SURVIVAL OF NON-MORPHOLOGICALLY FORMED WORDS

A Pro Gradu Thesis

by

Nelli Nikula

Department of English

1999
Tutkielma käsittlee englannin kielen sananmuodostusta ja erityisesti sellaisia sananmuodostusapoja, joissa sana on syntynyt jotkin muilla tavoin kuin perinteisesti johtamalla se jostakin kantasanasta. Tutkimuksen kohteena ovat lyhenteet (abbreviations), niiden alalaji akronymit (acronyms), sekamuodosteet (blends), lyhennyset (shortenings) sisältäen katkaistut sanat (clippings) ja takaperioisjohdokset (back- formations), sekä tuotemerkkisananat (trade mark names). Jokaisen sanaryhmän kohdalla esitetään hypoteesi liittyen kunkin sananmuodostustavan tyyppisiin ominaisuuksiin. Tavoitteena on selvittää, miten paljon sananmuodostustapa vaikuttaa uuden sanan säilymiseen osana jokapäiväistä kielenkäyttöä. Lisäksi pohditaan yksittäisten sanojen tasolla, mitkä muut seikat vaikuttavat siihen, tuleeko uudesta sanasta pysyvä osa sanastoa.


Sananmuodostustavan ohella selvitettiin myös muita seikoja, jotka vaikuttavat sanan säilymiseen. Niistä merkittävimmäksi nousivat sanan merkitys ja aihealue, johon sana liityy. AIhealueesi muotoitui muutamia teemoja, jotka ovat olleet huomattavia koko kuluvan vuosikymmenen ajan. Niihin kuuluneet sanat olivat usein myös todennäköisimpien selviytymien joukkossa.

Asiasanat: language change, lexicology, word formation, neologisms.
1. INTRODUCTION

This is a study on neologisms or new words which can be considered as an important indicator of how language is changing. They also tell a lot of the society where they are first used. For example, in this study I encountered plenty of words that are related to computers and information technology, which have become all the more important in people's everyday life.

A list of new words could be gathered from eg. newspapers and find out how they have been formed. Then the ways new words are generally formed could be described superficially and whether those on the list follow the specified word formulation rules could be detected. In my opinion, however, new words and their appearance in print or spoken language are not that simple. Behind every new word there is a birth story which sheds light on the extralinguistic reasons for why this particular word was needed. Language cannot be studied separately, out of its context, but one needs to pay attention to the culture, speakers and their environment, which all influence language and how it changes. Vice versa, studying language change and new words also uncovers much about how society and culture have changed.

For this study I chose *The Oxford Dictionary of New Words* which contains words from many different fields. I decided to take words from all different fields into account even though such a variety of words would not be so easy to analyse. As I still could not include all the words of the dictionary in the present study, I had to determine other grounds than the field for choosing the words I intended to study. The criterion for choice ended up to be the way a word had been formed.

There are several ways new words are formed. Before one can begin to describe them, an adequate definition for the concept of *word* must be presented. I decided to take a broad perspective according to which a word is a meaningful unit where constituents cannot be reordered nor can one add anything between the constituents. A narrower perspective stresses the orthography and would not
consider for example words with full stops between their letters, like *V.A.T.*, as proper words. *V.A.T.* and abbreviations are meaningful units which in this study deserve the status of a word. They are also constantly used without their longer forms as an explanation. In addition to the mentioned abbreviations, I included acronyms, blends, shortenings and trade mark names in my data. None of these represent the most traditional types of word formation. Especially blends are often witty coinages and, as will be seen, sometimes too witty to get into a dictionary and thus become a generally accepted word.

Word formation is one of the factors, but not by any means the only one, that determines whether a new word 'survives' and gets in a dictionary. Other factors can not easily be listed, but they crucially depend on the word itself. Therefore when planning this study it proved wiser to analyse the words individually. The first thing to do was to find out the exact meaning of the word. Then I tried to connect it to a larger topic or framework. For instance the word *email* goes under the heading 'information technology', which was one of the main themes in the English-speaking western world in the late 80s. The idea was to construct some other themes, too, on the basis of the data.

There were clear connections between my linguistic material and the way the world was when the material was gathered. New fashions, trends and events add words to the vocabulary and whether they stay there or not; this depends on how persistently the issue remains on people's lips or in their literary products. The main aim of the present study is to find out why some of the new words of the late 80s have become everyday words and why others have vanished to the unknown.

2. LANGUAGE IN CONSTANT CHANGE

Language tells a lot of the culture in which it is spoken. The values and beliefs of each culture are all reflected in its language. Language also accommodates to the changes in its speech community. What happens around us affects the
language and alters it to fit the changed environment. To be more specific, it is not only language that follows the changes in its environment, but the process goes both ways. This means that also the language that we speak may to some extent influence our thinking. It is no wonder that language and society and especially their complex interaction have been a focus of interest for many scholars (see eg. Bolinger 1980)

According to Graddol et al. (1996:118), philologists have until recently concentrated on the facts of language change. A more modern approach attempts to discover reasons for these changes. One of these reasons, widely accepted by linguists, is languages in contact. When two languages interact, they easily borrow words from one another. Another reason for change given by Graddol et al. (1996:118) is "the internal system of change". This means that a change is initiated by the speakers themselves, who notice a gap or an irregularity in the language system. Downes (1984:195) also stresses the role of internal changes. He adds that a change in one rule can also trigger off a chain reaction which causes changes in other rules, too. The changes often simplify the overall system and/or bring symmetry and logic into it.

Keller (1995:8) sums up the problem of language change in two questions. On one hand he ponders on "why language changes". On the other hand he asks "why speakers change their language" where the mechanistic idea of language, ie. that the speakers actively affect how their language changes, is emphasized. The latter question is close to the ideas presented by Graddol et al. (1996), who also stress the importance of searching reasons for language change instead of only describing it. However, Keller (1995:9) criticises the approach for not taking context into account. She says that a language is not changed according to its "speakers' special plan", but the context and numerous other factors affect the way it is modified.

Baugh et al. (1978:300) approach language change from a historical point of view. They claim that language is forced to adopt this accommodating role as it has to keep pace with the advance of knowledge and technology. It was the 19th century that saw the first steps of technological development and gave us for
example words like refrigeration, railway and locomotive (Baugh et al. 1978:300). Moving on to our days, to the end of the 20th century, the technological development has accelerated in a manner that has left little time for the invention of new terms and concepts.

Baugh (1978:300) goes on, arguing even that a social history of a community could be written based on linguistic evidence only. The idea that history could be reconstructed entirely with the help of language and its change may seem an exaggeration, but linguistic data no doubt offers plenty of valuable information on social history (see Leith [1983] or Crowley [1996]). In the following chapters I shall have a closer look on how language has changed. However, the scope of interest will be restricted to the vocabulary and its change.

The vocabulary in active use today is different from the one that people used, for instance, a hundred years ago. Although grammar changes as well, its rules are much more an established entity than the lexical stock of a language. Therefore alterations in grammar usually take a longer time to become a part of daily usage, let alone to become generally accepted. Vocabulary, on the other hand, is a more variable part of a language and changes at a more rapid pace.

Bauer (1994:29) has studied lexical change concentrating on two areas. One of them is semantic changes in an existing word stock and the other new words or neologisms. These two areas cover two different sides of vocabulary change. However, as a general remark, Bauer states that attempts to describe vocabulary development as a whole is far too complex a topic for one study. If the data for a research is as vast and incoherent an area as the whole of vocabulary, the results often remain vague and no generalising conclusions can be drawn. Bauer (1994:29) suggests that lexicologists should focus on narrower fields of study. As examples she mentions the studies on various word-formation processes (Bloomfield and Newmark 1963) and those on different kinds and sources of borrowing (Strang 1970).
2.1. Semantic change

No matter how rich vocabulary is, it is still too narrow to cover all the possible distinctions in thought. However, we use the means of the existing vocabulary to express these distinctions. As our idea and the word offered by the vocabulary for that purpose do not always match exactly, the meaning we intend to convey may deviate from the original meaning of the word. Often these new varieties in meaning are single occurrences only. However, if there is a generally felt need for a name for a special distinction of thought, the new semantic application might survive. The word may then either also hold on to its original meaning and, consequently bear two meanings, or lose its original meaning. In the latter case the word has exchanged its meaning for a new one (Bradley 1968:108).

Bradley gives as an interesting example the word *fast* that has acquired two totally opposite meanings. Both of them are still in use and have also obtained relative meanings. Chambers 21st Century Dictionary gives among others the following meanings for the word *fast*. The basic ones are in bold face and under each are clustered selected secondary meanings.

FAST    adj.  moving or able to move quickly
* said of a clock, etc.; showing time in advance of the correct time
* (colloq.) tending to make sexual advances on rather brief acquaintance

firmly fixed or caught; steadfast
* said of friends: firm, close
* said of fabric colours: not liable to run or fade

(taken selectively from Chambers 21st Century Dictionary)

As Bradley goes on explaining how such contradictory meanings are possible, he points out that often in such cases there has been a sound change. Two words and especially their phonetic forms have approached each other and as a result have finally come to be alike. However, in the case of *fast* it is simply the meaning that has changed little by little as the word has gradually acquired new
meanings. The list of meanings below demonstrates Bradley's idea of how \textit{fast} has taken new meanings (marked with bold face).

Primary meaning: \textbf{firm, immovable} eg. to stand fast
new meaning: \textbf{strength, an unavering persistence in movement}
  eg. run fast (originally "without slackening")
> \textbf{rapidly} eg. living too fast

(Bradley 1968:109)

The development of the meaning of the word \textit{fast} is a good example of broadening of meaning. Crowley (1992:149) lists it along with three other types of semantic change. According to him, it is possible to classify semantic changes as follows: \textit{broadening}, \textit{narrowing}, \textit{semantic split} and \textit{semantic shift}. The following examples of each category are given by Bradley (1968).

For the broadening of the meaning Bradley uses also the terms \textit{widening} and \textit{generalisation}. The example word he gives is the word \textit{pipe}. \textit{Pipe} was first a musical instrument, but nowadays it denotes any hollow cylindrical body (Bradley 1968:119) The contrary process to broadening of meaning is narrowing or, in Bradley's terms, \textit{specialisation} of meaning. Narrowing occurs, for instance, when a word of wide meaning is being used to a limited class of objects it denotes. The original wider meaning may persist in use while the specialised use develops alongside. A good example of this is when a name of a material becomes the name of an article made of the material, like \textit{glass, iron} (Bradley 1968:121). A more abstract example of narrowing of meaning is the word \textit{abuse}. When \textit{abuse} was first used, it meant any \textit{wrong or improper use, misapplication or perversion}. From the 1950s onwards it has had two more specialised meanings. One of them is \textit{illegal or excessive use of a drug, the misuse of any other substance, especially for its stimulant effects}. In its other specialised meaning \textit{abuse} is used in the context of human relationships and refers to \textit{physical (especially sexual) maltreatment of another person} (Bradley 1968:121).
The third type of semantic change, semantic split, occurs when a word acquires a new meaning that is, often loosely, related to the original one. An example given by Crowley (1992:150) is the word *pitch* that was originally used with the word *black* only meaning then "very black". Nowadays *pitch* is used with other colours, too. One can say *pitch yellow* or *pitch blue*. The meaning is now generally "very, completely". The last type of semantic change, semantic shift, means that a word changes its meaning entirely. An often quoted example is the word *gay*. It is very seldom used in its original sense "cheerful". Nowadays it means "homosexual (person)".

2.2. Neologisms

Neologisms or new words are naturally an important part of language and vocabulary change. According to Algeo (1991), a new word is either a completely new form or a novel use for an existing form. According to Cannon (1987:274), new items and new uses for the old ones are pouring into the English vocabulary. He says that the reason (or one of them) is the world wide media. About the future he says that the expansion of the vocabulary will continue (Cannon 1987:276). As far as the word-formation processes are concerned, he says that there used to be the wild years when new words were formed in odd, if not outrageous ways. He observes that the word-formation processes have become relatively stable again.

In the chapter on semantic change I gave some examples of what Algeo claimed to be one type of neologisms, new meanings for already existing forms. Further examples are those presented by van Dyke (1992:383), who studied over thousand words for her paper on scientific and technical word-formation. She cites Barnhart, a dictionary editor, who states that half of the new words printed in his dictionary supplement in 1982 were scientific or technical vocabulary. The most interesting in van Dykes findings is the abundance of 'recycled terms'. They are terms that have been used in one field, but have adopted a new meaning in another. van Dyke gives the words *bifacial, dictionary, digital* and *icon* as examples of recycled terms. The word *bifacial* has originally been used in botanics and nowadays it is also used in solar energy. The word *dictionary* is
a linguistic term, but it has adopted new meaning in genetics. The word digital is originally a term in mathematics, but is also used in consumer electronics. The word icon has been used in the field of architecture, but it has required a new meaning in computing (van Dyke 1992:384).

As far as the totally new terms are considered, especially those that are not formed according to the traditional word formation processes, they might meet some resistance. As Adams (1973:1) states some people might find them offensive as they are against the idea that they have in mind about how the words should be built up. In their minds there is a certain set of rules that determine how a word should be formed. Some nowadays entirely accepted forms, like aviation, have caused disapproval at the time they were first used.

