries under the entry for in-.

More Prefix Peculiarities. In addition to the various disguises that prefixes wear when they are assimilated, there are other problems you should be aware of when you analyze prefixed words.

The first is that common prefixes often have more than a single, precise meaning. Pro-, for example, means "favoring" in pro-labor, "in place of" in pronoun, and "forward" in proceed. The prefix a- means "in," "on," and "by" in abed, afoot, and abreast. Second, some prefixes sound or look alike but differ in meaning. Some of these confusing pairs are listed below:

a- (OE) in, on, by, to	abed, afoot, abreast, etc.
a- (Greek) without	amoral
anti- (Greek) against	anti-government
ante- (Latin) before	anteroom
for- (OE) prohibit	forbid
fore (OE) front	forehead
mis- (OE) bad, lack of	misdeed, mistrust
miso- (Greek) hatred	misogamy
pre- (ME) before	prehistoric
pro- (ME) before	prothalamion
pro- (Latin) favoring	pro-labor
in place of	pronoun

Perhaps the best known example of the confusion wrought by overlapping prefixes occurs in the label inflammable (from French, enflamer), which used to appear on fuel tanks to the befuddlement of some people who

reasoned that the in- meant "not" and was thus equivalent to "incombustible." As a result of such a mix-up, flammable has been adopted, which has the unmistakable meaning of "combustible," and is opposed with the equally clear nonflammable.

A third fact of life with prefixes is that pairs that diverge widely in form may have approximately the same meaning but cannot be freely interchanged. For example, a-, dis-, in-, mis-, non-, and un- can all mean "not," yet a disinterested person is quite different from an uninterested one. What does your dictionary say are the differences between amoral, immoral, and nonmoral?

Finally, you cannot always assume that an initial combination of letters is a prefix without consulting your dictionary. Ante- is a prefix in anteroom but not in antelope, which is not a gluing together of ante- and lope. The clever wag who coined monokini as a name for a topless bathing suit knew perfectly well that bikini does not begin with the prefix bi-, meaning "two."

The Elusive Re-. As a classic exercise in linguistic detective work, let us take a look at the prefix re-,⁸ a Latinate morpheme that has been taken so completely into English that Henry Bradley is moved to write: "No dictionary will ever contain all the words formed from this prefix that have been used by English writers." (The Making of English, p. 98) Derivatives that begin with re- are indeed quite plentiful, but there are many verbs that sound peculiar and "un-English" when we attach re- to them. Examine the two columns below:

*rebe	rebuild
*rebecome	rearrange
*rego	reorganize
*relaugh	redo
*redie	rewrite

What word-formation rule could explain why the entries in the second column exist in English words and those in the first do not? Linguists have answered the question by positing the theory that re- may attach only to transitive verbs (verbs that have to do with an action on an object) and not, as in the first column, to intransitive verbs. Thus, native English speakers do not form sentences like "he went back to relive in the country," but they can say "he went back to the house to relive his childhood." So far so good, but now let us compare our list of acceptable verbs beginning with re- with another list of transitive verbs:

rebuild	*redestroy
rearrange	*relose
reorganize	*respeak
redo	*release
rewrite	*rehate

The verbs in the second column sound strange to the author, who presumes that they sound strange to you. Once again we are led to inquire why the derived words in column one are common, accepted forms, while those in column two seem odd. An apparently ingenious solution to the puzzle is that the re- in each of the column one words adds the meaning of changing or improving a previously inadequate result. When we rearrange or rewrite something, we often make it better. But we cannot stop here:

*redestroy	reuse
*relose	refreeze
*respeak	regain
*release	reenter
*rehate	reapply

All the words in both columns possess the meaning "to do again" without the suggestion of improvement, yet the items in the first column strike speakers of English as abnormal, while the second list is perfectly acceptable. What crucial difference exists between rebuild

and *redestroy, restate and *respeak, reenter and *release, or regain and *reclose? What is it that speakers of English know about re- and the verbs to which it can be prefixed? No one has come up with a workable solution to this problem,⁹ but attempting to do so confirms our awareness of two linguistic facts: (1) a prefix may possess more than one meaning; (2) there is a difference between possible words and actual words.

Repeated Prefixes. Twenty-four percent of the 30,000 most frequently used English words contain prefixes. However, twenty key prefixes, it is said, occur in over 80% of those common prefixed words. Here are the twenty prefixes, with their variant spellings, their meanings, and some examples.¹⁰

	<u>Prefixes</u>	<u>Variant Forms</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Examples</u>
GREEK				
1.	epi-		over, upon	epilogue
2.	mono-		one, alone	monograph
LATIN				
3.	ad-	ac-, af-, ag-, al-, an-, an-, ar-, as-, at-,	to toward	acquire, adhere, affect, aggravate, allow, announce, appear, arrive, assault, attain
4.	com-	co-, col- con-, cor-	with, together	commit, cooperate, collect connect, correspond
5.	de-		down	descend
6.	dis-	di-, dif-	apart, not	disagree, divide, differ
7.	ex-	e-, ef-	out of, formerly	explain, eject, effect
8.	in-	im-, ir-	in, into	inhale, immigrate, irrigate
9.	in-	il-, im-, ir-	not	inflexible, illegal, imperfect, irregular

	<u>Prefixes</u>	<u>Variant Forms</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Examples</u>
10.	inter-	intro-	between, among, together	interfere, introduce
11.	non-		not	nonresident
12.	ob-	oc-, of-, op-	to, toward, against	object, occupant, offer, oppose
13.	pre-		before	precede
14.	pro-		forward, for	proceed, pro-labor
15.	re-		again	rekindle
16.	sub-	suc-, suf-, sug-, sup-, sur-, sus-	under	subway, succeed, suffer suggest, support, surrender, suspend
17.	trans-	tra-, tran-	across, through	transport, trajectory, tranquil

OLD ENGLISH

18.	in-	im-	in, into, within	income, impeach
19.	mis-		wrong(ly)	misspell
20.	un-		not, undo an action	unending, untie

EXERCISES

5. We use Greek and Latin number prefixes to do much of our counting in English. Examine the lists below and write an example of each Greek and Latin prefix as it occurs in a word.

<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Latin</u>
1	mono-	uni-
2	di-, bi-	du-
5	penta-	quin-, quint-
10	dec-	dec-
100	hecto-	cent-
1,000	kilo-	milli-
100,000	mega-	

6. Form the negative from the following words by adding a prefix:

legal	symmetric	emphasize
construe	social	proposal
violence	patient	constitutional
obey	formal	revocable

7. Both inflammable and irregardless have been condemned as words with unnecessary prefixes, since flammable and regardless carry the same meaning. How justified is such criticism?

8. List five words in which the prefix has accommodated itself to the main part of the word. In each case use a different base prefix and explain what has happened.

9. Explain how a knowledge of prefixes can help you to subdr: spelling demons like occurrence, recommend, accommodate, disappoint, misspell, and prejudice?

10. Examine the lists of words below and draw conclusions about the comparative behavior of the prefixes un- and in-.

unlawful	untie	informal	illegal
uncertain	undo	ingratitude	imbalance
unhappy	unsnap	inert	impotent
untested	unhand	indelible	impeccable
unlucky	unloosen	infinite	irrational

Roots. Perhaps the first long word of over twenty letters that you discovered was antidisestablishmentarianism, not the longest word in the English language (see the middle of page 48) but probably the best known of the long ones. If we dissect this polysyllabic monster, we find that it is an amalgam of smaller parts:

anti-: "against"	-ment: "state of xing"
dis-: "separation," "reversal"	-arian: "believe in"
establish: "to make secure or stable"	-ism: "doctrine"

Of the six elements above, five are affixes and only one is the root, the part in every word that represents the main idea that the word carries. In antidisestablishmentarianism the root is establish. The two prefixes and three suffixes modify the meaning of establish, but they do not furnish the basic meaning of the word. Putting together the six constituents, we find that the word means "a doctrine against the dissolution of the establishment." In the nineteenth century, the word meant "opposition to the separation of the established church and state."

Since the word root is itself a metaphor, it is not surprising that linguists often define the meaning of root in metaphoric language. A root, they say, is the building block of language. Or a root is the core of a word. Or a root, like the nucleus of an atom or an element in chemistry, cannot be broken into smaller parts.

Some roots are free forms; although they are often used as the base of a derived word, they can operate as independent words, like crypt, gram, graph, form, art, cent, and press. But most roots are bound; they appear only in combination with other units, as in predict, progress, contain, credible, speculate, and civic.

Root or Affix? A root differs from an affix in two ways. First, a root has a more specific and essential meaning than that of an affix. In derived words such as those in the list above, the root names a thing or action while the affix serves descriptively to tell something more about the thing or action named by the root. Second, a root, unlike an affix, can stand, at least theoretically, at the beginning, middle,

or end of a word:¹¹

<u>phonetic</u>	<u>pathetic</u>	<u>porter</u>	<u>spectacle</u>	<u>graphic</u>
<u>euphony</u>	<u>sympathy</u>	<u>importation</u>	<u>inspection</u>	<u>geography</u>
<u>telephone</u>	<u>psychopath</u>	<u>export</u>	<u>retrospect</u>	<u>autograph</u>

Still, the dividing line between an affix and a root is sometimes difficult to draw. Anthropo, meaning "man," and port, meaning "carry," are clearly roots; and pre-, "before," and non-, "not," are clearly prefixes. But the auto of automobile and autograph might be called either a prefix or a root.¹²

Words ending in man and land present similar challenges in categorizing. Formations like Englishman and gentleman, England and Maryland look like compounds in writing, but the last syllable in each has, with the loss of stress, changed from maen to maen and laend to laend. Some scholars conclude that maen and laend have become suffixes so that the words in which they appear are no longer compounds but derivatives.

This author disagrees with such a theory, in part because the pattern is so unstable. Many newer man and land words do not show any significant abrasion of the vowel. Businessman and milkman as well as non-ethnic land words like Disneyland, wonderland, and toyland are not only written as compounds but also sound like them, while sports terms like defenseman, lineman, and first baseman possess loss of stress and vowel quality. It seems awkward to identify businessman and Maryland as compounds and defenseman and Disneyland as derivatives or to say that Englishman is a derived word while Englishwoman is a compound. Such logic would force us to conclude that the British pronunciation of blueberry (in which the second e is reduced to ə, as in all berry words) qualifies it as a derivative, while in America it is a compound and that people who say repairmaen are speaking a different class of word than those who

happen to say repairmen.

The point is that, unlike -dom and -ly, which we no longer identify with the words doom and like, men and lend are still relatable to the nouns man and land in the mind of the average speaker of English. But linguists, who disagree about a great many things, continue to dispute the exact point of demarcation that separates affixes from roots.

Root Variations. One difficulty with roots is that their spellings and pronunciations may vary. Often the verb form will end in a d or t, while the same root in the noun will end in s or ss: invade-invasion, divert-diversion, provide-provision. The reason is that the verb in English comes from the present tense in Latin, while the noun comes from the Latin past participle. Thus, from video (present indicative) we get provide and from visus (past participle) we get provision. Other examples of change in the form of the root include assume-assumption, describe-description, appear-apparent, and grade-gradual.

When a word is extended by a suffix, several other kinds of changes can take place in the root. Sometimes silent letters in the base come alive:

bomb + ard = bombard
muscle + ar = muscular
line + ar = linear

resign + ation = resignation
fruit + tion = fruition
gymn + astics = gymnastics
circuit + ous = circuitous

The addition of a suffix may produce a change in the stress of the root, usually accompanied by a change in pronunciation: cigar-cigarette, photograph-photography, solid-solidify.¹³ What does your dictionary have to say about the stress and pronunciation of the words pianist and applicable? How do you pronounce them?

Finally, connective letters may be added:

arbor + al = aboreal	habit + ate = habituate
basic + ly = basically	rejoin + er = rejoinder
colleg + ate = collegiate	contempt + ous = contemptuous

and often letters seem to have been dropped:

administer + ate - administrate	awe + ful = awful
authority + arian = authoritarian	waiter + ess = waitress

There are good etymological and phonological reasons for these shifts in the forms of roots, but it is not necessary for you to learn the various rules. What you should do is to be aware of the variants and stay on the lookout for them. This should not be so difficult a job since the spellings usually differ by only a letter or two.

Repeated Roots. There are fourteen bound roots which, it is said, are the basis for 100,000 words in English.¹⁴ The primary purpose of this book is not vocabulary building, although in the process of studying word-formation you are bound to learn many words you did not know before. If studying these fourteen morphemes makes it possible for you to recognize and use thousands of words, they are worth your consideration. Here are the fourteen roots, with their variant spellings, their meanings, and some examples. Log and graph are from the Greek; the other twelve roots are from Latin.

<u>Roots</u>	<u>Variant Forms</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Examples</u>
1. cept	cap capt ceit ceiv cip	take, seize	except capable captive deceit receive anticipate
2. duct	duc	lead, make, shape, fashion	conduct reduce

<u>Roots</u>	<u>Variant Forms</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Examples</u>
3. fer	lat	bear, carry	offer ventilate
4. fic	fac fash feat	make, do	fiction factory fashion feature
5. graph		write	graphic
6. log	ology	speech, study, science	dialogue biology
7. mitt	mis miss mit	send	intermittent promising mission transmit
8. plic	plex ploy ply	fold, bend, twist, interweave	complicate complex employ imply
9. pos	pon posi	put, place	dispose postpone deposit
10. scribe	script scriv	write	transcribe prescription scrivener
11. sist	sta	stand, endure, persist	resist station
12. spect	spec spic	look	inspect speculate conspicuous
13. tain	ten tin	have, hold	contain retention continuous
14. tend	tens tent	stretch	extend tension attention

Naturally there are hundreds of additional roots that appear less frequently, and there are hundreds of vocabulary books of varying degrees of usefulness in which you can find them. But more important

than massive memorization is the ability to infer the meaning of a root from its context.

Roots and Meaning. If you come across a root that seems strange to you, try to think of several other words that contain the same spelling and sound. You don't have to be a genius to detect the common base in telephone, telegraph, television, telescope, and teletype and to conclude that tele means "far" or that the dic in dictate, dictaphone, predict, and dictionary means "say."

Words are more than just unintelligible strings of letters. Careful analysis of their parts will usually reveal a useful relationship between structure and meaning. Divide and conquer and you will be rewarded with a fuller understanding and appreciation of language. When we examine the word sophomore, for example, we discover that the last part is the root more or mor, meaning "dull, stupid," the same root found in moron. The first part is the root soph, meaning "wise, wisdom." Sophomores, then, are "wise fools," an especially appropriate name for that stage of one's education. Knowing the meaning of soph in sophomore, you should recognize the same root in philosophy. If you know that a bibliophile is a lover of books and that Philadelphia means city of brotherly love, you can deduce that philosophy means "love of wisdom or knowledge." Phil also occurs in philanthropy, and if you know that anthropology is the study of man, you will correctly conclude that philanthropy means "love of mankind." Once you are in the habit, you can add link after link to such verbal chains: philanthropy-anthropomorphic-morphology-biology-biography-autograph and so on.

Become a word mechanic. Get into the practice of seeing words as made of component parts that can be stripped down and reassembled just as you can take apart and fit together a piece of machinery. Words are no more difficult and they are a lot more available to practice on than are machine parts.

1+1=?. In analyzing the roots of words, remember that the various parts add up to a literal meaning. The literal meaning of roots usually offers a useful clue to the actual meaning of a word, but you must do a little thinking to arrive at the full meaning in most cases. For example, in the preceding section a knowledge of phil and anthropo tells you that philanthropist is a lover of mankind but not that the word denotes one who donates money to charity. The two roots of neophyte yield the meaning "newly planted," and those of photography "to write with light." You have to leap a little to land on the actual definitions of these words: "a beginner or recent convert" and "the process of obtaining pictures on a sensitized surface." The importance of doing a little sleuthing to obtain the meaning of a word from its component parts is not new to you because you have seen it in compound words. Knowing the basic meanings of home, sea, and heart is useful when we encounter their combination with sick; but homesick means "sick for home," seasick means "sick from the sea," and heartsick means "sick at heart."

Semantic Change. The passage of time has produced mutations in the meaning of many words that came into the language on the crest of the classical wave. The word derivation itself comes from de- and rivus, "from the river." The meaning of derivation is today quite different

from the earliest one -- "to turn a river into another course." Carnival originally meant "a farewell to meat (carne, "meat" + vale, "farewell") since carnivals were pre-Lenten celebrations, a last fling before penitence. Today carnivals can occur at any time during the year. Candidate is related to canditus, Latin for "white," but most candidates today stand for political office without dressing up in a white suit.

Although manus is a Latin root for "hand," most manufacturing is done by machinery, and the average speaker of English does not think twice about the phrase "a typed manuscript." Similarly, we talk of "incorrect orthography," although ortho means "correct"; "ugly calligraphy," although callos means "beauty"; and "a dilapidated woodshed," although lapis means "stone." Nobody but the most nitpicking purist gets upset by such "contradictions." The average speaker on the street is not aware of them, and the enlightened etymologist knows that once a morpheme gets into the language, it takes on a life of its own.

Root + Root = Word. As you have seen, roots combine with prefixes and suffixes to make words. Roots may also combine with each other to form new words. When roots pair up, they may change their form, as aster becomes astro when it combines with logy to become astrology.

Some linguists would include a discussion of root combining in a chapter on compounding since two word elements of equal status are being joined together. However, since most roots are bound forms, the author has chosen to present the following chart in this chapter on derivation:

<u>Root #1</u>	<u>Root #2</u>	<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Word</u>
anthropo	morph	ic	anthropomorphic
anthropo	logy		anthropology
biblio	graph	y	bibliography
micro	scope		microscope
phono	graph		phonograph
pseudo	nym		pseudonym
tele	phone		telephone
voci	fer	ous	vociferous

EXERCISES

11. In each of the word clusters below identify the common root and tell what it means. In which of the clusters is it difficult to define the meaning of the root?

- (a) spectator, inspector, retrospect
- (b) credo, incredible, credentials
- (c) hydrant, hydrogen, dehydrate
- (d) victory, invincible, evict
- (e) telegram, diagram, grammar
- (f) contort, torture, retort
- (g) biology, biodegradable, biorhythm
- (h) eject, reject, conjecture
- (i) prefer, confer, transfer
- (j) commit, remit, submit
- (k) receive, conceive, perceive
- (l) reduce, induce, deduce

12. The root cap comes from the Latin capere, meaning "take, seize." Many English words have been derived from this root, which has many variant forms, as listed in the chart of "Repeated Roots" (pages 113-114). Add affixes to cap (or its variant spellings) to form words that have the same meaning as each phrase below:

- (a) to take willingly
- (b) to stop or prevent
- (c) one who is seized
- (d) to await
- (e) ready to take suggestions
- (f) act of misleading others
- (g) competent

13. Write a definition for each underlined word by using clues from the words that follow it. How do your definitions compare with those in the

dictionary?

- (a) antipathy: anti-communist, antithesis, sympathy, pathetic
- (b) discursive: distract, disallow, cursory, precursor
- (c) dystopia: dystrophy, dyspepsia, topography
- (d) euphony: eulogy, euphemism, phonetic, telephone
- (e) introvert: introspective, introduce, convert, vertigo
- (f) magnanimous: magnificent, Magnavox, animal, animate
- (g) patronymic: paternal, patriotic, pseudonym, synonym
- (h) retrospect: retrograde, retrorocket, spectator, speculate
- (i) soliloquy: solitary, solo, loquacious, colloquium
- (j) subterranean: subway, submerge, terrain, terrestrial
- (k) vociferous: vocal, provoke, ferry, transfer

14. The Greek root phobe, meaning "fear," attaches to a number of other roots. Determine what object or situation is involved in each of the following phobias. Example: claustrophobia: fear of confined spaces.

acrophobia	astraphobia	elektrophobia	photophobia
agoraphobia	ceraunophobia	monophobia	pyrophobia
aquaphobia	chronophobia	nyctophobia	triskaidekaphobia
ailurophobia	cynophobia	ophidiophobia	xenophobia
algophobia	demophobia		

Using the above models, make up three of your own phobias.

15. Each of the following words has an intriguing origin. Check each word in your dictionary and be prepared to explain its etymology and structure. In each case, how helpful is such information in learning and retaining the meaning of the word?

calculate	inaugurate	salary
connive	pandemonium	supercilious
disaster	preposterous	tantalize

16. The device that we call television was originally dubbed picture-phone by its inventors. When television sets began to sell in quantity, two names competed for dominance: video and television. What reasons can you offer for the nearly total victory of television over video?

17. List five words containing each of the following roots:

ced	ject	phan	vert
fac	mort	rupt	viv
gen	ped	scrib	voc

18. Laurence Urdang, the editor of the language quarterly Verbatim, introduced his readers to a humorous game of punning. If clergymen are defrocked and lawyers disbarred, he asked, how are members of the following professions to be gotten rid of?

Examples: manicurists - defiled; weavers - dispatched

dry-cleaners	de _____	models	dis _____
electricians	de _____	detectives	dis _____
alcoholics	de _____	swearers	dis _____
pornographers	de _____	bankers	dis _____
examiners	de _____	farmers	dis _____

What do these examples tell you about how prefixes and roots work in English? Create five original examples.

19. When a new idea or activity arises in a society, human beings invent new words to name that idea or activity. Scientists often borrow word parts from Latin and Greek to develop precise terms to describe what they are dealing with. For example, the astronomer Joshua Lederberg coined the word exibiology as a label for the study of life beyond our planet. Think of a new word for five of the following recent or predicted developments:

- (a) a television set that projects three-dimensional images
- (b) a device for cleaning polluted air
- (c) pastel-colored sand to be spread on the surface of snow
- (d) computerized translation from one language to another
- (e) a typewriter that produces a text from a recording of the human voice
- (f) tape recordings used to teach people while they sleep
- (g) an ointment for making hair grow on a bald scalp
- (h) a pill that can be taken to improve one's memory
- (i) a cure for birth defects
- (j) a device that allows people to move objects through the power of thought

20. The poet William Wordsworth sought, "as far as was possible," to write poems "in a selection of language really used by men." Which word in Wordsworth's "A slumber did my spirit seal" most obviously departs from ordinary speech? What does the word mean, and how does its departure contribute to the poem's total effect?

A slumber did my spirit seal;
I had no earthly fears:
She seemed a thing that could not feel
The touch of earthly years.

No motion has she now, no force;
She neither hears nor sees;
Rolled round in earth's diurnal course,
With rocks, and stones, and trees.

Suffixes. Just as small word elements called prefixes are often placed before roots or words to change their meaning and, occasionally, their function, so short forms called suffixes are often added to a base. When we attach the suffix -ly to the word friend, for example, we not only change the word from a noun to an adjective. We also change its meaning from "a person attached to another by affection or esteem" to "showing kindly interest and goodwill."

Unlike prefixes, suffixes usually change the grammatical classification of a word:

create (verb) + or = creator (noun)	(as the last two
create (verb) + ive = creative (adjective)	examples show,
creative (adjective) + ly = creatively (adverb)	suffixes are
creative (adjective) + ity = creativity (noun)	easily compounded.)

As the following matrix shows, suffixes facilitate a free interchange
15
between nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs:

	NOUN	VERB	ADJ.	ADV.
NOUN	<u>mountaineer</u> <u>journalist</u>	<u>symbolize</u> <u>codify</u>	<u>truthful</u> <u>humorous</u>	<u>clockwise</u> <u>homeward</u>
VERB	<u>defendant</u> <u>depression</u>		<u>sinkable</u> <u>attractive</u>	<u>hurriedly</u>
ADJ.	<u>madness</u> <u>freedom</u>	<u>weaken</u> <u>fertilize</u>	<u>reddish</u> <u>goodly</u>	<u>sadly</u> <u>manifold</u>
ADV.	<u>overage</u>		<u>uppity</u>	<u>backwards</u>

Irregularities. In your career as a speller, you may have had difficulty choosing between nearly identical forms of the same suffix. For example, portable employs -able, but visible ends with -ible, while significance takes -ance, but existence, -ence. Often only the early history of the words involved can explain such seemingly mystifying choices. The root port, for example, takes -able because the Latin verb portare is a first conjugation verb, and vis takes -ible because videre is in the second conjugation.

Suffixes and Meaning. Like prefixes, many suffixes acquire more than one meaning. The speaker who first coined the word escapee was not bothered by the fact that the more "logical" form is escaper or escapist, since -ee meant "person acted upon," not "person acting." The originator of escapee wanted a suffix to suggest the same "set category of persons" idea that is carried by words like employee and payee, so he or she twisted -ee to his or her purpose.

Suffixes are much more likely than prefixes to acquire diverse meanings over time, a phenomenon best illustrated by the uses of -er in the following line-up:

writer - someone who X's

computer - something that X's

retainer - someone who is X'd

poster - something that is X'd

sweater - something that causes X¹⁶

pensioner - someone who receives X

banqueter - someone associated with X

widower - a male X

southerner - inhabitant of X

ouster - act of X'ing

three-wheeler - something possessing X's

hammer - no meaning¹⁷

What can you conclude about the meanings of the suffixes in the lists that follow?

spinster	beatable	suffragette	cowardly	English ¹⁸
gangster	marriageable	kitchenette	daily	reddish
dumpster	fashionable	leatherette	timely	mannish

Your analysis of the lists above should prove to you that many suffixes take on meaning that they did not originally possess. For instance, in the first column, the ending -ster comes from the Old English -estre, denoting female, so that spinster originally meant "spinning woman." (How, then, were the names Weaver, Webster, Brewer, Brewster, Baker, and Baxter created?) Today spinster has quite a different meaning, while gangster owes nothing to the Old English meaning of -estre and, in dumpster, a very recent word in English, even the idea of personhood is lost.