The principal reason for new items, according to Partridge (1959:vii), is the same as the reason for the need of words in general. People need to communicate, express their emotions, thoughts, observations and ideas. For this purpose they need words and occasionally new ones to express a novel idea. Partridge (1959:viii) states that there is a particular motivation behind every word. According to him, none of the new words or expressions come out of nothing (ex nihilo), as people used to believe.

Görlach (1997:18) lists six main sources for new words. Firstly, he says that language acquisition is a sourceful way of forming new words. Children or language learners imitate expressions incompletely and it might lead to new coinages. The second main reason for new words is bilingualism. When two languages coexist, they easily borrow words or expressions from one another. The third main reason for new words is redundancy. When incomplete utterances are completed in a way that differs from what was meant originally, a new form can occur. The fourth reason for new words is the creativity of language users. New innovations, that are compatible with the system, may survive and become accepted words. The fifth reason is conditions in which language system changes. Irregularities are corrected and gaps filled. Lexical items that are of less importance are dropped out and those with more functional load are supported. The sixth reason is extralinguistic change. This covers many
areas since basically anything that changes in the culture (fashion, social relations etc.) may cause changes in language.

Motives for vocabulary change and new words have been discussed to some extent above, but they deserve to be considered further. Algeo's (1991:14) view on the motives for new words is purely pragmatic. He states that new words are formed for two purposes. Firstly, when there are new things to talk, we need new words to name them. Secondly, we need new words when we have to refer to the old things in a new way. The need for the new words derives from changes in society, either material or intellectual, and the more intense the change the more new words are needed to name new things or to rename the old ones. Algeo points out some areas in society that are especially fruitful in producing new terminology: invention, discovery, exploration, war, commerce, revolution and play and poetry.

Adams' (1973) approach to word formation is interesting as she links word formation with syntax. This connection can be made, but then the interest lies on one word formation process only, affixation. In word formation affixation is derivational, in syntax it is inflectional. The latter, for example the inflectional endings -ed and -s are stable in function and meaning. They carry a specified meaning and most importantly, in relation to other words in the sentence. Meanwhile, the derivational affixes used in word formation are less generalised in meaning and they are not dependent on the form of other words in a sentence. Their function is to mark the formation of new words.

In this chapter I have discussed reasons for new words. It was mentioned that new words are formed because there is a need for a new expression. In the next chapter I will deal with word formation processes and try to answer the question how new words are formed.
3. WORD FORMATION

In this chapter, first of all, definitions of word will be dealt with. I will also present some traditional morphological types of word formation and the rules that determine the way the new words are normally formed. Further, I will note restrictions for these rules. Finally, I will get to those word formation types that are the main topic of the present study *abbreviations, acronyms, shortenings* and *trademark names*.

3.1. Definition of word

Words being the main focus of this study, I find it necessary to discuss their definitions in more detail. Although a word appears to be a fairly simple concept, its definition is not always crystal-clear and consequently there are several different definitions. Some of them emphasise for instance orthography, others the internal structure of a word.

Carter (1998) introduces a purely orthographical definition for a word. He argues that a word is any sequence of letters that has a space or a punctuation mark on either side. A letter here may also be a limited number of other marks, such as a hyphen or an apostrophe.

Van Roey (1990:16) cites the classical definitions of a word given by Bloomfield and Lyons. According to Bloomfield (1933) a word is a *minimal free form*. 'Minimal' here means that a word can not be subdivided. 'Free' conveys the idea that a word can be used on its own and therefore carries a certain meaning of its own. However temptingly simple Bloomfield definition seems, the idea that a word cannot be divided into parts poses a problem. Compound words, such as *handbag* can easily be divided into constituents, *hand* and *bag*.

Marchand (1969:1) is on the same track as Bloomfield in his definition of a word. He writes that a word is *the smallest independent, indivisible and*
meaningful unit of speech. The word independent corresponds to Bloomfield's free just as indivisible conveys the idea of minimal. Meaningful refers to the concept of lexical words or content words, excluding so called function or grammatical words.

Lyons' (1968) definition of a word stresses that word should be internally stable and uninterruptable. These two ideas are also mentioned by Adams (1973:7). The first of them, internal stability, means that the constituents of a word occur in a fixed order and cannot be reordered. The second one, uninterruptability, means that the units of a word cannot be separated by a pause or by adding new elements between them.

Lyons' (1968:202) ideas clarify the difference between words and phrases. For instance, although in spite of and the new workers both consist of three separate elements, one realises that in spite of is a word as no new elements can be inserted in between the constituents. On the other hand, the new workers clearly is not one single word; other words, like adjectives, can be added to describe the workers. The rules of internal stability and uninterruptability also apply to fixed expressions and idioms. For example, the idiom spill the beans can be neither reordered nor interrupted and is therefore considered a word.

There are, however, some cases to which Lyons' concepts do not apply. They are phrasal verbs, such as give up. Some linguists tend to see them as single words, others do not, for the sake of their interruptability. However accurate definitions are formulated, some exceptions to the rules always remain. van Roey thus draws the conclusion that there simply is not a clear-cut division between words and word combinations (van Roey 1990:16). In this study I will follow Lyons' definition because the words I will study, especially abbreviations, do not look like so called normal words. For instance, some abbreviations would not, according to Carter's definition, meet the criteria of a word at all because they are spelled with a full stop after each letter.
3.2. Word formation rules

"All regular word-formation processes are word-based. A new word is formed by applying a **regular rule** to a single already existing word. Both the new word and the existing one are members of major lexical categories". (Aronoff 1976:21, author's emphasis). This citation above summarises how traditional word-based morphology sees word formation. It studies regular, systematic word formation and assumes that there is a certain set of rules according to which new words are formed. In this chapter a closer look will be taken into the ideas that lie behind this concept of word formation. Then a model based on the rules will be presented.

The following three word formation types are examples of those that apply the regular word formation rules. First of them, *compounding*, occurs when two stems are combined to a meaningful unit. An example of *compounding* is the word *boardsailing*, in which the stems *board* and *sailing* have been combined. *Compounding* is one of the oldest ways of word formation and it was widely used in Old English. The orthographics of a word often show its compound nature, as a large part of compound words are written as two separate words or with a hyphen eg. *course book, word-formation*. However, if the two parts are written without a pause, word stress reveals the compound nature. It then falls on each element, eg. *'bum 'bag*.

The second example of word formation types that follow the rules is *affixation*. It means that either a prefix or a suffix (in some rare cases an infix) is added to a word. A prefix, like *un-, pre- and post-*, is added to the beginning of a word, eg. *un + happy = unhappy*. A suffix, like *-iness, -y, -able*, is added to the end of a word, eg. *happy + iness = happiness*. Either a stem or an affix may be modified for phonological or orthographical reason.

The third example is *conversion* which means that a word changes its class. One of the most typical types of conversion is that a noun changes to a verb, eg. *a bottle > to bottle.*
According to Halle (1973, as cited by Scalise 1986:24), a grammar is a formal representation of native speaker's knowledge of his language. To converse the idea, each speaker has an internal understanding of how his language works, a grammar in his head. This grammar book must have one chapter devoted to lexical knowledge as a speaker naturally knows how the lexical system works. Firstly, a speaker recognises what words are of his language. Secondly, he understands that certain words have an internal structure e.g. un-beat-able. Thirdly, he knows that an internal structure of a word respects specific order of morphemes.

To retain a new word he has heard, a speaker must have some clues to its meaning (Aronoff 1976:20). This is especially true with longer words that have more than one morpheme. Monomorphemic words usually denote important or everyday things and are therefore easier to remember. As far as longer words are concerned, their internal structure is an important clue, first, in understanding the meaning of the word and then to retain it.

The internal structure of a new word is a result of applying word formation rules to already existing words. Examples 1a, 1b and 1c show how the words unbeatable and socialise have been formed with the help of three word formation rules.

Example 1a  
X + -able = X can be done
beat + -able = beatable

Example 1b  
un- + X = the opposite of X
un- + beatable = unbeatable

Example 1c  
X + -ise = make X
social + -ise = socialise

Aronoff's (1976:22) claim is that each word formation rule specifies a unique phonological operation which is performed on the base. In addition to the
phonological operation, a rule also specifies the syntactic label and subcategorisation of the resulting word. In example 1c the syntactic label of the resulting word *socialise* is 'verb'. Syntactic subcategorisation deals with the restrictions that the rule sets on the resulting word. Example 1d demonstrates a restriction set on the word *repunch*.

Example 1d

re- + X = to X again
re- + punch = repunch

John punched Bill.

*John repunched Bill.

John punched the holes in the paper.

John repunched the holes in the paper.

Restriction: repunch cannot be used when the object is a person, i.e. in the meaning: to hit a person again

(Aronoff 1976:22)

3.3. Restrictions in word formation

Although word formation rules set syntactic limitations on the words that are built according to them, they still do not answer all the questions concerning the restrictions in word formation (Scalise 1986:26). For instance, the three verbs *approve*, *derive* and *arrive*, although similar in appearance, do not all take the same derivational endings [-ation] and [-al]. From *approve* we do get *approbation* and *approval*, but of the two endings *derive* can only take the ending [-ation] and *arrive* only takes [-al], *arrivation* being an unaccepted form.

Clark et al. (1984:611-625) have conducted an interesting study that deals with suffixation restrictions. The suffixes in their study were three occupational noun
suffixes: -er, -ist and -ian. The object of the study was to find out how children learn the use of the suffixes. Clark et al. (1984:612) first define the use of each suffix. They point out that -er has few structural constraints and its scope of use is the largest of the three. As far as -ist is concerned, they state that it is mainly used with words that have Greek or Latin roots. Examples of -ist words are chemist, receptionist, botanist and florist. -ist is defined as rather productive in technical domains and especially in English derived from Greek and Latin vocabulary. The use of the suffix -ian is the most restricted one; it only appears in certain Latinate words such as musician, librarian and technician.

The hypothesis and also the result of Clark et al's study is that children learn easiest the suffix -er that has least structural constraints. It also occurs most often in their spontaneous coinages. They use their lexical productivity and form such new inventive terms as oarer (a person who rows a boat) and locker (a person who locks doors).

Scalise (1986), following Halle's (1973) model, calls the restrictions a filter that all the possible new word forms have to go through. The filter specifies all the exceptions that are set on the newly-built word. These exceptions may also concern the meaning of the word. The example he gives is the word recite which has two meanings:

1) When someone recites a poem or other piece of writing, they say it aloud after they have learned it

2) If you recite something such as a list, you say it aloud

When the suffix -al is added to the verb recite and it passes through the filter, there is a restriction concerning the meaning. The noun recital is a performance of music or poetry, usually given by one person.
3.4. Distribution of the word formation types

Before discussing the word formation types chosen for the present study in more detail, I will cite the results of a study on neologisms by Bauer (1994:38). The words she included in her study have all appeared as new forms in the years 1939-82. Bauer categorised the words in her data according to the way they have been formed and presents a following table below (Table 1) on the distribution of word formation types. What must be pointed out, however, is that words may be formed via several different processes and they are by no means mutually exclusive (van Dyke 1992:384). Therefore, Bauer or any other word classifier must choose one of the processes as the dominant one when categorising words in the following manner. The percentages show the share of each word formation type. The exemplary words are not all taken from Bauer's data, but only demonstrate what kind of word formation type is referred to.

Table 1  Distribution of word formation types in Bauer's (1994) study on neologisms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word formation type</th>
<th>Example word</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>suffixation</td>
<td>waitnik</td>
<td>42,9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>compounds</td>
<td>executive flu</td>
<td>20,5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prefixation</td>
<td>decopper</td>
<td>12,9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>riff-raff</td>
<td>7,7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>names</td>
<td>Levi's</td>
<td>4,4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shortenings</td>
<td>boxers</td>
<td>3,3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blends</td>
<td>polyversity</td>
<td>3,1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abbreviations</td>
<td>LMS</td>
<td>2,5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neo-classical compounds</td>
<td>bibliophagic</td>
<td>2,3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>both prefix &amp; suffix</td>
<td>unbelievable</td>
<td>0,4 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In this study, I shall concentrate on four of the word formation types mentioned in Bauer's table. All of them are non-morphological or non-derivational types of word formation. Two of them are the ones that according to Bauer's remarks have become more frequent: abbreviations and blends. The third, shortenings, follows the same idea of the words and expressions getting shorter. The fourth, names and especially trade names, also belongs to non-morphological word formation types.

The category 'other' also consists of different non-morphological types of word formation. It includes various coinage methods such as onomatopoeia, redublication (as the example "riff-raff"), phrases and corruption. Corruption means that a word is derived from an earlier word, but has become changed in some way. Each type in the 'other' category by itself has little or no signigance and that is why they have been ignored in this study. However, they all bring their own flavour to English word-formation. They also show that only imagination sets limits to the ways new words can be formed.

Bauer has also collected neologisms from the years 1880-1913 and 1914-38. Although the same word formation types occur, she has noticed slight changes in the course of years. In general, the number of morphological types of word formation has decreased. The compensation of their loss has spread across many other categories. Categorywise, there has been decrease in the suffixation category, although it still remains the most common word formation type (42.9%). Neo-classical compounds show also signs of decrease. Among those having gained more ground, she points out the increase in the numbers of abbreviation and blend categories. (Bauer 1994:38)

3.5. Abbreviations

Abbreviations (like these examples of my data HIV, PCB, VCR) are words that, due to their special nature, have long been neglected in linguistic research. This is fairly understandable as they do not even look like so called normal words. Bauer, as cited by Cannon (1989:105), complains that apart from being
unpredictable, they lean heavily to their orthographical form. Marchand, as cited by Cannon (1989:105), goes even further in questioning their role in the lexicon. As a conclusion, he leaves abbreviations out of the traditional word-formation processes. According to Marchand (1969), abbreviations are simply products of artificial word-manufacturing, because few of them actually belong to the general vocabulary.

Today, however, the situation is very much different from the one in 1969. Marchand might have to reconsider his statement that abbreviations do not infiltrate into the general vocabulary. Cannon's (1989:118) conclusion of his study on abbreviations is that abbreviations may have initially belonged to the technical vocabulary of a particular discipline, but now half of them are already a part of general English.

Cannon (1989:107) claims that one of the reasons for the lack of study of abbreviations is that the term 'abbreviations' is not used systematically. For instance, he uses the term 'initials' as a cover term to mean both abbreviations and acronyms (Cannon 1989:99). In this study the term "initials" will not be used, because in my opinion it refers heavily to names only. Moreover, Cannon's article is to my knowledge the only one using the term. Therefore I consider "abbreviations" more familiar a term. "Acronyms" form a subclass of "abbreviations". Cannon (1989:107) sees this classification as one of the many possible. He also notes that "acronyms" have even been used as the rubric term in which case "abbreviations" form a subcategory.

In addition to the unclear terminology, the more important, if not the main reason for a small amount of attention on abbreviations in word formation study is that they do not follow established word formation rules. Traditionally, word-formation research generally covers the making of words by rule-governed processes like derivation and compounding. Abbreviations are not bound by such rules, but crucially depend on orthography (Cannon 1989:119).

Cannon's study was conducted in 1986. His research material consisted of over
600 abbreviations. He collected his data from both British and American English dictionaries. One of his remarks is that, compared to his earlier observations, abbreviations are more often spelled without periods than with them (Cannon 1989:111). He sees this as an indicator of abbreviations becoming a more important part of the vocabulary.

What Cannon (1989:115) also points out is that a large part of the abbreviations are not just letters put in a row. They are often formed by carefully gathering a suitable sequence of words whose initials fit nicely together. This is especially true with acronyms where the pronouncability is taken into consideration (see the separate chapter on acronyms below).

In addition to these overall observations, Cannon also wanted to find out whether the abbreviations actually belong to the general English word-stock. According to him, a good way to study how they have spread is to check their appearances in general dictionaries. (Cannon 1989:118). He explains further that as dictionaries only have limited space, the appearance frequency is a crucial factor when selecting words for them. The fact that general desk dictionaries are a good index of word frequencies is in Cannon's opinion often unjustifiedly ignored by scholars.

Cannon chose seven different dictionaries, four of which were American English and three British English dictionaries. His findings are presented below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Multiple Occurences</th>
<th>Single Occurences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviations</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronyms</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Cannon 1989:118)

Although Cannon's data consist of words that are more or less jargon or otherwise vocabulary of a very special field, they still have found their way to general dictionaries. Cannon (1989:122) himself concludes that abbreviations are moving ever more easily and quickly into general English. He suggests that
their 'invasion' should be taken as a possible insight into language change and their role in language development should by no means be underestimated.

Cannon also states that his results will not help in establishing clear guidelines or theories of word-formation. The strenghtening role of abbreviations actually shows that ways and processes of word-formation are continuously varying. Therefore the construction of any overall theories is becoming all the more impossible (Cannon 1989:122).

Something Cannon was still left to wonder after his data analysis was the origin of the abbreviations. He was especially interested in whether abbreviations and their longer forms have originally been written or oral. He presents two possible ways of how longer forms have been reduced to abbreviations. One suggestion is that the long, oral forms have been shortened to fit the purposes of writing. He would see that process as evidence of "dynamic intermixing of speech and writing" (Cannon 1989:116). In the other possible process of how abbreviation has taken place, the oral long form has first been reduced to oral short form, which then has turned into a written initialism. He considers this second alternative as modern evidence of that, in general language development, speech still comes earlier and eventually transforms to written forms.

3.6. Acronyms

Acronyms are a special category within abbreviations. Acronyms are, just like all abbreviations, words that are composed of the first letters of other words. What makes them a separate group is that they can be pronounced as proper words, not a series of letters.

Horton (1995:28) stresses the difference between acronyms and abbreviations. He gives two distinguishing features. According to him acronyms are, firstly, spelled without full stops between each letter. An exception to this are acronyms that can be spelled in both ways, with or without full stops, like VAT (or V.A.T.). Secondly, and most importantly, acronyms can be pronounced as proper words, not as a series of letters.
Espy (1971:22) gives the same kind of definitions as Horton. He says that when a combination of initials of a word group is accepted as a word of its own, we can speak of an acronym. Some scholars (e.g. Adams 1973:136) count also so-called fixed abbreviations among acronyms, like the BBC. However, in this study I shall follow Horton's and Espy's definitions. The difference between an ordinary abbreviation and an acronym is shown below with two words. In brackets one can see how they are pronounced in normal letters:

Example 2a) MOT (em ou tii)

2b) laser (leizô)

Example 2a) could be pronounced as a single word because of its suitable combination of letters. The first letter is a consonant, the second a vowel and the third one a consonant again. The letter would also make a nice acronym that would be pronounced (mot). However, it is pronounced letter by letter and is thus an abbreviation.

Example 2b), on its part, is an acronym. On the superficial level it may not look like one. It is not written in capital letters. Laser has gone one step forward on its way towards a status of a normal word. When an acronym is written in small letters, one does not necessarily come to think of it as an abbreviation. On the other hand, there are many acronyms written in capital letters which are so established in the language that one might have forgotten their longer origins (e.g. UNESCO). It may demand a glance at consultative books to find out that laser originally stands for light amplification by stimulated emission of radiation and UNESCO is short for United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

Whether to spell out acronyms or not is a problem for the computer industry which is full of acronyms. In fact, the word acronym itself came into existence in the 1940s when the first computer ENIAC was being developed (Barry 1991:71). Barry (1991:22) gives a good example (3a) of a text where all abbreviations are spelled out in brackets in order to make them comprehensible for someone not so familiar with computers. However, those who do not know
anything about the domain might still, after reading the text, be left to wonder what it actually means.

Example 3a)

A 62 K (Kilo or 1024) RAM (random-access read/write memory) 2 K ROM (read-only memory) computer with IEEE-488 (a standard for device interconnection proposed by the Institute for Electrical and Electronic Engineers) and serial I/O (Input/Output), ASCII (American Standard Code for Information Interchange) terminal and an 8-bit (the reader neglected to identify bit as a combination of binary and digit) D/A (Digital to Analog) converter

Below (example 3b) the same text is presented without the bracketed explanations and as a consequence, it has been reduced to two lines. They could appear in a computer magazine or any other publication whose readers are familiar with the terminology:

Example 3b)

A 62K RAM, 2K ROM computer with IEEE-4888 and serial I/O, ASCII terminal and 8-bit D/A

Acronyms, similarly with blends, are words that are often created to fit a singular occasion. This is especially true within the computer industry where development is rapid. Therefore the new words, too, must be coined with not too much deliberation. Vocabulary must keep up with the changes and constant progress within the industry. As new types of computers, their accessories and programs are being tested and brought into use, the jargon is ever-increasing.

Barry (1991:69) states that although computer industry is abundant in acronyms, the Department of Defense of the United States is traditionally their most eager user. It is also one of the first institutions that began to favour acronyms. In addition to the first acronym ENIAC, plenty of others saw the daylight in the 1940s. As the Second World War was raging all around the globe, it became increasingly a public matter to a totally different degree than the First World War, thanks to the developed communication media. The terminology related to warfare had to be expressed in shorter forms in the media. The organisations,
equipment and procedures were (and still are) often named in such a lengthy manner that their names easily shorten to abbreviations or acronyms. During the war the growth in technology accelerated and that again produced new terms. (Horton 1995:28.)

When moving on to the cold war era we find one of the best known examples of an acronym NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation). The same enthusiasm to acronyms can be spotted in national organisations, too, as the names of some British institutions show: Wren (Women's Royal Naval Service) or Naafi (Navy, Army and Air Force Institutes) (Brooks 1981:114).

However easy and careless a way of coinage acronyms seem to offer, their use is not always as simple as that. Again, the examples come from the computer language where acronyms are often turned into verbs. The conjugation of these verbs may then turn into a problem, and further, the difficult point might be the pronuncability of these appealingly short but still complex new word forms. Barry (1991:73) gives two examples (4a and 4b) of how raster-image processor and peripheral interchange program are first 'acronymised', then converted into verbs:

Example
4a) RIP > ripping
4b) PIP > pipping

In both cases, there are two alterations made to the original acronym forms. Firstly, conversion has changed the letters from capital to normal. This is quite logical as RIP(p)ing and PIP(p)ing would seem a bit odd. Secondly, a letter p has been added to both words. This is done in order to follow the pronunciation rules of the English language. Riping and piping would be pronounced (raiping) and (paiping) and those phonetic forms would lead too far from the original words. That is why Barry decided to add a p, although other forms may also be widely in use.

There is also a number of words which are generally thought to be acronyms, but are not. One of the most famous 'false acronyms' is SOS, a call for help in
an emergency situation. It is easy to believe that it is short for the words save our souls. The real etymology is much more technical: SOS are simply the three call letters in the Morse code that are easiest and quickest to transmit in an emergency situation. Another example of a false acronym comes from the history of England, of the time when a group called cabal gathered to discuss their conspiracies. The group did not coin its name of the initials of its members, as one might think. They were five ministers under the current king, Charles II, Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington and Lauderdale. The origins of the name go as far as to Hebrew and its word cabala. The meaning of cabala is 'an occult theosophy, full of hidden mysteries' (Espy 1971:22).

Ciardi (as cited by Barry 1991:72) states that many recent acronyms have been coined with thinking in advance of the resulting word. An example is the acronym GIFT, already an item in the word stock with the meaning 'something that you give someone as a present' (Collins Cobuild 1995). The acronymic GIFT is coined from the words gamete intra-fallopian transfer, a certain kind of fertility treatment. The hoped-for result from the GIFT is a gift for its parents, the much wanted baby.

The kind of 'double-meaning' of an acronym might be so well hidden that the acronymic nature of a word is not very clear on the surface. This is the case with one of the Barry's (1991:74) technical terms, print spooler. A print spooler is a memory buffer in which files waiting to be printed are stored. The spooling here is thought to be the mechanic process, the unwinding of the files from the queue as they become ready to be printed. Spool actually comes from the words simultaneous peripheral operations on line. In print spooler the ending -er has been added to the acronym and this time it has been possible to do it without problems.

There are also acronyms whose method of coinage is generally known, but the original words behind them are unclear. A while ago in British domestic politics there was a popular term quango. It remained unclear whether it meant quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisation or quasi-autonomous national-governmental organisation. As the two alternative meanings are quite opposite,
the word was a source of confusion. However useful otherwise, *guango*s unclear origins led to its early disappearance from the English word stock. (Brook 1981:114)

3.7. Blends

Blends are new words that are formed in a special way. A blend word (or fusion or amalgam) is two or more words telescoped into one (Pound 1914:1). Brook (1981:107) is more specific in his explanation. He writes that a blend word is a result of combining some of the sounds from two different words so that each word contributes something to both sound and meaning of a new word. Blends are also known as 'portmanteau' words the French word *portmanteau* itself being a good example of a blend. More examples are given in the list below.

1) blot (= stain, black mark)
   + to botch (= do something badly or clumsily)
   = TO BLOTCH (= small unpleasant -looking area of colour)
2) to blare (= make an unpleasant, loud noise, eg. a siren)
   + to spurt (= come out quickly in a powerful stream)
   = TO BLURT (= say something suddenly)
3) to twist (= to move into a strange position)
   + to whirl (=to move or turn round very quickly)
   = TO TWIRL (= to turn round in a fast movement)
4) to fly (= to move through the air)
   + to hurry (= to go as quickly as one can)
   = flurry (a sudden burst of activity; to confuse by haste or mix)

Bauer (1983:236) notes that blends are a very productive type of word formation in both literary and scientific contexts. An often quoted example of the former is Lewis Carroll's work. His books *Jabberwocky*, *Preface of the hunting of the Snark* and of course *Alice in Wonderland* are sourceful material for anyone interested in the use of blends in context. An example of 'a scientific' blend can
be found for instance in the field of chemistry: formaldehyde (formic aldehyde).

As was suggested above, the best way to study blends is to detect their relation to their context. In their context they are at their best and often carry a special momentary appeal exactly suitable for the situation. Baugh et al. (1978: 305) state that blends are often invented for a special context in which they work best and have a humorous or witty effect. As they tend to be so dependent on the original context, they often lose their effect when used again. This is the reason for why they often vanish from daily usage.