As the last column indicates, some suffixes take on distinctly negative suggestions. The Old English ending -isc, now -ish, was first used chiefly to form adjectives from the names of peoples, as in English and Spanish. During the fifteenth century -ish began to be attached to the names of colors to denote something approximating the original hue, as in reddish and blackish. Later, -ish became attached to contemptuous words -- foolish, doltish, snobbish -- just as -ard appears in the words like coward, drunkard, and sluggard. But in mannish and womanish the base word is neutral, yet a precise user of English would never confuse

manly with mannish and womanly with womanish since mannish refers to an overly masculine woman and womanish to an effeminate man.

Popular Suffixes. Here is a sample of the most frequently occurring suffixes in English, arranged by their origin and grammatical function. Learning these endings will help you to interpret a great many English words.

<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Example</u>	<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Example</u>	<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Example</u>
NOUN MARKERS OF OLD ENGLISH ORIGIN					
-dom	kingdom	-hood	brotherhood	-ship	friendship
-er	baker	-ing	building	-th	truth
-or	actor				
-ar	liar	-ness	greatness		
NOUN MARKERS OF FOREIGN ORIGIN					
-age	passage	-ee	employee	-ive	detective
-ance	acceptance	-ese	Chinese	-ment	statement
-ence	competence				
-ancy	hesitancy	-ess	governess	-ry	jewelry
-ency	fluency	-ice	justice	-tion	creation
-an	American	-ion	union	-tude	multitude
-ant	defendant	-ism	socialism	-ty	activity
-ent	adherent				
-ard	drunkard	-ist	scientist	-y	jealousy
-art	braggart	-ity	sanity		
-ate	delegate				
ADJECTIVE MARKERS OF OLD ENGLISH ORIGIN					
-ful	thankful	-like	childlike	-some	tiresome
-ish	English	-ly	kindly	-y	hilly
-less	helpless				

<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Example</u>	<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Example</u>	<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Example</u>
ADJECTIVE MARKERS OF FOREIGN ORIGIN					
-able	capable	-ary	primary	-ine	canine
-ible	possible	-ory	respiratory	-ite	favorite
-an	European	-ate	separate	-ive	corrective
-ian	Christian	-ese	Portuguese	-ous	famous
-ant	dominant	-ic	classic		
-ent	solvent	-id	solid		
-al	national				

Suffixes that form derivative verbs and adverbs are much less frequent than those that form nouns and adjectives.

<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Example</u>	<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Example</u>	<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Example</u>
VERB MARKERS OF OLD ENGLISH ORIGIN					
-en	darken				
VERB MARKERS OF FOREIGN ORIGIN					
-ate	animate	-ish	polish		
-fy	glorify	-ise	advertise		
-ify	fortify	-ize	sterilize		

ADVERB MARKERS OF OLD ENGLISH ORIGIN					
-ly	quickly	-ward	homeward	-way	partway
		-wards	towards		
				-wise	clockwise

Observations. As a budding linguist, you are engaged in the scientific study of language. Every science, including linguistics, seeks to discover the general principles that underlie the variety of observable facts. To help you describe the behavior of suffixes with as much precision as you can muster, examine the common suffixes listed above and answer the following questions as thoroughly as you can. ¹⁹ Some of the questions are very difficult and continue to puzzle even the most experienced

scholars. To help you get started, examples are offered for most of the questions.

(1) Which suffixes tend to attach to one part of speech and which to more than one? (-ist: violinist, loyalist)

(2) Which suffixes appear in words that can be more than one part of speech? Can you distinguish two different classes of suffixes that do this? (-al: animal)

(3) Which suffixes are capable of being used as independent English words? From what language do almost all of these suffixes come? (-able)

(4) Which suffixes seem more at home with free morphemes and which with bound ones? What conclusions can you draw from your examples?

(5) Which suffixes can alter the stress and/or the pronunciation of the bases to which they attach? Are these words of Old English or of foreign origin? (-y: photography)

(6) Are suffixes generally stressed or unstressed? Which ones are exceptions to the general rule?

(7) Which suffixes have fairly stable meanings and which have various meanings depending on the base to which they are joined?

(8) Which suffixes can be followed by other suffixes on the list? Which cannot? (-ness: faithfulness)

(9) When a speaker or writer has a choice between a native or a borrowed suffix, will his or her decision make a difference in the sense of the derived word? For example, do you find any significant difference between the words saneness and sanity and humanness and humanity?

(10) Which suffixes are still productive today and which are no longer very productive? (productive: -ity; less productive: -dom)

Bound and Free Suffixes. As you have seen in the examples given so far, most suffixes are bound morphemes, in the sense that they cannot exist by themselves but only in combination with a word or root. Some Old English suffixes appear to be free morphemes but are actually bound:

friendship	brotherhood
toothsome	homeward
clockwise	twofold

The words above appear to be made from two free morphemes, but when we examine their meaning, they cannot pass the test of compound words. The -ship of friendship is obviously not the same morpheme as the ship in shipmate or steamship. One came from the Old English scipp, meaning "sea-going vessel," the other from another Old English word scipe, which signified "state or condition." Both as a free morpheme and a bound suffix, some came from the Old English sum; but the suffix -some, which means "characterized by," is not the same as the English word some. Similar analysis will reveal the divergences in meaning between wise and -wise, hood and -hood, ward and -ward, and fold and -fold.

Other morphemes that normally come at the end of words are free forms that can exist in their own right, such as able, ful (with another l), less, like, way(s), and worthy:

<u>lovable</u>	<u>godlike</u>
<u>powerful</u>	<u>sideways</u>
<u>heartless</u>	<u>praiseworthy</u>

In these examples, the italicized elements have undergone little or no change in pronunciation and are still able to be related to full words. Recognizing that morphemes like these stand midway between suffixes and independent words, some linguists have labeled them semi-suffixes.²⁰ Once again we find that in the rainbow of language one class of word

dissolves almost imperceptibly into another. Linguists, like all scientists, seek to classify all data they encounter, but some morphemes cause them to dispute vigorously the boundaries that separate compound words from derived words.

Second-hand Suffixes. Morphemes are semifinished bits of language material from which words are made. Sometimes these parts are pretty well standardized, like the prefix non- and the suffix -ness. Other times morphemes are only broken pieces that some inventive speaker or writer has managed to melt down and recast for a new use. You need only examine the trade names on the packages that line the shelves of your local supermarket to see how manufacturers and advertisers have perfected the art of refitting old morphemes into new suffixes. The ending -ine, which goes back to the Greek -inos, meaning "of or relating to" (as in opaline) is now attached, with no particular lexical significance, to such brand names as Listerine (after Joseph Lister), Murine, Visine ("gets the red out"), Absorbine Jr., Ovaltine, and Dentine. -Ex, which did not exist as a suffix in the classical languages, today appears at the end of a shelfful of trademarks, including Timex, Pyrex, Memorex, Windex, Rolex, Kleenex, and Cutex; and -o is pressed into suffixational service for products like Jello, Brillo, and Alpo. Making use of almost any fragment at hand, purveyors of pasta dehydrate macaroni to -roni and then reattach the remnant in Rice-a-Roni, Noodle-Roni, and Elboroni.

The exuberant finagling of suffixes is not something that only hucksters do. It comes naturally to all of us to combine words and word parts in order to express what has not been expressed before. To cite a famous example, the word hamburger was originally made from

Hamburg, the German city, and -er, meaning "of or relating to." Somewhere along the way speakers of English interpreted burger as a suffix that means "sandwich made with a bun," even though a hamburger has no ham in it. Thus, by analogy, cheeseburger, fishburger, beefburger, and tens of other burgers have entered the American scene and gullet. On a lesser scale, the same "mistake" has happened with frankfurter (Frankfurt + -er) so that -furter can be used to denote almost any kind of sandwich made with protein slapped on an elongated bun, as in chickenfurter and fishfurter.

There is indeed an impressive array of new colloquial or slang suffixes that have entered the language with clonelike abandon. Pheidippides' run from the battlefield of Marathon, site of the victory of the Greeks over the Persians, gave the noun marathon the meaning of an endurance contest; today the -thon has been detached and made into a self-sustaining suffix in such words as telethon, talkathon, walkathon, and danceathon. Keeping pace with -thon is -rama, a suffix newly minted from the ancient metal of panorama (Greek: pan - "all"; horama - "view"). The next development is Cinerama, a logical combination of kinema ("motion") and horama. Faster than a speeding morpheme, -rama loses its sense of "a view" and becomes attachable to almost any base with a general implication of size or number. The results include beautyrama, owlarama, cleanarama, and even bananarama.

From alcohol, a borrowing from Arabic, and the Latin -ic we cheerfully sever the -aholic and create Cokeaholic, Pepsaholic, and the usefully concise workaholic. From automatic, we form the noun automat and then proceed to coin laundromat and fruit-o-mat, just as from cafeteria we extract -teria for washateria, gasateria, and other self-

service establishments. Many of these words may have originally been blends,²¹ in which the beginning of one word is combined with the end of another (see Chapter 8), but the complete originals are now almost forgotten and detached suffixes proliferate with a vigor that laughs at logic.

EXERCISES

21. By adding suffixes, make nouns from the following words, denoting "one who."

art	mountain	serve
dull	music	write
	oppose	

22. Add suffixes to the following words to produce the parts of speech indicated at the head of each column.

<u>noun</u>	<u>noun</u>	<u>adjective</u>	<u>adjective</u>	<u>verb</u>
acre	happy	ash	penny	code
active	inquire	cannibal	picture	material
continue	king	demon	prime	motive
depend	parent	divide	remedy	satire
exist	potent	friend	Spain	saliva
fulfill	sane	luck	tempest	weak
grow	weigh	luxury	thank	
			tire	
			up	

23. List five suffixes that mean "one who is female" and three suffixes that form diminutives meaning "one who is small."

24. While the majority of educated people use the word height, some people say and write heighth. What compels them to use this form of the noun?

Speaking of -th words, Francis Bacon coined the word lowth, Horace

Walpole greenth, John Ruskin illth, and H. G. Wells coolth. Why is it

that these derived nouns have not taken hold in our vocabulary?

25. The suffix -ize is one of the most productive verb-formers we have in English. What do you think of its use in the following words:

Midasize, finalize, prioritize?

26. The suffix -ism usually means "a belief in." What do you think of its use in recently created words like sexism, feminism, and agism?

27. In the following reworking of Hamlet's fourth soliloquy, what is being spoofed?

HAMLET SOLILOQUYWISE

To be or not to be; that is it querywise:
Whether nobilitywise 'tis better to suffer
Outrageous slings and arrows fortunewise
Or to take arms against our troubles seawise,
And oppositionwise to end them?

28. When the suffix -able is added to verbs, it introduces a new element of meaning, roughly "able to be X'd," where X is the verb. Which of the following seem to you to be normal English words and which seem to be abnormal? Can you make any generalizations to account for the discrepancies?

breakable	goable	usable	seeable
standable	debatable	dieable	examinable
pitable	cryable	curable	balanceable

29. English adds -ly to nouns to mean "having the quality of." Which of the following seem to you to be normal English words and which seem to be abnormal? Can you make any generalizations to account for the discrepancies?

kingly	fatherly	humanly	Christianly
queenly	motherly	beastly	Christly
princely	husbandly	animally	Jewly
princessly	wifely	monsterly	Mohammedanly
presidently	sonly		
	daughterly		
	brotherly		
	sisterly		

30. Tell all you can about the use of detached suffixes in the following clusters:

arthritis, senioritis, firstnightitis
cavalcade, motorcade, aquacade
automobile, bloodmobile, Batmobile
nudnik, beatnik, peacenik
broadcast, newscast, telecast

Inflectional Affixes. Most of this chapter has dealt with derivational affixes -- prefixes and suffixes that alter the meaning, and often the function, of the words and roots to which they attach. There is another type of morpheme called an inflectional affix that you should know about. Even though inflectional endings are not felt to create new words,²² they merit your attention at this point in your study so that you do not confuse them with derivational affixes.

Inflectional endings are essential elements in the grammar of English. They are used (1) to change nouns from singular to plural, (2) to make nouns possessive, (3) to change the tenses of verbs, and (4) to form the comparative and superlative degrees of many adjectives. Here are two lists of representative inflectional and derivational affixes. From the examples what conclusions can you draw about the characteristics of each type?

Inflectional Affixes

Derivational Affixes

cats
man's
runs
jumped
given
singing
colder
strongest

undo
misspell
predict
import
wonderful
fertilize
credible
dictate

Careful consideration of the evidence above produces several useful deductions. The affixes in the first column attach only to the end of

free or bound morphemes. In addition, derivational affixes may change the part of speech of the original base, as in wonderful and fertilize, but inflectional affixes do not have this power. You may also have noticed that the first list presents almost a complete line-up of inflectional endings, while the second list is but a small sampling of the derivational affixes that appear in English words. From such an observation it takes but a little thought to conclude that, while the number of inflectional affixes in English is much smaller than the number of derivational affixes, each individual inflectional affix is used much more frequently. An analysis of almost any spoken or written set of sentences will quickly confirm this hypothesis.

The more you think about the two classes of affixes, the sharper their differences will appear. Inflectional endings are more stable in meaning than derivational affixes. Almost always, their meanings are simply grammatical: cat + s gives the plural of cat, no more. As we have seen, this is not always true of derivational affixes. In many English words there may be two or more derivational affixes, as in uneventful, civilization, and antidisestablishmentarianism; but, with the single exception of plural possessives like cats' (in which only one of the morphemes is pronounced), only one inflectional ending can appear in a given word, and that at the very end of the word -- civilizations, civilization's -- never earlier.

In your dictionary, you will find that inflected forms of a given word, like cat-cats and cold-colder-coldest, each appear within a single entry, whereas derived forms from a given base, like kind, kindly, and kindness, appear as separate entries. The exercises that follow are designed to

help you gain additional insights into the workings of inflectional affixes.

EXERCISES

31. Write the plural forms of each word listed below:

root	tree	branch
cat	dog	horse
coat	shoe	dress

How many different plural morphemes are represented in the examples above?

Now write the plural forms of each word in the additional lists below:

man	knife	medium	baby	sheep
foot	wolf	alumnus	candy	fish
mouse	wife	phenomenon	lady	Chinese

Write a rule to cover the use of the plural morphemes in each column.

32. Write the possessive forms of each word listed below:

pilot	engineer	stewardess
Jack	Betty	Chris

How many different possessive morphemes are represented in the examples above?

Now write the possessive forms of each plural noun listed below:

cats	men
dogs	alumni
horses	fish

Write a rule to cover the use of the possessive morphemes in each column.

33. Write the third person, singular form (he, she, or it____) of each verb listed below:

walk	run	dash
cough	gag	sneeze

How many different third person, singular verb morphemes are

represented in the examples above?

34. Write the past tense and past perfect (have ____) forms of each verb listed below. Examples: laugh, laughed, laughed; shrink, shrank, shrunk.

- | | | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (a) seem
study
score | (b) walk
puff
hop | (c) hate
fit
fold | (d) hear
say
tell | (e) bend
spend
build |
| (f) make | (g) teach
bring
fight | (h) let
cost
put | (i) run
come | (j) spin
dig
sit |
| (k) take
eat
give | (l) beat
bid | (m) break
choose
hide | (n) chide
rive | (o) write
ride
strive |
| (p) begin
ring
swim | (q) wear
tear
swear | (r) do | (s) fly | (t) blow
draw
see |
| (u) show
sew
sow | (v) be
go | (w) shine
tread
weave | | |

Write a rule to cover the use of the past and past perfect morphemes in each column.

35. Which plural, past tense, and past perfect morphemes are productive in current English?

36. Write the comparative and superlative forms of each adjective list below:

- | | | | | |
|-------|--------|-----------|--------------|------------------------|
| large | mellow | brilliant | attractive | bad |
| bold | hungry | rapid | obnoxious | good |
| dark | clever | adept | professional | little (as a quantity) |

Write a rule to cover the use of the adjective forms in each column.

NOTES

1. In The Categories and Types of Present-Day English Word-Formation,

Marchand severely limits the definition of the term prefix:

Only such particles as are prefixed to full English words of general, learned, scientific, or technical character can be termed prefixes. Hyper- in hyper-sensitive is a prefix, but hyper- in hypertrophy is not, as -trophy is not a word. (p. 132)

As my discussion and examples throughout this chapter will show, I disagree with Marchand's unduly restrictive definition. Diachronically, thousands of words containing prefixes attached to elements that are not "full English words" have come into the language over the centuries, and this vast part of our word-ward cannot be neglected in a study of English word-formation. Whether or not a prefix is placed before an independent word or a bound root, it is still a prefix in terms of the lexical effect it exerts upon the derived word that results. To take the example that Marchand offers, in both hypersensitive and hypertrophy, hyper- yields the meaning "excessive(ly)" and acts with adjectival or adverbial force upon sensitive and -trophy, both of which convey the main idea in each derivative. Moreover, if we approach prefix + bound root words synchronically, we find that many speakers of English are conscious, in varying degrees, of the prefixes that appear in such settings. Examining the four examples given in the list, I would say that many speakers have some sense that predict means "to speak before," progress "to go towards," contain "to hold together," and import "to carry into."

Marchand's logic would seem to compel us to exclude from the category of suffixes morphemes that are attached to the ends of bound

roots, but such a decision would be absurd, and Marchand himself makes no such distinction. To take one of many suffixes that Marchand discusses, under the heading -ic (pp. 294-297) he includes such words as heretic, politic, agnostic, and anthropomorphic, even though here, polit, agnost, and anthropomorph are not English words.

Finally, although instances are rare, prefixes may be attached to bound roots to form new words in the language, as the following case history of the word dystopia proves. The material below is the final section of my article "Shaping the Dystopian Nightmare," English Journal, Vol. 56 (November, 1967) pp. 1132-1135. Dystopia gained official entry into the language in 1973 with the publication of Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary.

NAMING THE NEW MAPS OF HELL

In the above article I have employed the term dystopia, the hell we must prevent, as a contrast to utopia, the heaven we may build. Only after completing "Shaping the Dystopian Nightmare," did I discover that dystopia does not appear in any form in any dictionary, and I feel that we have here a very useful word that needs to be lexicographically recognized.

In his Lives, Plutarch tells us of Lycurgus, who, in the ninth century, B.C., conjured up for his king the vision of an ideal Spartan commonwealth. It was not until over two thousand years later that such visions of the end at which all social life aims were granted a name that stuck. In 1516 Sir Thomas More seasoned our language with the word utopia, which never existed in Greek. He yoked together the Greek prefixes eu (good, favorable, easy) and ou (no) to topos (place and -ia (state of being). Hence, from More's etymological forge sparks not just a crackpot musing of a phantom nowhere, but a vision of something worth striving for. More's historic pun has become firmly established, but what of its dark shadow, the threatening hell about to be born?

With few exceptions, up through the nineteenth century, writers felt that they could fashion effective societies of pure goodness and reason and men would try to build ones like them. But today the best hope of our literary prophets seems to be that if they portray vividly enough the anthill future we are shaping for ourselves, we may take the warning and find ways to avoid it. "Man becomes a manipulated creature,

controlled in even his most private actions and thoughts, his life and death important only as they contribute to the will of an unseen and all-powerful ruler."*

It is a paradox of our age that, now that humankind has reached the scientific and technological level to implement many of the utopian imaginings of the past, the visionaries have begun instead to chart, as Kingsley Amis calls them, new maps of hell.

In dealing with these infernos, much traveling has been done with something less than the best etymological equipment. I have uncovered two sources that use the best word, dystopia. The first is a headline and article in the May 29, 1967 Daily Princetonian, "Students Consider Utopian, Dystopian Studies." The second is the Daedalus Library Volume of Utopias and Utopian Thought (Houghton 1966), edited by Frank E. Manuel. In this comprehensive collection of essays, most of which first appeared in the spring of 1965, Professors Lewis Mumford, Crane Brinton, and Manuel employ dystopia a total of thirteen times, and we find that it possesses a number of competitors. In his "Utopia, the City and the Machine," Mumford asks:

And, if the ancient city was indeed utopia, what qualities in human nature or what defects in its own constitution caused it to change, almost as soon as it had taken form, into its opposite: a negative utopia, a dystopia, or kakotopia? (p. 15)

Four essays later, in "Toward a Psychological History of Utopias," Manuel considers "the satirical utopia or what has been variously called the dystopia, anti-utopia, or contra-utopia" (p. 71). There are many pretenders, but dystopia is, as Mark Twain would say, the right word that "lights the reader's way and makes it plain."

If there is to be a standard term in the English language for such literature, it ought to be one that can be transformed into an adjective as readily as utopia is into utopian, for the adjective is likely to be the more useful term: utopian existence, utopian literature, etc. Therefore, negative utopia and its brother, inverted utopia should be passed over because of their rhythmical awkwardness. We can see the difficulties multiply: an inverted utopian sounds both clumsy and acrobatic.

Contra-utopia and the popular anti-utopia have the advantage of being somewhat easier to say, especially in adjective form,

* From Harold C. Martin's introduction to the Riverside edition of Lost Horizon, one of the few "pure utopias" written in our century.

but their meaning, "the state of being opposed to a favorable situation," is ambiguous. Would an anti-utopian be a person consciously opposed to the idea of utopia as an anti-communist is opposed to communism? And since More's City proclaims "My name is Eutopie: a place of felicity," what is a negative or satiric good-place?

Dystopia and cacotopia make the most economical inversions and the most legitimate uses of the Greek formations. In choosing between them, it is most profitable to go back to the meaning of eu- to compare it more directly with caco- and dys-. In Greek, to cite a variety of examples, it may mean simply good (eueidēs: good-looking), noble (eugenēs: of noble birth), favorable (euphēmia: a favorable way of speaking), easy or happy (euphoros: easy to bear, elating), or even quite (euthumos: quite spirited, high spirited). The Greeks used both caco- and dys- to forge almost all types of antonyms to eu- compounds, but so many preferred the dys- compounds in their literature that in our loan-words from Greek they far outnumber the caco- compounds as antonyms to the corresponding eu- forms.

Turning to Webster's Third International Dictionary, we encounter seventeen eu-prefixed distinct root words which possess corresponding dys- or caco- antonym forms. The preponderance is clear: fifteen paired dys- compounds to only three caco- compounds; and only one caco- form, cacophony, is more commonly used than its dys- competitor.

English usage has expanded the connotations of eu- and dys- slightly beyond the Greek. Eugenics, the study of improving hereditary qualities of a race or breed, and dysgenics, the study of racial degeneration, suggest a progression toward a most or least favorable state. Dystrophy and dysentery afford the best examples of the deterioration that the prefix so often suggests.

Inasmuch as this deterioration is generally pathological, dystopian is the most appropriate term for literature that describes the progressive degeneration of the body politic. The maps of hell should be called dystopias on the grounds of legitimacy of derivation, grace of rhythm, absence of ambiguity, and ease of usage.

2. See William Safire's discussion of my analysis in "On Language," The New York Times Magazine, August 5, 1979, p. 8. An alternative explanation is that another has undergone metanalysis, or faulty division, in the same way that an ickname and an ewt have become

a nickname and a newt. It would seem, however, that another has not been redivided into a nother in that no one speaks or writes nother as a separate word.

See Mark H. Aronoff, Word-Structure, Ph.D. Dissertation, M.I.T., Cambridge, Mass., 1969, Aug. 1974, pp. 144-146 for a discussion of the rule for infixing fuckin.

3. 6,000 Words: A Supplement to Webster's Third New International Dictionary, 1976, p. 15a.

4. In Morphological Investigations, Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Connecticut, 1978, p. 7, Margaret Reece Allen contends that in words composed of un- + base + -ful (or presumably another suffix like -ly) the un- must be attached to the base + -ful stem since un- + noun (as in *unfaith) is not a possible English word. But in addition to Lewis Carroll's unbirthday, George Orwell's unperson, and the anonymous huckster's Uncola, we may cite unrest and untruth as exceptions to Allen's generalization.

5. In A Grammar of Contemporary English, p. 979, the authors offer only one possible bracketing sequence for unfriendly: (1) friend;

(2) (friend)-ly; (3) un- $\overline{[(\text{friend})-\text{ly}]}$; (4) $\{ \text{un-} \overline{[(\text{friend})-\text{li}]} \}$ -ness.

My analysis, on the other hand, shows two possible sequences for steps 3 and 4.

6. Don and Alleen Nilsen, Language Play; An Introduction to Linguistics (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1979), p. 43.

7. The Nilsens, p. 59, argue that, in colloquial expressions like gonna, wanna, and oughta, to has become a suffix. Additional proof is the ability of to to assimilate a preceding voiced sound and make it voiceless, as in supposta, hafta, and usta. The authors also call

attention to the phenomenon of dissimilation, as in in- + noble = ignoble (p. 92).

8. See Julia Falk, Linguistics and Language: A Survey of Basic Concepts and Implications, 2nd Edition (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1973, 1978) pp. 39-40, and Adrian Akmajian, Richard A. Demers, Robert M. Harnish, Linguistics: An Introduction to Language and Communication (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1979), p. 135.

9. The problem is further complicated by the inconvenient facts that re- does attach to a few intransitive verbs, as in reawaken, and a few nouns, as in rebirth.

10. I have compiled this list from three sources that show almost total agreement in identifying the twenty prefixes: James I. Brown, "Reading and Vocabulary," Word Study, May 1949, pp. 1-4; Janet M. Rule, The Structure of Words, pp. 58-81; and Robert Kempton, Discoverer I Guidebook, p. 2.

11. This is a useful guideline; but it does not work in every case. Psych, for example, can appear only at the beginning or middle of English words and logy, "study of," only at the end.

12. Marchand assigns prefixes three possible grammatical functions in a derivative: "adjectival force," as in anteroom, ex-consul; "adverbial force," as in inaccessible, rewrite; and "prepositional force," as in international, encage (p. 134). Why then are aut, tele, and pan, which function adjectivally or adverbially, classed as roots or combining forms in most dictionaries and vocabulary books?

13. There can, of course, be a change in the pronunciation of the base word with no accompanying change in stress: nation-national, zeal-zealous. Note how the c assumes three different pronunciations in electric-electricity-electrician.

Albert H. Markwardt's observations are worth quoting here:

The great influx of Latin and French words into English has added to our difficulties in another way. The native English word stock still adheres to the Germanic pattern of fixed stress upon the root syllable, no matter how many derivative affixes may be added to the base: witness kind, kindly, unkind, kindness, kindest, kindliness. On the other hand, borrowed series such as family, familiar or aristocrat, aristocracy reflect the shifting stress patterns of the languages from which they were derived as well as the gradation and neutralization of the unstressed vowels. Our spelling offers no clues to either of these phenomena.

Linguistics and the Teaching of Language (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966), p. 89.

14. Sources for this list are Janet M. Rule, The Structure of Words (Cambridge, Mass.: Educators Publishing Service, 1963), pp. 74-84; F. Allen Briggs, The Play of Words (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972), pp. 117-118; and James I. Brown, "Reading and Vocabulary," Word Study, Vol. XXIV, No. 5, (May 1949), pp. 1-4.
15. A comparison of this matrix with the one presented in the chapter on "Function Shift" illustrates the resources that English words possess for changing grammatical classes.
16. Bleacher and sweater illustrate the way in which a word that comes into the language as slang can lose its metaphorical vitality in the process of becoming a standard English word. Few of us think of the idea of bleaching in the bleachers or sweating in a sweater. Thus, we see nothing at all paradoxical about indoor bleachers and lightweight sweaters.
17. In addition to the ubiquitous -er, we may note more than thirty additional noun agency suffixes which, when they are attached to free or bound morphemes, mean essentially "one who":

artisan
defendant
beggar
drunkard
parliamentarian
braggart
adversary
gymnast
magistrate
maniac
beautician
saviour

Jacobean
escapee
auctioneer
reverend
comedienne
respondent
restaurateur
masseuse
musician
alcoholic
courtier
Benedictine

artist
Laborite
administratrix
hireling
harlot
actor
actress
spinster
seamstress
simpleton
wastrel
creature

18. Each triad shows how suffixes may assume various meanings with the passage of time. -ster: (a) female who (b) person who (c) thing that. -able: (a) able to be (b) able to (c) in. -ette: (a) female who (b) small (c) imitation. -ly: (a) like (b) each (c) coming at the right. -ish: (a) characteristic of (b) approximating (c) unattractively like.

19. Here are brief answers to the ten questions posed.

(1) The great majority of suffixes attach to one part of speech. Exceptions to the rule include -ist (violinist, loyalist), -ism (impressionism, Catholicism), -ify (beautify, simplify), -ize (symbolize, fertilize), and -ful (faithful, forgetful).

(2) Frequently, a word containing a suffix may function as more than one part of speech, usually as a noun and adjective: animal, Chinese, barbarian, acid, native, and the like. In such cases, the suffix was first added and then conversion set to work to change the grammatical classification of the whole word. In other cases, it appears that the suffix itself is responsible for determining the part of speech of the derived word. This happens when the suffix appears in two or more words, each of which functions primarily as a part of speech different from the other: thankful (adj.), mouthful (n.); friendly (adj.), softly (adv.); descendant (n.), distant (adj.); senate (n.), desolate (adj.), exaggerate (v.).

(3) -less, -like, ful(1), and -able. Three of the four are Anglo-Saxon suffixes. As the discussion on free morphemes illustrates, -hood, -ship, -wise, and the like do not qualify.

(4) Some foreign suffixes attach primarily to bound morphemes: senate graduate, edible, possible, solid, acid; some primarily to free morphemes: passage, bondage, employee, refugee, baker, diner; and some attach to both: national, animal, alcoholic, cosmetic, localize, sanitize, drunkard, wizard. The Old English suffixes show no such variety: they attach only to free morphemes. Such a phenomenon makes perfect sense in light of the fact that most Old English suffixes were themselves once free morphemes.

(5) Examples include cigar-cigarette, photograph-photography, solid-solidify, nation-national, zeal-zealous, family-familiar, and sane-sanity. The general rule is that such shifts in stress and/or pronunciation occur only when a borrowed suffix is attached to a borrowed base.

(6) Most suffixes assume secondary or tertiary stress. Suffixes that take primary stress include -eer, -ee, -ite, -ism, -ation, and -esque.

(7) As the earlier discussion of "Suffixes and Meaning" indicates, the meanings of suffixes are less stable than those of prefixes. Examples of semantically variant suffixes are given in that discussion.

(8) Many derivational suffixes can be followed by other derivational suffixes, as in faithfulness, civilization, and antidisestablishmentarianism. -ness seems always to come at the very end of a derived word.

(9) The use of a borrowed, rather than a native suffix often generates a word that seems to be more learned and more abstract. Saneness and humanness are more concrete and "earthy" than sanity and humanity.

(10) Suffixes like -ly, -ness, -y, -able (with verbs), -ism, and -ize

continue to be used at will to form new words. Others, like -ant, -th, -dom, -hood, and -able (with nouns), are still felt as suffixes existing in a considerable number of words but have lost much of their power as formative elements.

20. Marchand, pp. 356-357.

21. Diachronically, most of the second-hand suffixes discussed in this section were, in the minds of their creators, coined as blends; but synchronically present-day users are not particularly aware of the original constituents that formed the words.

I would posit two criteria for distinguishing words containing second-hand suffixes from those that are blends. First, words like cheeseburger, fishfurter, talkathon, beautyrama, workaholic, and washateria almost always appear to be made from a free morpheme followed by a bound suffix. Cinerama and telethon are the only two exceptions I can think of. Blends like smog, motel, and vidiot do not possess this apparent structure. Second, the second-hand suffixes discussed are vigorously productive and generate one new word after another through the process of analogy.

22. Marchand does not include inflectional morphemes in his treatment of word-formation:

an inflectional morpheme has not a primarily semantic value, it forms an inflected form of one and the same word, not a new lexical unit. Inflectional morphemes, therefore, are not relevant to word-formation. (p. 4)

ANSWERS TO THE EXERCISES

1. Carroll purposefully concocts eye-catching and ear-catching words by violating some of the basic conventions of word-formation. Curiouser strikes us as odd because we generally do not add the morpheme -er to three-syllable adjectives; unbirthday seems strange because we seldom prefix un- to nouns (untruth is the only example in common use); and uglification flies in the face of the rule that states that we add -fication to nouns, not to adjectives.
2. (a) Uncola is a rare instance of prefixing un- to a noun. (b) Ultra- is generally prefixed to adjectives, such as ultraviolet, not to nouns. (c) dilly is a kind of infix placed in the midst of scrumptious as well as being a pun on delicious. (d) Midasize does follow the rule of word-formation in which -ize may be attached to nouns to form verbs, as in fossilize; but the suffixing of -ize to a proper noun is striking. (e) While manhandle is an English verb, Manhandlers appears to be a newly created noun. (f) Manwich is both a clever shortening of the concept "sandwich fit for a man's appetite" and a strikingly formed word in that man does not generally combine with bound roots. (g) The comparative morpheme -er, meaning "more," is added, in this ditty, to a noun, brownie, and a compound doughnut, both impossible in normal English.
3. Answers should include words like effable, imicable, scrutable, delible, peccable, trepid, and gruntled. Students should notice that most negative-without-positive words are prefixed by in- or an assimilated form of in-.
4. Answers should include constructions that follow existing patterns for word-formation. Examples are unsee, premit, hatable, inchage, combobulated. Using existing morphemes, students may form impossible

words in a number of ways, including the violation of existing patterns of formation -- redesk, jumpish; the use of a bound morpheme alone -- cept, ation; or the misordering of morphemes -- heatpre, domfree.

5. Examples include monopoly, bicycle, pentagon, decade, hectograph, kilometer, megaton; universe, duplicate, quintuplet, century, millennium.

6. Illegal, misconstrue, nonviolence, disobey, asymmetric, antisocial (or unsocial), impatient, informal, de-emphasize, counterproposal, unconstitutional, irrevocable.

7. The in- in inflammable is mistakenly interpreted as meaning "not." Therefore, the word is not really redundant although it is confusing to many people. In irregardless, the ir-, an assimilated form of in- forms, with the suffix -less, an embarrassment of negatives.

8. Examples include ad + climated = acclimated; com + lect = collect; dis + fident = diffident; ob + fend = offend; sub + port = support; and syn + bol = symbol. In all cases but the last, the double letter facilitates pronunciation. In symbol, the m before the b creates ease of pronunciation with adjacent lip sounds.

9. A knowledge of the prefixes ob- (assimilated to oc-), ad- (assimilated to ac-), and mis- helps a writer to preserve the double letters in occurrence, accommodate, and misspell. A clear sense of the prefixes re-, dis-, and pre- helps prevent the common misspellings recommmend, dissappoint, and predjudice.

10. The first two columns reveal that there are really two different prefixes that we write as un-. The one in column one means "not," while the one in column two reverses the action of the verb to which it is attached. Un- always attaches to free morphemes. Most of the

adjectives to which un- is prefixed are themselves derived through suffixation. Occasionally, as in the case of unloosen (and unravel) the prefix seems to intensify rather than reverse the meaning of the base verb.

In-, like the un- in the first column, means "not." In-, unlike un-, takes the assimilated forms of il-, im-, and ir- (column four) and tends to attach to words that take Latinate endings. Most negative words prefixed by un- exist in positive form while many in- prefixed words, such as indelible and impeccable, do not. Unlike un-, in- can assume primary stress in the derived word and alter the pronunciation of the base, as in impotent and infinite. (Allen, pp. 13-23)

11. (a) spec - look, see; (b) cred - belief, trust; (c) hydr - water; (d) vict - conquer; (e) gram - write; (f) tort - twist; (g) bio - life; (h) ject - throw; (i) fer - bear; (j) mit - send; (k) cept - take, seize; (l) duc - lead.

In sequences (a) through (g) the meanings of the roots can be inferred with relative ease from the meanings of the words. Aronoff (p. 33) points out that this is not the case with clusters like (h) through (l).

"There is no meaning which can be assigned to any of these stems, and combined with the presumable constant meanings of the prefixes in a consistent way, to produce the meanings of all the verbs in that stem.

Each stem occurs in different verbs, but never with the same sense.

Rather the sense is determined by the individual verb."

12. (a) receive; (b) intercept; (c) captive; (d) anticipate; (e) receptive; (f) deceit; (g) capable.

13. Using the lists of clues, students should arrive at the following

definitions: (a) feeling against; (b) running from; (c) bad place; (d) good sound; (e) turn into; (f) large spirited; (g) father name (or word); (h) backwards look (i) speaking alone; (j) under the earth; (k) voice carrying. While such gluing together of roots and affixes provides useful clues to the literal meaning of each word, students will, in most cases, have to consult their dictionaries to discover the actual meaning.

14. Fear of: (a) heights; (b) open spaces; (c) water (aquaphobia is the only Latin-Greek hybrid in the bunch; hydrophobia is possible, but the word has assumed the meaning of "rabies"); (d) cats; (e) pain; (f) the stars; (g) thunder; (h) time; (i) dogs; (j) people; (k) electricity; (l) being alone; (m) darkness; (n) snakes; (o) light; (p) fire; (q) the number 13; (4) foreigners. With a little work, students should be able to create phobias like ichthophobia, "fear of fish," or, more fancifully, ovaopsiphobia, "fear of having egg on one's face."

15. Calculate: pebble used in reckoning, stone used at the gaming table; connive: to close the eyes, to wink; disaster: bad stars; inaugurate: rites connected with augury (the foretelling of omens); pandemonium: John Milton's place for "all the demons"; preposterous: before + after + ous, putting the hindmost part first; salary: salt (money paid to Roman soldiers to purchase salt); supercilious: high eyebrow; tantalize: from Tantalus, a legendary king condemned to stand up to the chin in a pool of water in Hades and beneath fruit-laden boughs only to have the water and fruit recede at each attempt to drink or eat. All of these etymologies aid the learning and retention of meaning and reveal the semantic evolution of the words.

16. In all likelihood, television got the upper hand over video because it followed a strong, common pattern -- tele, meaning "far," followed by a base characterizing the function of the invention, as in telegraph, telephone, telescope, and teletype. The recently coined teleprompter and television show that the pattern is still productive. The handy acronym t.v. may have also helped to establish the dominance of television. It is interesting that the term video is still used for devices not in ordinary home use that transmit and record electronic images, as in video games and videotape; and videorecorders are finding their way into the home. Thus, video appears to be making a comeback.

17. Answers will vary.

18. Depressed, delighted, delivered, deluded, detested; disposed, dissolved, discussed, distrusted, distilled.

The humor of these examples is based on the fact that the prefixes de- and dis- have a number of meanings and that these meanings are not always clear in the modern use of a word. In addition, the meanings of the roots, which have become obscure with the passing of time, have been "erroneously" reinterpreted to form puns.

A few of the many examples that students should have fun concocting are manicurists - defiled; coquettes - decoyed; podiatrists - defeated; hairdressers - distressed; reweavers - dispatched; demoninationists - dissected.

19. An exercise for only the most advanced students. Using a Greek-English dictionary, we come up with the following suggestions: (a) holograph; (b) aereopurolator; (c) callisannanixifier; (d) transvocalator; (e) phono-dictagraph; (f) hypnopaediator (adapted from Aldous Huxley's Brave New

World); (g) hirsutative; (h) mnemoniac; (i) genohamartiaceia; (j) telekinesizer.

Students should debate the advantages and disadvantages of such terms as compared with "three-dimensional image projector," "polluted air-cleaner," etc. This exercise correlates with exercise 8, in Chapter 2 on compounding.

20. This little poem makes a pathetic contrast between the speaker's past blind illusions concerning a girl or woman who has died and his present bleak awareness of her physical death. It had not occurred to him that she might, like us all, be subject to death and decay; but now the motionless slumber of the girl has waked him from the slumber that has possessed his spirit. Now he becomes aware, as never before, of the impersonal, monotonous rolling of the earth through space -- the mechanical universe in which we live our lives and die our deaths.

The childlike ballad stanza, with its steady, simple beat, makes all the more poignant the desolate vision of the dead girl caught within the ever-turning globe that carries her through the daily course. The insistent spondee "Rolled round" and the choice of the word diurnal, meaning "having a daily cycle," help us to see the dead girl as absorbed in the turning rhythms of the earth. The Latinate, scientific, trisyllabic diurnal (rather than the shorter, Anglo-Saxon daily) emphasizes the bleak truth that the speaker has discovered.

This exercise is adapted from Thomas A. Carnicelli's History of the English Language course at the University of New Hampshire

21. Artist, dullard, mountaineer, musician, opponent, servant, writer.

22. Acreage, activist, continuation, dependence, existence, fulfillment, growth, happiness, inquiry, kingship, parenthood, potency, sanity, weight.

ashy, cannibalistic, demonic, divisive (or dividing, divisible), friendly, lucky, luxurious, penniless, picturesque (or pictorial), primary (or primal), remedial, Spanish, tempestuous, thankful, tiring (or tired), uppity.

codify, materialize, motivate, satirize, salivate, weaken.

23. -ette (majorette), -ix (aviatrix), -ess (actress), -ster (spinster), -stress (seamstress).

-let (booklet), -ling (duckling), -ette (kitchenette). Note that -ette occurs in both lists.

24. People who say and write height are probably operating on the apparent model of depth-width-breadth-length, in which -th is used to form nouns of dimension. Words like lowth, greenth, illth, and coolth have not gained permanence in our vocabulary either because such words are easily converted to nouns without the necessity of adding a suffix ("the high and the low," "the green," "the good and the ill," etc.) or because the competing suffix -ness has won out over -th (lowness, greenness, illness).

25. Midasize follows a time-tested pattern of adding -ize to a proper noun, as in Fletcherize, tantalize, and bowdlerize. As an advertising gimmick that is intended to be catchy and clever, it seems acceptable and is certainly more concise than the phrase "let Midas replace your muffler." Finalize and prioritize smack of bureaucratise. The first seems especially obnoxious since words like finish, complete, end, and conclude are able to do the same work. Prioritize may be more acceptable because it is shorter than "to give priority to," and favor is not a sufficiently precise synonym. Still, prioritize seems cumbersome because the addition of -ize to a derived noun has little precedent in word formation.

26. In feminism, the suffix appears to possess its original meaning of "belief in," although we may wonder why the word is not femalism. In sexism and agism the suffix has taken on the meaning of "bias against." Such a development seems to be consistent with the semantic evolution of many other suffixes discussed in the section "Suffixes and Meaning" and in this case seems useful as no concise alternative exists.

27. Before the twentieth century, only a comparative few words existed that contained the -wise ending: likewise, lengthwise, otherwise, crosswise, and a few others. Beginning around 1940, especially in America, the suffix began proliferating rapidly; and its nauseating use in the mutilation of Hamlet's fourth soliloquy is obviously meant to spoof the trend.

While the educated speaker and writer today employs -wise at his or her great peril, the suffix does have the virtue of circumventing the more cumbersome "in respect to" or "in the manner of." Predicting the future productivity of -wise can make a useful exercise.

28. In the first three columns every odd example is an existing English word, while the even words seem abnormal. The generalization we may make is that -able may attach only to transitive verbs. Still, we may wonder why laughable is normal (even though logic dictates *laugh-at-able) while cryable isn't and why the transitive verb + -able examples in the fourth column seem strange.

29. I have included this exercise as an example of what seems to me to be an insoluble problem. I can discover no phonological, etymological, morphological, or semantic criteria for distinguishing between the normal and abnormal words in the lists.

30. Most good dictionaries will provide students with the following information:

(a) -itis is a Greek suffix denoting "disease or inflammation."

In current English -itis attaches to free morphemes and adds the meaning "excess of the qualities of." (b) Cavalcade descends from the French cavalcare, "to go on horseback." -Cade has become a detached suffix that means "procession of." (c) Mobile is a Latinate root signifying "capable of moving or being moved." In current English, mobile has become a suffix meaning "a vehicle usually of four wheels." (d) Nudnik is Yiddish slang for "bothersome person." -Nik is used as a jocular suffix, meaning roughly "one who." (e) Broadcast is a compound from which the cast has been detached to become a suffix in words like newscast, sportscast, and telecast.

From the examples in the text and exercise 30, students may note four kinds of language materials from which second-hand suffixes spring: (1) from previously existing suffixes: -itis, -nik; (2) from previously existing bound roots: mobile, arama; (3) from independent words: cast; (4) from sounds and combinations of letters that had no previous existence as distinct morphemes: -burger, -furter, -athon, -rama, -aholic, -omat, -ateria, -cade.

31. Roots, cats, coats; trees, dogs, shoes; branches, horses, dresses. In writing there appear to be two forms of the plural ending -- -s and -es. However, when we listen to the spoken language, we discover that, in terms of their sounds, there are three plural endings -- /s/, in column one; /z/, in column two; and /əz/, in column three.

men, feet, mice; knives, wolves, wives; media, alumni, phenomena; babies, candies, ladies; sheep, fish (or fishes, when we talk of more than one species of fish), Chinese. The teacher may wish to allow the students to devise elaborate rules to account for the pluralization in each column: (1) m-n, f-t, and m-s are stems into which two sounds are infixed to

denote singular and plural; (2) for nouns ending in /f/, the /f/ changes to /v/ and is followed by /z/; (3) Latin and Greek forms like these contain matching pairs: -um, -a (although some words, like symposium may take the Latin or the English plural); -us, -i; -on, -a; (4) nouns ending in y add the sound /z/ but, in writing, the y changes to i and es is added; (5) there is no change in form.

However, in dealing with the inflectional morphemes in these exercises, teachers will do well to heed Dwight Bolinger's excellent advice:

There are two ways of handling irregularities. One can simply view them as divisible semantically but not physically, saying that dug is dig + past and children is child + plural, or one can try to identify their parts, saying that d-g represents the stem and that /I/ → /ʌ/, ... is an allomorph of the past morpheme. Such morpheme-chopping was once a popular pastime among linguists but is no longer in vogue. After all, if the word decade includes the meanings 'period,' 'ten,' and 'year' without making us feel compelled to identify each meaning with a physical segment of the word, it should be possible to regard wrote as a unit including 'to write' and past without having to decide which part corresponds to which meaning.

Regarding Language (New York: Harcourt
Brace Jovanovich, 1972) p. 81.

32. Pilot's, Jack's; engineer's, Betty's; stewardess's, Chris's. In writing, there appears to be only one form of the possessive morpheme at the end of singular nouns -- 's. But in the spoken words we hear the same three as we heard in the plural forms of nouns -- /s/, /z/, and /əz/.

cats', dogs', horses'; men's, alumni's, fish's. To form the possessive, plural nouns ending in -s take 's'; all other plural nouns take 's.

33. Walks, coughs, runs, gags; dashes, sneezes.

Identically with the plural endings, third person, singular verbs add -s and -es in writing, but /s/, /z/, and /əz/ in the spoken language.

34. (a)	seem	seemed	seemed	(b)	walk	walked	walked
	study	studied	studied		puff	puffed	puffed
	score	scored	scored		hop	hopped	hopped
(c)	hate	hated	hated	(d)	hear	heard	heard
	fit	fitted	fitted		say	said	said
	fold	folded	folded		tell	told	told
(e)	bend	bent	bent	(f)	make	made	made
	spend	spent	spent				
	build	built	built				
(g)	teach	taught	taught	(h)	let	let	let
	bring	brought	brought		cost	cost	cost
	fight	fought	fought		put	put	put
(i)	run	ran	run	(j)	spin	spun	spun
	come	came	come		dig	dug	dug
					sit	sat	sat
(k)	take	took	taken	(l)	beat	beat	beaten
	eat	ate	eaten		bid	bid	bidden
	give	gave	given				
(m)	break	broke	broken	(n)	chide	chided	chidden
	choose	chose	chosen		rive	rived	riven
	hide	hid	hidden				
(o)	write	wrote	written	(p)	begin	began	begun
	ride	rode	ridden		ring	rang	rung
	strive	strove	striven		swim	swam	swum
(q)	wear	wore	worn	(r)	do	did	done
	tear	tore	torn				
	swear	swore	sworn				
(s)	fly	flew	flown	(t)	blow	blew	blown
					draw	drew	drawn
					see	saw	seen
(u)	show	showed	shown	(v)	be	was	been
	sew	sewed	sewn		go	went	gone
	sow	sowed	sown				
(w)	shine (to glow)	shone	shone	shine (shoes)	shined	shined	
	tread (to walk)	trod	trodden	tread (water)	treaded	treaded	
	weave (cloth)	wove	woven	weave (through traffic)	weaved	weaved	

If we persist in trying to match morphemes with sounds (or letters), we may posit the following rules: Columns (a)-(g) are weak (or irregular) verbs that take dental endings -- /d/, /t/, or /əd/ -- in the past (henceforth p) and perfect (henceforth perf). (a) add /d/ to base for p

and perf; (b) add /t/ to base for p and perf; (c) add /əd/ to base for p and perf; (d) vowel change + /d/ in p and perf; (e) vowel change + /t/ replaced /d/ in p and perf; (f) /d/ replaces /k/ in p and perf; (g) /ot/ after initial consonants in p and perf.

Columns (h)-(v) are strong (or irregular) verbs that change tense not by taking dental endings in their past and perfect but by changing vowels, adding /n/ or /ən/, or some other method. The irregular verbs are arranged here in such a way that they move from let-let-let, the most "homogeneous," to go-went-gone, the most "anomolous," by changing only one of the three morphological relationships at a time. To do this, I am assuming that the pronunciation of been is British: bēn.

(h)	let	let	let	no change
	↓		↓	
(i)	run	ran	run	vowel change in p; inf and perf identical
	↓	↓		
(j)	spin	spun	spun	vowel change in p; p and perf identical
	↓	↓		
(k)	take	took	taken	vowel change in p; perf = inf + /ɔn/
	↓	↓	↓	
(l)	beat	beat	beaten	inf and p identical; perf = inf + /ən/
	↓	↓	↓	
(m)	break	broke	broken	vowel change in p; perf = p + /ən/
	↓	↓	↓	
(n)	chide	chided	chidden	p = inf + / d/; vowel change + /ən/ in perf
	↓	↓	↓	
(o)	write	wrote	written	systematic vowel shift throughout; perf takes /ən/
	↓	↓	↓	
(p)	begin	began	begun	systematic vowel shift throughout
	↓	↓		
(q)	wear	wore	worn	vowel change in p; perf = p + /n/
	↓	↓	↓	
(r)	do	did	done	vowel change throughout; + /d/ in p, /n/ in perf
	↓	↓	↓	
(s)	fly	flew	flown	vowel shift throughout; /n/ in inf
	(↓)	↓	↓	
(t)	blow	blew	blown	vowel change in p; perf = inf + /n/
	↓	↓	↓	
(u)	show	showed	shown	p takes /d/; perf takes /n/
	↓	↓	↓	
(v)	be	was	been (bēn)	p is anomalous; perf = inf + /n/
	↓	↓		
(v)	go	went	gone	p is anomalous; vowel change + /n/ in perf

35. The last column in exercise 34 leads us to the answer to this exercise.

This history of English is marked by a progressive winning out of the weak verb form over the strong. Thus, Old English helpan, healp, holpen has become help, helped, helped; and, except in the most poetic settings, crowed has supplanted crew as the past tense of crow. Moreover, we have come to accept the weak verb pattern as the "normal" one in modern English so that all new verbs that enter the language are invariably conjugated weakly, radio, radioed, radioed and televise, televised, televised being two twentieth century examples.