Due to their momentary effect, blends are often used in press. A good example of this is a word invented by a newspaper editor, gerrymandering. Gerrymandering is 'the act of altering political boundaries in order to give an unfair advantage to one political party or group of people'. According to Beeching (1989:73), the word is result of a trick performed by a governor of Massachusetts, who later became a vice-president of the U.S., Elbridge Gerry. Before an important election he twiddled with the electoral boundaries to assure his own success. The newly formed voting district appeared to have the shape of a salamander in the eyes of a portrait painter. He passed on his observation to a newspaper editor, who coined the word. Furthermore, as the first part of the word is actually the surname of the governor, gerrymandering would also be a good example in the category of 'words from proper names' (see chapter 3.10). The latter part of the word are the two last syllables of the word salamander.

Creative newspaper writers and cartoonists have produced also blends like Ulsteria (Ulster + hysteria) and Westralia (West + Australia) (Pound 1914:14). Especially the first one is a good example of a blend being a perfect choice for a particular situation, namely when there has been a restless period in Northern Ireland. The word is not only context-dependent, but also place-dependent.

3.8. Shortenings

Under the heading shortenings two types of words will be dealt with: clippings
and words formed by back-formation. As the general term suggests both types of word involve a reduction of the original form. The difference between the two groups will be specified below as each type is presented.

3.8.1. Clippings

Clipping refers to the process where a simple or complex lexeme is shortened (Bauer 1983: 233). The most important difference to back-formations is that whereas in back-formation the meaning of the word changes, clipping keeps the meaning of the new word the same to that of the source word. In clippings the change is therefore not on the semantic nor on the grammatical level, but rather on the stylistic level. The clipped form is usually stylistically 'lower' than its longer form. For instance, clippings are very common among young people. An example of clipping favoured in youth cultures is *fab* (fabulous).

There are four different types of clipping when regarding how the original words have been shortened. Firstly and most commonly: it is usually the initial part of the word which remains after clipping (Bauer 1983:233). Examples of this kind of clipping are *lab* (from laboratory) and *prof* (professor) Secondly and more rarely, the initial part is omitted while the final part is retained: *plane* (airplane), *bus* (omnibus). Thirdly, there are also cases, although very few, when the middle part is the clipped form, like *flu* (influenza). The fourth type involves compound words where either one part is clipped, like in *op art* (optical art) or both parts are reduced: *hi tech* (high technology).

Even if a large part of clippings, especially those first recognised as slang words, appear to be quite 'new' words, clippings are not by any means a new invention. Words like *gent* and *quack* have already before the 17th century been curtailed from their longer equivalents *gentleman* and *quacksalver* (Brook 1981:112).

There are also plenty of clippings which are not generally recognised as having
been clipped from longer words. They are for instance *cab* (cabriolet), *chap* (chapman), *fan* (fanatic), *pants* (pantaloons), *sport* (disport) and *wig* (periwig). Other words that no longer are recognised as clippings are *lunch*, *movies* and *pram*. Their longer forms *luncheon*, *moving pictures* and *perambulator* are not in general use unless a writer wants to convey a very formal, even a slightly pedantic tone (Adams 1973:136).

Although clippings were above defined 'stylistically lower', some of them are widely used in literary texts, let alone in normal everyday speech. For instance, as far as the above-mentioned example *flu* is concerned, its longer form is almost only used in medical jargon. Probably due to its shortness and simplicity the clipped form, *flu*, is much more common in any other context.

3.8.2. Back-formation

Some scholars would prefer to count back-formations to be a special case of clipping. However, in this study they are considered a group of their own. I will give three definitions for the term. Each of them stresses the idea that back-formation is a process where the rule of morphological word-formation is reversed (Bauer 1983:231).

Aronoff's (1976:27) definition for back-formation is that it is an extraction of a new word from an already existing word that appears to be bimorphemic. In this sense it is a backward application of a word formation rule, where monomorphemic word is derivated into a bimorphemic word and acquires a new, related meaning. Aronoff's own example is the verb *peddle* which has been back-formed from the noun *peddler*. *Peddler* is historically a monomorphemic word. However, as it is an occupational noun and ends with *-er*, which is a common marker for occupational nouns, the *-er* came to be regarded as an affix. As a consequence the stem was considered to be a verb on its own, *to peddle*. (Aronoff 1976:27.)

Brook (1981:110) also emphasises the reverse nature of back-formation. According to him back-formation is the creation of a *new-base form* from a
*longer word* which has the appearance of being derived from the new base form. The examples of back-formation in the table below demonstrate this idea. I have clustered the new-base forms under one heading and the longer words under the other. Unless it was not known that the examples are back-formations, it would be easy to think that the longer words have been derived from the shorter ones.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEW BASE FORMS</th>
<th>LONGER FORMS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>edit</td>
<td>editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emote</td>
<td>emotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enthuse</td>
<td>enthusiasm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>donate</td>
<td>donation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opt</td>
<td>option</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orate</td>
<td>orator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resurrect</td>
<td>resurrection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>televise</td>
<td>television</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bauer (1983:232) defines back-formation as the formation of new lexemes by the deletion of actual or supposed affixes in longer words. She also notes that some people prefer to call the process *back-derivation*. It is true that most back-formations are verbs from which the false derivational ending has been dropped off. Bauer (1983:230) gives a figure, originally presented by Pennanen (1975), according to whom 87% of back-formations are verbs.

However, as Bauer (1983:231) continues, it is not always derived words that have been shortened and that is why she prefers to stick to the term *back-formation*. Some older examples show that the false ending of a long word may also be 'inflectional'. In the following examples I have highlighted the false plural endings in the words that are the sources for two English words, still currently in use.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEW BASE FORMS</th>
<th>LONGER WORDS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Aronoff (1976:27) points out a special case of back-formation. They are, using his own term, *phonologically irregular back-forms*. He gives an example *self-destruct*, which has been back-formed from the word *self-destruction*. The original base form is *destroy*. In this case *-struct* would be the allomorph for both *-stroy* and *-struct*. In back-formation the morph that appears in the longer word remains also in the back-form. The same irregularity applies to the word *cohesion* and its back-form *cohere*.

3.9. Words from proper names

Most of the words that have their origin in a proper name tend to fall into two groups. One is eponymic words, which is words derived from the names of people. The other is product names that are turned into general terms. They may of course also come from the name of a person. An example of a word that could be placed in either of the groups is *Biro*. Biro is the first practical ballpoint pen named after its inventor László Biro (Beeching 1979:17).

Apart from classifying words from proper names according to their source, they can also be put in groups of word classes. The biggest group would then inevitably be the nouns (Brook 1981:36). From nouns words can easily be converted to verbs even without any change or addition of an affix. A good example of this is the word *a Xerox* or *Xerox*. Words from proper names also adopt other features of normal words. They can for instance be curtailed, like the word *Strad* from *Stradivarius* (= a violin made by Antonio Stradivari). However, when discussing words from proper names in more detail below, I will use the division based on the source of the word.

3.9.1. Eponyms

Brook (1981:36) states that that the origin of words that are thought to stem from proper names is not always that clear. In many cases they are written with
a capital letter that mark their source. A good example of these kinds of words are words with an -ism or -ian-ending that denote a way of thinking, inspired by a famous politician or a scientist, like Freudian, Stalinism, Leninism and Darwinism. Another example of an eponym with a capital letter is the word Gallup. The word Gallup poll is used instead of the word public opinion poll to the honour of the founder of the American institute of Public Opinion, George Horace Gallup (Beeching 1979:68).

However, the initial capital is a somewhat unreliable marker for recognising eponyms. There are numerous examples where a word is written with a normal letter and looks ordinary in other respects as well. One of these words is to boycott that according to Collins Cobuild English Dictionary 1995 defined as follows:

\[
\text{to boycott is to refuse to be involved with a country, organisation, or activity in any way because of strong disapproval of it}
\]

Originally boycotting meant shutting someone off from something. The person who was punished with such a treatment was a former British army captain, Charles Cunningham Boycott. After retirement he became an agent for an affluent landowner. The Irish Land League did not think very highly of his cooperation with the mighty man and attempted to shut him off from all social and commercial activities (Beeching 1979:79). Since then, the word has gone through a change in meaning (see the examples above in chapter 2.2). It now denotes a person's own will to stay out of something she does not agree with, as the dictionary quote above specifies.

3.9.2. Product names

The other main group within the words from proper names is the product names that have passed on to general usage. The question whether the term can be used in a general sense concerns primarily the rival products and whether the general term can be refered to them without any confusion. A word that hardly causes any confusion is Thermos flask, a container which is used to keep hot drinks hot and cold drinks cold. The term is used about any similar containers, no matter what brand they are.
Product names can be further subdivided into two categories depending upon how the word is formed. The division and the examples below are all presented by Jackson (1988:30). The first group is the semantically motivated product names. "Semantically motivated" here means that the word or its part conveys meanings that relate to the final meaning. Examples of semantically motivated trade names are Sellotape/to Sellotape that are motivated by the word pair to seal and to tape. The two words convey the purpose of sellotaping which is to stick using adhesive tape. Other examples are the familiar Xerox (xerography) and Kleenex (clean); the bracketed words indicate the semantic motivator. The second group is the product names named after their inventors and/or manufacturers. An example of this a hoover/to hoover.

In addition, there are the rare words that may have been coined from nothing but sounds or letters, without any linguistic motivation (Jackson 1988:30). Bauer (1994:37) also writes about these words; she describes the coinage without motivation with the term word-manufacture. Bauer also agrees with Jackson by stating that word-manufacture is an extremely rare phenomenon outside trade names. An example of word-manufacture given by Brook is kodak, not quite passed into general usage, but anyhow a word simply invented by Eastman, a manufacturer of cameras.

In the present chapter the four word formation types abbreviations, acronyms, shortenings and trade mark names were explained. The formation of each type was reviewed along with detailed examples. In the next chapter the present study and its method will be described. This is then followed by the results and analysis of the data in chapter 5.
4. THE PRESENT STUDY

4.1. Aims and hypothesis

The aim of this study is to find answers to the following two questions. The first one is: What is the role of word-formation in the route a word takes when it becomes a part of the word stock?

My hypothesis about abbreviations and acronyms is that they are mostly scientific and technical terms. This leads to the idea that they are not part of everyday vocabulary, but usually occur in the jargon of a special field. The hypothesis about blends is that, out of the four word formation categories discussed in this study, they are most unlikely to 'survive' as they are often created to fit a specific occasion. They often fill a gap that exists in that particular context and possibly never occur again. As far as shortenings are concerned, I only present a hypothesis about clippings because in my data there was only one back-formation, which does not allow any generalisations. Clippings are usually thought to be stylistically lower than their longer counterparts. I will try to find out whether the clipped words in my data are slang words or more widely accepted into the general vocabulary. About trade marks I assume that very few of them are 'pure inventions', that is without any linguistic or other kind of motivation.

The second question is: What factors cause either the survival or death of a word? For this question there are probably as many answers as there are lexical items in my data. However, I shall have a brief look on some of the words and try to find out some main reasons, whether they be social or cultural, phonetic or morphological.

4.2. Data and method

For the primary sources of this study I needed three dictionaries, the first of
which was a dictionary of new words. To be able to compare the occurrences of
the new words in normal dictionaries, the dictionary of new words had to be
published a few years earlier than the normal dictionaries consulted in this
study. I considered four or five years to be enough for a word to win its place
among the stock of words in current usage. Therefore I chose the following
books to be the primary sources of this study: *The Oxford Dictionary of New
Encyclopedia* (1990), in order to find accurate definitions for some words in my
data.

When I first went through *The Oxford Dictionary of New Words*, I already paid
special attention to the ways the new words were formed. As I was more
interested in the so-called non-derivational word-formation types in the first
place, I paid particular attention to them. I ended up picking up the words from
four different categories of word-formation. The four categories are:
*abbreviations* (54), *blends* (33), *shortenings* (20) and *trade names* (16). The
numbers given in brackets indicate the amount of words found in each category.

As abbreviations totaled 54, I decided to split the group in two and deal with
the normal abbreviations and their subcategory, the acronyms, separately.
Shortenings include not only clippings but also the one back-formation that was
found. After listing up all the 123 neologisms, I went through the two normal
desk dictionaries and checked whether the words occurred in them as entries.
The results of these findings will be displayed later in the chapter which deals
with the normal dictionaries in more detail.

The main method in the present study is to think of each word and its 'life'
individually. First of all, I will try to explain how the word was born. Every
new word has certainly been created for the pure need of a new expression. I
will try to find out what gap has been filled with the new word. Once born, the
new word needs to find its way onto the lips of people over and over again for
not to be forgotten. Often it is quite easy to predict the possible life expectancy
of a word. However, there are cases where a word has 'survived' although it
surely is not a recognised item in the word stock of ordinary people. On the other hand, there are words which have 'died' even if they seemed to have come to fill in a gap in the English vocabulary. Therefore, I will also try to find reasons why they either still exist, in other words are found in one or both of the dictionaries, or have disappeared from the use.