Despite this trend, we shake our heads and our fingers at the "illiterate" who uses knowed for knew, goed for went, or seed for saw, and we smile patronizingly at the little child who innocently creates drawed, teached, and writed.

The ten /d/ past tense verbs that follow may look like the abusing or amusing coinages of an unschooled adult or child; but a journey through Webster's Third New International Dictionary reveals that they are, in fact, perfectly legitimate forms in their proper settings: flied, hanged, leaved, letted, ringed, shined, spitted, sticked, treaded, weaved.

The batter flied out. They hanged the cattle rustler. When spring arrived, all the trees leaved. Tracy Austin letted three consecutive serves. The crowd ringed the Pope. John shined his shoes. They spitted the pig. The farmer sticked the vines. He treaded water. The car weaved its

way through the heavy traffic.

In a similar fashion the /s/, /z/, and /z/ inflections are the only ones we have for forming plural nouns, even though there are many older forms that we recognize in common words, like media, alumni, and children. Thus, in its current restrictions on the resources for creating new inflected nouns and verbs, the language seems to be reflecting the tendency of little children to regularize grammatical morphemes in the language.

36. larger, largest, bolder, boldest, darker, darkest; mellow, mellowest; hungrier, hungriest; cleverer, cleverest (more and most + base are, in varying degrees of "Englishness," possible with each adjective in column two); more brilliant, most brilliant, more rapid, most rapid; more adept, most adept; more attractive, most attractive, more obnoxious, most obnoxious, more professional, most professional; bad, worse, worst, good, better, best, little, less, least.

One-syllable adjectives add -er and -est to form their comparative and superlative degrees. Adjectives of three or more syllables take more and most before their base forms. Two-syllable adjectives can go either way, and no generalization appears to exist that predicts which form such an adjective will take. Some adjectives, like unique and infinite do not have comparative and superlative degrees.

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CHAPTER 5
FUNCTION SHIFT

If a teacher asks an English class, "What part of speech is hand?" the students will dutifully chorus, "A noun."

"In 'Hand me your papers'?"

"Well, no, in that case it's a verb," a few voices will reply with less assurance.

"In 'I bought some hand lotion'?"

"Oh, oh. There it's an adjective."¹

In this dialogue, hand, when it is a noun, means "a part of the body used for grasping." When hand becomes a verb, as in the second sentence above, it signifies "to transfer by hand." As an adjective in the third sentence its meaning is "for use on the hands." The ability of English words to pass from one part of speech to another without any basic change in form is called function shift, or conversion.² It adds new meanings to words.³

Flexible English. Even though dictionaries carefully supply information about the uses of the same word as n., v., adj., and the like, many students will cling to the misguided belief that each word in English must be classified as a single part of speech. But language is much less rigid than students often realize when they study the pigeonholes called the parts of speech, into which words are put so neatly. Because modern English has shed most of the flexional endings that distinguish one part of speech from another,⁴ its words possess the happy facility of changing function with great ease. Function shift endows our language with vitality and power

and a prolific source of new words. Here, for example, is what William Safire has to say about a new verb in the English language -- to parent:

"Parenting" is a good new word. "Mothering" carries a connotation of protection or nurture; "fathering," or "siring," means causing an offspring to be born, metaphorically extended to a country, cause or invention (Edward Teller is known as the "father of the H-bomb"; nobody can be called "mother of the H-bomb").

Because mothering and fathering have gained specific connotations beyond parenthood, "parenting" is a useful way of being specific about being a parent without getting bollized up with the role of each parent or bogged down in sex arguments.

New York Times Magazine, April 20, 1980.

Nouns <---> Verbs. The most common variety of function shift is the transfer of a word established as a noun into a verb.⁵ Consider, for example, the names we give to the parts of the body. Almost any of these can, without much ado or ceremony, be made into a verb. We may head a committee, eye our opponent, face a problem, foot a bill, shoulder or elbow our way through a crowd, or toe a mark -- without any modification in the form of each word. Think hard, and you may be able to discover fifty examples of such anatomical verbs.⁶

Another class of words that vividly illustrates the ease of movement from noun to verb is animal names. We may wolf our food, fish for a compliment, and badger our parents for emergency funds. How many other zoological examples can you add?⁷

Although this kind of noun-verb conversion has been going on in our language for centuries, new instances continue to draw fire from those who wish to protect the purity of the English tongue. Recently the use of contact and author as verbs has shocked the purists, but both words have attained recognition in the dictionary as verbs as well as

nouns. Here is William Safire again, on the verb to contact:

"Contact" is rooted in the Latin tangere, to touch. Everyone accepts "get in touch with" -- so what's the big fuss about "contact," which means the same thing? The brouhaha (from the Hebrew "Blessed be he who enters") was stirred by the sudden appearance of the verb "to contact" as an Americanism more than a generation ago and its avid adoption by businessmen. When a new usage, with impeccable etymology, slowly comes on stage, it is tolerated and finally welcomed, but when it comes on like "Gangbusters," it is ridiculed. ... "Contact" has fought its way into standard usage. The word still lends itself to fads -- "Contact!" was the shout to early aviators, and "contact sport" is tossed about today to describe touch dancing on the gridiron. These fade, but the simple expression rooted in the metaphor of individuals reaching out and feeling each other is with the language for good. Use it without shame, and stay in touch.

New York Times Magazine, June 8, 1980.

Other nouns become verbs only when there is an accompanying change in stress or pronunciation: -se words like use, house, and excuse; -ate words like affiliate, graduate, and separate; and -f words like shelf, half, and relief.⁸ Examine the following list of words that are capable of leading double lives as nouns and verbs:

addict	contract	permit	record
address	digest	present	refuse
combat	increase	progress	suspect
conduct	object	rebel	transplant

Does the stress you give to each of the words above always follow the pattern con duct (noun) -con duct (verb)? What does your dictionary say about which syllable is accented? Is meaning ever a factor? Do any of the words above change pronunciation when they change stress and function?⁹

Just as nouns often become verbs, verbs may be converted into nouns.

We may, for example, take a break, cut, drive, look, rest, run, stand, or walk. One direction that contemporary English seems to be taking is seen in the conversion of two-syllable verbs into nouns, often of the informal or slang variety and often with a shift of stress from the back to the front syllable:¹⁰

admit	reject	rerun
combine	remake	retard
rehash	repeat	rewrite
	replay	

Nouns \longleftrightarrow Adjectives. The traffic back and forth between nouns and adjectives is also remarkably free in modern English. For an imposing list of noun-into-adjective conversions, we may again turn to the names of the parts of the body: head librarian, eye glasses, shoulder strap, hand lotion, finger bowl, toe nail, and so on.

Adjectives may, in turn, don nounal qualities as we can see in the following colorful examples. An event may happen out of the blue, or we may listen to the blues. We may eat the white of an egg or fire when we see the whites of the enemy's eyes. We may drive for the green or hang greens for Christmas. When a business stays out of the red and in the black, the boss will feel in the pink. Noun-adjective switches that are accompanied by changes in pronunciation and stress include complex, minute, and invalid, while among verb-adjective pairings of this type of absent, close, perfect, and -ate words like approximate, elaborate, and separate.

Convertible English. As the distinctions between one part of speech and another become blurred, almost any interchange is possible. This

flexibility of the English language is illustrated by the four-by-four matrix that follows:

	Noun	Adjective	Adverb	Verb
Noun	_____	head	home	face
Adjective	red	_____	well	muddy
Adverb	outs	in	_____	up
Verb	walk	separate	roughshod	_____

Here are single examples of each entry:

1. Mary became head bookkeeper. (noun to adj.)
2. Let's go home. (noun to adv.)
3. We must face the problem. (noun to verb)
4. The business is in the red. (adj. to noun)
5. Jasper plays tennis well. ((adj. to adv.) Well came into the English language as an adjective.)
6. Did you muddy your pants? (adj. to verb)
7. Audrey is on the outs with her boss. (adv. to noun)
8. He was the leader of the in-group. (adv. to adj.)
9. The players decided to up the stakes. (adv. to verb)
10. She took a long walk every day. (verb to noun)
11. Although they lived together in the same house, they led separate lives. (verb to adj.)
12. He rode roughshod over his employees. (verb to adv.) Here shod, a verb, becomes an adverb when compounded.

Here are some additional examples beyond the noun-adjective-adverb-verb

interchanges:
11

Try Slime Skin Cream for a lovelier you. (pronoun to noun)¹²

He's a real he-man (pronoun to adj.)

We must learn to do without. (preposition to adv.)

Don't give me any ifs, ands, or buts. (conjunction to noun)

But me no buts. (conjunction to verb)

The crowd oohed and ahhed. (interjection to verb)

Hail, noble Roman. (verb to interjection)

EXERCISES

1. Make a list of ten one-syllable verbs that come to mind. How many of them are also nouns? Now try a list of ten one-syllable nouns. How many are also verbs?
2. Make a list of ten objects you are likely to find in your room that can be used as verbs as well as nouns. Examples: table, chair, dress.
3. Without being fully aware of it, many of us cut our punning eye teeth on riddles that are built on function shifting. What conversions are at work in the following?
 - (a) Q. What has four wheels and flies? A. A garbage truck.
 - (b) Q. Why did Silly Billy cut a hole in the rug? A. He wanted to see the floor show.
 - (c) Q. Why did Silly Billy blush when he opened the refrigerator door? A. He saw the salad dressing.
 - (d) Q. Why couldn't Silly Billy complete his cross-country trip?
A. Every time he saw a "Clean Rest Room" sign, he went in and cleaned them.
4. Slang often exploits the lively ability of words to shift function. Offer examples of conversions that occur in your slang or informal conversations. Examples: to party all night; a fun time.
5. Describe the function shifts in the following sentences:
 - (a) A book by James Michener is always a good read.

- (b) Though I search the whole world through, I'll never find another you.
- (c) I'd rather be a has-been than a never-was.
- (d) The old woman seemed to know all the whys and wherefores of life.
- (e) The young couple sought advice about parenting.
- (f) Shop our fabulous sale, now in progress.
- (g) Pleasure up your smoking.

6. The poetry and plays of William Shakespeare contain some of the boldest innovations in the English language. Explain how Shakespeare formed the verbs in the following examples:

- (a)

for her own person

It beggar'd all description
(Enobarbus describing Cleopatra; Antony and Cleopatra)
- (b) Grace me no grace nor uncle me no uncle;
I am no traitor's uncle; and that word 'grace'
In an ungracious mouth is but profane.
(The Duke of York to Bolingbroke; Richard II)
- (c) Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hand? No, this my hand will rather
The multitudinous seas incarnadine,
Making the green one red.
(Macbeth; Macbeth)
- (d)

Come, you spirits

That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here
(Lady Macbeth; Macbeth)
- (e) And thus the native hue of resolution
Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought
(Hamlet; Hamlet)

7. Another writer who shaped words to his own uses was the nineteenth century poet Gerard Manley Hopkins. The following passage, a description of a falcon in flight, is a good example of Hopkins' style. Discuss what you feel to be the more significant uses of function shift in the poem.

THE WINDHOVER

I caught this morning morning's minion, king-
dom of daylight's dauphin, dapple-dawn-
drawn Falcon, in his riding
Of the rolling level underneath him steady air, and striding
High there, how he rung upon the rein of a wimpling wing 4
In his ecstasy! then off, off forth on swing,
As a skate's heel sweeps smooth on a bow-bend:
the hurl and gliding
Rebuffed the big wind. My heart in hiding
Stirred for a bird--the achieve of, the mastery of the thing! 8

8. The twentieth century poet e.e. cummings owes an obvious literary debt to language innovators such as Hopkins and Shakespeare. In the following poem how does cummings rearrange the usual parts of speech of his words in order to make a striking comment on the lives of "anyone," "noone," and the townspeople?

ANYONE LIVED IN A PRETTY HOW TOWN

anyone lived in a pretty how town
(with up so floating many bells down)
spring summer autumn winter
he sang his didn't he danced his did

Women and men (both little and small)
cared for anyone not at all
they sowed their isn't they reaped their same
sun moon stars rain

children guessed (but only a few
and down they forgot as up they grew
autumn winter spring summer)
that noone loved him more by more

when by now and tree by leaf
she laughed his joy she cried his grief
bird by snow and stir by still
anyone's any was all to her

someones married their everyones
laughed their cryings and did their dance
(sleep wake hope and then) they
said their nevers they slept their dream

stars rain sun moon
(and only the snow can begin to explain
how children are apt to forget to remember
with up so floating many bells down)

one day anyone died i guess
and noone stooped to kiss his face)
busy folk buried them side by side
little by little and was by was

all by all and deep by deep
and more by more they dream their sleep
noone and anyone earth by april
wish by spirit and if by yes.

Women and men (both dong and ding)
summer autumn winter spring
reaped their sowing and went their came
sun moon stars rain

9. Write a brief statement responding to the following letter that was written to the sports editor of the New York Times.

I recently heard a sports television announcer tell his audience that a clumsy outfielder had "nonchalanted the ball." About a week later the same man elaborated on some indifferent baserunning by saying that the runner has been "nonchalanting" between first and second base. Surely these are improper usages.

10. An advertising billboard reads "Your Dodge Dealers Treat You Real Good." These days, it seems, nobody ever does anything well, but they do it good: they run good, sing good, and write good. State and defend your view of good used as an adverb.
11. Because many words can be several different parts of speech without changing form, some sentences can convey more than one meaning and confuse the reader. What two meanings can each of the following sentences convey?
- (a) Time flies.
 - (b) Pam hated visiting relatives.
 - (c) The detective looked hard.
 - (d) I know you like the palm of my hand.

NOTES

1. This opening dialogue is adapted from Robert L. Coard, "Shifting Parts of Speech," Word Study, Vol. XXXVII. No. 3 (February, 1962), p. 5.

2. Marchand employs the term "derivation by a zero-morpheme":

a determinant in a syntagma whose determinatum is not expressed in phonic form but understood to be present in content, thanks to an association with other syntagmas where the element of content has its counterpart on the plane of phonic expression.
(p. 359)

Thus, with the verbs sterilize and clean the syntactic-semantic pattern is the same: the adjectives are transposed into verbs with the meanings "make sterile" and "make clean." In sterilize the semantic and syntactic elements are expressed by the overt morpheme -ize, while in clean there is no such part-of-speech marker. In this way function shift is distinguished from derivation.

3. In the opening dialogue hand, in functioning as more than one part of speech, acquires new meanings. In this way function shift usually involves some kind of semantic change. Many of the examples in the text become frozen figures of speech when they are shifted: "I can't stomach rock music";

"he wolfed his food."

4. Most commentators point to the paucity of flexional endings as the cause of function shift in modern English. James Bradstreet Greenough's and George Lyman Kittredge's statement is typical:

The almost entire loss of inflections in English has brought about a curious result in the possibilities of our language, namely, the free interchangeableness of verb and noun.

Words and Their Ways in English Speech (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901), p. 191.

Simeon Potter adds the element of word order:

It is because word order is more fixed than ever before that functional shifts within sentence structures are made feasible without jeopardizing intelligibility.

Changing English (London: Andre Deutsch, Ltd., 1969) p. 162

Marchand, on the other hand, feels that such views present an oversimplified picture of the rise of function shift:

As a matter of fact, derivation by zero-morpheme is neither specifically English nor does it start... when most endings had disappeared....I do not think that the weakening of the inflectional system has anything to do with the problem of zero-derivation. (p. 363)

5. Mario Pei offers this theory:

It is perhaps natural that the majority of cases of functional change in English should consist of nouns that get to be used as verbs, because psychologically the object or concept tends to precede the action. (p. 173)

I would assume that, just as very young children learn first to say nouns, most words come into the language first as nouns.

6. In Growth and Structure of the English Language, 19th Edition

(Oxford: Blackwell, 1934), p. 167, Otto Jespersen lists twenty-three of these anatomical noun-to-verb shifts, some of which are rare or obsolete but all of which are entered in Webster's Third New International Dictionary: arm, beard, body, brain, breast, chin, ear, elbow, eye, finger, fist, foot, hand, jaw, knee, limb, lip, nose, shoulder, skin, stomach, thumb, tongue.

In separate Word Study articles, Robert L. Coard, "Shifting Parts of Speech," XXXVII, No. 3 (Feb., 1962), pp. 5-6, and Isabel Kadison, "Double Duty Anatomonyms," Vol. XXVI, No. 5 (May, 1951), p. 6, more than double the length of Jespersen's list, by adding the following, some of which are slang or sports terms: ankle, back, belly, bone, blood, brain, breast, cheek, face, flesh, gut, hair, head, heel, hip, knuckle, leg, mouth, muscle, nail, neck, nerve, palm, rib, scalp, toe, tooth, wrist. Kadison

coins the term "anatomonyms" for nouns denoting parts or constituents of the body that can be used as verbs and points out that nouns and verbs like arm and nail are indeed etymologically related.

7. Marchand lists ape, buck, crane, dog, fox, monkey, parrot, snake, and wolf.

8. In some cases conversion is approximate rather than complete; that is, a word, in the course of changing its grammatical function, may undergo a slight change of pronunciation or spelling. The most important kinds of alteration are (1) voicing of final consonants, and (2) shift of stress.

Quirk, p. 1017.

9. In every case the stress does indeed shift from the first to the second syllable when the word undergoes conversion from noun to verb, although the stress in address and contract depends on meaning. Also in almost every example we can hear a difference in vowel pronunciation of the first syllable in the noun and verb uses. The s in refuse also changes in the verb form.

Marchand lists the following forty-five examples:

abstract	construct	extract	perfume	recess
compound	contest	ferment	permit	regress
compress	contract	import	pervert	retail
concert	contrast	impress	present	survey
confines	digest	insert	produce	transfer
conflict	discount	insult	progress	transform
conscript	escort	invert	protest	transplant
consort	export	invite	rebel	transport

(p. 378)

Quirk includes most of Marchand's examples and adds:

convict	incline	refill	resit	upset
discard	misprint	refit	segment	
discourse	record	reject	suspect	(p. 1018)

To which I add:

addict	decrease	implant	project	repeat
admit	defect	miscount	recall	replay
affect	desert	misdeal	refund	rerun
combat	dismount	mismatch	refuse	retard
combine	excerpt	object	rehash	rewrite
commune	exploit	perplex*	reject	subject
compact	impact	proceeds	remake	uplift
		process		

*A fine example of a very new word that evidences a stress shift in its conversion from verb to noun, e.g. Frederick C. Crewes, The Pooh Perplex (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1963) and "Uneasy Rider -- The Taxi Perplex," New York Magazine, Vol. 13, No. 8 (May 5, 1980), p. 22.

It is striking that almost all of these two-syllable types are Latinate in prefix and root. Contact, a relatively new verb in the dictionary, is listed in two separate forms, with forestress and backstress. Can we predict that, with the passing of time, the stress will settle on the second syllable? Not with certainty, for it turns out that a number of two-syllable noun-verb pairings do not differ in stress; for example, answer and panic, both with forestress, and respect and account, both with backstress. What phonological, etymological, or semantic rules are possible to explain the discrepancy? For now, the problem remains unsolved.

On the matter of the relationship between stress and function, we should note the pairing of compound nouns and verbs that are made from verb-adverb alliances. When verbs like black out, show off, and pin up become nouns -- blackout, showoff, and pin-up -- the first element invariably takes on a strong stress.

Three-syllable words in which conversion is accompanied by a relocation of stress are attribute, intercept, and misconduct, along with a small band of compounds beginning with over, including overdraft, overdraw, overflow, overlay, and overplay.

10. Here too we do not see a perfectly consistent pattern. For example, release entered the language as a noun in 1315, eighteen years after it had entered as a verb. In both forms, the stress remains on the second syllable.

11. See Potter, Changing English, pp. 175-176.

12. This striking conversion seems exceedingly modern, but it occurred more than four centuries ago in Shakespeare's Sonnet 130, which ends:

I grant I never saw a goddess go;
My mistress, when she walks, treads on the ground.
And yet, by heaven, I think my love as rare
As any she belied with false compare.

Answers to the Exercises

1. Answers will vary, but there is a good chance that every one-syllable verb will also be a noun and, in fact, will be a conversion of that noun. In the second list the majority of one-syllable nouns will probably have verb correspondences.

2. Among the additional possibilities are: book, paper, pen, pencil, ink, carpet, tile, wall, picture, bed, pillow, blanket, closet, wire, mirror, letter, light, photograph, telephone, belt, shoe, lace, suit, and the word room itself.

3. flies: noun-verb; show: noun-verb; dressing: noun (gerund)-verb participle); clean: adjective-verb.

4. One man's slang is another man's gibberish. Still, the author can only offer examples that he has heard: to book and to grind (to study hard); to tube (watch television); to pig (stuff food into one's mouth); to duke (fight).

5. (a) verb into noun; (b) pronoun into noun; (c) auxiliary verb combination into noun; (d) adverb into noun; (e) noun into verb;

(f) intransitive verb into transitive verb; (g) adjective into verb.

6. (a) beggar'd: noun into verb; (b) grace and uncle: nouns into verbs; (c) incarnadine: adjective into verb; (d) unsex: noun into verb; (e) sicklied: adjective into verb.

7. The title itself presents us with an unusual, dynamic use of a verb as a noun, a device Hopkins repeats several times: swing (1.5), bow-bend (1.6), hurl (1.6), and achieve (1.8). The use of smooth (1.6) as an adverb reinforces the dynamism and insistence of the hawk's flight. These monosyllabic function shifts are enhanced by the single rhyme that ends each of the eight lines.

In contrast to these dynamic, even aggressive, uses of words, Hopkins evokes a sense of grace in the swooping of the bird. The phrase in line 3, for example, would ordinarily be written "of the steady air, rolling level underneath him"; but Hopkins reverses the word order and puts the long participial phrase in the adjective part of the sentence, thus creating a rolling motion. We find a similar effect in the original compound "dapple-dawn-drawn Falcon" (1.2) which, by stringing together an adjective, noun, and verb, conveys a sense of the bird's gliding. Thus, the bold use of words as parts of speech other than those they would ordinarily assume creates the paradoxical effect of beauty and aggression, grace and insistence.

8. The words in "anyone lived in a pretty how town" are all simple words. But cummings' conversion of pronouns, verbs, and modifiers into nouns beautifully creates complex meanings in common words. "when by now and tree by leaf" and "bird by snow and stir by still" (stanza 3) powerfully evoke the passing of time. "they sowed their isn't they reaped their

same" (stanza 2) suggests the shallow, gray lives of the how townspeople, while "wish by spirit and if by yes" (stanza 8) tells of the deep and complementary relationship between anyone and noone.

The poem is a love story. cummings shows the separation of anyone and noone from the others by suggesting that the townspeople call them by indefinite pronouns. The use of indefinite pronouns as nouns also invests the lovers with universality. Noone "laughed his joy she cried his grief" (stanza 4). "anyone's any was all to her" (stanza 4) is a lovely way of saying that anyone's smallest concern was everything to noone.

The lovers, in life and in death, are contrasted by the other citizens in several phrases. anyone "danced his did" (stanza 1) while the townspeople "did their dance" (stanza 5). noone "laughed his joy" (stanza 4); the others "laughed their cryings" (stanza 5), perhaps suggesting their artificial emotions. anyone and noone "dream their sleep" (stanza 8); the others "slept their dream" (stanza 5).

The unexpected use of simple, evocative words helps to create a universal statement about empty, busy lives and full, loving lives.

9. 10. H. L. Mencken calls the adverb "at best the stepchild of grammar":

On the level of the vulgate there is incapacity to distinguish any useful difference between adverb and adjective, and beneath it, perhaps, lies the similar incapacity to distinguish between the grammatical effect and the relations of the common verb of being and those of any other verb. If "It is bad" is correct, then why should "It leaks bad" be incorrect? It is just this disdain of philosophical reasons that is at the bottom of most of the phenomena visible in vulgar American, as in other languages during periods of inflectional decay.

The American Language: An Inquiry Into the Development of English in the United States, abridged and supplemented by Raven I. McDavid and David W. Maurer (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977) p. 564.

Questions 9 and 10 have no clearly "right" answers, but in reacting to the uses of nonchalant as a verb and good as an adverb students will begin to find out where they stand on matters of grammar and usage. Questions that should arise in the discussion include: are there any limits to function shift? does popular usage make something "right"? does taste enter into matters of language? are there any rules of good usage? if so, who makes them?

11. (a) Time moves quickly. Time the flies (to see how fast they go).

(Noun-verb or verb-noun)

(b) Pam hated to visit relatives. Pam hated relatives who visited.

(Visiting can be either a noun-gerund or adjective-participle.)

(c) The detective looked tough. The detective searched thoroughly.

(Hard can be either an adjective or adverb.)

(d) I know you as well as I know the palm of my hand. I know that you like the palm of my hand. (You can be either the direct object of know or the subject of like; like can be either a preposition or a verb.)

CHAPTER 6

CLIPPING

During a typical day in your life as a student you may attend classes and take exams in math (perhaps trig); lit; chem or bio; eco (economics), gov (government, soc (sociology), or anthro (anthropology); or phys. ed. Between appointments in the gym, lab, or libe (library), you may take a break for lunch (luncheon); and if you have a typically American palate, your menu might consist of a burger or frank, accompanied by fries and washed down with a Coke or shake.

In each of the italicized examples you have substituted a part of the word for the whole word by clipping off the back part -- math(ematics), lab(oratory); the front part -- (ham)burger; or one word in the compound -- (French) fries, (milk) shake.¹ Very occasionally only the middle part of the word is retained, as in flu (influenza) and still (distillery).

Theory of Clipped Words. There are scores of words that are clipped in our language. The most convincing explanation for the popularity of clipping as a process of word formation is that people want to communicate their messages as concisely as possible and will take advantage of the opportunity to speak or write only part of a word to make themselves understood, especially when the word is one that people use frequently.²

We can see this theory at work in the formation of nicknames.³ When we come to know people well, we usually address them using a familiar form of their first name. Most often we lop off the back part, as in Al, Ben, Nick, Pam, Prue, and Sue; or we may clip the front of the name, as in Bella (Arabella), Beth, Gene, and Tina; or, in some instances, both the back and the front, as in Liz, Tish (Letitia), and Trish (Patricia).

Swift on Clipping. The clipping of common nouns such as coz (cousin), gent (gentleman), and chap (chapman) can be traced back to the sixteenth century. Such shortening of longer words aroused the indignation of Jonathan Swift, who more than once wrote in an attempt to counteract what he conceived to be "the daily corruptions" of the English language. In the Tatler (no. 230) for September 28, 1710, Swift railed against "the next refinement, which consists in pronouncing the first syllable in a word that has many, and dismissing the rest; such as phizz (physiognomy), mobb (mobile vulgus), pozz (positive), rep (reputation) and many more, when we are already overloaded with monosyllables, which are a disgrace to our language."⁴

Modern Clippings. Were he alive today, Swift might still be penning his polemics against the profusion of clipped forms. Hardly was the omnibus on the road when bus rolled into the language to stand beside and ultimately supplant the older and longer word.⁵ In addition to busses, we ride on or in trikes (tricycles), bikes (bicycles), mopeds (a clipping of the compound "motorized-pedal vehicles"),⁶ autos and cars (automobiles and motor cars), the el (elevated train), and planes (airplanes) which are usually jets (jet propelled aircraft). Other modern coinages through clipping, many still on the level of slang, include deli(catessan), mod(ern), hood(lum), mike (microphone), mayo(naisse), (wise)crack, and (earth)quake.

Advertisers often bestow upon their products a clipped name in order to suggest, in a snappy and space-saving way, some outstanding quality of their particular concoction. Can you identify the longer words from which are coined the brand names Fab, Lux, Tums, Certs, Jif, Spray 'n Vac,

Vel, and Jello?⁷ Can you think of more examples?

Long Forms, Short Forms. When a clipped word enters the language, what happens to the relationship between the older, unclipped word and its new, shortened counterpart?

1. The shortened form may come to exist side by side with the full form in standard English. All but the most elegant of speakers will use phone, auto, photo, and ad interchangeably with telephone, automobile, photograph, and advertisement.⁸

2. In many cases the clipped form retains its slangy or colloquial tinge. Prof and legit are distinguished from professor and legitimate not on the basis of their content but by the context of their use. Prof and legit, then, are slang counterparts for the words professor and legitimate in standard English.

3. The clipping may add emotional coloring to the meaning of the longer word -- as in Mex, Jerry, Jap, Yid, and homo -- or the clipping, with the attachment of a pet suffix, may suggest a sense of the affectionate and childlike, as in granny, kitty, nightie, and comfy.

4. The clipped word may lead a short, happy life as slang, and then expire. (Does anyone say natch for naturally and fab for fabulous anymore?)

5. Or the clipped form may put its unclipped ancestor out of business. Thus, mob, at which Swift so meanly sneered, has superceded mobile vulgus and become the standard English term, as have bus (for omnibus) piano (pianoforte), gin (geneva), miss (mistress),⁹ and van (caravan). Hardly anybody, except language scholars like you, knows that wig comes from periwig, chap from chapman, varsity from university, and soccer from Association Football. A drawing room is so called not because people

draw in it but because it is a clipping of withdrawing room, where women used to go while the men sat around drinking port (Oporte) and exchanging naughty stories.

6. Sometimes the shorter word neither supplants the longer word nor is synonymous with it. Both live on with different meanings, and the vocabulary is enriched. Among such word pairs are fan-fanatic, amend-mend, attend-tend, extra-extraordinary, acute-cute, defence-fence, despite-spite, alive-live and alone-lone.¹⁰

Compound Clippings and Abbreviations. A recent trend in word formation has been the sheering away of the last syllables in the names of organizations, companies, and scientific terms so that the first syllables that are left form a word that we call a compound clipping.¹¹ Companies and organizations that use this device include Sunoco (Sun Oil Company), Nabisco (National Biscuit Company), Finast (First National Stores), and Amvets (American Veterans Association). In the field of science we see Conelrad (control of electromagnetic radiation), Fortran (formula translation), and moped (motorized-pedal vehicle).

Abbreviations, like clippings, arise from an impulse to be concise and save time and space. But clipped words are pronounced as they are spelled, while abbreviations, which have a period at the end, are written symbols for the longer words they represent. Doc is a clipping, but Dr. is an abbreviation and is pronounced doctor.¹²

EXERCISES

1. List ten examples of clipped words that you might encounter during an ordinary day. You may include words from slang and informal conversation

that you use and hear at school.

2. Here is a list of clipped words in common use. From what longer words do they come? Look up ten that you do not recognize and share your findings with your classmates.

bellhop	Halloween	perc	robin
bunkum	hobby	percent	scram
canter	intercom	piano	scurry
cello	looney	pram	sissy
cheat	maid	prom	specs
co-op	memo	pub	square
culprit	op-ed	quints	stogie
curio	pants	radio	tawdry

3. In The American Language, H. L. Mencken writes: "Let America confront a novel problem alongside English, and immediately its superior imaginative-ness and resourcefulness becomes obvious. Movie is better than cinema (though the English telly excels video or even TV.)" Agree or disagree.

4. Many teachers object to students using the word quote in place of the fuller quotation, as in "The debater offered many quotes to support her opinion." What is your view on the matter?

5. Make a list of course names in your school that are commonly clipped.

NOTES

1. Math is an example of back-clipping, burger of foreclipping. Shake is a reduced or clipped compound (as distinguished from a compound clipping), a formation that occurs when one of the words in a compound has been dropped and the word remaining is used to mean what the entire compound meant. Shake, for example, doesn't mean "to agitate"; it is simply a reduction of, and means the same as, milk shake. (An explanation of these terms will be available in the Teacher's Guide, but their inclusion in the text would, I feel, unnecessarily complicate the discussion.)

2. Marchand's statement is clear and enlightening:

Clippings are mutilations of words already in existence. They are all characterized by the fact that they are not coined as words belonging to the standard vocabulary of the language. They originate as terms of a special group, in the intimacy of a milieu where a hint is sufficient to indicate the whole.

(p. 447)

Bryant discusses the phonological forces in English that tend to make the language increasingly monosyllabic:

The forces tending to lengthen English words are not so active as those ending (sic) to shorten them. In the first place, it is an observed fact of phonology that unstressed sounds, syllables, even words tend to become obscured or lost. All polysyllables contain some unaccented sounds and hence tend to shorten with the passage of time. There are few Old English words which survive in modern English without some degree of shortening. The loss of inflectional elements is one evidence of this abbreviation, but only one.

(p. 285)

In addition to natural phonological changes, the newspaper and the computer which both must print information within the restrictions of time and space, are also putting pressure on words to become more compact.

3. Marchand, pp. 442-443.

4. The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift, edited by Temple Scott (London, George Bell and Sons, 1907) Vol. XI, p. 6.

5. Thomas Pyles points out the strangeness of bus as a clipped word: "bus is no root, but merely part of an ending -ibus occurring in the dative (and ablative) plural forms of all Latin nouns of the third declension." (p. 294)

6. The etymology of moped appears in no unabridged or slang dictionary that I could find. The owners of the two moped stores in Concord told me that they were sure that moped meant "motorized-pedal vehicle," but neither could find any proof in the company literature available. One of the owners informed me that his staff feels that moped means "mo' pedalin' than you thought."

7. Fabulous, luxury, tummy, certain(ty), jiffy, vacuum, velvet, gelatin.

8. Marchand does not discuss this category.

9. That miss and Mrs. both proceed from mistress, a word once prefixed to the surnames of all women, seems to lend credence to the current efforts to install ms. as a designation for women, whether married or unmarried.

10. A fan is a fanatic, but a fanatic is not necessarily a fan. One amends a law and mends a fence, attends a meeting and tends a fire. Most texts include this category. Pyles, for example, says: "A special type of abbreviation consists of what is left over after an unstressed syllable has been lost." (p. 296) But Marchand, without developing his reasons, insists that "shortenings which are due to... the dropping of unstressed initial syllables...do not belong to word-formation." (p. 447) This seems inconsistent with Marchand's earlier remark that "stress has played a part at the beginning insofar as the first clippings...are all from

forestressed words." (p. 446) We may ask why should the loss of unstressed back syllables in coz (cousin) and chap(man) be classified as clippings while the loss of unstressed initial syllables in (de)fence and (de)spite be excluded? Oddly, Marchand himself in his discussion of foreclipping includes varsity (university) and (rac)coon, words in which unstressed initial syllables have been dropped.

11. Marchand presents a section on compound clippings (pp. 445-446), but his definition, which can only be inferred from his examples, is apparently both broader and narrower than mine. His illustrations appear to fall into three categories: (1) the first part of each word in the combination is retained: napalm (naphthenate + palmitate), navicert (navigation certificate). These are the only examples of this type that Marchand offers. Words like Sunoco and moped he apparently considers to be examples of word-manufacturing." (p. 452) Marchand makes the distinction between clipping compounds and manufactured words on the basis of "degrees and shades of naturalness as well as of clarity." (p. 446), criteria that I do not find clear or useful. When any combination undergoes backclipping in all, or a majority, of its words, I would label it a compound clipping. I use the qualifier "or a majority" because words like radar (radio detecting and ranging) and loran (long-range aid to navigation) appear to be combinations of compound clippings and acronyms. I classify such words as acronyms because their sounds are formed primarily from initial letters, not syllables.

(2) One word in the original compound remains intact while the other is back or foreclipped: paratrooper (parachutist trooper), pulmotor (pulmonary motor), cablegram (cable telegram). I classify such words as

blends, first, to allow for a full discussion of that process later in this text and, second, because such formations seem to run one word directly into another. The inclusion by Robertson and Cassidy of motorcade (motor cavalcade) (Robertson and Cassidy, p. 213) and by Pyles of camporee (camp jamboree) (Pyles, p. 299) in their treatments of blends supports my position.

Marchand recognizes that "the reader may sometimes find that words which have been classified as manufactured words might have been included in the preceding group. As a matter of fact, the various types sometimes overlap and it is not always easy or possible to draw a clear line." (Marchand, p. 446) Given my writhing in this long note over the distinctions between clipping-compounds, blends, and acronyms, I completely agree with Marchand's statement. But the problems of classifying combined words run deeper than Marchand indicates. Note that paratrooper and cablegram, which Marchand offers as clipping-compounds, consist of the Greek combining form para- plus trooper and the word cable plus the Greek combining form -gram. Synchronically -- and Marchand's approach purports to be entirely synchronic -- paratrooper appears to be formed in the same way as paramedic and paraprofessional, while cablegram appears to be formed the same way as telegram. Should paratrooper, then, be classified as a derived word and cablegram as a compound? Does the diachronic fact that parachutist preceded paratrooper in history and that telegram preceded cablegram necessarily prove that the latter words include clippings of the former ones? I have discovered no commentator who treats this problem usefully, and my own classifications and examples will not escape it.

(3) The beginning of one word in the combination is merged with the end of another: positron (positive electron), greycing (greyhound

racings), Americanadian. These I classify as blends and will develop my rationale in my notes to my discussion of that device.

12. Some linguists fail to make a clear distinction between clipping and abbreviation. Bryant discusses clipping in a chapter she calls "Abbreviation and Extension" (chapter 31) and apparently considers clipping as a sub-category of abbreviation. Pyles begins his discourse on clipped forms with the statement "An abbreviation, or clipped form, must be regarded as a new word, particularly when, as it frequently does, it supplants the longer form altogether." (Pyles, p. 294) For clarity, clipping and abbreviation should be differentiated.

Answers to the Exercises

1. Examples appear in the text and in the next question in this set of exercises. Among possible slang items are flick(er), jock, spaz (spastic), and za (pizza).
2. bell-hopper; Buncombe County, N.C.; Canterbury gallop; violocello; escheat; cooperative; culpable prit (ready to prove guilt); curiosity; All Hallow Even; hobbyhorse; intercommunication system; lunatic; maiden; memorandum; opinion-editorial; pantaloons; percolate (or perquisite); per centum; pianoforte; perambulator; promenade; public house; quintuplets; radio telegraphy; robin redbreast; scramble; hurry-scurry; sister; spectacles (or specifications); esquire; Conestoga, Pa.; St. Audrey.

Bunkum, canter, pants, and tawdry are discussed in further detail in the chapter on eponyms.

3. Opinions, of course, will vary; but the discussion should help students to become more aware of how words look, sound, and feel, depending on their formation. Movies and cinema are both clippings, movies of

moving pictures, cinema of cinematograph, "writing with motion." The emphasis on motion is more obvious to the average English speaker in movies and the -ie pet suffix makes the word sound more informal.

Movies may therefore be a more fitting name for a mass medium. Telly, a clipping of television may not be so obviously superior to video since both are classical in origin. Telly sounds more informal than video, but TV is also quite relaxed in its sound, and it does rime.

4. It can be maintained that history is on the side of those who could use quote as a clipping of quotation. Clippings have occurred in the language for centuries, and their rate of entrance seems to be accelerating. But often the clipped form does not replace the longer word or become interchangeable with it. Some clippings simply become slang or informal counterparts to the fuller, older word. Thus, just as we would not use doc when addressing a doctor formally, many teachers draw the line on the use of quote as a noun in a formal essay.

5. Answers will vary. A challenging and imaginative variation on this exercise is to have students make up their own course names that can be humorously clipped. British Literary Criticism, for example, would become Brit Lit Crit.

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CHAPTER 7

BACK FORMATIONS

Earlier in this book you saw how the addition of a suffix to a root produces a new word, such as baker from bake and beautiful from beauty. Back formation, which is a special kind of clipping, is the reverse of this adding process. In back formation, someone takes a word he or she thinks has been formed by derivation and lops off what looks like an ending (but which really isn't), thinking to get back to the original root (which, it turns out, isn't really a root).¹ The result of this wrong guess is the creation of a new word which may become part of the language if enough people use it.²

-Errors. A common source of back formations are nouns that end in -er, -ar, or -or, meaning "somebody or something that performs the action." When this suffix is removed, a new verb is formed. Thus, unlike a clipped word, which is always of the same word class as its longer ancestor, a backformed word often becomes a new part of speech.

One of the oldest examples of this process is the verb peddle, extracted from the noun peddler (or pedlar), which, as the Oxford English Dictionary will show you, preceded the verb by more than 150 years. The same dictionary identifies the probable origin of beg as the Old French begar, a member of a lay order called Beghards, who happened to support themselves by what we today call begging. The verb to beg is, then, a very early back formation on the assumption that the -ar was a suffix like the -er of baker, even though it wasn't. Similarly, editor may look like edit with -or added; but the -or is an integral

part of the word as it was borrowed, and edit, after some struggle, was accepted considerably later.³

Among recently accepted words that have been back formed from -er words are swashbuckle, babysit, and typewrite. Who knows? If this keeps up, doctors may some day doct, paupers may paup, tutors may tute, grocers may groce, and stockholders may stockhold.

As the following list shows,⁴ verbs may spring from words that appear to have detachable suffixes other than the -er variety:

<u>Verb</u>	<u>Backformed from</u>	<u>Verb</u>	<u>Backformed from</u>
suckle	suckling	jell	jelly
grovel	grovelling	electrocute	electrocution
donate	donation	peeve	peevish
reminisce	reminiscence	frivol	frivolous
diagnose	diagnosis	televise	television

~~The Plural Error~~ The Plural Error. Other English back formations arise from words ending in what sounds to the ear like a plural -s but which are actually singular.

A typical example of this plural error is pease, which lived in the language for centuries as a singular noun. Thus, the playwright Ben Jonson has one of his characters say, "I'll cleanse him with a pill, as small as a pease."⁵

You may have come across this older form in the name Peaseblossom, a fairy in Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream, or you may have chanted the nursery rime:

Pease porridge hot,
Pease porridge cold,
Pease porridge in the pot,
Nine days old.

But, by the late seventeenth century, pease was taken to be a plural, even though the -se was not a suffix at all, and a new singular, pea, was back-formed from a word that was itself a singular. Other instances of singular nouns formed from deceptive plurals are asset from assets, burial from beriels, cherry from cherise, and sherry from sherris sack.

This process is illustrated by a story that Leo Rosten tells about a reporter whose editor insisted that news is plural. When the editor cabled: ARE THERE ANY NEWS? the reporter responded: NO, NOT A NEW.⁶

EXERCISES

1. Which of the following words are back formations?

brainwash	locate
eavesdrop	negate
gird	opt
greed	partake
loaf	peruse

2. What do the following people do?

burglars	fruiterers	sculptors
butchers	ghostwriters	sharecroppers
butlers	hairdressers	tailors
chauffeurs	housekeepers	tinkers
cobblers	scavengers	ushers

3. Are the following backformed verbs in your vocabulary? Are they in your dictionary?

commentate

laze

downtread

liase

emote

reune

enthuse

spectate

intuit

spellbind

4. In her humorous article "Does a Finger Fing?"* Nedra Lamar writes, "A stinger is something that stings, but is a finger something that fings? Fing fang fung. Today I fing. Yesterday I fang. Day before yesterday I had already fung." What point about language is Lamar making? Can you think of other words besides finger that end in -er, -ar, or -or but that mean something other than "somebody or something that does"?

*The Christian Science Monitor, February 29, 1970.

NOTES

1. William Safire, in one of his columns "On Language" (New York Times Magazine, March 16, 1980, pp. 9-10) offers a useful illustration:

"Governor Brown said, 'Kennedy was ready to be coronated four months ago.' Wrong. Although 'coronor' is the Latin for 'crown,' and a coronet is a small crown, one does not get 'coronated' at a coronation. One gets crowned."

2. Marchand maintains that the distinction between derivation and back formation (which he calls "backderivation") has no synchronic relevance:

While historically the longer words are the bases, they must be regarded as derivatives for synchronic analysis. Both expression and content confirm their syntagmatic character. But the really decisive criterion is not phonic form (expression) but content. Peddler, editor, scavenger, sculptor are considered derivatives not because they contain an /er/, but because analysis of content marks the words as syntagmas motivated through the respective verbs peddle, edit, scavenge, sculpt + -er.

(p. 392)

As I attempted to show in my eleventh note on clipping-compounds, Marchand's so-called synchronic approach to word-formation is fraught with problems and inconsistencies. His identification of paratrooper and cablegram as clipping-compounds, it would seem, can be made only from a diachronic point of view.

Regarding the question of back formation, it seems inaccurate to assert that peddler, editor, scavenger, and sculptor are "motivated through the respective verbs," not only because the nouns entered the language before the verbs, but because the "endings" were integral parts of the words as they were borrowed. If such nouns are motivated by their shorter verb forms, what can we say about nouns like tinker and chauffeur,

which cannot be reduced to, and therefore cannot be motivated by, the nonexistent verbs tink and chauf?

3. Contrary to the OED, Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary does not list beg and edit as back formations.

4. From Potter, Changing English, p. 83.

A passage in Robertson and Cassidy should be quoted:

But there are many more words of this kind that remain jocular, slangy, or colloquial. A few examples are the words jell (from the noun jelly), enthuse (to be enthusiastic), reminisce (to indulge in reminiscences), emote (to express emotion), orate (from oration), peeve (from peevish), frivol, and resurrect.

(p. 203)

Perhaps these words have dramatically changed status since 1954, but I would not classify any of them as "jocular, slangy, or colloquial."

5. The Magnificent Lady, V.v (1632)

6. "Tiptoe Through the Lingo," Look, Vol. XXXI, No. 5 (February 28, 1967), p. 17.

Answers to the Exercises

1. brainwash (brainwashing); eavesdrop (eavesdropper); greed (greedy); loaf (loafer); locate (location); partake (part taker), also a disguised compound.

2. burgle; butcher; butler; chauffeur; cobble; sell fruit; ghostwrite; dress hair; housekeep; scavenge; sculpt; sharecrop; tailor; tinker; usher.

Robertson and Cassidy (p. 203) credit W. S. Gilbert with originating burgle in a line from The Pirates of Penzance: "When the enterprising burglar's not a-burgling," but this theory is not supported by the OED.

Butch, buttle, and ush appear in some dialects, but they have

not acquired the status of dictionary entries. H. L. Mencken (The American Language, abridged edition, p. 245) quotes such exotic back formations as elocute, jan (janitor), chauf, chiropract, and stenog, but these words have no currency in standard English.

3. All of the words in the list, except for downtread and reune, are in most dictionaries.

4. The appearance of words can be deceiving, and the rules for word formation are not altogether "consistent." Examples of "deceiving" words of the -er variety appear in the text and exercises. Students should be able to identify additional instances: sneakers don't sneak, hammers don't ham, summers don't sum, winters don't wint, shoulders don't should, collars don't coll, and humdingers don't humding.

CHAPTER 8

ACRONYMS

You have seen how people make words shorter by clipping and back formation. There is a more extreme form of shortening that reduces words in a phrase or syllables in a word to their initial letters, as in YMCA, UNICEF, TB, and TV.¹ The result is called an acronym, a label coined from two Greek roots: acros "tip" and onyma "name." Because acronyms are generally formed from the capital letters of other words, the name seems especially appropriate.²

Acronyms are labor-saving devices that help us to remember and refer to the concepts they describe. For example, an important and, in recent years, controversial chemical was discovered by the Army Chemical Corps and named dichloro-diphenyl-trichloroethane, a truly forbidding series of eleven syllables. Yet the acronym DDT flows easily from the tongue and is familiar to everyone. Your dictionary will probably have a special section for abbreviations that will tell you what long scientific words like TNT, DNA, and RNA stand for.

Ancient Acronyms. British linguist Simeon Potter explains that the reduction of phrases to initial letters is almost as old as language itself:

Abbreviations began with Sumerian, the first recorded language on earth. The Romans wrote AUC for Anno urbis conditae, counting time from the foundation of their city in the year 753 before the birth of Christ. They wrote SPQR for Senatus populusque Romanus "Roman senate and people," therein expressing their democratic conception of the State. At the end of a friendly letter they put SVBEEV Si vales, bene est, ego valeo which might be loosely paraphrased "I'm quite well, and I do so hope you are too."³

Acronymia. Although the acronym is, then, centuries old, its abundant proliferation in America can be dated from the alphabetic government agencies created by Franklin Roosevelt during the New Deal, among them the WPA (Works Progress Administration) and FDIC (Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation). It is perhaps more than coincidence that Roosevelt was our first chief executive to be known by his initials only.

The Second World War gave new impetus to the life of the acronym, and many of the letter combinations coined during those years are still in our language -- WAVES, GI, AWOL, snafu, and flak among them. Do you know how these words were made?

These days acronyms pop up in just about every area of our lives: people (DA, JP), places (LA), things (UFO, p.i.), concepts (esp, IQ), expressions (pdq, qt), colleges (UCLA, MIT), organizations (NAACP, YMCA), companies (UPS),⁴ activities (SCUBA diving, SALT talks), legislation (ERA), and sports (TD, RBI). Many companies use acronyms to confer a kind of impressive status on their products. STP gives us the "racer's edge"; toothpastes contain everything from MFP to GL7; and cars with names like MG, LTD, and XR7 sound as if they must be precision honed.

Letter Series. People have discovered a variety of ways to string together initial letters. Often we simply pronounce each letter, as in YMCA and UFO.⁵ We use A.M. and P.M. to separate light from darkness and B.C. and A.D. to identify vast stretches of recorded and unrecorded time, divided by the birth of Christ. (Do you know what words these letters stand for?) We may listen to a DJ or watch a crusading DA on ABC, CBS, or NBC. OK, an American invention that has spread around the world,

dates from at least 1840. Although imaginative theories trace the letters to Oll Korrekt (the creation of an illiterate sign painter), Okeh (a Chocktaw word meaning "it is so"), and Orrins-Kendall (a biscuit company that used to stamp "OK" on its boxes), the letters almost certainly stand for Old Kinderhook, a rallying cry in the presidential campaign of Martin Van Buren, who was born in Kinderhook, New York.⁶ Sometimes additional letters may be inserted to spell a word: dee jay for a disc jockey, kayo for a knockout, emcee for a master of ceremonies, jayvee for the team below the varsity, and okay for OK.