In order to facilitate the analysis, I will divide the words within each category according to the theme they belong to. As stated by Barnhart (1982) (see chapter 3.2.), a large part of the new words are scientific and technical terms. They form the first two groups. The third group is more general as it consists basically of all other terms. It carries a cover term society. The division will be of help when examining whether nearly all the abbreviations and acronyms belong to scientific and technical vocabulary.

5. ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

5.1. The two dictionaries

In this chapter I shall first give the quantitative results of my study. The plain numbers of occurrences of new words in each desk dictionary will be presented. I have also counted the percentages of occurrences of each category of words. This will help comparing the results between the groups of words. The percentages of occurrences in the two different dictionaries will be presented separately, which enables comparisons between the two dictionaries. In this chapter the focus will be on the differences between the two dictionaries. The dictionaries and comments on them will be discussed. The rest of this chapter is thus devoted to the analysis of differences between two dictionaries. Although I shall not go into details with the comparison, I see it sensible to make a few remarks on the dictionaries. They are, after all, the primary sources of this study.

Out of the 27 abbreviations listed in The Oxford Dictionary of New Words, 23
were found in *Chambers 21st Century Dictionary* 1996. The percentage is then 85%, which is a surprisingly high figure. Chambers favours abbreviations especially when compared to the *Collins Cobuild Dictionary* 1995. Out of the same 27 abbreviations, only 10 were found in Collins Cobuild, giving the percentage of 37.

Out of the 27 acronyms picked from *The Oxford Dictionary of New Words*, 21 had an entry in the Chambers Dictionary, which is 78% of the acronyms. Collins Cobuild had accepted only 6 of the new acronyms to be explained on its pages, i.e. the percentage was 22%.

Out of the 33 blends occurring in the dictionary of new words, 13 were then rediscovered in Chambers dictionary. In percentages this means that a share of 39% was found in Chambers. Collins Cobuild had an entry for 7 of the blends, which gives the percentage of 18%.

The category of shortenings totaled 20 items and 10 of these also occurred in Chambers. So it is exactly half or 50% of the shortenings that found they way into Chambers. Four blends had also got on the pages of Collins Cobuild, which gives the percentage of 20%.

There were 16 trade mark names in *The Oxford Dictionary of New Words*. Chambers gave an entry for 10 of them, which in percent is 63%. Collins Cobuild had listed only two of the trade mark names, giving the percentage of 13. In order to facilitate the comparison, the figures are summarised in Table 2 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Chambers</th>
<th>Collins Cobuild</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviations</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>23 (85%)</td>
<td>19 (37%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronyms</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21 (78%)</td>
<td>6 (22%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blends</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>13 (39%)</td>
<td>7 (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shortenings</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10 (50%)</td>
<td>4 (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade mark names</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10 (63%)</td>
<td>2 (13%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The reason for the difference of occurrences between the two dictionaries is hardly a question of the date of their publication. Whether the new words found in the *The Oxford Dictionary of New Words* in 1991 have vanished or not at the time of publication of the two dictionaries in 1995 and 1996, does not explain the different figures. In fact, Collins Cobuild was published before Chambers. Those words that only existed for a short while could thus have had better chances to get to the Collins Cobuild and may have vanished before making their entry into Chambers. Further, Collins Cobuild's main source, the Bank of English, contains material from 1990 onwards. It could be expected that there would be more new words from the beginning of 90s in Cobuild which was published five years later than the *Oxford Dictionary of New Words*.

The reason why Collins Cobuild includes fewer abbreviations, acronyms, blends, shortenings and trade mark names than Chambers must lie in the method of selection of words that the editors of the dictionary have used. I will not go any further in speculating what kind of methods have been used; neither is there a lot of material available on the matter. As noted above, Collins Cobuild editors use the Bank of English, the corpus collected at the University of Birmingham. The Chambers dictionary has been compiled with the help of the unique Chambers database of language and, additionally, other reference materials. The fact that the material for the dictionaries is gathered from different databases might also cause at least slight differences between them.

When editing a dictionary there have to be plenty of selections made in deciding whether to include a word in it or not. One of the most important criteria is no doubt word frequency. The most used words and their most used uses are certainly listed in dictionaries. Apart from the frequency, the dictionary editors probably use the meaning of a word and its main group of users as criteria. Words from different subcultures do not enter a dictionary easily, even if their frequencies in the special culture are considerably high. As a dictionary aims to serve the users, teachers and learners of standard language forms, the words chosen represent the language that is officially recognised as standard and acceptable, suitable also in formal contexts.
Although new words are being created constantly in different circumstances, their way to standard language is long and tough. There are no clearly defined written or spoken rules of what is good or acceptable language, but unspoken and unwritten rules exist. A new word may at the first sight or hearing look or sound very peculiar or even offensive. However, if it turns out that it fills a gap in the vocabulary, it may become accepted. This may take time, and changes in attitudes of what is acceptable may also be needed.

5.2. Abbreviations

Abbreviations are a group whose words often relate to a special field. A new abbreviation is often a technical term and depending upon how public the issue around it becomes, the term itself also becomes a part of general vocabulary.

The 27 abbreviations I have analysed were quite well represented in the Chambers dictionary (85%). The abbreviations are divided in three major theme groups technology, science and society as follows. The groups are almost similar in size:

**technology** (8): ABS, AI, ATM, CD, MRI, PC, PCB, VCR  
**society** (8): BMX, EMS, EMU, INF, LMS, OTE, OTT, PWA  
**science** (11): AZT, BSE, CFC, DDI, HIV, HRT, IVF, ME, PCB, PCP, PCP

In the technology group one can recognise 'new' words that, by the time of writing this study, had become a part of people's everyday lives. The technological invasion into our garages and homes has of course been going on for years, but the trend is still going on. ABS (anti-locking breaking systems) have been installed to new cars and a PC (personal computer) has become an important tool in nearly any kind of job. And when the work is done and the computer has been switched off, a hard-working person might want to relax by listening to CDs (compact discs) or watching a good film on her VCR (video cassette recorder).
The **society** group covers a set of various items from leisure activities (BMX, bicycle moto-cross) to international relations (INF, Intermediate-range Nuclear Force). Since thorough conclusions can not be made on the basis of such a limited number of words, I will analyse some of the words individually. The two terms relating to European monetary affairs (EMS, European Monetary System and EMU, European Monetary Union) naturally reflect the integration on the old continent which has been accelerated during the latest ten years.

The third group, carrying a rather general name **science**, includes terms from the fields of medicine and environmental science. The new disease AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome) was inevitably the big thing of the late 1980s and its seriousness is no doubt the reason why all the terminology (AZT, azidothymidine; HIV, human immunodeficiency virus) is well preserved. The growing concern of the environmental problems are no longer worries only of the scientists who study them. Public is well aware of the threats too, and recognises the problems of greenhouse effect, pollution of seas and lakes and forest deaths to name a few. Letter combination CFC (chlorofluorocarbon) is thus not strange to those who read newspapers or watch TV. Luckily, some advancement has also taken place and the term PCB (polychlorinated biphenyl) is no longer found on the pages of any of the two dictionaries.

In the following word by word analysis given in the alphabetical order, the bold face signifies that the word was found in Chambers. The underlined words were found also in the Collins Cobuild.

**ABS** (antilock braking system) is an important accessory in new cars that prevent brakes from locking when braking heavily. The importance of ABS lies in its possibilities to improve road safety. The combination of letters ABS is easily remembered as its first two first letters are the two first letters of the alphabet.

**AI** (artificial intelligence) means a type of computer technology which attempts to make the machines work in an intelligent way, to imitate the way a human mind works. The motivation for developing such computers must have derived
from the frustration with the machines that cannot adapt to the situation, but perform their tasks precisely according to how they have been programmed. AI has already some applications in the everyday life of housewives with a new washing machine because some models regulate the amount of water used in each wash according to the amount of laundry. There is also another meaning for the abbreviation AI. With the help of the context one can no doubt dispose of the confusion of whether artificial intelligence or artificial insemination is referred to.

ATM (automated teller machine) is a machine that carries out banking transactions automatically. The term originates in the United States where it is still currently used in office circles. It never really made its breakthrough to the old continent. The British use the terms cash point, cash machine or cash dispenser. As automated teller machines grew more numerous and more people got access to their services, they got more concrete names, like holes-in-the wall.

AZT (azidothymidine) is a drug for AIDS patients (for the analysis of the acronym AIDS, see below). The official name is Zidovudine. The medicine stops the virus from replicating itself. However, as the virus easily changes its form, it is difficult to eliminate it completely (see the explanation for the HIV below).

BMX (bicycle moto-cross) is sports involving organised cycle-racing and stunt-riding on a dirt track. Bicycle moto-cross was really popular among the young people in the eighties, but began to lose its favour when approaching the nineties. The abbreviation BMX was and is still used also of the special bikes used for the purpose. The bikes themselves became a status symbol. BMX is a good example of a new sport that enjoys great success at the peak of its novelty, butt is quite soon forgotten by the masses. The same kind of boom was experienced when skateboarding was 'the thing'. Today it is only exercised by a limited group of devoted enthusiasts.

BSE (bovine spongiform encephalopathy) is a fatal disease which affects the nervous system of cattle. The disease nearly caused a hysteria although the
experts are still not sure whether eating 'contaminated beef' affects human beings. It mainly occurred on the British isles and its spread was effectively stopped as the export of British beef was immediately banned. The disease is also known by the name mad cow disease. The BSE case was the first sign of the tendency that nutritional issues are increasingly becoming political ones. What people eat and where their food comes from naturally interest all the consumers. Lately, there has been a lot of discussion on whether to permit the import of 'hormone beef' from the United States to the EU countries. If Britons have had to be watching what they actually swallow, the continental Europe has suffered from the same concern. The scandalous 'Chikengate' in Belgium revealed that poultry also belongs to the list of forbidden food. The scapegoat for the scandal was found in the elections and the Belgian government had to give way to the new leaders.

**CD** (compact disc) is a plastic disc with a diameter of 120 mm. The encoded sound is read by a laser beam. When the disc is span at a high speed, the beam is either scattered or reflected back into a photoelectronic detector by the reflective surface material of the disc. Unlike LPs digital CDs do not suffer of surface damage caused by the record player needle. They are said to be close to perfect sound recording. CDs were brought into market in the beginning of the eighties. In the nineties CDs have partly been replaced by their shrunken modification, the minidiscs. Apart from the home electronics, the new cinemas are also all the more often equipped with high quality sound systems.

**CFC** (chlorofluorocarbon) is a cover term for some chemical compounds that contain both chlorine and fluorine, also called freons. They are used as refrigerants and aerosol sprays, but due to their damaging effect on the ozone layer and accelerating effect on the greenhouse effect, international agreements will prohibit their use in the year 2000.

DDI (dideoxyinosine) ia an alternative AIDS medicine for the AZT. As AZT (or Zdovudine) remained the most known help for the disease, DDI was slowly forgotten.
EMS (European Monetary System) laid a basis for the long-term project of common European currency that is soon to concretise in everyday life as euros are launched. It is a financial system set up in 1979 by the members of the contemporary EEC. It aimed at stabilising and harmonising currencies. The metaphorical name for EMS was the snake in the tunnel where the snake refers to a range of fluctuating currencies and the tunnel (or its walls) the limits set for their fluctuation (+/-2.25%).

EMU (European Monetary Union) is the term for the entire programme for full economic unity within the EU. Its final aim was the common currency, the ecu.

HIV (human immunodeficiency virus) is a virus that that enters the cells of the immune system. The defence of the body against infection is slowly destroyed.

HRT (hormone replacement therapy) is a hormone treatment for women at the menopause or after it. Oestrogen levels are boosted up artificially to avoid unpleasant symptoms, like brittle bone disease and thinning.

INF (Intermediate-range Nuclear Force) refers to the sort of nuclear weapons that were limited in the treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union in 1987. The term was in the headlines at the time the agreement was being negotiated, but was soon forgotten after it was made.

LMS (local management of schools) is a program introduced by Education Reform Act in the United Kingdom in 1988 gave up the central governing of schools but allowed them to more freely decide on their budgets and other administrative affairs.

ME (myalgic encephalomyelitis) is a physical condition that occurs after virus-based infection. Symptoms include headache, fever, muscular pain, weakness and extreme fatigue. Sufferers are usually high achievers with a busy lifestyle, workaholics whirling in the vicious circle of their stressful life. In the eighties ME was recognised as more than just a psychosomatic condition; it was accepted as a real illness. Other terms for the ME are yuppie flu or shirker's
sickness.

**MRI** (magnetic resonance imaging) is a relatively new device in the field of medicine that provides sectional images of the internal structure of the patient's body. It plots the nuclear magnetic resonance of the atoms and converts the results into graphic form by computer. The traditional way of filming the inner parts of human beings and animals is *roentgening* where the term is an eponym.

**PCB** (polychlorinated biphenyl) is produced by adding chlorine atoms to biphenyls. Although the substances are highly dangerous to both animals and human beings, they were widely used in the 50s and 60s. The production was stopped in the US and UK in the late 70s and ever since people have been happy to no longer use the term.