Most acronyms are nouns, but the initial letters may so supersede the words they replace that they become another part of speech. Thus, for example, one may emcee a show. OK has shown an especially bold adaptability, extending itself to use as almost any function -- a noun ("she gave it her OK"), a verb ("I'll OK it for you"), an adjective ("it's OK with me"), an adverb ("he does his work OK"), and an interjection ("OK, go ahead").

Acronyms into Words. Some strings of letters are pronounced as something that sounds like a word. UNESCO and NATO strike the ear as Latin or Spanish verbs, but they are English nouns. Such combinations may become actual words in English. Radar (radio detecting and ranging) sounds like a foreign infinitive and snafu (situation normal, all fouled up) like a Czech import, but both have entered the dictionary. Flak,⁷ which seems to echo the sound of anti-aircraft shells, is adopted from the German Fleiger-AbwehrKanone. The names of two vehicles illustrate how acronyms can turn into words in their own right. What was at first G.P. (for "general purpose"), then gee pee, has become jeep; and FIAT

is actually an acronymic designation for the Fabrica Italiano Automobile Torino.

Some people think that posh, meaning "elegant and fashionable," is an acronym that grew out of the preference of certain wealthy families for ship accommodations on the portside when going out to India and on the starboard side when returning home. By rooming "port out, starboard home," they could avoid the hot sun and strong winds both ways. Dictionaries differ in their acceptance of this intriguing theory. What does yours say?⁸

Reverse Acronyms. The years since World War II have brought a new refinement to the art of acronyming: letters are arranged to form a new word that already exists in the language. Generally it is impossible to tell which came first -- the written-out name of the combination or the acronym itself. Whatever the answer, the resulting word often underscores some quality of the words that formed it.⁹ Thus, ZIP codes, for "zone improvement plan," reputedly adds zip and speed to our mail service, while VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) works to provide wider horizons for underprivileged Americans.

Because acronyms say a lot in a compressed space, they seem especially suited to the hustle-bustle of modern life, in which people are constantly trying to make things faster and smaller. It seems safe to assume that acronymania will continue to proliferate for many years.

EXERCISES

1. How were the following acronyms formed? Which are reverse acronyms?

AC/DC	IQ	RSVP
CARE	JOBS	SANE
CORE	NOW	UFO
ERA	OPEC	UNESCO
GOP	PS	WAVES

2. Professor Margaret Bryant says that in the early days of the United Nations "the press used the abbreviation UNO, on the assumption that the formal name of the world body was United Nations Organization. Later the word went forth officially that the actual name was United Nations, only that and nothing more. The press then had to make its abbreviation UN, an awkward situation, to say the least." (Modern English and Its Heritage, p. 260) Why would the change from UNO to UN seem awkward?

3. Examine the headlines in the first section of today's newspaper and list all the acronyms you find.

4. You will often find shortened Latin words and phrases in the footnotes of critical articles, and you will need to use some of them in your own writing. What do the following stand for? Label each as a clipping, abbreviation, or acronym.

<u>cf.</u>	<u>ibid.</u>	<u>op. cit.</u>
<u>e.g.</u>	<u>i.e.</u>	<u>p., pp.</u>
<u>etc.</u>	<u>loc. cit.</u>	

5. A group of boys and girls formed a society called the SCOPERS and claimed that the letters stood for Students Concentrating on the Palatable Extremities of the Reciprocal Sex. Invent two organizations of your own and create for each a cleverly acronymic name.

NOTES

1. Among the linguists I have read, only Pyles (p. 299) makes the useful distinction between acronyms formed from words and those formed from syllables. Pyles also points out the euphemistic function of some acronyms, citing BO, BM, and VD, to which we may add the likes of PO'd and SOB. These seem to be akin to the alterations that are made from taboo words, as cripes, crumb, and gee, for Jesus Christ.

Many acronyms are written with or without capital letters and with or without periods after each letter. RSVP, for example, can be written in four different ways.

2. Marchand does not use the word acronym. In a short section on "word-manufacturing" he lumps together the types GI, Nato, radar, and Care (without making clear differentiations), along with Socony (which I consider a compound clipping) and Calexico (which I consider a blend).

I have not encountered any useful discussion of the question of whether an acronym is a word or simply a symbolic designation for a phrase. Accepting Marchand's definition of the term word as "the smallest independent, indivisible, and meaningful unit of speech, susceptible of transposition in sentences " (p. 1), I conclude that all of the types of acronyms I review in this section are words.

It is, of course, impossible to determine how conscious a given speaker is of the original phrase when he or she uses an acronym. But the following observations indicate that acronyms possess the qualities of words: (1) They are indivisible. (2) Their stress patterns are

often different from that of the words from which they are formed. In YMCA, for example, like most four-letter acronyms, the primary stress falls on the last letter, while Young Men's Christian Association is either level-stressed or stressed on the third word. YMCA, incidentally, is often further acronymed as "the Y." (3) The tendency to pronounce letter combinations as words -- Nato, Unicef -- or to add letters to spell words -- emcee, veep -- indicates a striving towards "wordhood."

(4) Acronyms can often be function shifted in such a way that the meaning of the original phrase is lost, as in the verbs emcee and OK. (5) Acronyms like radar, flak, and snafu have become so indistinguishable from other words that their acronymic origins are not generally perceived.

3. Changing English, p. 79. W. Nelson Francis, in "Word-Making: Some Sources of New Words," Paul A. Eschholz, Alfred F. Rosa, Virginia P. Clark, eds., Language Awareness (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972) p. 229, notes that the Greek word ichthus is an acronym of a phrase "Jesus, son of God, Savior," and that the fish was adopted as the symbol of Christ.

4. The pronunciation of some acronyms seems to be more a matter of custom than of system. Midwesterners form UPS into a word, while easterners say each letter individually. Why we have MIT, but Cal Tech, and why ESP, ERA, and COD are not pronounced in the manner of Nato and Nasa seems to be unsusceptible to analysis.

5. Such letter series are sometimes labeled alphabetisms or initialisms.

6. Mencken, pp. 169-175, and Pyles, Words and Ways of American English (New York: Random House, 1952), pp. 158-164, both relying heavily on Allen Walker Reade's "The Evidence on O.K." Saturday Review of Literature,

Vol. XXIV, No. 13 (July 19, 1941), pp. 3-11 .

7. Radar and flak, along with loran (long-range aid to navigation) and sonar (sound navigation ranging) are combination acronyms and clipping-compounds. If a majority of initial letters form the word, then the first three are acronyms and the last a clipping-compound.

8. The Websters and Random House dictionaries list the origin of posh as unknown. The Oxford English Dictionary makes no mention of the acronymic theory. Cf. "Etymology of Posh," Word Study, Vol. XLV, No. 2 (Dec. 1969), pp. 7-8. The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language lists "port out, starboard home" as a possible etymology, a theory supported by Pei (p. 262).

9. As a result of the popularity of reverse acronyms, organizations must be exceedingly careful about what words the initial letters of their names might happen to spell. CREEP, from Committee to Re-elect the President is a famous example. The Canadian Headmistresses Association decided to change its name because there were some headmasters in the group. The new designation became Principals of Independent Girls Schools -- which acronyms out to PIGS!

Answers to the Exercises

1. alternating current/direct current; Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere; Congress of Racial Equality; Equal Rights Amendment; Grand Old Party; intelligence quotient; Job Opportunities for Better Skills; National Organization for Women; Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries; postscript; repondez s'il vous plait; Students Against Nuclear Energy; unidentified flying object; United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization; Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service.

CARE, CORE, JOBS, NOW, SANE, and WAVES are reverse acronyms.

CARE originally stood for Committee for American Relief in Europe. When the scope of the organization became worldwide, the name changed but the acronym remained the same.

2. Bryant continues: "Even though UN is a prefix in English that is negative in its implications, as UNsuccessful, UNfortunate, UNjust, UNfriendly, nevertheless, it is UN, despite the fact that UNO would look more like a real word and, symbolically, could be regarded as a form of the Latin unus, meaning one, thus conveying the idea of One World, an inspiring acronym."

3. Answers will vary.

4. confer compare, see (acronym); exempli gratis for example (acronym); et cetera and so forth (abbreviation); ibidem in the same place (clipping); id est that is (acronym); loco citato in the place cited (clipping); opere citato in the work cited (clipping); pagina, paginae page, pages (abbreviations).

5. Answers will vary.

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CHAPTER 9

BLENDS

As you have seen, when two words join together to make a compound, each retains its full form. If, in the merging of the two, a part of one or both is lost, the new creation is called a blend or telescoped word. Usually it is the first part of one word that is blended with the last part of another,¹ a process which, says linguist Otto Jespersen, plays "a much greater role in the development of language than is generally recognized."²

Blends, Old and New. The word barn, which originated at least as far back as 1200, is apparently a blend of the Old English bere (barley) and aern (house). Lord (1250) is a union of hlāf (loaf) and weard (ward).³ Other early examples include flush (flash + gush) (1541), twirl (twist + whirl) (1598), dumfound (dumb + confound) (1653), and flurry (flutter + hurry) (1698).⁴

Do you need a word to express the action of splashing and spattering? How about splatter? What about a combination of smoke and fog? Use smog. And if your puppets look like little moppets, why not name them Muppets? You probably have no trouble identifying the ingredients that go into brunch, broasted, and motel, but can you say what pairs of words have been blended to form chump, glimmer, glob, hassle, smash, and squiggle? The answers are:

chunk+lump=chump

haggle+tussle=hassle

glean+shimmer=glimmer

smack+mash=smash

globe+blob=glob

squirm+wiggle=squiggle⁵

One American blend, gerrymander, has a fascinating story behind it. In 1812 Governor Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, in an effort to sustain his party's power, divided the state into electoral districts with more regard to politics than to geography. It happened that the shape of one of these manipulated districts resembled that of a salamander. To a drawing of the district a waggish painter added head, wings, and claws; and the resulting creature was dubbed a Gerrymander. The word immediately caught the fancy of the entire country, and within a year it was used as both a noun and a verb.

Portmanteau Words. The English writer Lewis Carroll had a particular aptitude for making up blends and called them portmanteau words⁶ because he loved to cram two words into one as clothes are fitted into a portmanteau, or traveling bag. The best known example of Carroll's facile gift for blending is his "Jabberwocky" poem, which begins like this:

'Twas brillig, and the slithy toves
Did gyre and gimble in the wabe;
All mimsy were the borogoves,
And the mome raths outgrabe.

When Alice asks Humpty Dumpty to explain the word slithy, he answers:

"Well, 'slithy' means 'lithe and slimy.' 'Lithe' is the same as 'active.' You see it's like a portmanteau -- there are two meanings packed into one word." Dumpty goes on to interpret mimsy: "Well then, 'mimsy' is 'flimsy and miserable' (there's another portmanteau for you)."⁷

Along with slithy, two other words in "Jabberwocky" have met with some degree of acceptance in English -- chortle (chuckle + snort)⁸ and galumph (gallop + triumph). As to how such blends come into being, Carroll, in his preface to "The Hunting of the Snark" (snark itself

is a blend of snake and shark),⁹ offers this witty explanation:

This also seems a fitting occasion to notice the other hard words in that poem. Humpty-Dumpty's theory, of two meanings packed into one word like a portmanteau, seems to me the right explanation for all. For instance, take the two words "fuming" and "furious." Make up your mind that you will say both words, but leave it unsettled which you will say first. Now open your mouth and speak. If your thoughts incline ever so little towards "fuming," you will say "fuming-furious"; if they turn, by even a hair's breadth, towards "furious," you will say "furious-fuming," but if you have that rarest of gifts, a perfectly balanced mind, you will say "fumious."

Modern Blends. Contemporary magazine and newspaper writers have created a profusion of catchy, elaborate blends. Some of them are clever; some are merely bad puns. Time, the weekly news magazine, is famous for this time-chopping, space-saving device. Among its contractions are ballyhooligan, cinemactress, microphonies, sexperts, sophomoron, and vitalics ("he spoke in vitalics").¹⁰

Here are some other recent coinages, of varying degrees of ingenuity:

People who watch too many movies are cinemaddicts. Those hooked on television are vidiots.

A long weekend is an alcoholiday.

To expect a baby is to infanticipate.

Amateur athletes who surreptitiously receive money for their efforts are shamateurs.

People who obtain quick Nevada divorces are thus Renovated.¹¹

Complicated, nit-picking administrative procedures are labeled administrivia.

A jingle for children's vitamin pills shaped like little animals goes:

We are Pals.
Pals are we.
In our vitamin
Vitaminagerie.

Science and Advertising. Science and technology are among the most prolific providers of blends today. New theories and discoveries demand new words, and it is not surprising that the merging of previously unrelated fields of thought should cause new blends to flow into our language. Thus, a resistor tube that transfers information becomes a transistor. A new science that combines our knowledge of nuclear theory and electronics is labeled nucleonics. An escalading elevator is dubbed an escalator, execution by electricity electrocution, a quasi-stellar source of energy a quasar.

The world of advertising also churns out new blends, for a cleverly melded brand name allows an advertiser to proclaim, in a simple word, two or more outstanding qualities that his product is supposed to possess. Thus, our cars may be blessed with Fordomatic drive or Oldsmobility. We may imbibe cranapple juice, Lymon drink (lime-lemon), or Nestea -- and Schweppervescence may be lurking in our ginger ale. We may use Bisquick in our cakes, Saniflush in our bathroom, Polishine on our shoes, and Dynamints on our breath. We seek instant energy with Zestabs, instant cleanliness with Endust, instant vigor with Danskins (dance skins), instant pictures with Instamatic cameras, instant movies with Polavision, and instant playback with Selectavision.

EXERCISES

1. Which of the following words are blends, and how are those blends formed?

blurb	jamboree	splendiferous
boost	nectarine	sportscast
flounder	scrunch	squawk
grumble	scurry	teetotal
hokum	smash	twinight

2. When each of the following pairs of words are blended, what word do they form:

blot + botch = ?

happen + circumstance = ?

splash + sputter = ?

splash + surge = ?

blow + spurt = ?

stagnant + inflation = ?

3. List five scientific and advertising blends that are not mentioned in the text.

4. Using your imagination, make up two original blends. Then list their component parts and define their meaning.

NOTES

1. It seems that no two linguists define the term blend in quite the same way; and not only are the definitions somewhat contradictory, but often the examples an author gives do not conform to his own definition.

Robertson and Cassidy maintain that "the first sounds of one word are usually blended with the last sounds of another, when the two have some element of sound in common, though it be no more than a single vowel or consonant." (Robertson and Cassidy, p. 213) The first two examples that follow this definition are flaunt (from flout and vaunt) and slide (from slip and glide). We note that flout and vaunt have no "element of sound in common" that is merged to make flaunt, while slip and slide have a common letter but not a common sound that is merged.

Pyles offers no formal definition, but his opening sentence is so broad that it could apply to all compounds as well as blends: "The blending of two existing words to make a new word was doubtless an unconscious process in the oldest periods of our language." (Pyles, p. 298)

Marchand offers the narrowest definition I have met:

We shall use the term here to designate the method of merging parts of words into one new word, as when sm/oke and f/og derive smog. Thus blending is compounding by means of curtailed words. However, the clusters sm and og were morphemes only for the individual speakers who blended them, while in terms of the linguistic system as recognized by the community, they are not signs at all. Blending, therefore, has no grammatical, but a stylistic status. The result of blending is, indeed, always a moneme, i.e. an unanalysable, simple word, not a motivated syntagma.

(p. 451)

Such a restrictive definition very clearly distinguishes blends from clipping compounds, but on the very next page of his discussion Marchand lists among his examples slantindicular (slanting + perpendicular) swimsation (swim + sensation), and gerrymander (Gerry + salamander). We note that these three "blends" each contain an analysable morpheme.

My own definition of blending allows for four types of merging:

(1) beginning of one word + end of another: brunch; (2) beginning of one word + end of another, with overlapping letter -- smog -- or sound -- chump; (3) beginning of one word + full second word: cranapple; (4) full word + end of second word: gerrymander. When only the beginnings of words are merged, as in Amvets and Nabisco, I consider the result to be a compound clipping. In such creations the words do not appear to run together as fluidly as they do in most blends.

2. Language, Its Nature, Development and Origin (London: Allen & Unwin, 1922), p. 312.

3. Pyles (p. 293) and others label words like lord and barn as "amalgamated compounds," but it seems to me that when the end of the first word of a compound and the beginning of the second show decay, or when the end of the first word is lost and the remainder is joined to the second, we have a blend. The only difference between bere + aern = barn and smoke + fog = smog is that bere aern once existed as a compound, while smoke fog did not. But the final result of both mergers is a blend; and in the case of barn, the earlier compound can be viewed as an intermediate stage in the evolution of the word. The verbs don (do + on) and doff (do + off) are two more early examples of compounds that have become blends. Pyles (p. 298) does offer hapel (nobleman) as an example of an

old blend -- of adel (noble) and haleþ (man), a theory that seems to support my interpretation but contradicts his listing of lord as an amalgamated blend.

Marchand's contention that "Blending can be considered relevant to word-formation only insofar as it is an intentional process of word-formation" (Marchand, p. 451) challenges the status of barn and lord as blends, but I would ask (a) What does Marchand mean by "intentional" word formation? Was the first person who merged bere and aern into barn acting intentionally? (b) Why does Marchand require intentionality in the forming of blends but, apparently, not in other types? (c) If intentionality is a criterion for all word formations, would amalgamated compounds and folk etymologies then be excluded?

4. Pyles, p. 298.

Simeon Potter's footnote on page 81 of Changing English applies here:

It is astonishing how many of the simplest words are of obscure origin. To explain the eight affixes of incomprehensibility added to its root hen(d), or to describe the formation of undiscoverably, our longest word in which no letter occurs twice, is relatively easy. It is far more difficult to offer unimpeachable etymologies for common monosyllables like big, boy, cut, fun, job, lad, lass, pull, put, and jump.

Potter is wrong about undiscoverably. The longest isogram in Webster's unabridged dictionary is dermatoglyphics, and a case can be made for the coined word uncopyrightables. But his point that neither linguists nor lexicographers can always discover or agree on the etymology of little words becomes clear as we attempt to trace the formation of the words in this section.

The OED seldom identifies a word as an unimpeachable blend.

Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary and The Random House Dictionary of the English Language do assign the label "blend" to a number of words (often prefixed by "?" or "perh"), but, as we shall see, they occasionally disagree with each other. Here is a list of words that Robertson and Cassidy and Bryant mention in their respective treatments of blends, each followed by an indication of whether or not W7 and RH support the claim.

flaunt: R&C, Bryant/ W7 no; RH no. slide: R&C, W7 no; RH no. twirl: R&C, Bryant/ W7 no; RH twist + whirl. crouch: R&C/ W7 no; RH no.

flush: R&C, Bryant/ W7 no; RH flash + gush. squawk: R&C/ W7 squall + squeak; RH squall + hawk. splatter: R&C, Bryant/ W7, RH splash + spatter.

squash: R&C, Bryant/ W7 no; RH no. flurry: Bryant/ W7 no; RH no.

electrocute: Bryant/ W7, RH electric + execution. dumbfound: Bryant/ W7, RH dumb + found. scurry: Bryant/ W7, RH short for hurry-scurry. flounder: Bryant/ W7 no; RH flounce + founder. boost: Bryant/ W7 no; RH boose (Scot.) + hoise. blurt: Bryant/ W7 no; RH no. foist: Bryant/ W7 no; RH no.

grumble: Bryant/ W7 no; RH no.

The following words are labeled as possible blends in RH, but not in W7: twirl (twist + whirl); blotch (blot + botch); flush (flash + 'gush). W7 labels hassle a blend of hagggle + tussle; RH does not.

The exercises are designed in part to illuminate these discrepancies and to demonstrate that all dictionaries do not agree on what is to be said about a word.

5. Mencken, p. 179.

6. Bryant, (pp. 262-263) offers a distinction between portmanteau and blend words but does not seem to carry it out. Why, for example, she lists brunch in the first category and flush in the second is not at all clear.

7. Through the Looking-Glass (New York: Signet Classic, 1960), pp. 187-188.

Dumpty's explanation of wabe marks it as a compound-clipping: "It's called 'wabe,' you know, because it goes a long way before it, and a long way behind it," although the formation is quite unusual because the be in wabe is not pronounced as a syllable. The egghead's interpretation of gyre and gimble mark them as back formations: "To 'gyre' is to go round and round like a gyroscope. To 'gimble' is to make holes like a gimlet."

8. Chortle, Carroll's most enduring portmanteau word, is the only blend I can locate that combines the first and last sounds in one word with the last sound of another.

9. Snark is a good example of a blend that has not endured because there simply is no need for it.

10. Word Study, Vol. XII, No. 1 (September, 1936), p. 4. The modern blends in this section of the discussion are coined in the spirit of their predecessors, but they share with each other several traits: (1) both words in the blend appear in their full forms, but one cannot tell where the first word ends and the second begins; (2) there is always an overlap of letters and sounds, usually several letters in length; (3) the effect of the blend is humorous and punnish.

11. Next to Time it seems that Walter Winchell is our most prolific provider of coined blends. To him are attributed infanticipate and Renovated.

Answers to the Exercises

1. This exercise is designed in part to show students that lexicographers do not always agree on the etymology of a word. Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary and The Random House Dictionary of the English

Language agree that blurb, grumble, nectarine, scrunch, scurry, and splendiferous cannot be identified as blends. The other words in the exercise are listed as follows.

boost: W7 - origin unknown; RHD - boose (Scot.) + hoist.

flounder: W7 - akin to ON flythra; RHD - founder + flounce.

hokum: W7 and RHD agree that this word is a blend of hocus-pocus + bunkum.

jamboree: W7 - origin unknown; RHD - jabber + shivaree, with the m from jam 'crowd.'

smash: W7 and RHD agree on smack + mash.

sportscast: W7 and RHD agree on sports - broadcast.

squawk: W7 - squall + squeak; RHD - squall + hawk.

teetotal: W7 - total + total; RHD - reduplicated variation of total.

twilight: W7 and RHD agree on twilight + night.

2. blotch, happenstance, splutter, splurge, blurt, stagflation.
3. Answers will vary. Additional examples include simulcast, teleprompter, gravisphere, permápress, Count Chocula, Frogurt, and any of the "matic" machines, such as the Vegematic.
4. Answers will vary. Students may create original blends of the squirm + wiggle = squiggle type or the modern vidiot type. Two of the author's coinages are blammer, a verb describing the simultaneous action of blurting and stammering, and ballooney, an adjective describing the general response to the successful transatlantic voyage of the Double Eagle.

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CHAPTER 10

EPONYMS

The ancient gods snatched up the souls of those mortals who had found favor in their eyes and made them into stars so that they could forever shine before mankind. One process of word creation, the eponym (Greek, "upon a name"), has likewise gifted some men and women with a measure of immortality by transforming their names into ordinary words because of a discovery, object, deed, or attribute of character associated with them.¹ Stories of the origins of words made from the names of people or places, real or imaginary, present one of the richest and most entertaining aspect of word formation. Some books, like Name into Word and The Eponyms Dictionaries Index, contain over 20,000 such entries so that the examples that follow are only a fraction of words in our language that are coined from proper names.²

Names into Words. When a name becomes enshrined in our everyday vocabulary, it may remain unchanged in form and grammatical function, except for a loss of capitalization. The word sandwich, to take one of the best known examples, comes from the clever strategem adopted by John Montagu, the fourth Earl of Sandwich. As the story goes, Montagu spent a twenty-four hour stretch at the gaming tables, during which time he ordered his servants to bring him, as his only nourishment, slices of beef slapped between slices of bread. Who would have dreamed that a compulsive gambler would go on to become history's greatest salesman of bread? Silhouette preserves the names of Louis XV's minister of finance, Etienne de Silhouette. Because of his unmatched zeal for trimming expenses, he

was unpopular with fund holders, pensioners, and members of the royal family, who ran him out of office within eight months. At about the time that he was sacked for his niggardly economies, an artist worked out a simple and inexpensive method of making decorative cutouts of profile portraits by throwing the shadow of the subject on to a screen. Overnight these portraits became known as silhouettes because artists looked on the technique as corner-cutting and penny-pinching. The derrick is so called because its shape suggested that of the gallows, at which officiated one Derrick, a famous seventeenth century hangman. And, turning to a more airy subject, it seems foreordained that it is one Amelia Jenks Bloomer whose name has become immortalized as the designation (usually in the plural) for the once fashionable puffy ladies drawers that she helped to publicize.

Notice that sandwich, silhouette, derrick, and bloomers are all spelled with small letters. When an eponym loses its capitalization, it is a sure sign that it designates not the particular person whose name it once was, but a general class of people, objects, actions, or mannerisms. Such words have clearly completed their journey from proper name to common word in our language.²

Names into Verbs. Some eponyms retain the original form of the name but, through function shift, come to be used primarily as verbs. Linguists still dispute whether the term Lynch's Law is named after Col. Charles Lynch or Captain William Lynch, both of whom were Virginia county magistrates and both of whom illegally tried and punished rascally Loyalists and robbers. Lynch's Law has given way to lynch law, which in turn has spawned the verb to lynch. To boycott comes from the name

of another captain, Charles Cunningham Boycott, a land agent in Ireland whose enforcement of rent collection in the early 1880's so enraged the tenants that they threatened his life, forced his servants to desert, and burnt his figure in effigy. Hence, from Ireland comes the verb that means "to coerce a person through ostracism."