**PCB** (printed circuit board) is a flat sheet with the printed circuits and microships in a microcomputer or other microelectronic device.

**PCP** (phencyclidine [hydrochloride] pill) is a hallucinogenic drug which was used in anaesthetics in the late 50s. Its use was restricted to veterinary purposes, but it made a comeback in the sixties, then known as a PeaCe Pill. When it made a new breakthrough among a new generation of users in the 80s, it had over 150 (!) street names one of which is *angel's dust*.

**PWA** (person with AIDS) is the preferred term among those who have AIDS. Other terms are for instance AIDS patient, AIDS sufferer and the most humiliating one, AIDS victim. PWAs do not want to see themselves as victims, but rather live rich and human life as long as it is possible. Another term widely accepted by those referred is *PLWA* (person living with AIDS) where the idea of living is emphasised in contrast to dying. The term that relates to the question of naming is *political correctness*. Political correctness means avoidance of expressions or actions that may be understood to discriminate people or groups of people on the grounds of race, gender, disability or sexual orientation.
VCR (video cassette recorder) is a term that is mostly used in the United States, the corresponding term in Britain being video. Although VCR is a real abbreviation; that is all the letters are pronounced individually, it has some acronymic features. VCR is also used as a verb and then inflectional endings are added: VCRing and VCRd.

5.3. Acronyms

Acronyms are common not only in technological terminology, but also in other contexts as the following analysis will show. Unlike abbreviations they look and sound more like 'normal' words as they are not pronounced letter by letter. However, some are written with capital letters.

There were 27 acronyms in my data. 21 of them were found in Chambers dictionary and 6 in Collins Cobuild. These figures are slightly lower than those in the group of abbreviations. However, the differences in occurrence figures between abbreviations and acronyms are so small that the word formation type does not seem to have much effect on their survival. The minor differences in figures are probably caused by individual words. As far as word formation type is concerned, abbreviations and acronyms are equally likely to 'survive'. It is more the meaning of the word and how widely used it is among speakers that determine whether a new abbreviation or an acronym stays in the vocabulary.

The acronyms studied here fall into the three categories as follows:
technology (8): CAT, DAT, LAN, MIDI, WAN, RISC, WIMP, WYSIWYG
society (16): DINK, ecu, EFTPOS, EPOS, INSET, MIRAS, nab, NIMBY, NIREX, TESSA, Stasi, PIN, PEP, Woop(ie), yappie, yuppies
science (3): AIDS, GIFT, ZIFT

As far as abbreviations are concerned, they formed three groups that are almost similar in size. This is not the case with acronyms. Although acronyms belonged originally mostly to technological vocabulary, they seem to have gained more ground in the other areas, too. Out of three groups society one is the largest, covering 16 acronyms. Similarly to abbreviations, the society group within the
acronyms embraces various areas.

The society group being relatively large compared to the other groups, some subgroups can be found within it. One of them is formed by those words that denote people: DINK, Woop(ie), yappie and yuppie. A DINK (double income no kids) is a person who lives in the same household with her partner. Both of them work, but they do not have children. A woopie (well off old people) is a senior citizen with relatively good financial benefits. A yappie is a young affluent parent or a young aspiring professional and a yuppie a young urban or upwardly mobile professional. An interesting tendency concerning all these words is naming people or groups of people according to the lifestyle they lead. The four words do not refer only to people but also either to their affluence or professional ambitions. Categorising people is not a new thing, but the terms according to which it takes place seem to have changed. It is less and less sex, marital status or political views that matter. The new categorisation takes the lifestyle into account. The first two groups clearly reveal the economic situation of the people referred to. Therefore it is easy to understand that they were first sketched by market analysts.

The terms according to which people are categorised have changed. The reasons must be searched in the changes in society. DINKies could hardly have existed in the 19th century. Young couples used to have children right after getting married; there were not same means of contraception available as today. Nowadays DINKies are not necessarily even married, even if they might have lived together for a long time. Thanks to modern birth control methods, they can enjoy each other's company for a couple of years before having children. Woopies were also a non-existent group a hundred years ago. Today's aged woopies are not only well off as the term suggests but also otherwise well and fit and able to spend the fortune they collected during the active working years. The modern retirement benefits also help them to lead an active way of life after their input in the working life has been completed.

There are some issues that come up in several word groups. Similarly with the abbreviations, words related to environmental issues are also present in the
society group within the acronyms. There are two terms that refer to nuclear waste problems, NIMBY (not in my back yard), the idea that nuclear waste should be placed as far as possible from one's own house and NIREX (nuclear industry waste executive).

In the technology group there are two terms that refer to the user-friendliness of computers. Development in the business is rapid and competition hard; one of the new assets of the manufacturers is user-friendliness. The idea is to make computers so easy to use that little or no prior knowledge is needed. This progress will also open new markets as those people who previously have not been able to use computers have access nowadays to their 'services'. WIMP (Windows Icon Mice Pointer) and WYSIWYG (what you see is what you get) both relate to the idea of information society: making possible to a larger group of people to use computers. Also related to the idea of user-friendliness is also a third computer term in the technology group, RISC (reduced instruction set computer). It is a computer which is designed to perform a limited number of 'tasks', but at a higher speed than a normal computer.

In the science group there were only three terms. Two of them, GIFT and ZIFT are fertilisation techniques. Although artificial fertilisation is not a new thing, it is becoming more widely used and new techniques are developed.

AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome) is a result of infection with a human immune deficiency virus (HIV). The disease was earlier considered as one of homo- or bisexual men. Nowadays it is more correctly regarded as a threat for anyone in blood or seminal contant with an infected person. Its origins are unknown, but it is believed to have started among African monkeys who themselves are immune to the disease.

CAT (computerised axial tomography) is a kind of an X-ray machine connected to a computer which produces accurate pictures on human tissue. A revolutionary device in search of for instance brain tumors as no surgery is needed. The reason why the term as such has not 'survived' is probably the
uncertainty of the words it is composed of. CAT could also be short for computer aided/assisted tomography. CAT (or its shorter version CT) is though often used adjectively: CT scanning or CAT scanner.

DAT (digital audio tape) is a tape on which sound is recorded digitally. Qualitywise, a DAT equals a CD so tapes can not be buried into history yet.

DINK (Double Income No Kids) is a term referring to a couple of which both are working and who do not have children. Woopie (weel off old people) refers to retired people who are financially secured. Created by trend analysts and marketing experts in US and Canada to give a name for two target group of some products. The terms have not survived probably because they have been composed for the commercial purposes only and have little significance elsewhere.

EFTPOS (electronic funds transfer at point of sale) is a method of paying by transferring the cost from the payer's account directly to the retailer's at a special cash desk by using a credit card. The term is mainly used in business circles. In US The clipped version 'EFT' is better known; in UK the proper names of the system are more used.

GIFT (gamete intra-fallopian transfer) and ZIFT (zygote intra-fallopian transfer) are artificial fertilisation techniques. In GIFT eggs and sperm and inserted into a woman's body whereas in ZIFT an already fertilised egg is implanted into a woman. In the latter just as in IVF (in vitro fertilisation) the actual fertilisation takes place outside the body which cause ethical and religious objections.

INSET (in-service training) is term-time training for teachers in the UK that was voluntary to begin with but became compulsory.

MIDI (Musical Instrument Digital Interface) is a system where electronic musical instruments, synthesizers and computers can be connected and thus simultaneously. This kind of computerised music-making is no longer a novelty in recording studios, but nowadays it is also possible for every home musician.
with some knowledge about computers.

Nab (no alcohol beer) is beer from which alcohol has been removed after brewing. It was brought to pubs along with the campaign against drunk driving. The word has not survived and the beer hardly enjoys wide popularity. It can be imagined that devoted beer-lovers would find beer without alcohol almost a joke. Drivers going to a pub presumably prefer Coke or other soft drinks. Beer without alcohol belongs to the same 'family' as cheese without fat and sweets without sugar. These products have come to our grocery shops to keep us fit and healthy. However, anyone's sense of taste can vote whether something that is "bad" for us actually tastes very good!

The term NIMBY (not in my back yard) came to use with the discussion on where nuclear waste should be placed. Although there was also the anti-nuclear movement involved, the term suggests that those crying it out loud do not really care where the waste is buried as long as it is not their locality. NIMBY is one of those acronyms which have been coined in a way that resulting word is easy to pronounce. NIREX (nuclear industry radioactive waste executive), refers to the body that oversees the disposal of nuclear waste in the UK.

PEP (personal equity plan) is an investment scheme intended to extend share ownership in the UK.

RISC (reduced instruction set computer) is a computer that is designed to perform some operations only. It has thus a simple circuitry and it is able to work at a high speed.

WIMP (Windows Icon Mice Program[/Pointer/Pull-down]) is a user interface combining software features with hardware devices. It involves icons, windows, a mouse and pull-down menus which all make programs easier to open and the computer easier to use.

The term suppie (young urban/upwardly mobile professional) is one of the most persistent 'survivors' in the data. It has been stated that the term sums up the
features of a whole sosio-economic class incredibly well. Compared to the terms
*DINK* and *Woopie, yuppie* has not only commercial motivation, but it includes
for instance such features as urbanisation and ambition. *Yuppie* has inspired
many variations most of them not as successful. Alongside with *yappie* (young
affluent parent/young aspiring professional), neither of the blends *guppy* (green
yuppie, a yuppie who supports green ideas) and *buppie* (black yuppie, African
American yuppie) have found their ways to desk dictionaries.

5.4. Blends

Blends were hypothesised to be the least likely survivors of all the five groups
of neologisms. It turned out to be true since out of the 33 blend words only 13
were found in *Chambers dictionary*. *Collins Cobuild* recognised even less
blends, only seven words. The reason for the absence of blends in desk
dictionaries could be that rather than to concrete things, people or objects, they
often denote phenomena and usually short-term trends. The words in the blend
category seem to be more scattered to different fields than the words in the
abbreviation or acronym category. This is probably due to the distribution of
words in the blend category. Out of the 33 words 27 fall in the *society* group
which covers basically all other areas but technology and science.

The distribution of blend words in the three categories *technology, society* and
*science*:

*technology*: animatronics, camcorder, earcon and mechatronics (4)

*society*: affluential, affluenza, acupressure, advertorial, aquarobics, buppie,
disco, dweed, glitterati, guestage, guppie, himbo, Jazzercise, kidflation, kidult,
magalog, monery, parascending, priviligentsia, magazine,
rockumentary, scrunch, slomo, Soca, Taffia, televangelist, vegeburger (27)

*science*: acyclovir, cambylobacter (2)

Blend words are mixtures of two words one of which is shortened and then
combined to the other. Grammatically, it is often that the first of the words is an adjective-like word whose function is actually to be an attribute to the second one. Examples of this kind of blends are *advertorial*, *animatronics*, *himbo* and *vegeburger*. These three words could be split into two without losing the meaning. The four example words can be divided as follows (in respective order): *adver-like editorial*, *animated electronics*, *male bimbo* and *vegetarian hamburger*.

In the society group, which is relatively considerably larger than the society groups in the abbreviation and acronym groups, there are some subgroups. Some of them include same kind of words that could be found in the acronym group. Blends such as *affluent* (an affluent and influential person) and *glitterati* (successful people) describe people and again in terms of their life style, wealth and professional success. It is no longer people only that are named after wealth but diseases, too. *Affluenza* (an influenza of the affluent) is a new mental disorder haunting the rich.

New ways of exercise seem to have been in fashion at the time when *Oxford Dictionary of New Words* was compiled. *Aquarobics* (aerobics exercised in water) and *Jazzercise* (exercise with movements from Jazz dance) are good examples of the flow of new words denoting to working out and exercising. The cover term for all kinds of aerobic training practised with rhythmic music *aerobics* has persisted. However, fitness is a field where new trends come and go and so do the words they are referred with. To achieve the aerobic level when exercising, the work out has to last over 30 minutes, preferably one hour. Repeating the same step sequences over and over again might prove to be a bit boring. This is probably why aerobics counselors constantly come up with new variations of aerobic training. *Aquarobics* and *Jazzercise* are (or were) one of these. Other variations include such terms as *circuit training* and *spinning*.

Unlike the words in the *society* group, the words in the *techonology* group are surprisingly well preserved. Out of the four words three were found in *Chambers* dictionary. The technology and science words, which are strictly related to a particular field or are even jargon of the field and that suddenly
become a matter of public interest, are often forgotten when the fuss about the matter has come down. However, the technology words in the blend group are not jargon, but relate to more popularised applications of technological innovations. *Camcorder* (camera recorder) and *earcon* (audio signals of a computer) represent words that easily become familiar to anyone interested in home electronic devices or newest computer programs.

**Acupressure** (acupuncture + pressure) is also known as *shiatsu*. A special kind of massage involving pressure of thumbs and fingers to specific pressure points on the body. There have been several so called alternative treatment methods. This one seems to have proved effective as the word has survived in the word stock.

*Affluenza* (affluent + influenza) is a psychiatric disorder affecting wealthy people, especially those who have inherited large amounts of money or property. It involves feelings of malaise, guilt and lack of motivation. They feel that they have not deserved the wealth and feel unmotivated to do anything because there is no economic pressure to work.