Eponyms with Suffixes. A name can also be transformed into a verb or another part of speech by the addition of a suffix. The most popular of these endings is -ize, as in bowdlerize (after Thomas Bowdler, who, in 1818, published a diluted version of Shakespeare's works for family consumption), macadamize (John McAdam, Scottish engineer and road builder), mesmerize (F. A. Mesmer, of Vienna), pasteurize (Louis Pasteur, French scientist), and galvanize (Luigi Galvani, Italian physiologist).⁴ Even a random list like this one illuminates the internationality of our eponyms storehouse.

The suffix -ism gives us a word we hear frequently these days, chauvinism, from Nicholas Chauvin, a veteran soldier of the First Republic and Empire, whose demonstrative patriotism came to be ridiculed by his comrades; sadism from the Marquis de Sade, whose writings extolled the sexual inflicting of pain; and masochism from Leopold Sacher-Masoch, an Austrian novelist some of whose characters enjoyed receiving pain. Our -ism list would be incomplete without mentioning the word spoonerism, immortalizing the name of William Archibald Spooner and meaning an unintentional but comic interchange of sounds in a word or phrase: "Is it kistomary to cuss the bride?" "You are occupewing my pie."

Other Changes. The enshrining of a proper name in our everyday vocabulary may be accompanied by a slight or radical change in spelling or form.

America is named after Amerigo Vespucci, a minor explorer who probably never made the voyage that put his name on the map as the discoverer of our continent. The sixteenth century followers of the philosopher John Duns Scotus (who was actually quite smart) were called dunces, from Scotus's middle name, because they clung to their old beliefs instead of accepting the "new learning."

Nicotine is named for Jean Nicot, the French ambassador to Portugal who brought back to his native land the seeds of the tobacco plant. A sideburned saxophonist gets the name of his whiskers (at first they were called burn-sides) from the Civil War general Ambrose Everett Burnside and the name of his instrument from its inventor, Antoine Sax.

Tawdry is a clipping of (Sain)t Audrey, the patron saint of Ely. On her birthday, October 17, the English held a fair at which flashy jewelry, knickknacks, and lace were sold. Hence, showy finery came to be associated with St. Audrey, and the word has been extended to mean anything cheap and gawdy in appearance or quality. Gerrymander, as you already know, is a blend of (Governor Elbridge) Gerry and (sala)mander and OK an acronym for "Old Kinderhook."

Inventors. The surest way to grab yourself a place in the language is by inventing a gadget so useful and original that people will have to call it by your name. Here are the names of fifteen clever persons who have done just that. Consult a good encyclopaedia to identify the words that keep their names alive.

Henry Brougham	Rudolph Diesel	Samuel Morse
James Bowie	George Ferris	George Pullman
Robert Bunson	Joseph Guillotin	Henry Shrapnel
Samuel Colt	Joseph Hansom	Oliver Winchester
Henry Derringer	Charles MacIntosh	Ferdinand Count von Zeppelin

Your research should uncover a waterproof coat, carriage, cab, train coach, engine, dirigible, burner, great wheel, and a number of potentially lethal weapons -- a knife, artillery shell, several kinds of firearms, and a head chopper-offer.

There's a God in Your Sentence. Our language keeps alive the names of hundreds of historical personages in the words we use. But a person does not have to have been alive to achieve such a distinction. He or she (or it) may be a character in mythology or literature that becomes transformed into a word for the quality he or she (or it) represents. The largest cluster of such language immortals are the gods, goddesses, heroes, heroines, and strange creatures that inhabit the world of classical mythology.

The names of the Greek and Roman deities many times help us to express ourselves with a word taken from their names. Jovial comes from the name the ancient Romans gave to the king of their gods, Jove, since it was a happy omen to be born under his influence. Jupiter, another name for Jove, is also the largest planet in our solar system. Saturnine and the name of our second largest planet proceed from Saturn, the Roman name for Jupiter's father, and chronology from Cronus, his Greek name. Cronus was chief of a race of giants called titans, from which is taken the adjective titanic. From Pluto, god of the underworld and brother of Jupiter, we get the name of our darkest, most distant planet, as well as the word plutonian.

Martial and Mars proceed from the Roman name for the god of war and volcano and vulcanize from Mars' brother Vulcan, god of the forge. The wife of Vulcan and lover of Mars is Venus, goddess of love, whose Roman name yields venereal and the designation for the beautiful and mysterious second planet in our solar system. The names of Venus's son, who was called

Eros or Cupid, survive in erotic, cupidity, and possibly kewpie doll.

Quicksilver is called mercury because its fluidity and mobility are qualities of Mercury, the winged messenger of the gods. Mercury is also responsible for the adjective mercurial, meaning "swift, eloquent, volatile." Our closest planet to the sun is an eponym for Mercury because it runs the speediest of courses through the heavens.

Museum is derived from the nine muses, patronesses of the arts; cereal from Ceres, the Roman goddess of grain, bacchic and dionysian from Bacchus (Latin) and Dionysus (Greek), god of wine and wild revelry; janitor from Janus, the Roman god of entrances and beginnings; nemesis from the Greek goddess of retributive justice; and panic from Pan, the Greek nature god, who was supposed to cause sudden and groundless fear.

Literary Eponyms. A special kind of life can be bestowed upon people who have existed only in literature. Derivatives of their names can achieve such wide application that they are no longer written with capital letters. The verb pander is from Pandarus, the uncle of the heroine in Chaucer's Troilus and Cressyde, who acts as a go-between for the lovers. The expression "gargantuan appetite" harkens back to the name of a gigantic king in Rabelais' Gargantua, who had an enormous capacity for food and drink. Quixotic people are impractically idealistic. The adjective descends from Miguel Cervantes' Don Quixote, who dreamed impossible dreams. Pantaloon and its more common form, pants, are modifications of Pantalone, the name of a doddering character in Italian comedy who is usually depicted as wearing tight-fitting trousers. From Charles Dickens's A Christmas Carol comes the term for all tightwads -- a scrooge.

When people misuse words in an ignorant but humorous manner, we call the result a malapropism. The word is an eponym from the name of Mrs. Malaprop (from French, mal à propos: not appropriate), a character in Richard Sheridan's play The Rivals who tried to impress people with her learned vocabulary but failed because she constantly mixed up the sounds of words. Malaprop, who was addicted to a "nice derangement of epitaphs" (nice arrangement of epithets), used perpendiculars for particulars, ineffectual for intellectual, illiterate for obliterate, progeny for protege, contagious for continuous, and allegory for alligator. The student who described Shylock as Shakespeare's famous usurper (instead of usurer) and the governor who, during a commencement address, waxed enthusiastic about the great millstone in the history of the college (instead of milestone) share, as do almost all of us, Mrs. Malaprop's malapropensity for mutilating the language.⁵

The Bible is especially rich in characters whose identifying qualities endure. Thus we have Methuselahs, Jonahs, Jeremiahs, Judases, doubting Thomases, and good Samaritans; and some people are blessed with the strength of Samson, the wisdom of Solomon, or the patience of Job. But rather than being eponyms these words are a figure of speech called an allusion. They retain their capital letters and require a knowledge of the original reference to make their point.⁶

Place Names. So far we have talked about eponyms taken from the names of people. But place names have similarly provided the English language with a great many common words, often the names of products associated with a particular city or area, as the two lists that follow will illustrate. Your dictionary will provide you with the source of each

word. First, the names of fabrics and items of clothing:

calico	homburg	muslin
cashmere	jeans	suede
damask	jersey	tuxedo
denim	mackinaw	tulle
gauze	madras	worsted

A recent addition to the list is the bikini, an abbreviated, two-piece swimsuit named after the atoll on which an atomic bomb was exploded -- a truly figurative eponym.

Eponyms for food and drink include:

bordeaux	cheddar cheese	gin
bourbon	cherrystone clams	hamburger
brussels sprouts	cognac	port
cantaloupe	currants	sherry
champagne	frankfurter	tangerine ⁷

Many of these delicious items might be served on plates made of china. The adjective laconic comes from the terse speech of the Spartans in Laconia and the verb to shanghai from the practice of forcibly securing sailors for voyages to the Orient. The easy gallop of medieval pilgrims has yielded canter, a clipped form of Canterbury gallop, while bunk is a shortening of Buncombe County, North Carolina, whose congressional representative once remarked that he was "only talking for Buncombe."

Babel, bedlam, donnybrook, and pandemonium all mean "uproar and confusion" and all turn out to be eponyms from the names of interesting places. Babel echoes the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel. Bedlam is a slurring of St. Mary's of Bethlehem, the name of a London

hospital for the insane. Donnybrook Fair was an annual Irish event renowned for its brawls. Pandemonium, which means "a place for all the demons," was invented by the poet John Milton as the name for the home of Satan and his fallen friends. Since the devils were noisy, the meaning of the word has been extended to mean "uproar and tumult." A few other eponyms from places that exist only in books have found their way into our language, among them Jonathan Swift's lilliputian and Sir Thomas More's utopia.

To express ourselves in writing and speech we often use eponyms without realizing that we are borrowing the name of a person or place. Knowing about these sources can deepen our understanding of the words themselves, add color and range to our vocabulary, and help us to appreciate how the words we use every day spring from history and legend.

Brand New Eponyms. A recent development in the manufacturing of the words from names is the use of a brand or trade name as a general term. If a product achieves wide popular appeal, its name may become the word for all products of its type.⁸ Zipper was coined by the Goodrich Company in 1913 as the trademark for a slide fastener on overshoes. After numerous appeals to the courts the company retained the exclusive right to use the name on footwear, but to what avail? Zipper belongs to us all. So do aspirin, cellophane, kerosine, kodak, levis, linoleum, nylon, Q-tips, ping-pong, styrofoam, thermos, t.v. dinners, and vaseline. Most of us are not aware that such labels are or were trademarks for particular products. We find nothing illogical about asking for a band-aid, jello, or kleenex and receiving a Curad, Royal Gelatin, or a Scott Tissue. We scotch tape with Magic Tape and xerox with an IBM photo copier. What do you call a thick felt marking pen, a flavored chunk of ice on a stick, a food processor, and a coated piece of paper that corrects

typing errors? If your answers are a magic marker, popsicle, cusinart, and correcto-type, you are using registered trademarks as generic terms.

Rather than being flattered by such fame, manufacturers may go to court to retain exclusive use of their trademark. But, win or lose, no person or corporation can stop a name from entering the language as a common word.

EXERCISES

1. What inventions or objects are associated with the men in the following poems?

Two noble earls, whom, if I quote,
Some folks might call me sinner;
The one invented half a coat,
The other half a dinner.

-- anonymous

SOME FRENCHMEN*

Monsieur Etienne de Silhouette
Was slim and uniformly black;
His profile was superb, and yet
He vanished when he turned his back.

Humane and gaunt, precise and tall
Was Docteur J. I. Guillotin;
He had one tooth, diagonal
And loose, which, when it fell, spelled fin.

André Marie Ampere, a spark,
Would visit other people's homes
And gobble volts until the dark
Was lit by his resisting ohms.

Another type, Daguerre (Louis),
In silver salts would soak his head,
Expose himself to light, and be
Developed just in time for bed.

-- John Updike

*Midpoint and Other Poems (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1963)

2. What people or places are the sources of the following words? Choose five and share your knowledge with your classmates.

attic	leotard	martinet
bayonet	limousine	maverick
braggadocio	marathon	meander
cardigan	maudlin	millinery
hooligan		quisling

3. Two of the largest clusters of eponyms are the names of flowers (such as dahlia) and the names given to electrical and physical units of measurement (such as ampere). Track down and list as many as you can.

4. First names, like surnames, may also become eponyms when they are used in a general sense. With the help of your dictionary list as many words or expressions as you can that use the following first names:

Billy (example: <u>hillbilly</u>)	John(ny)
Bobby	Joe
Jack	Timothy
Jim(my)	Tom(my)

5. Names of tribes and peoples can become common nouns, usually in a sense according with some supposed characteristic of the group. What do the following words generally mean?

bohemian	philistine	turk
boor	spartan	vandal
goth	tartar	yankee

6. From classical mythology issue words that are derived from beings other than the gods and goddesses. Define and identify the sources of five of the following words, and share your knowledge. Consult a good handbook of mythology to get the full story.

amazon	echo	mentor	psyche
atlas	fury	morphine	siren
by Jimminy	harpy	narcissism	stentorian
chaos	hector (verb)	odyssey	tantalize
chimeral	herculean	protean	zephyr

7. From where do we get our names for the days of the week and for the months? What mythologies are the sources? Why is the spelling of Wednesday so different from its pronunciation? Why are September, October, November, and December not the seventh through the tenth months respectively, as their roots seem to indicate?

8. Choose a well-known public figure and from his or her name make up your own eponym and offer a definition. Note what you have done, if anything, to the form of the name.

9. Create an original malapropism and an original spoonerism.

10. Make up three graceful sentences, each of which contains at least three eponyms.

NOTES

1. The word eponym is variously applied both to the person or place for whom or from which something is named or to the thing itself. A Gale Research Company prepublication announcement of the Eponyms Dictionaries Index suggests the second usage of the word, the usage I adopt in this discussion. The etymology of eponym, "upon a name" or "after a name," supports this interpretation.
2. Bryant begins her discussion of eponyms with the inaccurate statement "poetic transference of ideas is noticeable in the next group of words to be considered, the small but interesting number of words which have been made from the names of people or places" (p. 262, underlining mine) and then devotes a single paragraph to the subject.

Marchand does not include the eponym in his study of English Word-Formation:

Word-formation can only be concerned with composites which are analysable both formally and semantically... The study of the simple word, therefore, insofar as it is an unanalysable, unmotivated sign, has no place in it. It is a lexical matter.

(p. 2)

An eponym, in and of itself, is not an analysable composite. The process by which eponyms are created does overlap with the study of semantic change, especially the process of generalization, in that our vocabulary is enriched by the transmutation of names, which refer to particular people and places, into words, which refer more generally and typically to a class of people, places, objects, actions, or mannerisms.

At the same time, eponyming embraces many of the commonly acknowledged methods of word formation: clipping (canter, tawdry),

blending (gerrymander), and function shift (lynch, shanghai). Therefore, I have placed this discussion at the end of the cluster of chapters on word-formation.

3. When a proper noun becomes a word in the ordinary vocabulary, it appears to go through three stages. First, it is used as the name of the person or place it originally symbolized: "Narcissus fell in love with the reflection of his own beautiful face." In the final stage of assimilation into the language the word retains almost none of the meaning associated with the original person or place: "the modern generation is so narcissistic." Here the word is almost always written with lower case. Between the two extremes the name is figuratively transferred to someone who resembles him, and we have an allusion: "Jim is a veritable Narcissus about his appearance." If the allusion refers to the specific individual or place, as above, the word is capitalized. If it refers more to an idea than to the original source, it loses its capitalization, it becomes an eponym, and the language has gained a word: "The chauvinistic demagogue pandered to the people's martial instincts." A few capitalized adjectives like Machiavellian and Rabelaisian seem to be exceptional.

4. Recently automobile owners have been exhorted to midasize their mufflers, an eponymous formation that is backed by illustrious precedent.

5. My favorite real-life malapropism comes from a friend who wrote on a freshman English paper "the girl tumbled down the stairs and lay prostitute at the bottom." His professor commented in the margin: "My dear sir, you must learn to distinguish between a fallen woman and one who has merely slipped!"

6. It is noteworthy that English abounds with eponyms culled from the Greek and Roman myths while the Bible, otherwise so rich in its influence

on our culture, has made so few contributions to the general vocabulary. That the greatest assimilation has occurred with words like gosh darn for God damn and gee and cripes for Jesus Christ says a great deal about our dual heritage.

7. Calicut India; Kashmere, Iraq; Damascus, Syria; de Nimes, France; Gaza, Palestine; Homburg, Germany; Genoa, Italy; Jersey, Channel Islands; Mackinaw City, Michigan; Madras, India; Mosul, Iraq; Suede (French for Sweden); Tulle, France; Tuxedo Park, New York; Worsted, England; Bordeaux, France; Bourbon County, Kentucky; Brussels, Belgium; Cantalupo, Italy; Champagne, France; Cheddar, England; Cheriton, Virginia; Cognac, France; Corinth, Greece; Frankfurt, Germany; Geneva, Switzerland; Hamburg, Germany; Jerez, Spain; Tangiers, Africa.

8. Mencken explains: "By law a trade name must be a word that does not really name or describe the article to which it is affixed, and must be sufficiently unlike the trade names of other articles of the same general type to prevent the buyer from mistaking one for the other." (p. 214) Designations such as aspirin, cellophane, kerosene, and linoleum the courts have decided are descriptive. Others, like Coke (but not Cola), Kleenex, and Scotch Tape, are protected by law but just as susceptible to becoming generic terms.

Answers to the Exercises

1. The Earl of Sandwich and the Earl of Chesterfield have bequeathed us the sandwich and chesterfield. John Updike's famous Frenchmen are associated with the silhouette, guillotine, ampere, and daguerreotype.
2. Attica, Greece; Bayonne, France; Braggadocio, a boastful giant in Edmund Spenser's The Faerie Queene; Thomas Brudenell, Seventh Earl of Cardigan; Patrick Hooligan, an Irish hoodlum; Jules Leotard, French

gymnast; Limousin, France; Marathon, Greece; Mary Magdalene, often pictured as weeping; Jean Martinet, a strict French army officer; Samuel Maverick, American pioneer who refused to brand his cattle; Maiander, a river in Asia Minor; Milan, Italy; Vidkun Quisling, Norwegian traitor.

3. Among the suggested answers for flowers are: begonia (Michael Begon); bougainvillea (Louis Antoine de Bougainville); camellia (George Joseph Kamel); dahlia (Anders Dahl); forsythia (William Forsyth); freesia (Elias Magnus Fries); fuchsia (Leonhard Fuchs); gardenia (Alexander Garden); magnolia (Pierre Magnol); poinsettia (Joel Poinsett); wistaria (Caspar Vistar); zinnia (Johann Zinn). Among the most commonly used units of measurement are ampere (André Marie Ampère); ohm (Georg Simon Ohm); volt (Alessandro Volta); and watt (James Watt). A few of many others are: angstrom (Anders Angstrom); coulomb (Charles Augustin de Coulomb); farad (Michael Faraday); joule (James Prescott Joule); newton (Isaac Newton).

4. Possible answers include: billy club, hillbilly, billy goat; bobby (London policeman, after Sir Robert Peel), bobby socks; jack hammer, jack knife, lumber jack; jim dandy, jimmy (verb), jimmies (noun); a good Joe, a sloppy Joe, G.I. Joe; johnnycake, Johnny-on-the-spot, long johns; timothy (a kind of hay); tomfoolery, tommy rot, tomboy.

5. bohemian - artist or writer living an unconventional life; boor - rude, insensitive person; goth - a barbarian who lacks culture and refinement; philistine - crass, materialistic person who lacks taste; spartan (adj.) - marked by strict self-discipline; tartar - a person of irritable or violent temper; turk - a rebel who wishes to assert new ideas; vandal - one who destroys or damages property; yankee - a native or inhabitant

of New England characterized by hard-headed thrift and common sense.

6. amazon - a tall, strong, masculine woman; a member of a race of female warriors who repeatedly warred with the ancient Greeks of mythology; atlas - a picture of the giant Atlas supporting the world on his shoulders is commonly prefixed to collections of maps and they are now known by his name; by Jimminy - an expression that comes from the Gemini twins, Castor and Polydeuces; chaos - a state of confusion, from the first being to exist in Greek mythology and father of Darkness and Night; chimera - fantastic, from a monster that was part lion, part goat, and part snake; echo - a nymph who loved Narcissus but who could only repeat the last words that others spoke; fury - violent rage, from the three Furies, pitiless avengers of terrible crimes; harpy - a shrewish woman, from the monstrous bird-women who snatched food from tables and took the souls of the dead; hector - a verb meaning "to bully," comes from a wrong conception of the great Trojan hero in Homer's Iliad; herculean - characteristic of Hercules, who needed all his power and size to carry out the twelve labors imposed upon him; mentor - a wise counselor or guide, from Mentor, the sage adviser of Telemachus in the Odyssey; morphine - a tranquilizing drug, from Morpheus, who induced dreams; narcissism - extreme self-love, from Narcissus, a beautiful young man who pined away in a love for the reflection of his own face; odyssey - a long journey, from the Ithacan king Odysseus, who wandered for ten years after the Trojan War; protean - readily changeable, from Proteus, the Old Man of the Sea who could change his form at will; psyche - soul or mind, from Psyche, a beautiful princess loved by Eros (also psychology and its derivatives); siren - a temptingly beautiful woman, from the Sirens, half women, half birds, who lured ancient mariners to their destruction by their singing; stentorian - having a

powerful voice, from Stentor, a loud-voiced herald in the Iliad;
tantalize - to tease or torment through temptation, from Tantalus, who, for
an atrocious sin, was eternally punished in Hades by having food and drink
always just elude his desperate grasp; zephyr - a gentle breeze, from
Zephyrus, the west wind.

7. Most of our days of the week come from the names of Norse deities,
matched by equivalent Latin deities in the Romance languages: Monday -
moon day/ French lundi; Tuesday - named for Tiw, god of war/ mardi or
Mars' day; Wednesday - Woden's day/ mercredi, Mercury's day; Thursday -
Thor's day/ jeudi, Jove's day; Friday - named for Frigg, goddess of love/
vendredi, Venus's day; Saturday - Saturn's day/ samedi, sabbath.

January - Janus, god of entrances and beginnings; March - Mars, god
of war; May - Maia, mother of Hermes; June - Juno, queen of the gods;
July - Julius Caesar; August - Augustus Caesar. The addition of July
and August to the Roman calendar set back two months each September,
October, November, and December.

8. Answers will vary.

9. Answers will vary.

10. Instruct students to avoid non-committal sentences like "He was a boor,
a goth, and a philistine." A more effective example is "The sideburned
saxophonist, wearing a bright silk tuxedo for his high-voltage performance
at the marathon rock concert, galvanized his audience into utter pandemonium."

APPENDICES

Because of their relevance to major areas of English word-formation discussed in this dissertation, two additional essays follow.

ORTHOGRAPHE MIRABILE, which explores phoneme-grapheme correspondences in English, is an expansion of the Chapter 1 discussion of spoken and written language codes.

ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL SLANGUAGE is an attempt to apply to the slang lexicon of St. Paul's School (vintage 1978) the principles of morphological analysis that are treated throughout the manuscript.

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APPENDIX 1

ORTHOGRAPHE MIRABILE

In 1750, Phillip, 4th Earl of Chesterfield, wrote, in a letter to his son: "One false spelling may fix a stigma upon a man for life." If Lord Chesterfield's chilling dictum is true, just about all of us are stigmatized, for who among us has not stumbled on or into the potholes and booby traps that dot the terrain of English spelling?

Indeed, with the possible exceptions of politicians, sports commissioners, and oil companiers, there is no more popular object of abuse and ridicule than our "system" of English orthography. "Spelling," declares Mario Pei, "is the world's most awesome mess." Otto Jespersen brands it a "pseudo-historical and anti-educational abomination." And J. Donald Adams adds: "It is wildly erratic and almost wholly without logic. One needs the eye of a hawk, the ear of a dog, and the memory of an elephant to make headway against its confusions and inconsistencies."

These are strong words, but even the briefest glance at the situation reveals that they are quite just. In what other language could one find the pairs publicly and basically, moveable and immovable, led and read (past tense), harass and embarrass, deceit and receipt, and deign and disdain? In what other language could manslaughter and man's laughter be spelled with exactly the same letters? In what other language could minuscule be so unfailingly misspelled that lexicographers have finally had to add miniscule as a variant form? In what other language could coffee be misspelled kauphy and usage, yowzitch -- not a single correct letter in the bunch!

The most prominent cause of all the whoop-de-do (also whoop-de-doo) about English orthography is the considerable distance that stretches between the sounds of our words and their spelling -- a state of affairs created by the inadequacy of our Roman alphabet to represent the sounds of English; our cheerful willingness to borrow words and, with them, unconventional spellings from other languages; and, finally, the changes in our pronunciation, most of which have not been matched by repairs to our orthography. The result is that about eighty percent of our words are not spelled phonetically; in effect we have two languages, one spoken and one written.

One way to explore the chasm that separates phonology from orthography is to examine how letters, alone or in combination, can represent a variety of disparate sounds. The e's in reentered, for example, have four different pronunciations, including one silent letter. A favorite target of the scoffers is the combination ough, a terror that can produce nine distinct sounds, as in bough, bought, cough, dough, hiccough, lough, rough, thorough, and through.

What most complicates the situation is that English spelling is haunted by what William Watt calls "the little ghosts of silent letters." Many of these were once sounded, such as the k and gh in knight, the l in would, the p in pneumonia, and the final e. For centuries colonel was a three-syllable word, as in the opening line of Milton's sonnet:

"Captain or Col-o-nel or Knight at Arms."

Other letters, like the b in doubt and the g in foreign, were never pronounced but were added in the Renaissance to make English words conform,

often erroneously, to Latin and Greek morphology. As a result, it has been estimated that two-thirds of our lexicon is populated with silent letters, leading Thorstein Veblen to proclaim, "English orthography satisfies all the requirements of the canons of reputability under the law of conspicuous waste."

Confronted by such delicious chaos, the intrepid logophile is moved to discover just how consistent is the inconsistency. By comparing the spelling of words with their phonetic transcriptions in the dictionary, I have found contexts in which all twenty-six letters in the alphabet are mute. In the line-up that follows I offer, wherever possible, several settings for each silent letter:

algae, bread, marriage, pharaoh; doubt, subtle, thumb; blackguard, Connecticut, indict, science, victual; edge, handkerchief, Wednesday; height, hope, steak, value, yeoman; halfpenny; gnome, reign, tight, al-though; bough, ghost, honor, rhyme, shepherd, upholster; bait, business, Sioux, thief; rijsttafel; blackguard, know; halfpenny, Lincoln, salmon, should; mnemonic; column; country, laboratory, leopard, people, tortoise; cupboard, pneumonia, psychiatrist, receipt; Colquhoun, racquet; forecastle, Worcester; aisle, debris, island, rendezvous, viscount; gourmet, listen; parfait, soften; circuit, dough, guide, victual; savvy; answer, cockswain, two, wrist; faux pas, grand prix, Sioux; eye, pray; rendezvous, britzska.*

I would welcome readers' suggestions for improving any of the above items, especially the following -- J: I would prefer a more

* In all fairness to English spelling, we must note that silent letters frequently gain a voice when the base word is extended by a suffix: bomb-bombard, muscle-musclar, line-linear, fruit-fruition, condemn-condemnation, receipt-recipient, circuit-circuitous, resign-resignation.

familiar entry than rijsttafel (rīstafə1), an Indonesian rice dish; Q: the name of British author and explorer Archibald Colquhoun (Kōhōōn) is listed in the back of Webster's Third, but I would like to avoid heavy reliance on a proper name; in racquet I am forced to argue that either the c or the qu are silent; V: for this, the most elusive (one could say the loudest) letter in my search, I can uncover only double-letter items, such as savvy and flivver. Despite these niggling problems, I have demonstrated the deafening silence that rings through English orthography.

Now let us reverse our field. Not only can certain letters represent a variety of English sounds (and silences); we also find that a single sound can be recorded by many different letters. George Bernard Shaw, who first championed and then bequeathed a sizable (also sizeable) sum of money to the cause of spelling reform, once announced that he had discovered a new way to spell the word fish. His fabrication was ghoti: gh as in enough, o as in women, and ti as in nation. And there are many other fish in the sea: phusi: ph as in physic, u as in busy, si as in pension; ffess: off, pretty, issue; ughyce: laugh, hymn, ocean; Pfeechsi: Pfeiffer, been, fuchsia; pphiapsh: sapphire, marriage, pshaw; fuise: fat, guilt, nauseous; ftaisch: soften, villain, schwa; ueisci: lieutenant, forfeit, conscious. We stop here only because the game has become ineffable.

We can adapt Shaw's tactic to almost any word. My surname, for instance, can be represented by Lleoddoloyrrh, a Frankenstein monster sewn together from pieces of ball, leopard, bladder, colonel, and myrrh.

Let us ask ourselves what sounds can be represented by the greatest variety of letters or letter-combinations in English spelling. In stalking the answer to this great question, we inevitably become

entangled with two thorny issues. First, since sound and spelling don't match in English, how are we to allocate the printed letters to the sounds? In particular, if a silent consonant follows a vowel or vowel combination, as in aisle, island, and feign, should it be credited to the vowel sound? After much soul-searching, I have decided that it should, or at least can. Second, what do we do with the exotic spellings of proper names like Featherstone-Haux (pronounced Fanshaw!), a question subsumed under the larger issue of which words are "foreign" and which are "English"? My solution has been to include only words that are listed in the main part of Webster's New International Dictionary (second or third editions) or The Random House Dictionary. If the word is enshrined in these esteemed tomes, it is, as far as I am concerned, an English word.

Here then are my chief candidates for orthographic variety. For convenience, I list the letters and combinations in alphabetical order.

SH (23 variants): appreciate, ocean, chaperone, rapprochement, fuchsia, suspicion, hsin, pshaw, sugar, crescendo, schwa, eschschoultzia, conscious, nauseous, shoe, mansion, assure, Asshur, Bysshe, mission, szlachta, initiate, nation.

EYE (23 variants): kayak, maestro, shanghai, trouvaille, Versailles, aisle, Haydn, aye, feisty, height, geyser, eye, I, indict, tie, sign, high island, coyote, guide, buy, my, bye.

EE (31 variants): bologna, aegis, shillelagh, shillelah, Dun Laoghaire, Aoife, quay, edict, heat, Beauchamp, see, deceit, Raleigh, receipt, people, demesne, key, vaccine, grief, genii, debris, esprit, Chamonix, amoeba, chamois, buoy, Portuguese, guillotine, guyot, happy, maitre d'.

OO (33 variants): Seoul, sleuth, queue, Devereux, blew, silhouette,

lieutenant, Sioux, do, shoe, manoeuvre, boot, pooh, soup, denouement,
bouillon, through, brougham, coup, rendezvous, ragout, bouts-rimes,
billet-doux, gnu, true, pugh, buhl, suit, buoyant, muumuu, Schuykill,
cwm, two.

OH (34 variants): Curaçao, pharaoh, chauvinist, Vaud, La Rochefoucauld,
Perrault, faux pas, bureau, trousseaux, yeoman, Seoul, sew, haute couture,
haut monde, table d'hote, go, boat, boatswain, Gounod, doe, Loew, cologne, Van
Gogh, oh, yolk, brooch, de trop, apropos, prevost, depot, soul, dough,
tow, owe.

AY (35 variants): aorta, sundae, champagne, trait, campaign, straight,
Beaujolais, parfait, halfpenny, gaol, gauge, day, aye, cafe, break,
matinee, thegn, eh, rein, feign, weigh, Pompeii, soleil, Marseilles,
dossier, demesne, buffet, tête a tête, entremets, they, eyot, rendezvous,
lingerie, menstruate, guerite.

In compiling these lists, I have become such a Wizard of OH's that I now unveil a twenty-one word tour de force (tour de farce?), in which all words possess an OH sound, yet each is spelled differently:

Although Curaçao yeoman folk owe Pharaoh's Vaud bureau hoed oats,
gauche Van Gogh, swallowing cognac oh so soulfully sews grograin,
picoted chapeaux.

The idea for the ghoti expansions originated with Sandra A. Engel and the search for the silent alphabet with Guy Mermier and Eric W. Johnson.

Appendix 2

ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL SLANGUAGE

Not long ago (it could have been any night), a group of St. Paul's School students sat around waiting for a shipment of starch to arrive from Domino's, a local pizza emporium. When almost an hour had passed beyond the appointed time of delivery, one of the boys called up and asked the parlor to "bag the za" (meaning cancel the pizza). The man from Domino's asked, "You want me to what the what?" "Bag the pizza," the boy explained. After a pause, the pizza person replied: "We don't bag pizza here; we put it in boxes."

Take about 500 boys and girls who are blessed with an abundance of linguistic exuberance and word-making energy; gather them into a close-knit boarding school community far from a big city; and you can be certain that they will create their own special vocabulary, full of daring metaphors, cryptic abbreviations, surprising shifts in meaning, and curious coinages. Since one of the purposes of such a vocabulary, as of the thieves' cant to which it is cousin, is to make it possible for certain groups not to be understood by the uninitiated, the Domino's man, quite naturally, did not comprehend the special usage of bag at St. Paul's School.

What is slanguage? According to H. L. Mencken, the word slang developed in the eighteenth century either from an erroneous past tense of sling or from language itself through blending and shortening, as in (thieve)s'lang(uage) and (beggar)s'lang(uage). Slang, then, was originally a synonym of cant and argot -- the vocabulary of special groups such as thieves, tramps, circus folk, and gypsies; and

linguists agree that the boundaries between slang, cant, argot, and colloquialisms are extremely wavering. The average SPS student combines the more outré elements of American jive talk, beat lingo, student cant, and regionalisms, with a number of terms that are purely Paulie. Thus, I have adopted the broad term slanguage for my disquisition on the current vogue words at St. Paul's School. The corpus derives from the informal speech (seldom the writing) of students (seldom masters) at SPS, and most of the words I shall discuss are not to be found in even the most up-to-date dictionaries of American slang.

Confronted by the bizarre array of unfamiliar words in this article, readers may feel that Time's winged chariot has run them over. They shouldn't. Slanguage words are notoriously evanescent, counting their duration by days instead of decades. For every one that survives, there are dozens of crib deaths, and no type of class slanguage has a higher mortality rate than campus slanguage. Thus, even alumni only a few years graduated will not find herein such nostalgic favorites as unbelievable and like a mug. These, like Shakespeare's poor player, have had their hour upon the SPS stage and are heard no more.

But the point I wish to make in this inquiry is that, while most slanguage words lead mayfly lives, all are created and derived in a number of identifiable and time-honored ways. Words and expressions are born and expire in ways exactly like those of ordinary speech, but in slanguage their entrance is more violent and departure more rapid. What persists are the methods of formation. My hope is that a member of the Form of 1929 may apply the following analysis to the SPS slanguage that he recalls and that the student in the Form of 2029 will be able to do the same for his or hers.

Clipping. The reduction of a word to one of its (assumed) parts is called clipping. With most clippings the back of the word is sheared away, as in "auto" for "automobile"; but sometimes the front is lost, as in "bus" for "omnibus," and occasionally both the front and the back, as in "flu" for "influenza." Much of SPS slanguage consists simply of the clipping of familiar words so often used by a homogeneous group that a hint is sufficient to indicate the whole. Brevity is the soul of slang.

Thus, a preppie who attends St. Paul's School is a Paulie (both clippings have the pet suffix -ie added). All Paulies start life at the School as newbies (new boys), which has been further shortened to newbs (girls are also newbs). Paulies begin each day in their dorms*, from which they go directly to breck (breakfast) and then to chap (chapel) for nourishment and nurture. Afterwards come classes in math (perhaps trig); chem or bio; eco, gov, or anthro; photog, Intro (Introduction to Religion), Hum Rel or Hum Sex (Human Relations, Human Sexuality). Paulies who don't vedge (vegetate) will cope (clipping of "copesetic") and produce good grades to show their rents (parents). Then all will be kosh (kosher).

Between appointments at the gym, lab, or libe, Paulies flock to Tuck (reduction of "Tuck Shop") or take a cab into town for a burger, frank, or za, accompanied by fries and washed down with a Coke or shake. On spring afternoons, some Paulies go to lax prac (lacrosse practice), where they hope to be jocks not spazzes (spastics), while their bods soak up rays (sunrays). For weekend entertainment Paulies may take in

*The names of some dormitories are clipped; others are not. Kit I, II, and III and Wing, Center, and North are all clippings. "Conover" by itself is never shortened, but Con-Twenty is. Quad is a clipping of "quadrangle," but quad dorms are identified by their full names.

a flick (flicker) at Mem Hall or at Film Soc or revel in a Mish dance.

Acronymymania. The most extreme form of shortening is that which reduces words to their intial letters. This device is called an acronym, a label coined from two Greek roots: akros - "tip" and onyma - "name."

Such verbal compacting is bound to happen at a place like SPS, where people need to refer to buildings, committees, and programs frequently and compactly, yet comprehensibly. Thus, rule-breakers will often find themselves meeting with the DC (Disciplinary Committee) and having to go OR (on restriction) or, worse yet, OB (on bounds). On the brighter side, Fifth Formers may choose SYA (School Year Abroad), and Sixth Formers may take creative and extensive ISP's (Independent Study Programs). All students may relax at the CC (a reduplicative acronym for "Community Center") or pick up news from home at the PO. Only one course name at SPS has become acronymed: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Chemistry -- a polysyllabic mouthful reduced to its capital letters, IAC, or pronounced as a word, Yak. Students who excel in Yak and advanced math and science courses may be labeled EJ's (Embryo Joes). PG's are post graduates -- large-muscled jocks whom other schools recruit solely for the purpose of competing against us. PG's have beards. They also have wives and children who come to root for them.

When the suite of audio-visual rooms was installed in the basement of the Schoolhouse, some waggish genius added a suffix to the acronym A-V to create the brilliant and apparently enduring pun The Aviary.

The years since World War II have seen a new refinement in the art of acronyming -- the reverse acronym, in which the letters are arranged to form an already existing word that underscores the purpose of the organization. As two examples, ZIP codes, for "zone improvement

plan," are reputed to add zip to our mail service, and VISTA (Volunteers In Service To America) works to provide wider horizons for underprivileged Americans.

SPS slanguage has spawned one such reverse acronym. With coeducation at St. Paul's came the verb to scope (a clipping of "telescope") and the derived noun scoper, "one who appreciatively watches the opposite sex." From these has arisen an unofficial organization named SCOPERS, the letters of which are said to stand for Students Concentrating On the Palatable Extremities of the Reciprocal Sex. Happily the society is open to boys and girls.

Shifty conversions. Because modern English has shed most of the flexional endings that distinguish grammatical function, its words are endowed with the happy facility of changing their so-called "parts of speech" with great ease. This ability of our words to rail-jump from one grammatical class to another linguists call function shift, or conversion. Consider, for example, the names for the parts of the body. We may head a committee, eye a person, shoulder or elbow our way through a crowd, hand in a paper, foot a bill, or toe a mark -- without any modification in the form of each word. In fact, if you think hard, you may be able to come up with fifty examples of such anatomical noun-verb conversions.

SPS slanguage fully exploits this lively characteristic of our language. Many of the conversions are desubstantival verbs: to book, to brick, to duke (it out), to pond, and to tube mean, respectively, "to do something rapidly" ("the track captain's really booking"), "to be frightened" ("I took one look at the exam and just bricked"), "to fight," "to throw someone into a pond" ("let's go pond a newb"),

and "to watch television."

And, as the distinctions between word classes become blurred, almost any interchange, it seems, is possible:

That EJ is a real grind. (verb into noun)

Kitt I sure serves great munchies at its feeds. (verbs into nouns)

You've been had. (active verb into passive verb)

I'm really into ecology. (preposition into verb)

One of the more exotic conversions shifts "later," ordinarily an adverb, into a passive verb, as in "I've just been latered," meaning "had" or "done in."

Two vogue verbs that are quite prominent in the SPS lexicon have strikingly similar etymologies. To boze means "to mess up because of disorganization or sloppiness"; a team with a big lead must be sure to avoid bozing in the last quarter. The word appears to be a shortening of the name Bozo (the Clown) that has become a verb -- to boze. To bogue, to smoke a cigarette," has traveled the same route. Take the name of cigarette-puffing film star Humphrey Bogart, convert the surname into a verb ("Don't Bogart That Joint"), and then lop off the last syllable.

Thus, both words are eponyms (common nouns made from names) that have been clipped and function-shifted, illustrating that very often several methods are simultaneously at work in the formation of a slanguage word.

Curious combinations. True to its Germanic heritage, the English language loves to make compounds by welding together two independent words to form a new concept. "Spacecraft" and "soap opera" are two of hundreds of compounds that have recently been admitted to the dictionary.

Among such combinations in the SPS slanguage canon are:

Moon-man: A noun describing a person not like ourselves (we are popular, attractive, clever). Moon-men may be smart, but they are not popular, attractive, or clever. Moon-women do not exist.

Space cadet: a neophyte moon-man.

Embryo Joe: a large-brained computer-jock.

Mystery meat: an unidentifiable slice of protein (urp!) served very infrequently at the Upper.

Greaseburger: hamburger.

Freaky fields: unsanctioned swards where students go to commune with nature.

Lunchmeat: adjective designating an unofficial athletic activity played purely for fun, as in "lunchmeat soccer."

One of the most flavorful and characteristic qualities of modern English is its tendency to form combinations of verbs and little adverbs. We chop down a tree, then chop it up. When we give out, we may give in. When we put people on, we put them off. SPS slanguage has seized especially upon the adverb "out" to append to almost any of its verb constructions. One may munch out or pig out (gormandize), duke it out, newb out (e.g. go to chapel on the wrong morning to find there is no service), or be bummed out (disappointed, as in "bum me out!").

Another exceedingly important way in which words are expanded is by the addition of prefixes and suffixes (together called affixes) to independent words, as in "untruthfulness." In the slanguage lexicon there are four especially productive suffixes: -ie, -ette, -er, and -age.

-ie: In addition to the aforementioned Paulie, preppie, and

newbie, we have townie (citizen of Concord), crewbie (one who rows; crewgie is rarely heard); techie (stage crew technician); and obie (from the acronymic o.b., for "old boy"; there are no ogies).

-ette: The need for newspaper editors to jam words into fixed pic-lengths of space has had a significantly compressing effect on American English. Shortly after St. Paul's became coeducational, the editors of the Pelican found themselves desperately in need of a space-saving formula for referring to female athletes. They soon hit upon the suffix -ettes, probably in imitation of "Rockettes." Thus, the Pelican sports page is studded with such headlines as "Polettes Ski to Victory" and "Laxettes Tie Lawrence." Sportswomen as a group are called jockettes, and in a few lovely instances the suffix produces a fortuitous pun and gives us racquettes and baskettes.

-er: The Old English agency suffix has changed its use and appears in bummer and to pull an all-nighter (to stay up studying).

-age: a popular linguistic pattern at St. Paul's, much...-age, converts slanguage nouns into verbs and back into nouns again, as in much piggage, much bummage, and much newbage.

Sometimes in English we combine in such a way that the beginning of one word runs into the end of another to form a blend. Lewis Carroll's "slithy" ("lithe" + "slimy"), "galumphing" ("gallop" + "triumphing") and "chortle" ("chuckle" + "snort") are famous examples. "Motel," "smog," and "Schweppervescence" are blended in much the same spirit. The SPS computer, which, like the Pelican, strives to print data quickly and concisely, has encouraged the blending of course names. Thus, titles like Classic American Gold and Classic English Gold will appear on student print-outs as CLAM GOLD and CLENG GOLD, and the names stick.

About half of my informants insisted that the vogue word scuz, which means "sloppy," is a clipping of "disgusting," while the other half claimed it is a blend of "scum" and "fuzz."

Figuratively speaking. When we describe an especially intelligent person, we may call him or her "bright," "brilliant," or "scintillating" without any consciousness of having used metaphors of light, or we may say "sharp," "keen," "incisive," "acute," or "clever" (from "cleaver") without seeing a pattern of knife's-edge imagery. James Greenough and George Kittredge devote a full chapter of their classic study, Words and Their Ways in English Speech, to demonstrating that "language is fossil poetry which is continually being worked over for the uses of speech."

In the slanguage of SPS, this metaphorical substitution for the plain, literal word can be seen in full activity; and it is not surprising that the words with the greatest metaphorical energy concern academic life. Disastrous performances on tests generate two striking linguistic clusters. The first I call the rotisserie metaphor. One doesn't just do poorly on an exam; he or she (in vaguely increasing degrees of heat) gets smoked, lit, torched, burned, baked, toasted, roasted, fried, or sizzled. Then there is the violent, paramilitary pattern of verbs: one gets hammered, bombed, shot down, or blown away. Note that all these verbs are in the passive voice. The student is seen as a helpless victim of menacing forces beyond his control. In pale contrast stand a few active verbs, most notably "to ace a test" (probably a golf metaphor). This is not to say that Paulies don't often do superbly on examinations, just that it is bad form to talk about it.

A few other slanguage metaphors are:

cooler: a relatively ancient refrigeration metaphor for the Infirmary, where one's social activities are put on ice.

tool: a student who is used by others, a stooge.

to cruise: to take a social tour of the grounds under cover of darkness (a ship or airplane figure).

elephant scabs: large, round pieces of mystery meat.

In the figure linguists call synecdoche a part of the whole becomes a name for the whole, as in "sixty head of cattle" or "fifty sails." Paulies do not watch television; they watch the tube, or they tube out. Here we have a synecdoche which is the result of a function shift which in turn is a clipping of "picture tube." Similarly, one may play puck (ice hockey) or hoop (basketball, also acronymed b-ball). Metonymy, a figure by which something is designated not by its own name but by the name of something that suggests it, can be seen in pit (another name for basketball), jock (the equipment becomes the athlete), and the Second Floor (meaning the Administration).

Semantics. Once a word has been invented and taken its place in the language, it doesn't just stand still and remain the same forever. Old words often don new meanings to fit new situations, a process we call semantic change. Take Walt Disney's Mickey Mouse, who has just celebrated his fiftieth year of animated existence. The name of this perfectly sincere, all-American rodent has now become a noun qualifier meaning "tedious, juvenile, or trivial": "That's a Mickey Mouse job" or "that's so Mickey Mouse."

In SPS slanguage we discover that the word lush now means "easy,"

as in "a lush course," while a fog is not a weather phenomenon but, rather, a person who is out of it, in a mental fog. A fog ("he's a real fog") is to be distinguished from the exceedingly popular fogue (probably a clipping of "fogey"), which is a stupid mistake like pulling an all-nighter and then sleeping through the examination or listening to someone tell a good story and then, at the end, asking "what?" Thus, a fogue is the action of a fog and joins boze, spaz, and newb out as terms that refer to boo-boos.

Turkey, which has nothing to do with geography or ornithology, describes someone we despise. A relic signifies either a person of outmoded attributes or an original one-of-a-kind. Bag means to drop from one's agenda, as in "bag the za." Jamming is collective pigging out. Godfathers are not underworld figures but masters assigned to look after newbs.

One process of semantic change is called emptying. Words which once had very real and specific meaning can, with time, become vague and general. In the late Sixties at SPS, and elsewhere, everything was "cool" or "neat," from the style of a friend's boots to an epic poem. By the mid-Seventies the vogue words expressing approval were "unbelievable," "fabulous," and "fantastic." Today the affirmative grunt-words at SPS are intense, awesome, and jock (as an adjective), be the object an athletic victory or a great novel. Negative grunt-words are rude (gross, disgusting) and hurtin': "After that test, I'm really hurtin'" or, through personification, "this meal is hurtin'."

Sound and Sense. Sound alone is the basis of a limited number of word formations in English. Words like "bang," "burp," and "swish" we call onomatopoeic or echoic. At SPS two examples stand

out: z's (zeez), signifying sleep, as in "I got plenty of z's last night," and woof, meaning "to throw up, to barf."

SPS slanguage offers us rhyming combinations in Yo bro (hi, brother), hurtin' for certain, and Embryo Joe and near rhymes in fac brat (faculty child) and bad at (also a clipping of "bad attitude"). Alliteration, the repetition of initial consonant sounds, is undoubtedly a factor in the formation and perpetuation of such combinations as moon-man, mystery meat, and Freaky Fields. Mish Mash, a snow cone sold by the the Missionary Society, exemplifies vowel shifting, while a beep-beep (computer jock) is both reduplicative and onomatopoeic.

Coinages. Very few words in English are simply made up of unrelated, meaningless elements. The abundance of resources for making new words that I have outlined in this article, plus the cheerful willingness of English to borrow from other languages, makes outright coinages rare. Nonetheless, the SPS slanguage mint has produced an impressive line of pure coinages. Among the current currency are:

doof (or doofus): one who habitually bozes.

dweeb: a nerd, a social incompetent who wears high-water trousers.

zoon dweeb: a geek dweeb, i.e. a dweeb who is large and ungainly.

schnoid: one who is other-worldly (perhaps an echo of "android").

gink: a body check, especially in lacrosse.

snarf: the act (or non-act) of falling asleep in or on a bed with one's clothes on. One who snarfs is a snarfer.

To a man and woman, every one of my informants rejected my suggestion that snarf must be a blending of "snore" and "barf." Rather, they

insisted that it was simply the perfect word to describe something that makes one feel snarfy. At any rate, the concept has become so sophisticated that four degrees of snarfing have been identified:

4th degree snarf: falling asleep on top of bed with no shoes on.

3rd degree snarf: falling asleep on top of bed with shoes on.

2nd degree snarf: falling asleep under covers with no shoes on.

1st degree snarf: falling asleep under covers with shoes on.

The future of slanguage. Throughout history it has been the custom to sneer meanly at slang as a kind of vagabond language that prowls the outskirts of respectable speech. Way back in 1710 Jonathan Swift railed against the "continual corruption of the English tongue," especially "the refinement which consists in pronouncing the first syllable in a word that has many, and dismissing the rest," as in mob (for mobile vulgus). Other objects of Swift's scorn were "certain words invented by some pretty fellows," including sham, banter, bubble, bully, shuffling, and palming. Not long after, Dr. Johnson, in 1755, insisted that words such as frisky, gambler, and conundrum "ought not to be admitted to the English language." The reader will note that, despite the weighty authority of purists like Swift and Johnson, all of the words condemned above have achieved solid positions in dignified discourse.

In fact, slang is nearly as old as language itself, and in all languages at all times some slang expressions have entered the stream of standard usage to pollute or enrich, depending on one's view of the matter. The really interesting change is that, whereas previously it took decades or even centuries for a piece of slang to gain such acceptance, if indeed it ever did, today such terms often pass into sturdy use overnight. This accelerated achievement of status may be

caused by our penchant in America to experiment and laugh at tradition or by the increasing frankness of all expression. It may be spurred by mass communications and the blurring of class lines. As Mr. Dooley, a fictional Irish saloon keeper, once observed, "When Americans are through with the English language, it will look as if it has been run over by a musical comedy."

Slang is indeed a powerful stimulant that keeps a language alive and growing, and many of the most valuable and pungent words and phrases in American English have begun their lives keeping company with thieves, vagrants, hipsters -- and, quite likely, prep school students. One day, in the not-too-distant future, everyone may laugh at dweebs who snarf at parties, and pizza chefs will not fogue when someone asks them to bag the za.

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