**Advertorial** (advert + editorial) is an advertisement that looks like an editorial. It looks like an objectively written article on a product but is actually compiled of the publicity material of the product.

**Animatronics** (animated + electronics) are robots that look like animals or people. They are programmed to do lifelike movements. These robots are also called *televisions without screen* because although they look like living things, they are not able to communicate in any way; they cannot respond or interact neither among each other nor with people.

**Camcorder** (camera + recorder) is a portable video camera with a built-in sound recorder. One of the examples of how home electronic devices are constantly developed.

**Camblyobacter** (kampulos + bacterium) is a bacterium that occurs in
unpasteurised dairy products. Causes non-fatal food poisoning.

**Dweed** (dwarf, weed, creep) is a rather unpolite way of young people of expressing that someone, especially a male person, is lacking enthusiasm, is stupid and weak. Another term, almost a synonym is **nerd**. Apart from being a witty blend, the word when pronounced is quite close to the word **dude**; an informal word for a man. This similarity may be one reason for the survival of the word.

**Earcon** (ear + icon) is the sound equivalent of the visible icon in computer programmes. Earcons are audio messages that represent different functions and operations. Applications could be useful in developing computer programs for the deaf.

**Glitterati** (glitter + litterati) refers to a miscellaneous group of people who have been succesful in their field. Earlier the term refered to famous people within litterature and entertainment but today it is used to describe stars from various fields, like politics, sports, music and business. The term was first launched and is still widely in use among journalists.

Guestage (guest + hostage) is a term that first occured and is strictly related to the Gulf War in 1990. Guestage was a foreign national held as a hostage in Iraq and Kuwait. As the term was used of the hostages of this particular conflict only, it has been forgotten.

Himbo (him + bimbo) is a male counterpart of a bimbo. Equality of sexes has conquered many different areas; it is no longer only a young woman who can be stupid and have her looks as her only asset. However, the fact **himbo** has not survived could mean that they are still considered a minority and **bimbos** are still more numerous.

**Jazzercise** (Jazz + exercise) is a trade mark of physical exercise which is carried out with jazz music. **Jazzercise** is one of the many forms of exercise which saw
daylight in the eighties, the fitness-conscious decade.

Kidult (kid + adult) is used both adjectively and as a noun. Adjectively, it means 'suitable for all the family', used about TV programs; that is a program that both adults and children can watch. As a noun, a kidult is a piece of entertainment for both adults and children. The word is media slang, but has survived as a word that pops up quite seldom and has not become a part of everyday usage. Another word related to watching TV which has become more popular is the clipped blend sitcom (situation comedy).

Magalog (magazine + catalogue) is a mail-order catalogue which comes out regularly. Apart from regular issuing, its other magazine-like features include bright, glossy pictures. A magalog includes articles some of which are advertorials (see the explanation above) and others more straight-forward advertising.

Mechatronics (mechanics + electronics) is a technology which combines mechanical engineering and electronics. It was first applied in Japan and involved the use of robots. That is why mechatronics still means only robots to many people, although it covers many different ways of transferring routine tasks for machines and thus reducing human work force in factories.

Monergy (money + energy) is the economical use of energy. The word was originally a part of a slogan where it meant money spent on energy. The slogan advised to reduce monergy. Although the slogan is still worth remembering and reducing energy costs an up-to-date issue, the word monergy was considered an 'ugly and unnecessary formation'. That is probably the reason why it has vanished from current usage.

Parascending (parachute + ascending) is a variation of parachuting. A 'parascender' with an open parachute is first towed up in the air with the help of a motor vehicle and then he descends like in parachuting. In parascending a plane is not needed which makes it a considerably cheaper way to enjoy an open air descend.
Privilegentsia (privilege + intelligentsia) is a group name for intellectuals and Party bureaucrats in the former Communist countries. These people enjoyed privileges the ordinary people did not have. Privilegentsia no longer exists in its original sense as communism collapsed and the advantages it brought for this restricted group were swept away. The term itself has since been used in other contexts to denote similarly people with special privileges, but probably because its original sense is no longer possible, it is very seldom used.

Ragazine (rag + magazine) is a word of media slang in the US. The word denotes to cheaply produced news-sheets or magazines whose contents is mainly gossip.

**Scrunch** (squeeze, crumple, crush, crunch) is a verb that was first used in hair-styling. It means squeezing and crushing hair to give it a messy, tousled look, usually when blow-drying it. From professional hair-dressers' speech and magazines the term has spread to general-interest magazines. Nowadays it has got a wider variety of uses and it has adopted some meaning of its latter part, *to crunch*. The survival of **scrunch** is due to the extension of its use and can be used in many contexts involving a 'scrunching' sound or changing the shape of something by squeezing and crushing.

**Slomo** (slow motion) is a film and video industry term which has probably been in spoken professional use long before the video recorders became popular. It means slow motion replay which is possible to do with an ordinary video recorder. This abbreviated blend of slow motion has not gained much ground probably because the original term itself is just as good and short enough.

**Televangelist** (television + evangelist) is an evangelical preacher who appears in TV or other mass media. The term has got many variation like *televangelist, television evangelist* and *TV evangelist*. However, the blend has become the most popular one probably because the two parts fit nicely together.

**Vegeburger** (vegetarian + hamburger) is a flat, round piece made of soya protein, often inside a bun. It is a vegetarian version of a hamburger. As far as
the word *hamburger* is concerned, the word *ham* there does not mean ham as a kind of meat. *Hamburger* is short for Hamburger steak which in turn is named after a German city, Hamburg. *Vegeburgers*, as well as other vegetarian food, used to be available only in health shops, but is now widely available in normal groceries. The reason for the popularity of vegetarianism is the growing concern for animal rights and the green movement.

5.5. Shortenings

Shortenings in my data include one back-formation and 19 clippings. There were thus 20 shortenings altogether out of which 10 were found in *Chambers* dictionary. The percentage of shortening occurrences is then 50 which is higher than that of the blends but still considerably lower than those of abbreviations and acronyms.

Shortenings fall into three different categories of *technology*, *science* and *society* as follows:

*technology*: colourize (back-formation), email, etext (3)

*society*: chair, cred, def, des res, diss, doc, email, etext, flak, impro, journo, kidvid, muso, neo-con, noov, rad, sab, scuzz (18)

*science*: nicad (1)

The *society* group is the largest leaving only four words to the *technology* and *science* groups. It was presumed that almost all the shortenings and especially clippings were 'street slang' or expressions of young people and gangs. The surprising point here is that only five of the clippings actually originate from the slang of young people. These are *cred* (credibility), *diss* (disrespect), *def* (definitive), *rad* (radical) and *scuzz* (disgusting).

All the five words have their origins in youth slang, which is typical for clippings. The traces of two of them can be detected to an even smaller subgroup. *Def* and *diss* have first been used among hip hop music enthusiasts. *Def* comes from the hip hop slang and it is a synonym for 'excellent', 'great' and
'cool'. It is often used in the combination *def jam* which means 'brilliant music'. Its longer form is probably 'definitive', but also other speculations about its etymology have been presented. *Diss* as well has first been used among hip hoppers. It means putting someone down, verbally insulting them. *Cred* is actually short for 'street credibility'. Having *cred* means that a person knows how to behave and dress and therefore has gained credibility, reputation and a certain status amongst their friends. *Rad* is short for 'radical' which originally described courageous turns and jumps of Californian surfers. Its use has extended to mean anything that young people find 'cool' or 'awesome'. *Scuzz* is used as a noun and means a disgusting person or thing. It is said to come either from the middle part of 'disgusting' or from blending the words 'scum' and 'fuzz'. Out of these five words, *def* and *scuzz* are the only ones that have not found their way into *Chambers* dictionary. One reason for this could be the unknown origins of both words. When the source of words are not clearly known, their meaning may also remain vague and unspecific. Furthermore, when the meaning is not clear, the use of the word becomes more difficult and it may disappear from current usage.

Apart from the young people, there is also another source where some of the clippings come from. Australian English tends to have some expressions of its own. One of the typical features of Australian clipping is to add an *o* to the end of cut words. *Journo* (journalist) and *muso* (musician) are the examples in my data of words that have been clipped in 'an Australian way'.

In the *technology* group terms of information technology and its applications can again be recognised, as was the case with all the word formation categories of words before. *Email* (electronic mail) and *etext* (electronic text) were new words at the time of the publication of *Oxford Dictionary of New Words*, but have since become familiar to everyone with an access to the Internet or other computer networks.

*Chair* (clipped from chairman) is a non-sexist way of saying *chairman* or *chairwoman*. It is actually short for *chairperson*. *Chair* is a word that follows the principles of politically correct language (see above the analysis of *PWA* in
chapter 5.2.). It is also a short and sharp word which is probably why it nowadays often replaces the longer chairperson.

To colourize (colourization) means to add colour to a black-and-white film. Apart from being back-formed from the name of the process, colourization, the word also derives from the name of the computer program used for this process, Colorizer, which itself is a trade mark.

Des res (desirable residence) is a clipped word combination that was first used among real estate agents. It stands for an expensive house in a neighbourhood with a good reputation. The language of the advertisements of estates is full of abbreviations like this one. The reason why des res has become familiar outside real estate business, too, is probably its ironic uses in many contexts.

Email (electronic mail) is a mode of transfer of messages or files of data from one user to others by means of a computer network. The word used to refer to the system only but is nowadays also used of the messages sent via the system.

Impro (improvisation) is a form of live entertainment based on improvisation and interaction with the audience. The term has been among the actors before in became known to public. Impro has not been accepted to dictionaries probably because stand up comics is almost its equivalent and a more stabilised term.

Kidvid (kids' video) is a term that was first launched by the American entertainment magazine Variety and means children's television programs or video tapes. Variations for the term include such blends as kideo and Australian kidflick, but they all have remained media slang and have not enjoyed wider success.

Neo-con (neo-conservative) is a political movement in North America and especially in the US. It has also been called 'the soft right'. They pursue the prominence of practical realities opposed to the 'utopian dreams of the liberals'.
**Nicad** (nickel-cadmium) is a nickel and cadmium battery that can be recharged over and over again. The need for a chargeable battery first arose when portable computers started to become more and more popular. The green movement has promoted their use also in other devices.

**Sab** (saboteur) is a term was first used of the 'hunt saboteurs' who oppose blood sports like fox hunting and try to disturb the hunts. Now *sab* refers to any kind of animal rights activists, eg. those against animal testing who use radical methods to make their voices heard.

5.6. Trade mark names

There were 16 trade mark names in my data. Since they are proper names, they are written with a capital letter. Ten of these trade mark names were found in *Chambers* dictionary. A dictionary does not normally include proper names, but the trade mark names that occur have become so common that they deserve an entry. And what is even more important, they could all be described as kind of pioneers in their field without any severe rivals. For instance, the word *Filofax* denotes a kind of diary and an exactly identical one under another brand name does not exist. These kinds of trade mark names make the line between common names and proper names less clear.

Trade mark names were also divided into three categories and their distribution is as follows:

*technology*: Betamax, Cassingle, Ceefax, Oracle, Vodafone, Walkman (6)

*society*: Aqua Libra, Bach, Barbour, Cardiofunk, Filofax, PacMan, Quorn, Speciolog(ue) (8)

*science*: Alar, Semtex (2)

It was hypothesised that, although other views have been presented, trade mark names, too, have some kind of motivation and only a small part of them are pure coinages, which proved to be true. The name of a computer game *PacMan* was the only word that had no clear etymology, but was probably invented by the game experts.
Alar (growth-regulating chemical) is a chemical which is sprayd on fruit to make them grow and ripe at the same pace so that only one harvest is needed. This substance, however, does not remain on the surface of fruit, but is absorbed into the flesh. When squeezing juice out of the fruit, Alar can be transformed into a would-be carcinogen. The Alar fuss is one of the food scandals that have already been dealt with (see the analysis on the BSE in chapter 5.2.). In the case on Alar, though, two different solutions were made. In the US and Australia, the chemical was withdrawn from the market whereas in the UK it was declared safe.

Bach (flower remedies) is a complementary homoeopathy therapy where intestinal bacteria are used to relieve emotional states which cause physical illnesses according to Edward Bach. Bach methods, alongside with acupressure (see below) did not remain just by-passing trends of the late 80s, but gained a more lasting success and this is why the words have sustained, too.

Barbour (jacket) is a strong water-proof jacket, which is usually made of green, waxed cotton. This is a good example of a trade mark where an exactly equivalent product does not exist and therefore the type of jacket has adopted the name of its trade mark.

Betamax (videotape) is one of the two standard formats of video tapes. The other one is probably the better known VHS which is an abbreviation of 'video home system'. The beta of Betamax is thought to come from the Greek word for the letter 'b', beta. It actually comes from the Japanese word beta-beta which means 'all over'.

Cassingle (cassette + single) is a trade mark for a cassette with a single tune. Cassingle was first a promotional thing which record companies delivered to radio stations. These days audio cassettes have been replaced by CD and Cassingles have also become less popular.

Ceefax and Oracle are teletext systems that have become an important source
of information. Both systems are today standard options in new television sets sold in the UK. Ceefone is operated by the BBC whereas Oracle was started by the IBA, Independent Broadcasting Authority.

Filofax is a loose-leaf portable filing system, a personal organiser. The etymology of the word is the colloquial pronunciation of 'file of facts'. Filofax is a trade mark that has existed since the early 30s. It became very popular in the 80s especially among business people and yuppies. It consists of loose-leafed file that includes diary, address book and other personally important material. At the peak of its popularity there were even novels printed on hole-punched sheets which fitted a filofax and were called Filofiction.

Semtex is a plastic explosive and a secret military invention by the Czechoslovakian army. The name comes from Semtin, a village in East Bohemia, Czech Republic. Since the substance is odourless and easily hid, it is very difficult for sniffer dogs to find. Terrorist bombs made it known to the public, but nowadays it has got more peaceful uses, such as construction works.

Vodafone is a cellular telephone system the name of which comes from the underlined letters of the word voicedataphone. It is one of the two cellular telephone systems that have originally operated in the UK. The term has also been used of the telephone equipment itself.

Walkman is a type of personal stereo system. Apart from the system, the equipment is also called by this name. The name probably comes from the idea that a personal stereo can used while, for example, walking. Walkman has achieved the same kind of position as the word hoover. Although there is a common name 'personal stereo' for this small cassette player, a lot of people speak of Walkman. The plural of the word remains a problem. Walkmen is one alternative, although Walkmans may be more suitable.
7. CONCLUSION

Some of the hypotheses about the word-formation categories discussed in this study proved true, but there were also results that differed from what was expected. In this chapter I will also deal with some over-all issues that occurred in all word-formation categories by presenting some trends of the late eighties that did not remain trends only. Alongside with the vocabulary related to these issues, they have grown all the more important since they first appeared at the time when data were gathered for Oxford Dictionary of New Words.

Although most of the words in my data were analysed individually, my aim was also to find some common features within each category: abbreviations, acronyms, blends, shortenings and trade mark names. This was first done by dividing the words within each category to three groups: technology, society and science. The division helped in analysing what kind of words were formed via each type of word-formation. As will be shown in this chapter, words belonging to different groups tend to form in different ways and this in turn affects, to some extent, how long they will stay in the word stock.

The word-formation process used is one of the factors that affect the length of the stay of a new word in the word stock. This is especially true with blends. Only 39% of the blend words studied were found in Chambers dictionary (and only 18% in Collins Cobuild). Shortenings were also poorly represented in a normal desk dictionary. Only 50% of them were found in Chambers and 20% in Collins Cobuild. Apart from the word-formation process itself, there is also another reason for why these groups tend to include words with short-term endurance. A large share of words in both groups belong to the category 'society'. This category includes so called 'trend' words; words that denote objects or phenomena related to often short-lasting social trends and fashions.

The group of blends was especially abundant in 'society' words. As was mentioned in the theoretical part of this study (see p. 27), blend words are often created to fit a single context and do not necessarily fit to others. Words like
'Ragazine' or 'kidult' could be imagined to have quite a limited number of possible contexts. 'Ragazine' was used of a special kind of magazine and as such magazines have not grown any more numerous, the use of the word in turn did not spread any further. 'Kidult' is only used in television slang and as it has not gained ground in any field, it has remained a marginal word.

As far as shortenings are concerned, some of them originate in the slang of young people as presumed. However, although slang words could be regarded stylistically lower than words from other origins, some of them were accepted to Chambers dictionary. A more determining factor here for whether a word was found in desk dictionaries was actually the etymological roots of the word. The words with clear etymological origins seemed to have better chances to survive. Such words as 'def' and 'scuzz', whose origins were unclear were dismissed. The same applied to the acronym 'CAT'.

Abbreviations and acronyms were first used almost entirely in technological and scientific contexts. I hypothesised that they were still their most common domains, which proved only partly true. Especially acronyms seemed to have spread to various areas. Out of 27 acronyms as many as 16 fell into the category of society. The large number of society words in the acronym category could be an indication of acronyms becoming more and more common in all kinds of contexts. Compared to their 'big brothers', abbreviations, acronyms are wandering to new fields.

In the abbreviation group the distribution was more even: 8 technological terms, 8 words of the society group and 11 words from scientific contexts. Abbreviations were thus more loyal to their original contexts, the scientific and technological jargons. They were also the most likely survivors. Out of the abbreviations studied 85% were found in Chambers dictionary. The percentage of words found in Collins Cobuild was also the highest of all groups, 37. In the fields of technology and science word-formation is more systematic and logical than is 'society' contexts. The etymology and use of words is clear and, as noted above, the clarity and explicitness of both the origins and use of a word affect their 'survival'.
As far as the trade mark names were concerned, my hypothesis proved quite true. I assumed that although the words in this group are originally names, they have not just been invented out of the blue, but carry some kind of motivation. The one and only word which did not have an etymology as such at all was PacMan, a name for a computer game and just invented by the game manufacturers. One important source for product names were place names. For instance Semtex, a plastic explosive, and Quorn, textured vegetable protein, were named after a place name.

In addition to the word-formation processes, my aim was to find other factors which affect the survival of a word. I remained quite skeptical on this part of my goals because I imagined it impossible to find any widely-applicable reasons. Therefore the analysis was made word by word. However, some hints of what factors could be mentioned were found. When discussing etymology and dealing with shortenings, I mentioned that unclear origins of a word could cause its early disappearance from the word stock.

Another important reason is the meaning of a word and especially the subject area it belongs to. To cross over the boundaries of word-formation classes, I will now go through some subject areas that appeared in two or more categories and can thus be considered important. One of these is home electronics, and especially that for entertainment purposes. Words like Betamax, camcorder, CD, PC, VCR and Walkman were all survivors regardless of how they had been formed. They have conquered living-rooms and hence have also remained in our word stock. Another subject area that appeared every now and then was computers, or more widely, information technology. Words like email, PCB (printed circuit board), WIMP (Windows Icon Mice Program) and WYSIWYG (What you see is what you get) were again all survivors no matter what their way of formation had been. The most interesting point about words of the subject areas of home electronics and computers is that almost all of them are 'survivors'. This proves that word-formation only partly affects the survival of a new word. The subject area a word is related to is also a considerable factor in its way to a normal desk dictionary.
As far as possible tendencies in the near future are concerned, one could assume that the use of shorter words and abbreviated forms is increasing. This is due to the new ways of communication. Email messages and text messages in mobile phones are often written using shortened forms of words. It is difficult to say, however, how much these short word forms spread to spoken or written language. It could be imagined that shortened forms are less common in spoken language. In sum, studying abbreviations and shortened expressions brought out up-to-date themes.

Although I dealt with a large number of neologisms, their history and their survival stories, a lot of questions that are out of the scope of this study remain unanswered. For anyone interested in language change I can say that neologisms no doubt offer relevant data. They provide an excellent insight into the connection between changing society and language and prove that those two walk (or run) hand in hand. Dealing with such a small part of a vast area cannot give definite answers, but it was possible to draw some conclusive ideas. In this field research problems are so numerous that anyone curious and interested can find their own.
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APPENDIX

WORDS STUDIED (all collected from *The Oxford Dictionary of New Words* 1991)

( **bold faced** ones found in *Chambers 21st Century Dictionary* 1996)
( *underlined* ones found in *Collins Cobuild English Dictionary* 1995)

**ABBREVIATIONS**

1) **ABS** (antilock braking system)
2) **AI** (artificial intelligence)
3) **ATM** (automated teller machine)
4) **AZT** (azidothymidine, a drug for AIDS patients)
5) **BMX** (bicycle moto-cross)
6) **BSE** (bovine spongiform encephalopathy, the mad cow disease)
7) **CD** (compact disc)
8) **CFC** (chlorofluorocarbon)
9) **DDI** (dideoxynosine)
10) **EMS** (European Monetary System)
11) **EMU** (European Monetary Unit)
12) **HIV** (human immunodeficiency virus)
13) **HRT** (hormone replacement therapy)
14) **INF** (Intermediate-range Nuclear Force)
15) **IVF** (in vitro fertilization)
16) **LMS** (local management of schools)
17) **ME** (myalgic encephalomyelitis)
18) **MRI** (magnetic resonance imaging)
19) **OTE** (on target earnings)
20) **OTT** (over the top)
21) **PC** (personal computer)
22) **PCB** (polychlorinated biphenyl)
23) **PCB** (printed circuit board)
24) **PCP** (phencyclidine hydrochloride)
25) **PCP** (pneumocystis carinii pneumonia)
26) **PWA** (person with AIDS)
27) **VCR** (video cassette recorder)

TOTAL of 27, out of which 23 can be found in Chambers and 10 in Collins Cobuild

**ACRONYMS**

1) **AIDS** (acquired immune deficiency syndrome)
2) **CAT** (computerized axial tomography, used in medical technology)
3) **DAT** (digital audio tape)
4) **DINK** (Double Income No Kids)
5) **ecu** (European currency unit)
6) **EFTPOS** (electronic funds transfer at point of sale)
7) **EPOS** (electronic point of sale)
8) **GIFT** (gamete intra-fallopian transfer)
9) **INSET** (in-service training)
10) LAN  (local area network)
11) MIDI  (Musical Instrument Digital Interface)
12) MIRAS  (mortgage interest relief at source)
13) nab  (no alcohol bear)
14) NIMBY  (not in my back yard)
15) NIREX  (nuclear industry radioactive waste executive)
16) PEP  (personal equity plan)
17) PIN  (personal identification number)
18) RISC  (reduced instruction set computer)
19) Stasi  (Staats Sicherheitsdienst)
20) TESSA  (tax exempt special savings account)
21) WAN  (wide area network)
22) WIMP  (Windows Icon Mice Program/Pointer/Pull-down)
23) Woop(ie)  (well-off old people)
24) WYSIWYG (What you see is what you get)
25) yappie  (young affluent parent/young aspiring professional)
26) yuppie  (young urban/upwardly mobile professional)
27) ZIFT  (zygote intra-fallopian transfer)

TOTAL of 27 out of which 21 can be found in Chambers and 6 in Collins Cobuild

BLENDs

1) affluenza  (affluent + influenza)
2) acyclovir  (acyclic + viral)
3) acupressure  (acupuncture + pressure)
4) advertorial  (advert + editorial)
5) affluent  (affluent + influential)
6) animatronics  (animated + electronics)
7) aquarobics  (aqua + aerobics)
8) buppie  (black + yuppie)
9) camcorder  (camera + recorder)
10) camblyobacter  (kampulos + bacterium)
11) disco  (distribution company)
12) dweep  (dwarf + weed + creep)
13) earcon  (ear + icon)
14) glitterati  (glitter + litterati)
15) guestage  (guest + hostage)
16) guppie  (gay/green + yuppie)
17) himbo  (him + bimbo)
18) Jazzercise  (Jazz + exercise)
19) kidflation  (kid + inflation)
20) kidult  (kid + adult)
21) magalog  (magazine + catalogue)
22) mechatronics  (mechanics + electronics)
23) monergy  (money + energy)
24) parascending  (parachute + ascending)
25) privileigntia  (privilege + intelligentsia)
26) ragazine  (rag + magazine)
27) rockumentary  (rock + documentary)
28) scrunch  (squeeze, crumple, crush, crunch)
29) slomo  (slow motion)
30) Soca (soul calypso)
31) Taffia (Taffy + Mafia)
32) televangelist (television + evangelist)
33) vegeburger (vegetarian + hamburger)

TOTAL of 33 out of which 13 can be found in Chambers and 7 in Collins Cobuild

SHORTENINGS

BACK FORMATIONS

1) colourize (colourization)

TOTAL OF 1 which is found in Chambers

CLIPPINGS

1) chair (chairman)
2) cred (credibility)
3) def (definitive)
4) des res (desirable residence)
5) diss (disrespect)
6) doc (documentary)
7) email (electronic mail)
8) etext (electronic text)
9) flak (flak-catcher)
10) impro (improvisation)
11) journo (journalist)
12) kidvid (kids' video)
13) muso (musician, music fanatic)
14) neo-con (neo-conservative)
15) nicad (nickel-cadmium)
16) noov (nouveau riche)
17) rad (radical)
18) sab (saboteur)
19) scuzz (disgusting)

TOTAL of 19 out of which 9 can be found in Chambers and 4 in Collins Cobuild

WORDS FROM TRADE MARK NAMES

1) Alar (growth-regulating chemicals)
2) Aqua Libra (health drink)
3) Bach (flower remedies related to homoeopathy)
4) Barbour (jacket)
5) Betamax (videotape)
6) Cardiovuf (exercise programme)
7) Cassingle (cassette with a single tune)
8) Ceefax (s/cee + fax)
9) Filofax (loose-leaf portable filing system)
10) Oracle (teletext system)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>PacMan</td>
<td>computer game</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Quorn</td>
<td>textured vegetable protein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Semtex</td>
<td>plastic explosive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Speciolog(ue)</td>
<td>(type of specialised catalogue)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Vodafone</td>
<td>cellular telephone system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td><strong>Walkman</strong></td>
<td>(type of personal stereo system)</td>
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</table>

TOTAL of 16 out of which 10 can be found in Chambers and 2 in Collins Cobuild